

**State Higher Vocational School in Nowy Sącz**

# **Language in culture – culture in language**

edited by  
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Nowy Sącz 2014

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## PREFACE

*Language in Culture, Culture in Language* is a collection of selected papers presented at *1st International Interdisciplinary Conference on CHALLENGES IN LANGUAGE* organised by the Institute of Foreign Languages, State Higher Vocational School in Nowy Sącz, Poland in cooperation with Gazi University, Turkey on 26-27 September 2013. The papers have been reviewed by specialists in linguistics and literary studies to ensure that they meet academic standards.

The Conference hosted scholars representing very diverse fields of expertise (literary studies, translation studies, theology, linguistics, applied linguistics), which is reflected in the interdisciplinary nature of the present volume. Although a great majority of the articles in this volume are in English, the scholars' interests were not limited to the English-speaking countries, and also included the languages and cultures of such countries as China, Sweden, Turkey, or Poland.

The conference theme *Language in Culture, Culture in Language* might seem ridiculously broad, yet it offered an interesting opportunity to examine the same problems from the perspectives of different sciences, or in different cultural contexts. The articles from the first section, "Language in historical and cultural perspective," discuss the link between language and national identity in Ireland, China and fifteenth-century Scotland. Elżbieta Stanisz and Magdalena Gimbut focus on the ramifications of Ireland's and China's language policies. The efforts of the past and present rulers of China to impose one standardised version of the language upon different peoples inhabiting the country could be contrasted with the efforts of the Irish government to preserve Ireland's cultural and linguistic distinctness. Ironically, as the authors seem to suggest, both struggles are doomed to failure. Dominika Ruskiewicz approaches the problem of national identity from the perspective of a literary scholar and presents a very interesting phenomenon of fifteenth-century Scottish poets writing in a language "not markedly different" from the fifteenth-century English, offering thus a different answer to the question: "Is national identity determined by language?"

The second section, "Language and religion," combines the insights into the relation between language and religion provided by specialists in theology, linguistics and neuroscience. Language is viewed thus as an epistemological tool, helping human beings realise truth and achieve authentic existence (though, as Małgorzata Zawadzka-Morawiecka writes, to Kierkegaard it is rather an "epistemological obstacle"), a tool a survival (Wiesław Szałaj), or a mere fossil where the changes in culture are recorded (Dawid Biedrzyński).

The third and the fourth section, "Cross-linguistic influences" and "Issues in language teaching," comprise articles which, in most cases, present the findings of the research conducted by the authors. The authors investigate such problems as online interpersonal deception in the US and Poland (Anna Kuzio), the impact of gender on the use of language (Selma Elyıldırım), the acquisition of definite and indefinite articles by Turkish learners of English (Selma Elyıldırım), communication in English between English native and non-native speakers (Joanna Jakubik), attitudes of English language teachers towards teaching culture during English language courses (Aleksandra Szymańska-Tworek), the acquisition of English prepositions by Turkish

and Polish learners (Selma Elyıldırım and Beata Kukielka-Król), or the perception of academic emotions by Turkish learners of English (Ceyhun Yükselir). Monika Jazowy-Jarmuł and Ieva Vizule devote their attention to problems connected with translation studies. Monika Jazowy-Jarmuł discusses translating Swedish personal pronouns into Polish whereas Ieva Vizule, basing on her own teaching experience, demonstrates how Polanyi's tacit knowing theory could be applied to the training of translators. Emilia Wojtczak contributes some preliminary remarks concerning teaching specialised languages.

The volume constitutes a thorough discussion of cultural aspects in language and language as a part of cultural heritage in the modern, mobile, multilingual context in which intercultural communication and contacts are commonplace. We hope that such wide scope of research papers comes to readers' expectations and satisfies their academic interests. We can only hope that the present volume will be an exception from the general rule discovered by Ceyhun Yükselir during his analysis of academic emotions: Enjoyment Before is always greater than Enjoyment During and Enjoyment After (which, as Ceyhun Yükselir observes, is at the lowest level). But, to end on a more positive note, the same research demonstrates that Anger After is lesser than Anger Before and Anger During.

*Anna D. Biedrzyńska*

*Michał Palmowski*

**LANGUAGE  
IN CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL  
PERSPECTIVE**





**Dominika Ruskiewicz**

*Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Tarnowie*

## **“WRITTEN IN THE LANGAGE OF SCOTTIS NATIOUN”: LITERATURE, LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SCOTLAND**

### **Abstract**

The article focuses on the poetry of King James I, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, known as the “Scottish Chaucerians.” Its main objective is to examine how the poets address the problem of their linguistic and cultural inheritance and how they perceive their place in English, Scottish and, more broadly, in the European literary tradition. The purpose is to answer the question of what it meant to be a Scottish poet at the turn of the fifteenth century as reflected in Scottish medieval poetry – poetry “written in the langage of Scottis natioun.”

**Key words:** Geoffrey Chaucer, the Scottish Chaucerians, King James I, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, fifteenth-century Scottish poetry

“In the late 15<sup>th</sup> century the best poetry in English came from Scotland” – in this way Michael Alexander introduces late medieval Scottish literature to the readers of his *History of English Literature* (2007, p. 70). Paradoxical as the sentence may seem, it is an accurate description of the linguistic situation in Scotland at the turn of the fifteenth century. On the one hand, the period saw the greatest flourishing of medieval Scottish literature and its language – Middle Scots. On the other hand, having developed from a Northumbrian variety of Middle English, Middle Scots can hardly be called Scotland’s “national language” and tends to be dismissed as “pure English and nothing else” (Ferguson, 1994, p. 45). This constitutes the paradox of fifteenth-century Scottish literature: it is regarded as distinctly native, yet its most outstanding representatives, known as the “Scottish Chaucerians,” wrote largely in emulation of an English poet, Geoffrey Chaucer in a language not markedly different from the language spoken by their English “master.” Can, then, the Scottish medieval poets be regarded as representatives of a specifically Scottish – as distinct from an English or British – literary tradition? If so, why do they insist on calling Chaucer their “master” and refer to the language of their poetry as *Inglis*?

The aim of the present paper is to contribute to the discussion on the connection between poetry and national feeling as expressed in late fifteenth-century Scottish poetry – poetry produced by the four poets traditionally labelled “Scottish Chaucerians,” i.e. King James I of Scotland, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas. The paper provides a brief outline of their poetic output and focuses on the most important thematic and stylistic markers of Scottish identity that emerge

from their poetry, which is a preliminary step towards defining the essence of “Scottishness” as rendered in late medieval literature.<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenon of “Scottish Chaucerianism” emerged in Scotland about fifty years after Chaucer’s death, in a period that is nowadays referred to as the “Augustan” or “Golden Age” of Scottish poetry. Extending from 1450 to 1550, the period witnessed a remarkable flowering of vernacular poetry in Scotland and as such has been contrasted with a particularly barren age in English literary history. It produced a large number of excellent literary figures who shared a common tradition, “different yet not totally separate from that of England” (Bawcutt, Riddy, 1987, p. x). The evidence for the existence of a rich and distinctively Scottish literary tradition which dates back to the fourteenth century can be found in William Dunbar’s *Lament for the Makaris*, where the author lists twenty one poets “of this cuntre” (l. 55).<sup>2</sup> This shows that Dunbar and other poets known as the “Scottish Chaucerians” were familiar not only with the Chaucerian courtly allegories, which they found particularly appealing, but also with the popular, alliterative, plain-style verse, derived from oral tradition.

Thus, when the term “Scottish Chaucerians” was coined in 1900 by a Scottish scholar it was with a view to differentiating Scottish poetry written in the Chaucerian tradition from that written in the non-Chaucerian alliterative verse on the one hand, and from the poetry of the “English Chaucerians” on the other hand (Bawcutt, Williams, 2006, p. 13). Accordingly, the label should not be used as an umbrella term referring collectively to all fifteenth-century Scottish poets, but only to those whose poetic output belongs to the tradition of high-style Scottish literature, i.e. literature in which the manner is as important as the matter and is thus marked by rhetorical sophistication.<sup>3</sup> It was thanks to them that at the close of the Middle Ages Scottish poetry achieved “a flowering of dazzling brilliance, which outshone almost every poetic work written in England in this period” (Gray, 2008, p. 441).

The poet who opens the list of the “Scottish Chaucerians” both in terms of chronology and the degree of involvement in the court culture is King James I of Scotland (1394-1437). The son of Richard III, he was sent into exile for protection, but was captured and spent eighteen years as a hostage at the English court. The experience of his youth – he was eleven years old at the time of his imprisonment – is said to be recounted in *The Kingis Quair* (c. 1424), regarded as the first Scottish dream vision and the first Scottish poem to openly acknowledge its debt to Chaucer.<sup>4</sup> What appealed most to James I was Chaucer’s chivalric romances with a high content of

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<sup>1</sup> My intention is to examine the poetry of the “Scottish Chaucerians,” i.e. poetry that flourished in the Lowlands at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and shows indebtedness to the poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer. Therefore, the analysis of works by other Scottish poets, who were either connected with the Highlands and the alliterative strand of poetry, such as Walter Kennedy, or those who belong to the later generation of poets, such as Sir David Lindsay, is out of the scope of the present paper.

<sup>2</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, all references to and quotations of the Middle Scots poems come from J. A. Tasioulas (ed.) *The Makars: The Poems of Henryson, Dunbar and Douglas* (1999), Edinburgh: Canongate Books.

<sup>3</sup> For a classification of different stylistic traits of Older Scots verse see A. J. Aitken (1983) and C. S. Lewis (1954).

<sup>4</sup> The relevance of *The Kingis Quair* for the discussion of the issue of Scottishness has been undermined by a number of critics who regard the poem as a product of the English, rather than the Scottish court, arguing that James I of Scotland composed it in English captivity, using Anglo-Scottish linguistic forms. See D. Fox (1983). However, the evidence of the poem testifies to the contrary for it contains a reference to the poet’s release from captivity. See KQ, ll. 173-175.

Boethian material, such as “The Knight’s Tale” and *Troilus and Criseyde*, which resulted in an interesting fusion of amatory and philosophical elements in his *Kingis Quair*.

Robert Henryson, chronologically the second of the “Scottish Chaucerians,”<sup>5</sup> wrote in the second half of the fifteenth century (during the reign of James III), but was not connected with the royal court. He is known as a rural schoolmaster, who wrote most of his poetry in Dunfermline, and in Dunbar’s *Lament for the Makars* is referred to as “maister Robert Henrisoune” (l. 82). This points to a university degree, which the poet may have obtained abroad. Henryson spent most of his life in Dunfermline, which was in the fifteenth century an important cultural institution and a prestigious burgh. It was the birthplace of Scottish monarchs and the home of a magnificent abbey, in which some of them were buried, and whose abbot was one of the most powerful men in the kingdom. It was a place of pilgrimages, frequently visited by James III and James IV, and a town bustling with activity. In such an environment Robert Henryson wrote his greatest poems – *The Fables* – and a sequel to Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* – *The Testament of Cresseid*. Henryson is also the author of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, a pastoral *Robene and Makyne* and a number of religious and moralizing poems on youth and age.

The poet has been most praised for his perceptive insight into the human condition and the realistic and sympathetic presentation of everyday life:

The lofty and the homely, the learned and the colloquial, the humorous and the ponderous are all found within his work, often blended together in a way that brings the great within the comprehension and judgement of ordinary men, and takes ordinary Scottish lives and reveals the heroism inherent in them. (Tasioulas, 1999, p. 3)

What has also been emphasised is the moral and didactic purpose behind Henryson’s poetry, which manifests itself in the equal weight the poet assigns to religious sentiments and social satire: he deprecates the corruption of the king’s government, the law court, and the church, and sides with the poor and the weak (Tasioulas, 1999, p. 4).

The next two poets, William Dunbar (c. 1460-1513) and Gavin Douglas (1476-1522), belong to a later generation and their biographies share certain similarities. Both poets were graduates of St. Andrews University, and both were ordained priests. They enjoyed royal favour and belonged to the same court circle, composing poems dedicated to King James IV (Douglas’s *The Palis of Honoure*) or referring to such formal state occasions as the marriage of James IV to Margaret Tudor (Dunbar’s *The Thrissill and the Rois*).

William Dunbar is the only “Scottish Chaucerian” whose connection with the court was based on an annual salary received by the poet for his service although scholars deem it unlikely that he was employed as a professional poet; rather, he may have worked at court as a scribe, secretary, or envoy. The poet was wholly dependent on court patronage and his poetry is addressed to a narrow social milieu: the king,

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<sup>5</sup> The exact dates of Henryson’s birth and death are not known, but they are usually accepted as c. 1420-c. 1505, the 1450s-1470s being regarded as the period of his highest poetic activity.

queen, his fellow courtiers and other members of the court, who figure prominently in Dunbar's poetry. The term the poet uses with reference to his poems is *ballatis*, which captures their short, lyrical nature: his longest poem, *The Tretis of the Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* is 530 lines long.

Dunbar has been praised for his versatility, which becomes apparent in the variety of genres he employed – the beast fable (“This hinder nyct in Dumfermeling”), the testament (“I Maister Andro Kennedy”), the debate (“In May as that Aurora did Up Spring”), the elegy (“Illuster Lodovick, of France Most Cristin King”), the dream allegory (*The Thrissill and the Rois, The Goldyn Targe*), the petition (“Schir, for your grace, bayth nicht and day”), the courtly panegyric (“Now fayre, fayrest of every fayre”), the religious verse (“Hale, sterne superne, hale, in eterne”) and comic-sardonic poems (*The Flyting of Dumbar and Kennedie*).<sup>6</sup> The stylistic range of Dunbar's poetry has earned him the name of a “showy” poet and has enabled him to express a variety of attitudes: “Through the first decade or so of the sixteenth century Dunbar could be scurrilously humorous [...], socially observant, deeply contemplative or religiously devout” (Carruthers, 2009, p. 40).

Dunbar's younger contemporary, Gavin Douglas (1476-1522), was a member of a very influential family – the Douglasses – and enjoyed the favour of King James IV. Having graduated from St Andrews University, he embarked on a clerical career and was granted the provosty of St Giles – a collegiate church in Edinburgh. Douglas's good fortune did not cease with the king's death at Flodden (1513) for the widowed queen, Margaret Tudor, was soon married to the poet's nephew, and Gavin Douglas became the bishop of Dunkeld.

The poet's greatest works belong to the early years of his career, i.e. the reign of James IV, and are infused with the spirit of court life. Douglas is best known for his *Palis of Honoure*, a dream vision based on Geoffrey Chaucer's *House of Fame*, but his major work is *The Eneados* (1513), a pioneering translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* into Scots, which – “fired by a passion to introduce vernacular readers to a great work of classical antiquity” – already anticipated the humanism of the Renaissance (Bawcutt, Riddy, 1987, p. 233).

This shows that the “Scottish Chaucerians” differed in the degree of their attachment to court, but they all – to a greater or lesser extent – participated in court culture. Even Robert Henryson, whose poetry does not proclaim a direct connection with the court and whose *Fables* were aimed at middle-class audience, possibly wrote his *Testament of Cresseid* for a more courtly audience (MacQueen, 1988, p. 205). Also, the choice of the Chaucerian material made by the Scottish poets reveals their taste for courtly poetry, especially the romance and the dream allegory, which provided the inspiration for their works: Henryson based his *Testament of Cresseid* on Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*; *The Kingis Quair* by James I of Scotland contains a number of Chaucerian echoes, which bring to mind “The Knight's Tale” and *The*

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<sup>6</sup> The problem of classifying Dunbar's poetry has long vexed his editors. In Mackenzie's edition (1932), Dunbar's poems are printed under the following headings: Personal, Petitions, Court Life, Town Life, Of Women, Allegories and Addresses, Moralising, Religious and Some Attributions. In Kinsley's edition (1979), the poems are divided into: Divine Poems, Poems of Love, Poems of Court Life, Visions and Nightmares, and Moralities. Later editors prefer to place Dunbar's poems in their alphabetical order. See P. Bawcutt (1996). Recently, J. A. Glenn has suggested a classification of Dunbar's poems according to three modes (vocative, narrative, and expository). See J. A. Glenn “Classifying Dunbar: Modes, Manners, and Styles” (2001).

*Book of the Duchess*, Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* and *The Thrissill and the Rois* show indebtedness to the *Roman de la Rose* and Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls* respectively; and Douglas's *The Palis of Honoure* contains reminiscences of Chaucer's *House of Fame*.

The fact that the "Scottish Chaucerians" were particularly fond of Chaucer's dream allegories shows two things: first of all, that the English poet was perceived in Scotland primarily as a poet of love and, secondly, that the dream vision genre flourished in Scotland "at a time when its use has deteriorated into a series of wearisome clichés in English writing" (Kratzmann, 1980, p. 28). Similarly to Chaucer, the Scottish poets used the dream vision as a vehicle for the expression of various aspects of courtliness, such as "courtly love," but the idea of love underwent serious modifications in the Scottish poems.

*The Kingis Quair* by King James I of Scotland, for instance, which is regarded as the first Scottish dream vision, contains such a number of direct verbal reminiscences of Chaucer's poems that it can hardly exist independently of its sources,<sup>7</sup> and yet the perspective on love it offers is markedly different from Chaucer's. Both poets comment on the changing fortunes of courtly lovers, but whereas in Chaucer's poetry the lover's initial happiness often turns into sorrow caused by the death of the male lover ("The Knight's Tale"), the death of his beloved (*The Book of the Duchess*) or betrayal (*Troilus and Criseyde*), in the Scottish poem (*The Kingis Quair*) the initial separation of the lovers ends in their reunion. This shows that James I of Scotland does not reject earthly love as destructive and immoral – which was often the case in Chaucer's poetry – but reconciles it with Christian morality and gives credit to human experience in this world, which seems to have more in common with the Renaissance outlook on human existence.

Similarly, *The Testament of Cresseid* by Robert Henryson, indebted as it is to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, departs significantly from the English work in taking the readers' attention away from Troilus's feelings to focus on Cresseid and her suffering, which is truly revolutionary. Chaucer ends his poem with Cresseid's departure to the Greek camp and her betrayal of Troilus for Diomedes. Henryson describes the heroine's estrangement from her Greek lover and her affliction with leprosy and in this way provides the Chaucerian text with a conclusion. Both poems end with a painful realization that comes through suffering: Chaucer concludes that all earthly love is mutable and hence not to be trusted; Henryson, on the other hand, does not condemn all earthly love, but only one based on falsehood.

William Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* and *The Thrissill and the Rois* both place the theme of love in a wider context of social interaction – the relations between men and women (*The Goldyn Targe*) and those between the king and his subjects (*The Thrissill and the Rois*),<sup>8</sup> which was characteristic of the Scottish treatment of love,

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<sup>7</sup> *The Kingis Quair* is regarded by some as representative of the first phase of "Scottish Chaucerianism," characterized by deliberate and direct imitation of Chaucer's works. See A. W. Ward, A. R. Waller (1920, p. 244).

<sup>8</sup> For almost forty years in the fifteenth century and for more than half of the sixteenth century the power in Scotland was in the hands of governors, and not the king, which led to a concern with power and responsibilities of kingship, reflected in "the advice to princes" literature. It is the public and political context of much of late medieval Scottish literature that is nowadays regarded as the most distinctive aspect of its "Scottishness." See R. J. Lyall (1991, p. 42).

examined in Scottish literature “within a consciously public context” (Mapstone, 1997, p. 53). Also, Gavin Douglas in *The Palis of Honoure* diverges significantly from Chaucer’s presentation of the issue of honour and replaces Chaucer’s secular standpoint with a religious perspective: he focuses on the stability of heavenly glory, whereas Chaucer insists on the instability of earthly fame.<sup>9</sup>

The changes introduced by the Scottish poets, such as a greater focus on the humanist values on the one hand, and the fusion of amatory and political concerns on the other, are expressive of both the new Renaissance spirit and of the Scottish voice in poetry, and as such they testify to the uniqueness of Scottish poetry at the turn of the fifteenth century. Other markers of national distinctiveness in fifteenth century Scottish poetry include particularities of imagery and style used by the Scottish poets, such as the abundant use of alliteration.

While Chaucer uses alliteration incidentally and for the sake of variety and emphasis, usually in heroic contexts,<sup>10</sup> his Scottish followers make extensive and systematic use of alliteration and in this way help reshape the courtly tradition. One of the most heavily alliterated fragments in Scottish poetry is Robert Henryson’s description of Saturn, a planetary god associated in medieval literature with “an overwhelming power for evil” (Curry, 1926, p. 128), who appears to the heroine of *The Testament of Cresseid* in her dream in order to pronounce sentence on her:

His face fronsit, his lyre was lyke the leid,	<i>wrinkled; complexion; lead</i>
His teith chatterit, and cheverit with the chin ...	<i>shivered</i>
Atovir his belt his lyart lokkis lay	<i>over; grey</i>
Felterit unfair, ovirfret with froistis hoir. ...	<i>tangled; horribly; matted;</i>
	<i>white frost</i>
Under his girdill ane flasche of felloun flanis,	<i>belt; sheaf; cruel; arrows</i>
Fedderit with ice and heidit with hailstanis.	<i>feathered; tipped;</i>
	<i>hailstones</i>

(Test, ll. 155-168)

Due to the accumulation of fricatives which emphasise the god’s “cold wintery hostility” (Wormald, 1981, p. 65), Henryson’s description of the icy Saturn strikes the note of particular harshness and is regarded as one of the markers of the poet’s originality.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For a more detailed examination of the Scottish poets’ indebtedness to Chaucer’s love allegories see my unpublished doctoral dissertation: *Dreaming of Love: The Evolution of the Courtly Love Theme in the Dream Poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer and the Scottish Chaucerians*, The Pedagogical University of Cracow, 2009.

<sup>10</sup> In “The Knight’s Tale,” for instance, Chaucer seems to imitate the clash of arms in his alliterative description of the fight between Arcite and Palamon (KnT, ll. 1741-55). One of his Scottish followers, Robert Henryson, uses alliteration also in mock-heroic contexts, such as the description of the dogs chasing the fox in *The Cock and the Fox*, where alliteration conveys the excitement of the chase: “With that, but baid [*without delay*], thay braidet [*darted*] over the bent [*field*]; / As fyre of flint [*fire from a flint*] thay over the feildis flaw [*flew*]” (ll. 551-552). The corresponding fragment in Chaucer’s “The Nun’s Priest’s Tale” is much less heavily alliterated (NPT, ll. 3375-3401). Reference to Chaucer throughout is to Larry D. Benson (ed.) (1988), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>11</sup> By way of contrast, Chaucer’s syllabic description of “pale Saturnus the colde” (l. 2443) in “The Knight’s Tale” is less frightening.

The alliterative and the syllabic traditions, which entailed the use of different techniques and vocabularies, were to a large extent kept separate in England. In Scotland, on the other hand, they make a unique fusion and, in fact, “one of the distinguishing marks of Middle Scots verse [...] is the way in which poets have access to both the alliterative and the syllabic traditions” (Fox, 1983, p. 114). Whenever alliterative poetry gives way to non-alliterative verse in Scottish poetry, it is not without a purpose, as illustrated in the concluding lines of Dunbar’s allegorical vision – *The Goldyn Targe*. In the poem Dunbar takes up the theme of love overpowering reason, which is allegorically rendered through a description of a group of female deities (which personify various feminine qualities) assaulting the passive dreamer who hides behind Reason’s shield, or *targe*. Unable to resist the fierce onslaught of love, the dreamer unwillingly yields to the lady’s charms only to be estranged from her, which is signified by the departure of the company of predatory women, described in the fragment below:

In twynklyng of ane eye to schip thai went,	
And swyth up saile unto the top thai stent,	<i>at once; masthead; raised</i>
And with swift course atour the flude thai frak.	<i>over; sea; sped</i>
Thai fyrir gunnis with powder violent,	<i>fired; gunpowder</i>
Till that the reke raise to the firmament.	<i>smoke;</i>
The rochis all resownyt wyth the rak,	<i>cliffs; resounded; gunfire</i>
For rede it semyt that the raynbow brak.	<i>noise; broke</i>
Wyth spirit affrayde apou my fete I sprent,	<i>leapt</i>
Amang the clewis, so careful was the crak.	<i>cliffs; distressing; sound</i>
	<i>of explosives</i>

(GT, ll. 235-243)

The uncourtly, unpleasant diction of the fragment, characterized by ample use of heavily alliterated, northern vocabulary intensifies the effect of swift movement at the moment of the ladies’ departure.<sup>12</sup> This is contrasted with a courtly, melodious diction, employed in the following stanza to emphasise the languour of the dream landscape. Having found out that love is a “hell-like experience” (Bawcutt, 1996, p. 407), the dreamer wakes up, as if from a nightmare, in a pleasant spring landscape:

And as I did awake of my sweving,	<i>vision</i>
The joyfull birdis merily did syng	
For myrth of Phebus tender bemes schene.	
Swete war the vapouris, soft the morowing,	<i>mists; morning</i>
Halesum the vale depaynt wyth flouris ying,	<i>wholesome; decorated</i>
The air attemperit, sobir and amene.	<i>temperate; mild; delightful</i>
In quhite and rede was all the felde besene,	<i>white; arrayed;</i>
Throu Naturis nobil fresch anamalyng,	<i>enamelling</i>
In mirthfull May of eviry moneth quene.	

(GT, ll. 244-252)

<sup>12</sup> In the first stanza of the fragment quoted above, the poet employs nine northern words out of the total of 25 in the whole poem of 31 stanzas. See A. J. Aitken (1983).

The coexistence of the alliterative and non-alliterative forms of verse, and the continuous shifting between them within one poem is one of the most distinguishing features of the Scottish late medieval poetry. According to one of the critics, “[a]lliterative effects are to be found occasionally in English poetry of the same period, but there is no equivalent to the Scots’ poets thorough and imaginative exploitation of the technique” (Kratzmann, 1980, p. 9).

Another distinctively native characteristic of the Scottish poetry is its wintry setting, which contrasts markedly with the May morning garden landscape typical of Middle French and Middle English love allegories. Gavin Douglas, for instance, starts Prologue VII to *The Eneados* with a description of the sun approaching the winter solstice and “frawart [*perverse*] Saturn” sending snow and frost to deprive nature of its beauty:

The soyl ysowpit into watir wak,	<i>soaked; moist</i>
The firmament ourcast with rokis blak,	<i>overcast; clouds</i>
The grond fadyt, and fawch wolx all the feildis,	<i>ground; pale brownish-yellow; became</i>
Montane toppis slekit with snaw ourheildis;	<i>smoothed; are covered</i>
On raggit rolkis of hard harsk quhyn stane	<i>rough and jagged; crags; harsh; whinstone</i>
With frosyn frontis cauld clynty clewis schane.	<i>surfaces; stony; cliffs; glittered</i>
Bewte was lost, and barrand schew the landis,	<i>barren; appeared; woodland clearings</i>
With frostis hair ourfret the felids standis.	<i>greyish-white; covered</i>

(*Eneados*, Prologue VII, ll. 35-42)<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, the wintry images depicted by the Scottish poets often bring to mind hell:

Seir bittir bubbis and the schowris snell	<i>several; blasts; severe</i>
Semyt on the sward a symylitude of hell,	<i>turf</i>
Reducyng to our mynd, in every sted,	<i>bringing</i>
Gousty schaddois of eild and grisly ded.	<i>dismal; old age; death</i>

(*Eneados*, Prologue VII, ll. 43-46)

In the same Prologue Douglas describes how before going to bed he wrapped up his head, “kest on clathis thrynfald [*threw on three times as many bed-clothes*] / Fortil expel the peralus persand cald” (*Eneados*, Prologue VII, ll. 95-96).

The references to the country’s own manners, customs, and climate which form the background of Scottish medieval poetry constitute a uniquely Scottish contribution to late medieval literature (Alexander, 2007, p. 72). According to David Daiches, “the Scottish medieval poets were the first in Europe to move away from the idealized Mediterranean setting of so much European literature and treat realistically of nature as they knew it” (1975, p. 511).

<sup>13</sup> Quoted from P. Bawcutt, F. Riddy (1987, p. 237).



Equally important as the poets' references to the landscapes of Scotland are their references to its tongue, especially those found in Douglas's poetry. It was Gavin Douglas who in his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* into Middle Scots first used the term *Scottis* to describe the national language of Scotland and to differentiate it from *Inglis*.<sup>14</sup> It is in his *Eneados*, regarded as "one of the first documents in which the medium of Scots is used as a symbol of nationhood," that the appreciation of the classics is first coupled with a defence of the Scots language (Corbett, 1999, p. 42). Douglas distances himself from English writers and translators of the classics, such as William Caxton, and argues that his translation can clarify Virgil's passages and, being "[w]ritten in the langage of the Scottish natioun" – i.e. language "braid and playne" [*broad and plain*] – it can make Virgil's poem available to a wider audience.

Douglas's translation, however, inasmuch as it was a seminal step forward in pointing out the difference between the language of the Scottish and the English nations, is nevertheless a work of the Renaissance rather than the late Middle Ages and as such it is not indicative of the attitude the remaining "Scottish Chaucerians" had towards the issue of "Scottishness" as expressed through linguistic means.

Robert Henryson and William Dunbar, for instance, were far from emphasising the difference between their Scottish language and the "suddroun" of the English nation; they "paid little heed to the political frontier between England and Scotland, and recognized a single language-community, transcending local ones" (Bawcutt, 1996, p. 5). They used to treat English as their own language and, accordingly, regarded Chaucer as their master – the father of Scottish as well as English poetry. In *The Goldyn Targe* Dunbar praises Chaucer, saying: "O reverend [*revered*] Chaucere [*Chaucer*], rose of rethoris [*poets*] all / (As in *oure* tong [*tongue*] ane flour [*flower*] imperiall [*pre-eminent*])" and again calls him "of *our* Inglisch [*English*] all the lycht [*light*]" (GT, ll. 253-259; emphasis mine). Thus, when the poets refer to "our tongue" they mean English in general: its southern (Middle English) and northern (Middle Scots) branches, which is how the term was used before Gavin Douglas differentiated between the two varieties of language in his *Eneados*, making an important ideological statement.

If language was not yet seen as a marker of national difference in the poetry of the "Scottish Chaucerians," what contributed to the distinctively Scottish character of their poetry? Apart from the internal features of Scottish poetry (style, imagery, thematic concerns), it is also the attitude of the Scottish poets towards the poetic tradition to which they were greatly indebted, i.e. the English and especially the Chaucerian tradition, that needs to be taken into account, and the question that needs to be answered here is: why were the Scottish poets so proud to admit their debt to Chaucer's poetry?

What seems to have appealed to the "Scottish Chaucerians" in the Chaucerian tradition is that it was a tradition written in the vernacular by a poet who lent respectability to Middle English and elevated it to the level of a poetic language at

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<sup>14</sup> The term *Inglis* denotes a northern descendant of Anglo-Saxon, which was brought to Scotland by incomers from the north of England and which by the fourteenth century became the dominant language of southern and eastern Scotland. At that time it did not differ much from northern Middle English, but in the course of the fifteenth century it developed its own distinctive features of phonology, spelling, and vocabulary. It also became a prestige literary language; used by the "Scottish Chaucerians" in their poetry the term *Scottis* was reserved for Gaelic. See P. Bawcutt, F. Riddy (1987, p. XV).

a time when French was still widely used in England as the language of government, law and literature. In the closing stanzas of *Troilus and Criseyde* Chaucer points to “so gret diversite / In Englissh” (TC, V. 1793-1794) and expresses a hope that the poem will not be subject to misinterpretation, which has been perceived as an extraordinarily bold statement in favour of “the triumph of English” made by the poet who helped to establish the London dialect as the standard literary language (Kumar, 2003, p. 55). According to Basil Cottle, “the most exciting thing about the period is not the drums and trappings of the futile war with France, or the sorry strife of peasants, or the division of religious sectaries, but the redemption of [the English] language” (1969, p. 15).

Chaucer’s use of the vernacular, however, was not limited to native forms of expression, but extended to a variety of different genres, many of which were adopted from the French and Italian literary traditions. That is why his Scottish followers referred to him as “the Grant translateur,” underlining what was for them Chaucer’s greatest achievement – the assimilation of continental poetic forms and techniques into English poetry (Kratzmann, 1980, p. 24). They hoped to achieve in their language what Chaucer achieved in his and were thus willing to draw from the well of Chaucer’s poetic achievement in order to authorise their own title to fame. In this way, the great debt the Scottish poets owe to Chaucer does not make them less Scottish since the evidence of their poetry shows that they “drew on the southern literary tradition without feeling their own national identity was being compromised” (Corbett, 1999, p. 83). The use of the English language, then, as a means of expressing the Scottish spirit in literature does not undermine the “Scottishness” of that literature for, as Mary Jane Scott points out, “Scottishness is a stubborn thing. It is not simply a matter of language or locale. It takes more than a Scottish birth-certificate, or a vocabulary sprinkled with Scotticisms, to make a Scottish poet” (cited in Korzeniowska, 2008, p. 95).

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## **IRISH GAELIC – THE LOST TREASURE?**

### **Abstract**

Ireland is the country that has almost lost its language, as the number of people speaking Irish Gaelic keeps declining all the time. The article discusses the history of the Irish language, showing what caused such a situation. It also describes attempts by Irish people, organisations and the government to preserve and promote the national language.

**Key words:** Gaelic revival, heritage, language preservation, Gaeltacht, Gaelscoileana

### **1. Introduction**

National language is an essential component not only of every culture but also the nation as a whole. As Pat Carey (b.1947)<sup>15</sup> says, language is “an important part of who we are. It is an important part of where we have come from and where we are going” (2011). Together with the history of a country, its culture and traditions it defines people as a nation. If the use of a given language declines and, for some reason, it is spoken as the first language by a minority of the inhabitants of the country, it is practically impossible to fully revive it.

Ireland, the country occupied and controlled by its neighbour for several centuries, almost lost its language. Although Irish Gaelic has the status of the first official language of the Republic of Ireland and remains a required subject of study in all schools within the Republic, in recent times the standard of spoken Irish has declined so much that the present day “may represent the most critical moment for generations in the story of the ‘first official language’” (Waters, 2006). Efforts are made to preserve it but it seems to be the battle that is extremely hard to win.

### **2. The Celts – the first speakers of the Irish language**

The national language of Ireland, Irish Gaelic, is a Goidelic language of Indo-European language family. It is one of the Celtic languages used in the British Isles by the Celtic tribes inhabiting the area. The Celts started to arrive in Ireland around 500 BC. Scientists argue whether their arrival was an invasion or a gradual assimilation. Nevertheless, it is known that they were coming over the course of several centuries and in such large numbers that they changed the existing culture.

The tribes which lived in Ireland during the period known as *Hallstatt*<sup>16</sup> spoke the Gaelic language, which later became one of the most important Celtic languages. Within a few hundred years both the language and the culture of the people using it

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<sup>15</sup> Pat Carey was the Irish Minister for Community, Equality and Gaeltacht Affairs in the years 2010-2011.

<sup>16</sup> The *Hallstatt* period was named after the archeological site in present-day Austria, where a lot of Celtic relics were found. It dates back to the time around 700-500 B.C. During that time Celts discovered steel and started to produce steel weapons and tools (Green, 1992).

spread across the entire island and, in time, Gaelic became the predominant language of all the people living on the island, the language the Irish spoke for most of their recorded history (O'Rourke Murphy, MacKillop, 2006, p. 3).

Not much is known about the language that existed in pre-Christian times as there are no written records from that period. There are only tales which were passed down orally by bards and poets and copied centuries later.

The first written Irish, *ogham*, appeared in the late fourth century A.D. This stage of the language is known as Primitive Irish. *Ogham* inscriptions, a series of grooves, were often commemorative and gave the name of a person. They have been found on stones, mostly along the south coast of Ireland.<sup>17</sup> The evidence from early Irish sagas and legends indicates that *ogham* was used not only for monumental inscriptions but also for short messages on wood or metal. It may have been used to keep records or lists, such as genealogies or business transactions (Ó Murchú, 1993, pp. 471-490).

Transition to Old Irish took place throughout the fifth century. In the sixth century, when most of the island accepted Christianity, the Irish started to use Latin alphabet. The only Old Irish documents that were written down at the time they were created, therefore reached us in the original form, are Irish glosses to Latin religious or grammatical texts. While copying Latin manuscripts Irish monks added comments in Gaelic in the margins of books. Poetry is also found scattered in such manuscripts. Most texts, dated 700-850 AD, were transmitted to us in much later manuscripts. The oldest books of miscellaneous literature, *Lebor na hUidre (Book of the Dun Cow)* and *Book of Leinster*, appeared in the 12<sup>th</sup> century but contain texts which must have been created much earlier. It is evident from the forms of words and content that they must have been orally transmitted for centuries before they were written down (Koch, 2006, pp. 830-835).

By the tenth century the language evolved. It was not only the language spoken throughout Ireland, but also the language of literature, including the famous collections of Celtic myths. The four great mythological cycles: the Ulster Cycle, the Mythological Cycle, the Fenian Cycle and the Historical Cycle, which are preserved in medieval or later manuscripts, describe much older, pre-Christian times.

### **3. Anglo-Normans in Ireland**

In the twelfth century the Anglo-Norman lords started coming to Ireland. They first came invited by one of the Irish kings<sup>18</sup> to help solve a local conflict. Henry II (1133-1189) had been given permission by the Pope to claim Ireland as part of his kingdom, but he was not strong enough to start war in Ireland, so he allowed his barons to go. They were promised land in return for their help, so some areas in Ireland started to be ruled by Anglo-Norman lords. Then, in 1171 Henry II came to Ireland with a strong army and soon vassalised most Irish kings. In the area that had been secured by the Anglo-Normans colonisation took place. Agricultural estates were established and market towns were built to which settlers from Norman areas arrived.

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<sup>17</sup> There are roughly 400 *ogham* inscriptions on stone monuments throughout Ireland and western Britain (O'Kelly, 1989, p. 251).

<sup>18</sup> In Celtic period there were from 100 to 200 kings, ruling small kingdoms, who accepted the authority of overlords, ruling a number of local kings, and kings of provinces. There were between 4 and 10 provinces, including Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught (Koch, 2006).

The Irish still lived and worked on the estates, but many members of Irish aristocracy lost their lands.

The Anglo-Norman conquest started a period of bilingualism. Irish Gaelic remained the main language, but English was needed to deal with administrative and legal affairs. Gradually, the cultural divide between the Irish and the descendants of Norman settlers grew smaller. Anglo-Norman lords started to speak the Irish language, patronised Gaelic poetry and music. This Gaelicisation of the Normans worried the authorities, so in 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny were passed, banning those of English descent from speaking the Irish language, wearing Irish clothes or intermarrying with the Irish (Ó Murchú, 1992, pp. 35-39).

#### **4. After the English Reformation**

The English Reformation changed the situation both in England and in Ireland. Introducing new religion, Henry VIII (1491-1547) wanted to make not only England but also Ireland a Protestant country. However, the English did not manage to convert the Irish to Protestantism and most of the inhabitants of the island remained Catholic. That is why, during the reigns of Elizabeth I (1533-1603) and James I (1566-1625) there were several bloody conflicts<sup>19</sup> in Ireland, during which many Irish Catholics were killed. English success in those conflicts helped the authorities establish real control over Ireland and brought a centralised form of government to the entire island. Full conquest of the island was followed by the process of colonisation, known as Plantations. Scottish and English Protestants were sent as colonists to the provinces of Munster and Ulster and the counties of Laois and Offaly. The settlers formed the ruling class of future British administration in Ireland. A series of Penal Laws were passed and Irish Catholics were barred from public offices, legal professions, the army and from the Parliament of Ireland. There were bans on Gaelic traditions, Irish music and poetry. Elizabethan officials also viewed the use of Irish unfavourably. They considered it to be a threat to all things English in Ireland. Thus, in 1536 the law was passed prohibiting using the Irish language, which began the decline of the language. Those who aspired to succeed in the new system abandoned Irish and adopted the English language and culture.

The Penal Laws, eliminating the Irish-speaking aristocracy, were at the heart of British policy imposed upon Ireland. The ruling class, known as the Protestant Ascendancy (1691-1778), kept passing laws restricting religious, political and economic activity of Irish Catholics. At the same time the Protestant settlers tried to confiscate more land by questioning the land titles of native Irish and as punishment for non-attendance at Protestant services. The widespread confiscations provoked armed resistance, which led to a civil war in Ireland and ended in complete dispossession of Catholic land elite. The landowning class became almost purely English-speaking, which degraded the status of Irish.

In the seventeenth century English gradually started to replace the Irish language in most parts of the country, as economically or politically interested people preferred to use English rather than Irish. Moreover, the knowledge of English was necessary to solve legal or administrative problems. Soon English became the only

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<sup>19</sup> The Desmond Rebellion of 1569-1573 and 1579-1583, and the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill during the Nine Years' War (1594-1603).

language of political, administrative, economic and commercial life. Together with the language the Gaelic way of life started to disappear. From the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when some Penal Laws were repealed<sup>20</sup> and a greater social and political mobility became possible for the native Irish, the more prosperous members of the Irish-speaking community, Catholic middle class, the Catholic church and intellectuals adopted not only the English language but also an anglicized way of life (Ó Murchú, 1992, p. 42).

## 5. After the Union with Great Britain

Before 1800, the year when Ireland was united with Great Britain,<sup>21</sup> two languages had been used as spoken languages: English and Irish. However, there was only one written language – English. In the nineteenth century Irish became the language used only by the rural population. It was used by the Irish peasants, who generally could not read and write.

The state system of education, introduced in the 1830s, accelerated the advance of English even among the poor peasantry. Elementary education started to be available for everybody<sup>22</sup> and reduced illiteracy, but children were taught to write and speak English only. Irish was banned not only from the classrooms but also playgrounds outside the school.

Using Irish became the sign of low status. Those of Irish-speaking community who achieved prosperity or education began to adopt English since it was the language associated with their new status. Except for Gaeltacht areas, more and more people in Ireland did not speak Irish. An Irish scholar of the English language Douglas Hyde (1860-1949)<sup>23</sup> commented on the situation saying that “the old people invariably use Irish in addressing their children, and the children [...] answer in English [...] understanding the Irish but not speaking it.”

Although the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland reached the level of bilingualism, there was no serious decline in the Irish-speaking population. The English language had settled in people's daily lives, but the total shift to English was observed only in urban areas. Until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Irish language was still the language of the majority of the rural population.

A dramatic decrease in the number of speakers of Irish occurred in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the years 1845-1852 Ireland suffered the Great Famine, which drastically reduced the population of Irish speakers, as the disaster severely hit rural areas of the island. Historians estimate that more than a million people died of starvation and diseases. In addition during and after the Famine about a million people emigrated, causing the island's population to fall between 20% and 25% (Kineally, 1994, p. 342). The Irish-speaking areas were not only the most gravely affected by the Famine but also supplied most of the emigrants. As a result by the end of the century

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<sup>20</sup> Catholic Relief Acts of 1771, 1773 and 1793 replaced some penal laws.

<sup>21</sup> The Act of Union united two formally separate kingdoms. Before the union the kingdom of Ireland was ruled by the British monarch. Its government, headed by Lord Lieutenant, was responsible to the government of Great Britain.

<sup>22</sup> National schools provided education for children between 6 and 12.

<sup>23</sup> Douglas Hyde was an Irish scholar of the Irish language, founder of the Gaelic League, author and politician. In the years 1938-1945 he served as the first president of the Republic of Ireland

the language was spoken by less than 15% of the Irish population. Since then, except for the Gaeltacht areas, Irish speakers have been in minority (Price, 2000, p. 10).

### 5.1. Gaelic Revival

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland a strong tendency to get back to the national roots was observed. That period, called the Gaelic Revival, witnessed a variety of movements promoting Irish Gaelic culture (including folklore, sport and music) and the Irish language. This interest in Ireland's Gaelic heritage was also associated with the growth of Irish nationalism. The sense of national identity and the pride in being Irish started to grow.

Cultural nationalism was strongly supported by Irish writers and poets. They became interested in folklore as a part of Irish national heritage as they wanted to revive Gaelic identity. The renaissance was initiated by the retelling of ancient heroic legends in books such as *The History of Ireland* (1880) by Standish O'Grady (1846-1928) or *A Literary History of Ireland* (1899) by Douglas Hyde. In 1888 William Butler Yeats (1865-1939) published *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*<sup>24</sup>, which was followed by Douglas Hyde's publication of a collection of folklore, entitled *Beside the Fire* (1892).

In 1892 W. B. Yeats, D. Hyde, Thomas William Hazen Rolleston (1856-1920) and Charles Gavon Duffy (1816-1903) set up the Irish Literary Society in London and the National Literary Society in Dublin. The societies developed a proposal for the New Irish Library, a series of books to honour Irish culture. It was announced in Stopford Brooke's (1832-1916) inaugural lecture on "The Need and Use of Getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue." They aimed at publicising legends and folklore of Ireland to revive and preserve Irish customs and culture. At the same time they planned to develop Irish literature.

Anglicisation was responsible for the fact that most members of the literary elite did not know the Irish language. Those who eventually had learnt it, like Yeats or John Millington Synge (1871-1909),<sup>25</sup> and even those who were native speakers of Irish<sup>26</sup>, still wrote their works in English. Either they did not consider the Irish language a vital part of their culture or could not use it for literature. Yeats explained: "Gaelic is my national language but not my mother tongue" (1961, p. 520). Another reason for not publishing in Irish could be the fact that everything written in English created a larger audience.

To encourage the development of national literature Yeats, Lady Gregory (1852-1932), George Russel (1867-1935) and Edward Martyn (1859-1923) announced their intention of establishing a national theatre in Ireland. In 1899 Yeats published *Manifesto for Irish Literary Theatre*, in which he stated that their main goal was "to build up a Celtic and Irish school of dramatic literature" (after Grene, 2007, p. 213). In 1903 they founded the Irish National Theatre Society, and the Abbey Theatre was

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<sup>24</sup> The book was prepared in cooperation with G. Russel and D. Hyde. It was a compilation of pieces by various authors from the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>25</sup> Yeats tried to learn Irish in 1898 and 1899 but did not master it. Synge, the key figure in the Irish Literary Revival, studied Irish at the Trinity College in Dublin in the years 1888-1892 and later, in 1897, during his stay in the Aran Islands.

<sup>26</sup> William Carleton (1794-1869), the son of a Catholic tenant farmer, brought up in an Irish-speaking village. He was a writer and novelist.



opened by the Society in 1904. The founders intended to stage plays of Irish dramatists and to encourage new playwrights to produce works that, as Yeats proclaimed, “will reflect the life of Ireland.”<sup>27</sup>

Plays that were staged either commented on the present situation in the country or referred to Irish history and mythology, introducing the audience to characters from Irish folk tales and legends. Yeats himself wrote a number of plays for the theatre, most notably *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902)<sup>28</sup>, which was staged on the opening night of the theatre, on 27 December 1904 (Ryan, 1979).

Works based on Gaelic themes and written in the spirit of Irish culture were to show that the Irish culture was distinct from the English one. It contributed to the formation of the new sense of national identity and confidence. The Irish realised that they had their own history and rich culture. However, preoccupied with recovering the Gaelic heritage, the majority of those involved in the literary revival movement did not see the connection between the culture and the language. Yeats and other dramatists wrote their plays in English but did not support the struggle for the language preservation.

There was a small group of Irish scholars and writers concerned about the decline of the Irish language; they regarded the language as the cornerstone of Irish identity. They believed that giving up the native language would mean abandoning the native culture as well. In 1843, in an article in a newly founded nationalist weekly *The Nation*, Thomas Davis (1814-1845) declared that Irish was “the national language” and encouraged learning and using Irish. In 1876 the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was established and in 1878 it succeeded in obtaining a place for the Irish language in the programme of “national schools.” However, very few schools started to teach Irish, so it seems that either the methods of agitation were ineffective or the Society did not have much public influence.

One of the first scholars who understood the value of the Irish language and wanted to keep the language spoken in the whole country was Douglas Hyde. He believed that it was a vital element of the nation's mind and decided to do everything to keep the Irish language, both spoken and written, alive. In 1892, during his lecture entitled “The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland,” Hyde informed that the Irish people had become almost completely anglicised and this could only be reversed through building up the language. The next year Hyde with the help of Eugene O'Growney (1863-1899), Eoin MacNeill (1867-1945) and Thomas O'Neill Russel (1828-1908) founded the Gaelic League, which became the leading institution promoting the use of Irish in everyday life and campaigning to have Irish included in the school curriculum. They wanted to gain recognition for Irish at every level of the education system, from primary school level to university.

They were convinced that the Irish literary revival opposed the aims of the League, as its leaders allowed the Irish literary output to be dominated by the English language and in this way they let the nation's “lifeblood, the language ebb almost away” (Brennan 1969, p. 76). As Essen notices, the life of a language is closely related to its use in literature. As literature is one of the main media that use language, it has

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<sup>27</sup> Yates, “An Irish National Theatre.” Retrieved from: [www.factstaff.bucknell.edu/ricard/nationaltheatre.pdf](http://www.factstaff.bucknell.edu/ricard/nationaltheatre.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> The play centres on the 1798 rebellion and encourages the Irish to sacrifice their lives for separate and independent Irish state. The heroine became the symbol of the nationalist movement in Ireland.

the power to keep it alive. The fact that the literary revival included authors who either chose to use English or were brought up without the Irish language undermined all efforts to keep the native language alive (Essen, 2006, pp. 40-46).

That is why Hyde worked to encourage the use of Irish in literature. Although he was not a native speaker of Irish, he published his works in Irish or published the original along with its English translation. Other members of the Gaelic League: Patrick Pearse (1879-1916), Eoin MacNeill and Eugene O'Growney also wrote in Irish. The League sponsored the publications of contemporary verse and prose written in the native language, believing that their appearance would have great impact on the status of the Irish language.

From the very beginning the Gaelic League was engaged in a wide educational programme. They organised language classes, summer courses of Irish, Irish-speaking social gatherings and taught native speakers of Irish to read and write. Travelling teachers visited all parts of the country and encouraged the formation of Irish language classes. Members of the League did linguistic research thanks to which they introduced a standardised way of writing the language. All the time they put pressure on the state to introduce bilingual programmes in Irish schools. They were successful in 1904, as the use of Irish as a medium of instruction was permitted in schools in Irish-speaking districts. In 1905 the first college for training teachers was established. As a result by 1916 roughly half of the Gaeltacht schools were using Irish as the language of instruction (Grote, 1994).

However, the Gaelic League was not influential enough to force other changes as it had no support from any authority until 1922, when the Irish Free State<sup>29</sup> emerged as an independent country. That changed the situation of all the inhabitants of the island and the situation of the Irish language.

## **6. The situation of the Irish language in the Irish Free State and the Republic of Ireland**

From the foundation of the Irish Free State the Irish language was to play a central role in the shaping of the new Irish state. In 1922 it was officially recognised as the “national” language. Although not many people knew the language, the Irish Constitution stated that of the country's two official languages Irish was the first and English the second language. Therefore, the government began the policy to reinstate Irish through the state system, the system of education, and to help preserve the Gaeltacht areas.

Laws and all types of official documents started to be published in both languages. As the new government continued to use English as its primary language, the laws and other documents were written in English and then translated into Irish. Because of the language's status as the nation's “first language” it was officially accepted in courts, so judges had to give their verdicts in English and Irish, although proceedings never took place in Irish. Irish terms were adopted for the titles of public figures and organisations.

In education bilingualism became compulsory and all schools had to teach English and Irish, although for the vast majority it was taught as a foreign language. In

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<sup>29</sup> The Irish Free State had a status of a dominion and was a member of the Commonwealth. It had its own parliament and government, but recognised the British monarch as the head of the state.

1922 the First Official Language Requirement was passed and all secondary school students had to pass the Irish language exam in order to receive a secondary school certificate. Proficiency in Irish was also required for people appointed to civil service positions and all employed in the public sector were expected to provide effective service for people using Irish.

The efforts of the new state were significant, but, as Essen notices, they did not have the effect they could have had in the 19th century, when the Irish language was still used for communication by a large part of the population (Essen, 2006, p. 45). By the 1940s it started to be obvious that the Irish language would not be easily restored as the spoken language of all the inhabitants of Ireland. Although the state made various provisions for the maintenance and promotion of the Irish language, the erosion continued in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. In 1974, partly because of the protests of the Language Freedom Movement, the law was changed and proficiency in one official language for entrance to the public service was required.

One may wonder why the government failed in all the areas which had been regarded as of the utmost importance. It seems there is no one answer to that question. It is obvious that in the age of international commerce and communication English is the most prevalent language worldwide, so one must know English to function in the world. Additionally, if there is no public awareness of the importance of a language, many people will not bother to make an effort to acquire the language which may be “national” but not known by the majority and not used in the world.

The spelling reforms of 1945 and 1947 could have contributed to the decline of the language. The reforms simplified the language and adopted Roman letters in place of Gaelic scripts but caused some people to have difficulty in reading the news and literature. It could have discouraged them from reading and perhaps from teaching their children Irish.

The government relied too heavily on the educational system in its attempts to halt the decay of Irish. Learning Irish was made compulsory, the school curriculum focused on teaching Irish, but outside school it was rarely spoken, and English was the dominant language for all purposes. Students learnt to obtain good results in examinations but did not want to or could not use it in communication.

After gaining independence people who had previously worked for the revival of the language placed the burden to restore the Irish language on the government. The number of societies involved in the language promotion programmes decreased, as it was generally believed that it was the responsibility of the state to guarantee the use of the national language. It seemed obvious that the government would have no problems in doing it through its institutions.

However, not everything worked as it as it had been assumed. Neither the Gaeltacht areas nor the state system of education improved the situation of the Irish language.

### **6.1. The situation in the Gaeltacht areas**

An important part of the government policy to restore the language was the conservation of the Irish-speaking areas – *Gaeltachtaí*. The existence of areas where Irish is a community language was an important element in building the Irish-speaking society, as it provided an environment where the language could grow naturally.

During the early years of the Irish Free State the first Gaeltacht Commission was formed and in 1926 districts which were inhabited by a high percentage of Irish speakers were officially recognised. The exact boundaries of those areas were not defined. The commission only stated that there were Irish-speaking or semi-Irish-speaking districts in 15 of its 26 counties.

However, in the 1950s another commission excluded many areas which had witnessed a decline in the native language. They left five areas in seven of the state's 26 counties. The Gaeltacht boundaries have not been officially changed since that year, although the erosion of Irish in those areas was noticed by the authorities. It started to be obvious that the policy implemented by the state had no effect (Ó Giollagáin, Mac Donnacha et. al., 2007, pp. 8-9).

In 2002 the third commission was formed to assess the vitality of the Irish language in the remaining Gaeltacht areas. In its report the commission stated that in some Gaeltacht areas Irish had ceased to be a community language and even in the strongest Gaeltacht areas bilingualism leads to the dominance of English. It warned the government that it was only a matter of time before Gaeltacht disappeared, and recommended a new language policy.<sup>30</sup>

To assess the situation of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht areas researchers from the National University of Ireland undertook a linguistic study in November 2007. After a thorough examination they divided Gaeltacht districts into three types of zones. In the strongest Irish-speaking zones more than 60% are daily Irish speakers and Irish is dominant as a community language. However, all those areas have only about 17 000 Irish-speaking inhabitants. About 10 000 speakers of Irish live in zones where 44-66% speak Irish daily but English is a dominant language in the area. Other parts of Gaeltacht have most of the inhabitants speaking English and only an Irish-speaking minority (Ó Giollagáin, S. Mac Donnacha et. al., 2007, pp. 13-14).

The research showed that although sustaining the existing Irish-speaking regions had been a national priority for over eighty years, measures and resources employed had not prevented the decline of the language. There could have been different reasons for such a situation. *Gaeltachtaí* are generally rural areas, where attitude towards the language must have played an important role. Since the time of the Great Famine Irish has been associated with rural poverty and viewed as an impediment to progress and economic improvement. That is the reason why many people have no interest in the language and are even ashamed to use Irish. At the same time the mobility of the inhabitants causes new English-speaking households to settle in Gaeltacht areas. The newcomers generally do not speak Irish, which creates the need to use English as a community language.

The state can also be blamed for the failure to keep Irish-language areas. The Official Languages Act guarantees the right to communicate in Irish in all state or semi-state organisations and institutions. However, the state was not successful in providing all types of Irish-speaking services in all Gaeltacht areas. In 2012 report, the Language Commissioner for Irish emphasised that failure of the state and warned that it would not help Irish survive as a community language (Ó Cuirreáin, 2013)

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<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Gaeltacht Commission 2002*, pp. 11-18. Retrieved from: <http://www.ahg.gov.ie/en/20-YearStrategyfortheIrishLanguage2010-2030/Publications/Report%20of%20Coimisi%C3%BA%20na%20Gaeltachta.pdf>

## **6.2. The Irish language in the new system of education.**

The keystone of the policy of the new Department of Education was the requirement that subjects in the national schools should be taught through the medium of Irish. It was obvious that it was not feasible in the early years of the new state, as not many teachers and students had sufficient facility in the language. Therefore, in 1922 a radical curriculum reform was introduced, affecting the primary school programme and the training of teachers. The same year the First National Programme introduced the teaching of Irish in all national schools. All infant classes were to be taught through the medium of Irish. In the case of older children, the national language was either to be taught as a school subject or used as a medium of instruction. At the same time the Department of Education instructed schools to teach as many subjects as possible through the medium of Irish. As relatively few teachers were qualified to teach in the Irish language,<sup>31</sup> in-service courses were provided for teachers and they were sent to Gaeltacht areas to learn Irish.

The new programme changed the approach to education. The revival of the language was so important for the authorities that the new curriculum focused primarily on the teaching of Irish. Such an attitude was criticised by parents and educators, which resulted in reviewing the curriculum in 1941 and 1948. When the results of the committee reviewing the curriculum were published, they revealed that the majority of teachers believed that teaching all subjects through Irish was not the best way to advance the use of Irish. In 1959 the Minister of Education admitted that, examining the matter, he realised that concentrating on teaching Irish well rather than teaching through Irish was a better idea. Thus, in 1960 schools were allowed to transfer from teaching through Irish to the teaching of Irish. In the 1960s, when free education at secondary level was introduced, parents and some educationalists pressed to have teaching through English, so all state secondary schools became English-language institutions. In this way the state abandoned the policy of reviving the language through the system of education (Coolahan, 1981, pp. 33-50).

Irish remains a required subject of study in all schools which receive public money. However, it has been observed that most students in state schools have failed to achieve competence in Irish, even after 14 years of study (Siggins, 2007). The state system of education does not produce graduates with the sufficient fluency or ability to use the Irish language in communication. Student do not speak Irish, they learn it to pass exams. With 1500 hours of Irish provided, over the fourteen-year period, from primary school till the end of secondary education, students should have acquired the sufficient fluency in Irish to be able to use it for communication. It is difficult to say why it does not happen. It could have been caused by the language programmes, attitude of students and teachers or the lack of environment where the language could be used outside school.

## **6.3. Gaelscoileana movement**

The Irish-medium schools, Gaelscoileana, founded and supported by Irish language organisations, may be the solution to the language problem Ireland faces. First Gaelscoileana schools were opened at the beginning of the 20th century in Gaeltacht areas. They were run and financially supported by the Gaelic League. When

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<sup>31</sup> Only about a thousand out of 12 000 teachers at the time had a bilingual certificate.

the Irish Free State was formed, there were demands from the local communities outside the traditionally Irish-speaking regions, especially in urban areas, for Irish-medium education. Intellectuals linked to the language revival movements and some Gaeltacht people who moved to Dublin and other cities created a group that started to open independent Irish-medium schools. Parents and teachers got help from various organisations promoting the Irish language and culture. At first the Gaelscoileana movement was quite strong and about a hundred Gaelscoileana primary schools were opened between 1922 and 1960s. However, seeing that the language was not restored and the number of the people who could speak Irish was not growing, many people stopped supporting the idea of Gaelscoileana. Therefore, in subsequent years the number of schools in which all subjects were taught through Irish decreased. In the early 1970s there were only 16 Irish-medium schools outside Gaeltacht areas. In 1973 an organization was created to support the schools which still existed and help establish new ones. Comhchiste Náisiúnta na Scoileanna Gaeilge or Gaelscoileanna Teo, as it is called now, decided to support schools, work on documents on Irish language policy and publish them, collect and publish statistics, and organize courses for teachers. The organization started to help in establishing Gaelscoileanna schools and provided assistance and support to parents and communities that wished to found a school (Hyland, Milne, 1992, pp. 86-120).

The first Irish-medium schools were primary schools but in recent years more and more Irish-speaking secondary schools have been opened. More parents send their children to Gaelscoileanna, because the schools provide excellent academic results. As a result Gaelscoileanna schools give better access to tertiary education than other kinds of secondary schools, which improves the employment opportunities of the graduates (Hayes, 2010, p. 8).

That is the main reason why, for the last thirty years, there has been a rapid expansion of Gaelscoileanna schools. In 1972 there were eleven primary and five post-primary schools with Irish as the language of instruction. Now there are 180 primary and 41 post-primary schools, with about 45 000 children<sup>32</sup> receiving education in Irish-medium schools. There is at least one Gaelscoil providing primary education in each of 32 counties of Ireland and several in larger towns and cities.

The new schools are opened in towns and cities and are popular among urban professional class. They are generally found in middle class suburbs. If they exist in disadvantaged areas they cater for middle class children from elsewhere.

#### **6.4. The future of the Irish language**

The government realised the need to change its policy to increase the use of Irish as a community language. In the past there were two bodies, the Department of Education and Skills and the Department for Gaeltacht, which were concerned with the language question. The Official Languages Act, passed in 2003, introduced the position of the Language Commissioner, an independent official to supervise the implementation of the new language policy and protect language rights. In 2010, after a thorough study of the situation of Irish, the Commissioner announced: *20-year strategy for the Irish language*. Apart from introducing acts that are expected to

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<sup>32</sup> Statistics gathered by *Gaelscoileanna Teo* in September 2013:  
<http://www.gaelscoileanna.ie/en/about/statistics/>

improve the situation,<sup>33</sup> he stressed the need for language awareness campaign to increase the public awareness of the importance of the national language (Ó Cuirreáin, 2012)

Many people believe that it is too late to prevent the decline of Irish. English is the dominant language for all purposes and language research indicates that even in Gaeltacht the Irish language's viability as a community language is under threat.<sup>34</sup> Although 25% of the population claim to speak Irish many people are convinced that the results of the official surveys do not show the real figures. Quoting language experts, Manchán Magan, a film maker and native speaker of Irish, argues that the figure of fluent Irish speakers is closer to 3% than 25% (2007).

In 2007 and 2008 Magan made a documentary series, *No Béarla (No English)*, which was broadcast on the Irish language television channel, TG4. He travelled around Ireland speaking only Irish. It turned out to be very difficult. He found very few Irish speakers and could not communicate, even using the simple classroom Irish. He was unable to accomplish simple everyday tasks, some officials refused to help him, people were unfriendly, ignored him, sometimes insulted. Magan commented: "There is something absurd and rather tragic about setting out on a journey around a country, knowing that if you speak the language of that country you will not be understood. It is even more absurd when the country is your native one and you are speaking its native language" (2007).

The fact that eating, travelling, socializing or finding accommodation using Irish caused problems did not surprise him as much as the hostility he encountered. He believes that it stems from guilt and says: "We feel inadequate that we cannot speak our own language" (2007).

When Magan was on the point of finishing the journey, during a radio phone-in he talked to a group of children, speaking fluent Irish, who said they loved it and were outraged at the suggestion that the Irish language was dying. The children were the students of the new Gaelscoileanna. The attitude of the young shows that there may be hope for the language.

It seems that not the government but dedicated people and language societies can reverse the process of the decline of the language. They have already succeeded in changing the situation and their success is the result of genuine community movement and not the product of the state policy. New Gaelscoileanna were opened by organisations of parents. The first Irish-language radio started as a pirate station in the 1970s. Language preservation societies started projects aiming at the reintroduction of the Irish language in areas where it disappeared.<sup>35</sup>

In 2006 census for the Republic of Ireland 85 000 people reported using Irish regularly and 1.2 million reported using it occasionally. In 2011 the numbers rose to 94.000 regular users and 1.3 million occasional users.<sup>36</sup> The growing number of Irish

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<sup>33</sup> Documents of the Irish government must be published in both English or Irish or Irish alone, all state services must be available through Irish, the right to use either of the official languages in Parliament

<sup>34</sup> *20-year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030*

<sup>35</sup> Clare Island in county Mayo has been marked as a testing ground for one of such projects. Small population of 160 agreed to take part in the experiment. They want to turn the local school into a Gaelscoil and start using the Irish language. The project began at the end of 2011

<sup>36</sup> *Central Statistics Office of Ireland, Census 2011. This is Ireland (Part 1)*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cso.ie/en/census/census2011reports/census2011thisisirelandpart1/>

speakers is observed in cities. It is thanks to independent education system, Gaelscoileanna and the media, as there is an Irish television station, children's channel, 5 radio stations and 4 newspapers.

The future of the language may rely on the communities of middle class Irish speakers in larger cities. These are the people who choose to bring up their children in the Irish language although they themselves may not have learnt it as their first language. Irish, the mother tongue of the country, is used as a positive symbol of Irish nationality.

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## **PAŃSTWOTWÓRCZE ZNACZENIE JĘZYKA W DAWNYCH I WSPÓŁCZESNYCH CHINACH**

### **Abstract**

The essay presents chosen aspects of language policy in China from Qin Dynasty and Emperor Qin Shi Di Huang to present day. The role that language has played in state consolidation and cultural expansion is discussed. The linguistic reforms undertaken by emperors and rulers of China and their cultural, economic and political effects are characterized.

**Key words:** China, language policy, Qin Shi Huang Di, Confucianism, legalism, Putong hua, simplified Chinese

Chiny to kraj wielu języków i wielu systemów zapisu języka. Kraj zamieszkuje 55 oficjalnie uznanych grup etnicznych. I choć nie każda z nich posługuje się odmiennym językiem czy alfabetem, to wśród jednej tylko - największej - grupy ludu Han wyróżnić można aż 7 głównych dialektów oraz przeszło 1000 subdialektów.<sup>37</sup> W jednej z prowincji, Yunnan, zamieszkiwanej przez wiele mniejszości oficjalnie mówi się 30 językami, nieoficjalnie setkami języków i dialektów (Chinglang Zhou, Heidi A. Ross, 2004, s. 6). Języki używane w Chinach należą także do kilku grup językowych (języki chińskie, tybeto-birmańskie, tungusko-mandzurskie, austroazjatyckie – na przykład khmer).

Od ponad 2000 lat w Chinach istnieją dwa podstawowe problemy związane z językiem. Pierwszy, to wielokrotnie podejmowane próby wprowadzenia wspólnego (zunifikowanego) języka dla całego kraju. Drugi, to problem relacji między ujednoliconym systemem zapisu, a wieloma sposobami wymowy (w warstwie graficznej chodzi o to, by jeden znak w różnych częściach Chin nosił to samo znaczenie, w warstwie fonetycznej, by jeden znak wszędzie w Chinach był tak samo wymawiany). Na przestrzeni ostatnich 2000 lat wprowadzono kilka reform dotyczących: 1. uproszczenia języka, 2. promocji Putong hua jako języka wspólnego dla całego kraju, 3. romanizacji, która miałaby sprzyjać promocji ujednoliconej wymowy (Chinglang Zhou i in., 2004, s. 2). Za każdym razem taka próba miała znaczenie polityczne (ułatwienie konsolidacji kraju), gospodarcze (ułatwienie wymiany handlowej) oraz kulturowe (umożliwienie komunikacji). Nie bez znaczenia pozostaje tu związek języka i możliwości, poprzez język, sprawowania nad krajem kontroli.

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<sup>37</sup> Wciąż trwają spory między językoznawcami, czy mamy w Chinach do czynienia z osobnymi językami, czy dialektami jednego języka (Hua Lin, 2001).

## 1. Kilka słów wprowadzenia do chińskiego systemu zapisu

System zapisu w języku chińskim nie jest alfabetyczny, raczej sylabiczny. Nie istnieje znak, który składałby się z więcej niż jednej sylaby, choć istnieją wielosylabiczne słowa, zapisywane przy pomocy dwóch lub trzech osobnych znaków (bardzo rzadko czterech – na przykład 澳大利亚 *Ao da li ya* – „Australia”).

Trudno jednym słowem skategoryzować chińskie znaki. Niektóre z nich to piktogramy, znaki obrazowo przedstawiające opisywane treści (na przykład 日 *Ri* znak przedstawiający słońce, 员 *Yuan* urzędnika; 女 *Nu* kobietę); niektóre z nich to bardziej umowne ideogramy (znak 好 *Hao*, „dobrze”, składa się z elementu: 女 *Nu* oznaczającego kobietę oraz 子 *Zi* oznaczającego dziecko). Wiele z nich to znaki abstrakcyjne, z formy których nie da się wydedukować znaczenia. Konotacja pozostaje węższa lub szersza. Na przykład słowo „piękny, piękna” jest połączone z ideogramem przedstawiającym mężczyznę w czapie 美 *Mei*, choć słowo może być zastosowane również do opisu kobiety, dziecka bądź zwierzęcia. Znakomita większość chińskich znaków, aż 95 %, powstała ze złożenia dwóch lub więcej znaków. Często jeden z nich bywa odpowiedzialny za wymowę, a inny za znaczenie. Bywa, że w toku dziejów znaki poszerzają swoje znaczenie, i że z czasem zmienia się ich wymowa, tak więc w różnych częściach kraju jeden i ten sam znak może być odczytywany na różne sposoby (Walls i Walls, 2009)

We współczesnym języku chińskim mamy do dyspozycji około 1400 dźwięków (sylab), odpowiadających aż około 50 tysiącom znaków. System przyporządkowywania sylab znakom samym Chińczykom niekiedy sprawia kłopot. Bywa, że czytają znak dość dowolnie, lub też odgadują jego znaczenie z kontekstu lub ze składowych znaków. Szacuje się, że liczba znaków koniecznych do codziennej komunikacji to około 4000-5000 znaków (by studiować w Chinach należy wykazać się znajomością 5000-6000 znaków). Minimalna, przy której można funkcjonować – na przykład przeczytać gazetę – to około 1500 znaków.

## 2. Początki kultury pisma w Chinach

Chiński sposób pisania jest jednym z najstarszych. Dane archeologiczne potwierdzają, że stosowany był już około roku 1600 p. n. e., za czasów dynastii Shang (1600 – 1040 r. p.n.e.) (Li Li, 2004). Z tego okresu pochodzą tak zwane „oracle bones” („mówiące kości”) – skorupy żółwi oraz kości barkowe wołów, na których odnajdujemy najstarsze chińskie inskrypcje. Miały one charakter rytualny. Badania nad strukturą tych inskrypcji potwierdzają, że stanowią one wcześniejszą formę współczesnych chińskich znaków.<sup>38</sup> Zachowały się także zapisy na brązowych wazach z czasów dynastii Zhou, używanych w czasie rytuałów (Li Li, 2004). Od tego czasu pismo przeszło znaczącą metamorfozę. Niektóre znaki pochodzące z tego okresu są rozpoznawalne, większość nie (Keightley, 1996; Li Li, 2004).

Po upadku dynastii Shang do władzy doszła dynastia Zhou. Królowie tej dynastii kontynuowali rytuały zapoczątkowane wieki wcześniej, związane z inskrypcjami na kościach zwierzęcych. W VIII wieku p.n.e. dynastia Zhou zaczęła

<sup>38</sup> Na marginesie dodam, że między XVI a XIX wiekiem były te kości z inskrypcjami popularnym lekarstwem w Chinach; nazywano je „smoczymi kośćmi” i w sproszkowanej postaci podawano chorym.

stopniowo podupadać. Lokalne dwory zaczynały rosnać w siłę, namiestnicy regionów, dzielnic, także generałowie zaczęli mianować się królami. Jako pierwszy uzurpatorski tytuł króla nadał sobie władca królestwa Qi w roku 685 p.n.e., po nim to samo uczynili inni namiestnicy, uniezależniając się od władzy centralnej. Początkowo lokalnych królestw powstało przeszło 100 – niektóre były bardzo małe, wielkości jednego miasteczka, inne większe. Rywalizacja między nimi była bardzo duża. Około VI wieku p.n.e. w wyniku wojen wykształciło się 7 głównych królestw. Co istotne, posługiwano się w nich różnymi dialektami. Zapis także nie był ujednoczony. Te same idee były oddawane za pomocą różnych znaków (Li Li, 2004).

Od czasów dynastii Zhou trwała rywalizacja między systemami społecznymi, która wyrażała się w traktatach oraz pismach filozoficznych. W 551 roku p.n.e. w jednym z królestw, Lu, urodził się Mistrz Kong, twórca Konfucjanizmu, który początkowo stanowił jedną z wielu rywalizujących ze sobą szkół filozoficzno-polityczno-kulturowych. Konfucjusz za cel stawiał sobie odrestaurowanie wzorcowego systemu polityczno-społecznego, istniejącego za czasów wschodniej dynastii Zhou, oraz odtworzenie bądź stworzenie rytuałów, które byłyby powtarzane w niezmienionej postaci, aby uniknąć dezintegracji porządku społecznego. Tak powstały rytualne pieśni zebrane, jak się sądzi, przez Konfucjusza (Shi Jing); Księga Dokumentów (Shu Jing); oraz zapisy jego uczniów, z cytatami i anegdotami (Littlejohn, 2011). Walki o hegemonię i podporządkowanie sobie pozostałych królestw trwały do roku 221 p.n.e., kiedy to władca królestwa Qin ostatecznie tego dokonał i ustanowił nową dynastię Qin, przyjmując tytuł cesarza Qin Shi Huang Di (Lewis, 2007).

### **3. Pierwsza udokumentowana próba ujednoczenia pisma**

Walki między królestwami toczone były nie tylko na miecze, ale i w sferze symbolicznej. Qin Shi Huang Di za namową ministra Li Si wprowadził kilka reform. Pierwsza z nich polegała na odrzuceniu konfucjanizmu, który uważał za ideologię szkodliwą, podważającą bezwzględny autorytet cesarza, i zastąpieniu go legalizmem, systemem społeczno-politycznym już wcześniej panującym w państwie Qin. Jak mówi legenda, cesarz Qin Shi nakazał spalenie niemal wszystkich ksiąg konfucjańskich i innych nielegalistycznych, poza tymi czysto gospodarczymi, wyjaśniającymi sposób budowania tamy, czy uprawy pola. Nakazał pozostawienie jedynie po jednym egzemplarzu każdej z nich. Tak powstałe zbiory zgromadził w bibliotece w mieście Chang'an (okolice dzisiejszego Xi'an). Biblioteka niestety spłonęła w trakcie działań wojennych. Część dzieł Konfucjusza, dzięki wysiłkom jego uczniów, udało się szczęśliwie uratować, inne natomiast odtworzono. W późniejszym okresie dynastii Han, cesarz Qin Shi uznany został za barbarzyńcę. Do takiej oceny z pewnością przyczynił się fakt, iż władcy dynastii Han konfucjanizm uczynili doktryną państwową. Cesarz Qin Shi, zgodnie z legendą, palił pisma Konfucjusza, bo uznawał je za realne zagrożenie. By mieć pewność, że wroga ideologia nie będzie rozpowszechniana, kazał także żywcem grzebać zwolenników i nauczycieli myśli Konfucjusza. Już wówczas, jak widać, rozpoznawano istotną siłę ideologii konfucjańskiej, a także słowa pisanego (Lagerwey J., Kalinowski M., 2009; Lewis, 2007).

Druga z reform dotyczyła pierwszej udokumentowanej w historii Chin próby unifikacji języka. Wprowadzanie jednego języka oraz ujednoliconego pisma miało zagwarantować, by żadne zakazane i wywrotowe treści nie były przekazywane, choćby przy użyciu mało znanych znaków. Pisma konfucjańskie powstawały w różnych zakątkach zjednoczonych Chin i zapisywane były różnymi stylami pisma, dla niewtajemniczonych trudnymi do odczytania. Stwarzały przez to możliwość przemycania treści niezgodnych z tymi aprobowanymi. Qin Shi używanie obcego sposobu zapisu postrzegał jako rodzaj niesubordynacji. Władze zatem niszczyły wszystkie księgi niespisanie przy użyciu wprowadzonego „znormalizowanego” systemu znaków (Lewis, 2007).

Kolejna z reform Qin Shi polegała na standaryzacji znaków poprzez wprowadzenie ujednoliconego systemu kaligrafii (formy znaków). Wraz z ministrem Li Si dokonali adaptacji tak zwanego „pisma małych pieczęci”, zakazując jednocześnie używania wszelkich innych form pisma. Dzięki tej reformie stała się możliwa komunikacja na przestrzeni całych ówczesnych Chin. Do dziś, nawiasem mówiąc, pismo pełni w Chinach taką rolę – języka uniwersalnego. Dzięki ujednoliceniu zapisu możliwe było wydawanie dekretów cesarskich, rozsyłanych następnie po całych Chinach. Ujednolicona kaligrafia była gwarancją, że dekrety zostaną zrozumiane i że poddani się do nich zastosują (Lewis, 2007).

To był początek polityki językowej w Chinach, okupiony krwią, ale skuteczny. Po wysiłkach Qin Shi każdy wykształcony człowiek w Chinach potrafił czytać ujednolicony sposób zapisu, choć języki mówione wciąż się różniły. W istocie ten pierwszy ujednolicony zapis dla całych Chin to pierwsza próba zjednoczenia różnych dialektów pod wspólnym mianem języka chińskiego (Chinglang Zhou i in., 2004, s. 2). Posługujący się różnymi dialektami mogli się porozumieć bez pośrednictwa tłumaczy, jedynie dzięki pismu. To prawdopodobnie wówczas po raz pierwszy zaczęto łączyć państwo i władzę z językiem (Keightley, 1996).

Poza językiem ujednolicone zostało także prawo, system miar i wag, waluta oraz długość rozstawu osi kół pojazdów poruszających się po chińskich traktach, co znakomicie ułatwiało przemieszczanie się (Lewis, 2007).

Dynastia Qin trwała zaledwie 14 lat, następująca po niej dynastia Han (lata 204 p.n.e. do 220 n.e.) przywróciła znaczenie konfucjanizmu, który za czasów cesarza Wen Di (lata 180-157 p. n. e.) stał się ideologią państwową. Skutkowało to opracowaniem dzieł Konfucjusza, odtworzeniem zapisów na jego temat, a także wdrożeniem systemu edukacji opartego na dziełach Konfucjusza (Lagerwey J. i in., 2009; Littlejohn, 2011).

Liu Bang jako pierwszy cesarz z dynastii Han rozpoznał więź między językiem a grupą osób się nim posługującą, uznał ją za istotną państwo- i kulturotwórczo. Proces ujednolicenia języka rozpoczął już Qin Shi, lecz język traktował on instrumentalnie, jako narzędzie sprawowania władzy; dla Liu Banga i jego następców wspólny język był wyrazem wspólnych wartości i wspólnej historii (nie przypadkiem za dynastii Han powstała pierwsza spisana historia Chin – jej autorem był Si Ma Qian). Wtedy też rozpoznany i usankcjonowany został związek między: władzą (Han), krajem, językiem (Han), a narodem (Han). Do dziś jedną z obowiązujących nazw języka chińskiego jest *hanyu* czyli „język Hanów” (Han to nazwa prowincji, którą zarządzał Liu Bang, nim został cesarzem) (Lewis, 2007).

„Jeden kraj – jeden naród– jeden język” – ta relacja będzie w XIX i XX wieku forsowana pod mianem „modernizacji” Chin. Przeciwwstawienie się zachodnim siłom, które atakowały Chiny, polegało między innymi na idei, że całe Chiny mówią jednym językiem narodowym. Znormalizowany za czasów dynastii Han system pisma przetrwał z różnymi modyfikacjami ponad 2000 lat.<sup>39</sup>

Chińscy intelektualiści widzieli na przykładzie państw zachodnich, że nowoczesne państwo jest ufundowane na jednym języku, opartym na alfabecie łacińskim. Już od pierwszych lat Republiki Chińskiej (1912-1949 rok) polityka językowa rozgrywana była na 3 płaszczyznach: 1. rozpowszechnienia Putong hua jako języka narodowego, 2. rozpowszechnienia standardowej romanizacji, 3. uproszczenia znaków celem ułatwienia ich zapamiętywania, a w konsekwencji zmniejszenia poziomu analfabetyzmu (Pletcher, 2011).

#### **4. Reformy w czasach Chińskiej Republiki Ludowej**

Kolejne zmiany nastąpiły w roku 1956, gdy komuniści chińscy z Mao Ze Dongiem na czele wprowadzili reformę alfabetu (Pletcher, 2011). Jej celem było uproszczenie zapisu, tak by pismo uczynić łatwiejszym w nauce, a przez to zmniejszyć w społeczeństwie odsetek osób niepiśmiennych i zwiększyć efektywność zapisu. Nowy uproszczony zapis wprowadzono w całym kraju, obejmującym Chiny lądowe. Reforma nie została uwzględniona przez chroniących się na Tajwanie nacjonalistów oraz w znajdującym się pod jurysdykcją brytyjską Hong Kongu. W obu miejscach do dziś obowiązuje tradycyjny sposób zapisu. Singapur pod tym względem jest miejscem wyjątkowym, bo choć oficjalnym sposobem zapisu jest ten tradycyjny, to jednak w druku często stosowany jest zapis uproszczony. Najczęściej stosowane uproszczenia polegają na zastąpieniu kilku kresek w znaku jedną kreską, zastosowaniu uproszczonego symbolu, który stanowi element bardziej złożonego znaku, lub opuszczeniu części znaku (Walls i Walls, 2009).

Reforma obowiązuje do dziś, również do dziś trwają kontrowersje z nią związane. Uproszczone znaki są oczywiście łatwiejsze do zapamiętania (jako przykład podam tylko, że znak w piśmie tradycyjnym mógł liczyć nawet ponad 40 kresek – elementów – zaś w piśmie uproszczonym najbardziej skomplikowany znak liczy ich 24), prostsze w stosowaniu, szybsze w zapisie (Walls i Walls, 2009). W wielu

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<sup>39</sup> Za dynastii Han rozpowszechnił się kolejny sposób zapisu, szczególnie popularny wśród urzędników. W pismach o tematyce erotycznej stosowany jest do dziś. Urzędnicy z konieczności musieli rozwinąć zdolność szybkiego zapisywania. Tak narodził się uproszczony sposób zapisu znaków, styl zwany Cao shu. Jest to styl pisma odręcznego, w którym kilka niezależnych pociągnięć piórem może zostać zastąpionych jedną kreską, lub też cała część znaku może zostać pominięta. Sposób stawiania znaków zależy tu od indywidualnych predyspozycji, tego, co zwiemy charakterem pisma. Uproszczonego sposobu zapisu Cao shu do dziś jest jednym z trzech głównych stylów używanych we współczesnych Chinach.

Drugim stylem jest Kai shu, tak zwany zapis standardowy, który rozwinął się w II w. n.e. ze zestandaryzowanego Cao shu. Każdy znak ma tutaj zdefiniowaną postać i tylko niewielkie odstępstwa związane z indywidualnym sposobem stawiania znaków są tu dopuszczalne. Jest to model dla pisma drukowanego w książkach i gazetach, który jest nauczany w szkołach.

Trzeci styl to Xing shu – styl pisma odręcznego nie tak osobisty jak Cao shu, ale przez to łatwiejszy w odczytaniu. Dziś najpopularniejszy. Różnica między Kai shu a Xing shu jest mniej więcej taka, jak między łacińskimi literami obecnymi w druku, a pismem odręcznym.

Kai shu służył przez blisko 2000 lat bez znaczących zmian jako standardowy pisany język chiński (Chen Qin Mai, 1966).

przypadkach uproszczenie sprowadzało się do powrotu do starożytnych znaków, które z wraz z biegiem historii niepotrzebnie się skomplikowały. Powrót ten przyczynił się zatem do odkrycia klarowniejszej i bardziej logicznej struktury znaków. Jednak uproszczenie spowodowało, że niektóre znaki stały się trudne do odczytania, ponieważ uproszczono część znaku odpowiedzialną za jego stronę fonetyczną, w innych zagubiono logikę znaku, która w tradycyjnym zapisie decydowała o kształcie znaku, piktogramu czy ideogramu (Chen Qin Mai, 1966). Uproszczony zapis zaczął być powszechnie stosowany także przez zamieszkujące Chiny mniejszości etniczne, które posługują się dialektami języka mandaryńskiego, albo niemandaryńskiego, albo nawet językiem nie zaliczanym do grupy języków chińskich (Kuiper, 2011, s. 60).

## 5. Ujednolicenie wymowy

Już od czasu dynastii Ming podejmowano także próby ujednolicenia mówionego języka chińskiego. Językiem oficjalnym zaczynał stawać się jeden z dialektów z okolic Pekinu, dialekt mandaryński, nazywany także językiem mandaryńskim (Lorge, 2006). Dziś nazywa się go standardowym językiem chińskim, Putong hua, co znaczy tyle, co „wspólny język”.<sup>40</sup> Współcześnie dla wielu Chińczyków Putong hua (czyli oficjalny język chiński) jest drugim językiem (po ojczystym dialekcie), obcym, wymawianym z „akcentem”.<sup>41</sup> Rozpowszechnienie standardowej wymowy miało nastąpić za pomocą rozpowszechnienia zapisu fonetycznego, który by ujedniczył wymowę. Ujednolicenie języka mówionego, którego prób podejmowano się w XIX i XX wieku miało mieć skutek polityczny, obronę państwa przed obcymi, głównie zachodnimi, wpływami. Pierwszą zastosowaną przez Chińczyków próbą było wprowadzenie zapisu fonetycznego na wzór japońskiego *kana*. Miało to miejsce w 1919 roku, projekt ten uzyskał wsparcie rządu w 1937 roku, jednak powstrzymała go II wojna światowa.

W 1929 roku powstał inny projekt zwany „narodową romanizacją”, wprowadzany przez dwóch uczonych Lin Yuo Tanga oraz Zhao Yuan Rena. Także powstrzymany przez wojnę i rewolucję. W latach 30. powstała kolejna próba zapisu fonetycznego opartego na łacinie podjęta przez komunistów, przy jednoczesnej próbie ograniczenia liczby znaków do 1000. Próba nie powiodła się, ponieważ za pomocą 1000 znaków nie dało się oddać bogactwa kultury chińskiej.

Niezależnie od Chińczyków, próby latynizacji języka chińskiego podejmowali Europejczycy. Jedną z takich prób była angielska transkrypcja sinologiczna Thomasa Wade’a i Herberta Gilesa, wprowadzona na potrzeby użytkowników języka angielskiego między 1859 a 1912 rokiem. Opierała się na wymowie dialektu kantońskiego. Była to najpopularniejsza forma latynizacji chińskich nazw. Z tej transkrypcji pochodzą takie nazwy, do dziś używane w wielu zachodnich językach, jak: Peking, Kanton, Hong Kong. Zaczęła ona jednak w latach 80. XX wieku tracić popularność na rzecz stworzonej z myślą o Chińczykach (i przez Chińczyków, w kooperacji z językoznawcami radzieckimi) transkrypcji Pin yin, promującej Putong

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<sup>40</sup> Określenie "mandaryński" pochodzi od dawnej europejskiej nazwy chińskiego urzędnika – mandaryn. Po chińsku języki mandaryńskie określa się terminem 官話 *Guān huà*, dosłownie "mowa urzędników", a potocznie także 北方話 *Běi fāng huà*, "mowa północnych Chin".

<sup>41</sup> Dla mieszkańców Hong Kongu na przykład pierwszym językiem jest język kantoński, następnym angielski, a dopiero kolejnym Putong hua (Chinglang Zhou i in., 2004, s. 7).

hua, czyli dialekt mandaryński, jako język powszechny. W Pin yin odpowiednikiem nazwy Pekin jest Beijing, nazwy Kanton – Guangzhou, zaś Hong Kong to Xiang Gang).

Pin yin popularyzować zaczęli komuniści od roku 1958 (Kuiper, 2011, s. 62). Pin yin bardzo pomaga przy uczeniu się chińskiego, także w chińskich szkołach dzieci uczą się prawidłowej (standardowej) wymowy dzięki zapisowi Pin yin, co jest o tyle istotne, że, jak już wspominałam, dla wielu chiński standardowy to drugi, nie pierwszy język. Pin yin nie zastępuje chińskich znaków, pomaga w nauczaniu wymowy, popularyzuje Putong hua, stosowany jest także jako zapis pomocniczy we współczesnych formach komunikacji elektronicznej (sms, e-mail). Pin yin promowany był przez Mao Ze Donga, Suna Fo, a także nazywanego ojcem współczesnej literatury chińskiej Lu Xuna.

## 6. Ograniczenia romanizacji

Romanizacja dzięki zapisowi fonetycznemu niewątpliwie przyczyniła się do ujednoczenia wymowy. Jednak w XX wieku pojawiły się także pomysły całkowitego zastąpienia chińskich znaków alfabetem łacińskim, tak by zapis łaciński nie był pomocniczym, lecz jedynym zapisem w języku chińskim. Pomysły te chybione były z kilku powodów.

Wprowadzenie zapisu łacińskiego jako jedynego dla języka chińskiego jest niemożliwe, dlatego że język chiński jest ubogi w sylaby – jest ich około 1400. Znaków, do których sylaby mają zastosowanie, jest około 50 000. Co znaczy, że praktycznie każdy dźwięk jest przyporządkowany kilku lub kilkunastu znakom.<sup>42</sup> Gdyby wprowadzić zapis łaciński wiele różnych słów byłoby literowanych w ten sam sposób, co sprawiłoby, że tekst stałby się niemożliwy do odczytania. Drugim powodem, dla którego zastąpienie znaków alfabetem romańskim byłoby niemożliwe, jest istnienie w Chinach bardzo wielu różnych dialektów języka chińskiego, dla których wspólną podstawę stanowi zapis. Jeden i ten sam znak w różnych prowincjach czytany bywa zupełnie inaczej, choć wciąż posiada niezmienną znaczenie. Alfabet łaciński także wprowadziłby tu więcej zamieszania (różny sposób odczytania sugerowałby różne słowa). Trzeci powód: każda sylaba może być wymówiona na jednym z pięciu różnych tonów. Jedna sylaba, która w zapisie romańskim odpowiada jednemu słowu, przez osoby posługujące się Putong hua może zostać wymówiona na 5 różnych sposobów, co w konsekwencji sugerowałoby 5 różnych słów. Przez mieszkańca Hong Kongu, który używa dialektu kantońskiego, jedna sylaba może być wymówiona przy użyciu aż 9 tonów. Czwarty: pismo chińskie jest ekonomiczne w stosowaniu, zajmuje mniej miejsca. I piąty, najważniejszy z powodów: sami Chińczycy nie chcą takiego zastąpienia, twierdzą, że nauka pisania kształtuje charakter

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<sup>42</sup> Sytuacja taka generuje, co łatwo sobie wyobrazić, olbrzymie pole możliwych nieporozumień językowo-kulturowych. Na przykład znak 四 *Sì* oznaczający liczbę 4 wymawiany jest podobnie jak znak 死 *Sǐ* oznaczający śmierć. Efekt – w hotelach i akademikach często nie ma piętra nr 4, pokoju 4, czy 444. Znak 钟 *Zhong* oznaczający zegar, wymawiany jest podobnie do znaku 塚 *Zhong* opisującego ceremonię pogrzebową. Efekt – nietaktem jest podarowanie komuś zegara lub zegarka w prezencie. Często zadawanym pytaniem jest pytanie o ilość znanych znaków. Potwierdza wykształcenie, określa kompetencję kulturową. Jeśli ktoś mówi, że zna 5000 znaków, znaczy, że jest człowiekiem wykształconym, czytającym książki.



człowieka, wzmacnia pamięć, a kaligrafię uznają za najważniejszą ze sztuk (Chen Qin Mai, 1966).

Od lat 50. XX wieku do lat 80. XX wieku wierzono, że Putong hua może zastąpić lokalne dialekty. Od końca lat 80. pojawia się w chińskiej polityce językowej pewien zwrot, następuje stopniowa rewitalizacja języków lokalnych (dialektów), zaczynają się pojawiać lokalne programy telewizyjne, filmy w lokalnych językach. Od końca lat 90. XX wieku rozpoczyna się wspieranie rozwoju kultur lokalnych (w tym mniejszościowych) i lokalnych języków, ale ze wskazaniem na Putong hua jako na język obowiązujący w przestrzeni publicznej (Chinglang Zhou i in., 2004, s. 3). Od powstania Republiki Chiny zmagają się z problemem tożsamości narodowej, dopiero mniej więcej od lat 90. XX wieku mówi się o jednym narodzie, składającym się z Chińczyków Han i nie-Han, narodzie składającym się z wielu grup etnicznych (Chinglang Zhou i in., 2004, s. 4).

Społeczeństwo wielonarodowościowe próbowano budować przez pierwsze dekady po upadku cesarstwa. Jednak intencją przywódców Partii Komunistycznej było stworzenie państwa jednonarodowościowego (Ropp, 2010). Na tym też skoncentrowana była polityka językowa państwa, która miała pomóc włączyć mniejszości do jednego narodu chińskiego. Proces ten nie udał się w dużej mierze ze względu na znaczące różnice kulturowe oraz językowe. W latach 90. XX wieku polityka rządu i partii zaczęła oficjalnie zmierzać w kierunku poszanowania praw mniejszości do własnego języka i kultury. Polityka ta została zatwierdzona prawem z roku 2001, które czyni Putong hua językiem oficjalnym, ale wspiera także rozwój dialektów (Chinglang Zhou i in., s. 5).

## **7. Zakończenie**

W trwającej wiele wieków tradycji unifikacji języka chińskiego można wyróżnić dwie podstawowe fazy. Pierwsza, dotycząca unifikacji pisma, dość skutecznie przeprowadzona została przez Qin Shi i jego ministra Li Si. Jej efekty widoczne są do dziś. Druga, unifikacja języka mówionego, napotykała i napotyka więcej oporu i więcej problemów. Przyczyny mogą być różne. Zbyt silne są tradycje i przywiązanie lokalnych społeczności do własnego języka mówionego. Wspólne pismo łatwiej zaakceptowano, gdyż często wcześniej nie posiadano go wcale, zatem nic nie musiano zmieniać.

Nie oznacza to jednak, iż unifikacja pisma przebiegała całkowicie bezproblemowo. W prowincji Xin jiang w północno-zachodniej części Chin rząd próbował mieszkającym tam Kazachom i Ujgurom zakazać stosowania alfabetu arabskiego, zastępując go zromanizowanym Pin yin, uprzywilejowującym Putong hua. Reformę zainicjowano w latach 50. Jednak siłowe promowanie Putong hua wśród ludów altajskich napotkało opór. Po latach, gdy rząd reformy zaniechał, okazało się, że Putong hua jest językiem dość praktycznym, umożliwiającym wymianę ekonomiczną z Chińczykami Han. Wówczas to wzrastać zaczęła liczba jego użytkowników. Wielu Mongołów chińskich współcześnie posługuje się Putong hua. Putong hua nie tylko nominalnie ale i realnie powoli staje się językiem standardowym.

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# **LANGUAGE AND RELIGION**



**JĘZYK JAKO BRAMA DO NOWEJ RZECZYWISTOŚCI – FILOZOFICZNE  
ROZWAŻANIA O MOŻLIWOŚCIACH I OGRANICZENIACH JĘZYKA  
W KONTEKŚCIE FILOZOFII KIERKEGAARDA I HEIDEGGERA**

**Abstract**

The article discusses Kierkegaard's and Heidegger's views on language. Kierkegaard emphasises language's limitations as an instrument of cognition. According to Kierkegaard, the true knowledge, i.e. the knowledge about the individual's existence as an individual (rather than a member of a community), cannot be grasped by words, as it is something that the individual has to experience himself/herself. Language fails to render what is truly unique. Heidegger, on the other hand, sees language as an important tool by means of which the forgotten truth about being can be recovered, and which, consequently, may help the individual attain the condition of authentic existence (which corresponds to Kierkegaard's concept of religious person).

**Key words:** Kierkegaard, Heidegger, silence, religion

**1. Wstęp**

Język to sposób komunikowania uczuć, pragnień, wewnętrznych przeżyć. Wydaje się, że właśnie na tych polach powstaje najwięcej nieporozumień. Bo jak przekazać to, co czujemy? Natomiast kiedy dogłębnie zbadamy problem, okaże się, że największy kłopot polega na komunikowaniu tego, co doświadczamy wspólnie, co jest dostępne dla wszystkich. Okazuje się bowiem, że bez ustalonego wcześniej języka trudne do przekazania są w ogóle jakiegokolwiek doświadczenia. A zatem, jeśli nie posiadalibyśmy języka, to bycie w grupie stałoby się utopią. Każdy człowiek byłby tylko indywidualną jednostką, żyjącą w samotności. Język zatem jest nie tylko zespołem znaków, ale jest bramą, która otwiera drogę do drugiego człowieka. Jest narzędziem, które umożliwia przekazywanie własnych przeżyć, jak i ogólnych prawd. Czasem jednak język staje się barierą. Dzieje się tak wtedy, gdy rzeczywistość, o której chciałoby się mówić, jest dla języka nieuchwytna, gdy język nie posiada słów, które mogłyby ją w wystarczający sposób oddać. Przykładem takiej sytuacji jest opisywany przez Kierkegaarda „człowiek religijny” (Kierkegaard, 1972). Inną sytuacją jest zafalszowywanie rzeczywistości przez język. Może się to zdarzyć wtedy, gdy człowiek boi się mówić o prawdzie, ponieważ mówienie zakłada myślenie o niej, a myślenie staje się procesem trudnym do zniesienia. Taką sytuację opisuje Martin Heidegger, mówiąc o zapomnieniu tego, co stanowi fundament człowieka (Heidegger, 2004). Przystępujemy więc do rozważenia istoty wspomnianych tutaj barier.

## 2. Søren Kierkegaard – samotność „rycerza wiary”

Kierkegaard, duński filozof, chcąc opisać człowieka, przedstawił go w trzech odstępach. Wyróżnił trzy stadia na drodze życia: estetyczne, etyczne i religijne (Toeplitz, 1980). Ukazują one drogę do coraz większej samoświadomości i wolności. Paradoksalnie jednak dojście do ostatniego etapu ukazuje człowieka w jego ograniczeniach wobec Boga, oraz jego samotność.

### 2.1. Stadia na drodze życia

Stadium estetyczne to stadium „życia niezaangażowanego” (Toeplitz, 1980, s. 55). Taka osoba nie zajmuje się sprawami ważnymi, lub wartymi rozważenia. Jediną sprawą która zdaje się być warta uwagi jest pogoń za przyjemnościami, przeżyciami, namiętnościami. Jest to osoba, która ciągle szuka czegoś więcej, szybko się nudzi, więc wciąż poszukuje nowych wrażeń. Unika jakiegokolwiek odpowiedzialności, a zatem i wyboru. Nie istnieje dla niej wartość absolutna, oprócz wartości estetycznych. Jest to życie pozbawione celu (oczywiście istnieją tutaj cele chwilowe) i sensu. Nie można mówić o sensie tam, gdzie nie ma wyboru, a o wyborze tam, gdzie nie ma refleksji. Esteta nie odczuwa napięcia, niepewności, ponieważ życie jest dla niego zbiorem możliwości, które nie muszą się wykluczać (Toeplitz, 1980, s. 62). Przecież można mieć wszystko... Na tym stadium człowiek może być niezrozumiany przez społeczeństwo dlatego, że kierują nim namiętności i pragnienia, a nie zdrowy rozsądek (co jest oczekiwaną przez społeczeństwo postawą).

Ponieważ esteta nie może dokonać wyboru, trudno powiedzieć, w jaki sposób dokonuje się przejście do następnego stadium. Karl Toeplitz proponuje, aby zinterpretować tę przemianę jako efekt działania Boga (Toeplitz, 1980, s. 63). Stadium etyczne, to stadium człowieka należącego do społeczeństwa. Tak jak esteta był z tego społeczeństwa wyobcowany przez pogoń za wymagowanym szczęściem, tak człowiek etyczny jest częścią społeczeństwa. Pojawiają się tutaj normy moralne, hierarchia społeczna, życie z Bogiem i wybór siebie (Toeplitz, 1980). Wybór jest nie tylko poznawaniem siebie, ale i tworzeniem siebie wciąż na nowo. Tutaj mamy do czynienia z prawdziwym wyborem. Jest to wybór każdego człowieka w obliczu norm i zasad, oraz społeczeństwa. Na tym stadium, człowiek rozumie siebie i stosunki społeczne, a społeczeństwo rozumie jego. Nie ma tu nieporozumień komunikacyjnych, ani wątpliwości. Człowiek pozostaje na poziomie tego, co ogólne i przyjęte za normę.

Przychodzi jednak moment, w którym jednostka może być narażona na silny konflikt między wartościami. Jest to konflikt między tym, co obiektywne, czyli ogólnie przyjętymi wartościami, a tym, co subiektywne, nieprzekazywalne, osobiste, czyli bezpośrednim kontaktem z Bogiem. W tym momencie dochodzi do dylematu: przekroczyć obiektywność na rzecz subiektywności, czy pozostać w społeczeństwie (Toeplitz, 1980)? Wybór, którego jednostka musi dokonać, będzie skutkował nie tylko przeobrażeniem swojego ja i zmianą myślenia o sobie i o innych. Wybór ten oznacza kolejną (po człowieku estetycznym) alienację. Tym razem jest to świadomy wybór siebie wobec Boga, który godzi sprzeczne wartości. Z drugiej strony jest to trudny wybór, ponieważ jest to wkroczenie na ścieżkę niepewności i paradoksu, która nie jest łatwa i nie przynosi chwały ani zaszczytów.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Kierkegaard będzie ten problem rozwijał w dziele *Bojaźń i drżenie* na przykładzie rycerza wiary i bohatera wielkich tragedii. Rycerz wiary to człowiek, który przekracza normy zrozumiałe przez ludzi, który milczy, bo

Wybór religijny to nie tylko zmiana siebie, to również przekroczenie norm, które są uznawane i szanowane przez ludzi. Wyraża się to w dwóch typach religijności, o których mówi Kierkegaard (Toepflitz, 1980). Typ „A” to religijność polegająca na posiadaniu sakramentów, chodzeniu do kościoła, odprawianiu zaleconych modlitw. Nie jest to oczywiście samo w sobie złe, ale nie wyczerpuje pojęcia „wiara”. Osoby, które zatrzymały się na wierze polegającej na wykonywaniu obowiązków wierzącego, nie wierzą autentycznie (Kierkegaard, 1972). Wiara typu „B” to wiara, która wkracza w subiektywność, w niezrozumiałość, w to, co trudne do pojęcia dla ogółu. Jest to wiara oparta na Bogu, który w swych działaniach przekracza rozum ludzki. Jest to również wejście w rzeczywistość samotności, z którą trzeba się pogodzić. Samotność ta nie jest koniecznością wymuszoną przez kontakt z Bogiem, ale raczej konsekwencją wystąpienia z ogółu i wejścia na ścieżkę tego, co niezrozumiałe w języku ogółu. Tutaj pojawia się kluczowy problem wyboru. Jeśli zdecyduję się na prawdziwy kontakt z Bogiem, to również zdecyduję się na zmianę postrzegania siebie, oraz całego swojego życia. Prawdziwy wybór nie dotyczy bowiem konkretnej sytuacji, ale wyboru siebie w konkretnej egzystencji, albo inaczej, siebie jako tego, który egzystuje w określony sposób. Ostateczny wybór okazuje się wyborem sposobu życia i kontaktu z Bogiem. Wszystko inne, jak na przykład budowanie osobowości, poczucia tożsamości, świadomości, będzie konsekwencją wyboru egzystencji w obliczu Boga.

Koncepcja Kierkegarda, to historia drogi człowieka do Boga. Jest to droga prowadząca od braku wyboru, gdzie to egzystencja włada osobą, tak jakby to nie ona wybierała, ale jakaś siła, którą można by nazwać namiętnością, poprzez wybór tego, co ustanowione, aż do wyboru samotności, ale już w sposób świadomy. Samotność przed Bogiem nie jest samotnością przed samym sobą, ale samotnością wśród ludzi. Nie oznacza to konieczności alienacji od społeczeństwa, ale wzniesienie się ponad. Ostateczny wybór to nie tylko kroczenie za Bogiem, ale i wybranie siebie jako tego, który nie podlega już bezpośrednio prawu. Nie oznacza to jednak jego całkowitego zawieszenia. Oznacza raczej określenie siebie, a każde określenie wymusza negację. Nie można przyjąć wszystkiego, bo to zawróciłoby nas z powrotem na ścieżkę estetyczną. Odrzucenie tego, co ogólne, to odrzucenie pewnych praw, które milkną w obliczu Boga.

## **2.2. Człowiek religijny**

Aby zrozumieć postawę człowieka religijnego, należałoby najpierw przedstawić koncepcję i spojrzenie Kierkegarda na problem wiary i religijności. Krytykuje on podejście do religii jako do instytucji. Wydaje się, że nie chodzi tu o to, że zinstytucjonalizowanie religii jest samo w sobie czymś złym. Chodzi raczej o to, że ludzie przestali prawdziwie wierzyć, gdyż zatrzymują się tylko i wyłącznie na obrzędach i obyczajach, które wykonują z przyzwyczajenia. Kierkegaard podkreśla, że kiedyś ludzie żyli inaczej. Wiara była zadaniem na całe życie. Na starość ludzie wciąż mieli żywą wiarę i pamiętali, jak o nią walczyli, pamiętali liczne trudności, które musieli przezwyciężyć, aby móc dalej wierzyć (Kierkegaard, 1972). Taka wg

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o tym, co przeżył, nie potrafi mówić. Nie jest rozumiany przez społeczeństwo, bo przekroczył ogólne prawo. Tragiczny bohater natomiast jest nie tylko rozumiany, jest również podziwiany, mówi o swoim dramacie, dzięki czemu wszyscy mogą mu współczuć i się z nim utożsamiać.

Kierkegaard jest prawdziwa droga wiary. Widać więc, że wiara wcale nie neguje tradycji, wręcz przeciwnie, to tradycja zatrzymała wspomnienie o ludziach wiary. Kierkegaard krytykuje wiarę rozumianą tylko i wyłącznie jako odprawianie zaleconych obrzędów. W tym nie ma wiary, bo, jak będziemy mówić później, wiara to nie obrzędy, to egzystencja. Kierkegaard krytykuje nie tylko wiarę, która polega na spełnianiu obowiązków, ale cały ówczesny świat, który biegnie zbyt pośpiesznie do przodu, nie zastanawiając się nad niczym (1972).

Drugą kwestią jest fakt, iż, wg Kierkegarda, chrześcijaństwo jest źle rozumiane: „Chrześcijaństwo weszło w świat nie po to, by być rozumiane, lecz by w nim egzystowano” (Kierkegaard, 2000, s. 371). Chrześcijaństwo nie ma być rozumowe, co nie oznacza, że wysiłki zrozumienia są bezsensowne. Nie oznacza to chyba również drwin z rozumu. Wydaje się, że celem Kierkegarda jest podkreślenie, że prawdziwą istotą wiary jest życie w niej, a nie rozumowe przetworzenie jej prawd. Chodzi tu nie o wyeliminowanie jednego czynnika, ale o zmianę środka ciężkości.

Widać to wyraźnie, kiedy patrzy się na człowieka wiary. Owszem, jest to osoba, która wymyka się regułom etyki, ale ważne jest również, że nie ucieka od rzeczywistości. Kierkegaard ukazuje to na przykładzie postaci Abrahama ze Starego Testamentu: „Jednak Abraham wierzył i wierzył w życie doczesne. Gdyby wierzył tylko w życie przyszłe, byłby raczej odrzucił wszystko, aby pośpiesznie opuścić ten świat, do którego nie należał” (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 19). I dalej: „Nie wierzył, że będzie kiedyś tam zbawiony, ale wierzył, że będzie szczęśliwy tu na ziemi” (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 34).

Wiara zakłada życie doczesne. Wydaje się to może paradoksalne, ale, patrząc na koncepcje Kierkegarda, całkiem uzasadnione. Człowiek religii musi wierzyć w życie doczesne, bo jego wiara jest drogą właśnie przez takie życie. Wiara rozgrywa się w przestrzeni życia. To w życiu ukazałyby się również wszystkie konsekwencje ucieczki od spełnienia nakazu Boga. Powrót, bez spełnienia woli Boga, byłby ucieczką, a szansa zbawienia okazałaby się niemożliwa. Abraham stałby się człowiekiem zhańbionym, bez przyszłości i prawdziwej wiary (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 22). Dlatego na pytanie: czy można uciec? Należy odpowiedzieć: tak! Ale to się nie opłaca, bo ucieczka zabiera wszystko.

Droga powrotna po dopełnieniu woli Boga to powrót do życia, zstępowanie do codzienności po niesamowitości obcowania z Bogiem. Nie można zatem powiedzieć, że człowiek wiary nie jest związany ze światem. Owszem jest, i to nawet jeszcze głębiej niż się wydaje. Jak pisze Kierkegaard, Grecy nazywali wiarę „boskim szaleństwem” (2000, s. 268); wiara bowiem jest czymś, co należy urzeczywistnić, jest częścią życia, a nawet więcej, jest sposobem życia.

Człowiek wiary nie tylko bierze odpowiedzialność za swoje czyny, ale również odpowiedzialność za przekroczenie pewnych zasad na rzecz wiary. Taka sytuacja występuje jeśli chodzi o czyn, którego chciał dokonać Abraham – zabicie syna. Żeby wyjaśnić postępowanie Abrahama, trzeba cofnąć się z powrotem do problemu ogólności i jednostki. Człowiek religijny wyrasta z ogólności. Nie wydaje się to dziwne, ponieważ żeby wspiąć się na poziom religii trzeba należeć do ogółu, posiadać moralność i świadomość samego siebie. Człowiek religijny jednak na tym nie poprzestaje. Poprzez swoje czyny wznosi się ponad ogół. Paradoks polega na tym, że jednostka może się wzniesć ponad ogół tylko wtedy, gdy do niego należy. Widać tutaj,



że Kierkegaard nie neguje etapu etycznego, uważa go za ważny, ale niewystarczający. Jednostka staje się jednostką dlatego, że uczestniczyła w tym, co ogólne. Ale dopiero przekraczając to, co ogólne, staje się jednostką (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 58).

Oparcie na sobie to oparcie w etyce, w tym, co ogólne, przyjęte; można powiedzieć, to, co dobre dla mnie i zrozumiałe dla ogółu. To, co dobre w oczach Boga, nie zawsze jest zgodne z moim pojęciem dobroci. Problemem są tutaj priorytety. Dla człowieka wierzącego takim priorytetem jest wiara. Człowiek wierzący powinien związać się bardziej z Bogiem niż z ludźmi. Ale nie jest to łatwe. Pojawia się bowiem strach, który powoduje, że górę bierze ogólność, jak mówi Kierkegaard, zwycięża w człowieku zwierzę, które myśli, że lepiej być jak inni, tak jest bezpieczniej (Kierkegaard, 2000, s. 79).

Dlatego oparcie w Bogu wydaje się zakładać przyjęcie tego, co niezrozumiałe z mojego punktu widzenia. Stanowi skok w to, co niepewne. Świat zewnętrzny jest pewnością, jest tym, co bezpieczne. Dlatego perspektywa życia w tłumie, w ogólności, wydaje się bardziej atrakcyjna niż życie w samotności wiary:

Wiara, walka wierzącego ze światem, jest walką charakteru. Ludzka próżność zamieszkuje w chęci rozumienia, próżność niechęci bycia posłusznym jak dziecko, ale chęci bycia dorosłym, który potrafi pojmuwać i który z tego powodu nie jest posłuszny wobec tego, czego nie może pojąć; to znaczy, kto w sposób istotny nie chce być posłuszny. (Kierkegaard, 2000, s. 272)

Zatem problem polega na zbytnej pysze człowieka. Choć z drugiej strony, chęć poznania i wytłumaczenia wszystkiego nie jest czymś złym. Przeciwnie, wydaje się, że jest to nieodłączny element ludzkiej egzystencji. Być może problem tkwi tutaj nie w poznaniu, ale (można powiedzieć) w jego ilości. Kierkegaard wydaje się przestrzegać przed chęcią wytłumaczenia wszystkiego, przed rozumowym ujęciem wiary. Podkreśla, że wiara ztraca swój sens i prawdziwość w rozumie, do pewnych prawd nie da się dojść poprzez rozum. Bo wiara zawiera się w tym, co dotyczy serca i egzystencji, zawiera się w paradoksie w stosunku do własnego wnętrza i świata zewnętrznego.

To wszystko rozgrywa się wewnątrz człowieka. Jak podkreśla Kierkegaard, człowiek wiary nie różni się niczym od innych, a nawet przeciwnie, wydaje się chyba jeszcze bardziej niepozorny. Ci, którzy przeżywają zmagania wewnętrzne, wydają się pospolici, zanurzeni w ogólności, nie różnią się od tych, którzy nic z wiary nie rozumieją (Kierkegaard, 1972). Są to ludzie, którzy mocniej stąpają po ziemi niż możni panowie tego świata. Cieszą się życiem, chociaż często rozgrywa się w nich walka o wiarę (Kierkegaard, 1972). Ci ludzie nie dają po sobie poznać, że coś stało się w ich życiu. Bo to, co najważniejsze, rozgrywa się w nich samych:

Nie trzeba oglądać ich, gdy są w powietrzu, trzeba patrzeć na nich w momencie, w którym dotykają ziemi, wtedy ich się poznaje. Ale tak opadać, aby od razu wyglądać tak, jak by się stało i szło dalej, tak przemieniać skok życia w krok powszedniości, absolutnie wyrażać

wzniosłość w kroczeniu po ziemi – potrafi tylko rycerz wiary, i to jest prawdziwy cud. (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 40)

Ludzie wiary nie manifestują swojej przemiany zewnętrznie. Ona staje się jakby mimochodem, nie jest na pokaz. Dlatego człowiek wiary nie wymyka się ogólności, on wciąż w niej żyje i z poziomu ogólności niemożliwe jest zauważenie przemiany, która się w nim odbyła. Każdy dokonuje tej przemiany sam, nikt nie może mu w niej pomóc, dlatego można mówić tutaj o niezrozumieniu przez otoczenie. Kierkegaard porównuje wiarę do koszuli, którą każdy musi uszyć na miarę dla siebie (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 45). Nie da się wiary zrzucić na kogoś innego. Nie da się jej również doświadczyć w tłumie, dlatego człowiek wiary wychodzi poza ogół, aby doświadczyć wiary w samotności.

Wiara to wyrzeczenie się doczesności tylko na chwilę. Zawieszenie troski o tu i teraz na konkretny moment. Po co? Aby odzyskać doczesność w nowym sensie i z nową wiarą (Kierkegaard, 1972). I to jest absurd wiary. Widać to dokładnie na przykładzie Abrahama. Abraham do końca nie wyrzekł się syna, a zarazem musiał to uczynić, aby spełnić wolę Boga. Była to jakby bitwa dwóch światów o panowanie w człowieku. Została przerwana przez interwencję Boga. Życie syna zostało mu darowane ponownie i jeszcze coś. Abraham wrócił odmieniony prawdziwą wiarą, która walczyła w nim z tym, co ogólne. Został przemieniony przez własną siłę i zaufanie. Zaufanie jest tutaj niezbędne, bo wiara często prowadzi przez drogi, na które człowiek wchodzić nie powinien, które są potępiane, albo przynajmniej niezrozumiane przez społeczeństwo.

„Wierzenie jest w istocie pójściem naprzód tą drogą, gdzie wszystkie ludzkie drogowskazy pokazują: wstecz, wstecz, wstecz!” (Kierkegaard, 2000, s. 281). Istnieje jeszcze jeden aspekt dotyczący etyki. Już nie ten wymiar wewnętrzny, ale zewnętrzny. Ocena innych ludzi, ogółu. Ocena ludzi, którzy nie rozumieją, co się wydarzyło, i nie mogą zrozumieć.

### **2.3. Bohater tragiczny a „rycerz wiary”**

Kierkegaard zestawia ze sobą bohatera tragicznego, oraz „rycerza wiary” (jak nazywa człowieka wiary) (Kierkegaard, 1972). Bohater tragiczny pozostaje w sferze etyki. Cierpi na oczach wszystkich i każdy rozumie, co on przeżywa. Rycerz wiary odwrotnie, to, co ogólne, nie nazwie tego, co przeżywa; kiedy milczy nikt go nie rozumie (Kierkegaard, 1972). Wiara nie wyraża się w konkretnych słowach, nie da się jej ująć słowami etyki. Kiedy mówi się o niej, wydaje się to być zbyt płytkie, lub nawet fałszywe. Milczenie natomiast nie rozwiązuje problemu, zamyka tylko człowieka przed światem, który jest etyczny. Być może ktoś zorientuje się, że „coś” się dzieje, ale czym jest to „coś”?

Kierkegaard podkreśla również, że niemożność porozumienia jest spowodowana strachem. Ludzie nie interesują się smutkiem, lękiem, niepewnością, bo to przeraża, tego nie da się pojąć; ludzie wolą słuchać o dobrych rzeczach, o tym, co radosne i posiada szczęśliwe zakończenie (Kierkegaard, 1972). Droga „rycerza wiary” jest przerażająca, bo nie posiada schematu. Owszem, można powiedzieć, że pojawia się tam niepewność, walka, ale nic poza tym. Wchodzi się na samotną ścieżkę, o której się nic nie wie (Kierkegaard, 1972).

„Dochodzimy w tym miejscu do problemu samotności. Człowiek wiary niejako jest zmuszony aby odbyć swoją drogę sam. Prawdziwy rycerz wiary jest zawsze absolutnym samotnikiem” (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 86). Samotność wydaje się wymuszona. Próby tłumaczenia skończyłyby się klęską, czymś, co jest sztuczne. Kierkegaard przestrzega przed próbą tłumaczenia.

Wiary nie da się wyjaśnić, pomimo tego ludzie starają się wyjaśnić wszystko, nawet to, czego nie rozumieją. Wszystko powinno być jasne, nie powinno pozostać już nic do wytłumaczenia. Wydaje się, że dla ludzi świat doskonały, to świat wytłumaczony. Dlatego dla spokoju ludzie tłumaczą nawet to, czego nie da się wyjaśnić. Budują niepewne teorie i wątpliwe twierdzenia, aby zapewnić sobie pozór znajomości świata. Wiara jest taką sferą, której nie da się wytłumaczyć i nie należy tego robić. Bo wytłumaczenie byłoby fałszywe. Lepiej milczeć.

Bohater estetyczny może mówić, ale nie chce. Bohater etyczny wypowiada swoje nieszczęście, natomiast bohater wiary : „milczy – ale przecież nie może mówić, na tym polega jego udręka i niepokój. [...] Mówienie jest wyzwoleniem, gdyż przynosi do powszechności” (Kierkegaard, 1972, s. 96). Powszechność jest wybawieniem, ponieważ inni Cię rozumieją, jest się częścią świata, można się wtedy spierać, a nawet być podziwianym. Niezrozumiałość przynosi jedynie pogardę i odrzucenie.

Czym jest zatem wiara? Jest zaczynaniem wciąż od nowa. Nie może być przekazana z pokolenia na pokolenie, ale musi się stawać indywidualnie. Każde pokolenie zaczyna od początku i zdobywa wiarę tak, jak poprzednie pokolenie, o ile to poprzednie nie porzuciło swojej wiary. Jest to ważny element ogólności w drodze jednostki. Choć wiarę każdy zdobywa sam, musi jednak mieć od czego wyjść, od kogoś nauczyć się wiary. Jest ona przekazywana w tradycji i tylko tak może być zaszczipiona. Żadne pokolenie nie dojdzie dalej niż poprzednie. Jeśli nie zawróci z drogi, to całe życie będzie walczyło o wiarę i to jest kres możliwości, trwanie w wierze (Kierkegaard, 1972). Jedyne, co można przekazać przyszłym pokoleniom, to dar ciągłego budowania wiary i przykład własnego życia. Wiary nie można się nauczyć, można ją przekazać tylko własnym postępowaniem, własnym milczeniem.

Człowiek wierzący jest w ciągłym tworzeniu siebie. Wiara nie jest momentem zastanym, jest sytuacją, czyli zdarza się w egzystencji człowieka, a nawet więcej, wiara jest egzystencją. Jest specyficznym sposobem istnienia, sytuacją egzystencjalną (Kierkegaard, 2000, s. 280). Sytuacja to taki stan ducha, w którym człowiek może doświadczać tego, co pierwotne. Zatem może taką sytuacją być spotkanie z Bogiem. Ważne jest to, że owo spotkanie nie następuje za pośrednictwem jakiś określonych obrzędów. Wydaje się, że jedynym warunkiem jest egzystencja. Nie możliwe jest doświadczenie Boga bez niej, bo Bóg objawia się właśnie w egzystencji.

Wiara jest nie tylko sprawą ciągłego wyboru, ale również poruszeniem serca. Wiary, jak już wcześniej powiedzieliśmy, nie da się zrozumieć, jest pełna paradoksów i wewnętrznej walki. Czy ta walka nigdy się nie kończy? Wydaje się, że istnieje jej kres. Oczywiście nie samego wyboru wiary, ale walki z samym sobą o to, czy słusznie wiarę wybraliśmy.

Pytaj, pytaj tak długo, aż znajdziesz odpowiedzi; można bowiem jakąś rzecz znać, jakiś pogląd dotyczący jej uznać, można było wielokrotnie

samemu podejmować próbę jej poznania, ale dopiero głębokie, wewnętrzne poruszenie, dopiero serca niewysłowione wzruszenie, dopiero ono może Ciebie upewnić, że to, co poznałeś, stanowi twoją własność; żadna przemoc i żadna przemoc nie będzie Ci w stanie wydrzeć tego przekonania; albowiem tylko prawda, która jest budująca, jest dla Ciebie prawdą (Kierkegaard, 1982, s. 477).

Sprawa wiary więc jest sprawą serca i tylko tam da się ją zrozumieć. Wydają się tutaj sensowne słowa Pascala, mówiące o istnieniu spraw serca, pojmowalnych tylko dla serca (Pascal, 1983). Obszar wiary wydaje się być obszarem irracjonalnym w człowieku, wymyka się on rozumowi. Ale być może trzeba tutaj mówić o innej racjonalności. W końcu serce również ma swoje racje. Walka w człowieku wierzącym jest zatem walką między jego rozumem a sercem. Serce przyjmuje racjonalność Bożą, rozum się waha. W tej koncepcji człowiek wierzący musi nie tylko wybrać samego siebie, wiarę, ale i racjonalność. Wybór ten jest kluczowy dla jego własnego życia. Ten wybór rozpoczyna dopiero drogę po wiarę. Niestety jest to droga w samotność, gdyż nikt nie jest w stanie człowiekowi towarzyszyć, ani doświadczyć tego, co on doświadcza. Nie istnieją słowa, które mogłyby połączyć dwóch ludzi jedną drogą. A zatem pozostaje cisza, która być może mówi dużo więcej niż słowa.

### **3. Martin Heidegger – zapomnienie „bycia”**

Heidegger był filozofem, który chciał pokazać, że historia filozofii aż do jego czasów była oparta na nieporozumieniu. Nieporozumieniem owym miało być skupienie się tylko i wyłącznie na problemie bytu, skutkiem czego zapomniano o byciu. Nie chodzi o to, że bycie nie zostało w ogóle zauważone. Problem według Heideggera polegał na tym, że prymat bycia nad bytem nie został dostatecznie podkreślony i rozwinięty. To zapomnienie bycia nastąpiło już za czasów starożytnych, kiedy zainteresowanie rodzącej się wtedy metafizyki spoczęło na problemie bytu. Rozważania, które prowadziły do odpowiedzi na pytanie: czym jest byt?, z czego się składa?, sprawiły, że bycie, zostało całkowicie zapomniane (Heidegger, 2004).

Pokazaliśmy na początku [...], że pytanie o sens bycia nie tylko nie ma odpowiedzi i nie tylko nie zostało należycie postawione, ale wręcz – przy całym zainteresowaniu „metafizyką” - popadło w zapomnienie. Grecka ontologia i jej dzieje, które poprzez rozmaite filiacje i dewiacje wyznaczają jeszcze i dziś pojęciowy zasób filozofii, to dowód na to, że rozumienie samego siebie i bycia w ogóle jestestwo czerpie ze świata i że tak powstała ontologia ulega tradycji redukującej ją do oczywistości i do materiału, który ma być po prostu na nowo opracowany. (Heidegger, 2004, s.28)

Podstawowym celem Heideggera jest zatem przywrócenie w myśli filozoficznej bycia, jako podstawy wszystkich nauk, oraz podstawy myślenia (Heidegger, 2004). Przeformułowuje również dotychczasową terminologię nazywając naukę o byciu ontologią, natomiast naukę o bycie ontyką (Heidegger, 2004).

Za przyczynę zapomnienia bycia Heidegger uważa lęk. Lęk, jest bezprzedmiotowy w przeciwieństwie do strachu. Tak naprawdę w lęku chodzi o bycie (Heidegger, 2004). Co to oznacza? Że lęk odsłania bycie. Bycie przeraża, ponieważ jest czymś, na czym nie można się oprzeć tak, jak na bytach. Byty są czymś, co daje bezpieczeństwo. Lęk pozbawia tego oparcia, ponieważ ukazuje bycie (Heidegger, 2004). Lękać może się tylko byt, któremu w jego byciu o nie samo chodzi (Heidegger, 2004, s. 181).

Sytuacją, w której pojawia się nie tylko lęk ale i zrozumienie bycia, jest śmierć (Heidegger, 2004). Wtedy wszystkie byty przestają mieć znaczenie i codzienną użyteczność. Postawienie w sytuacji nieprzydatności wszystkiego, co do tej pory było gwarancją bezpieczeństwa, powoduje, że pojawia się chęć ponownej ucieczki w byty. To doświadczenie ukazuje powód zapomnienia bycia, oraz to, dlaczego zwykle człowiek egzystuje w „sposób niewłaściwy” (taki, który zasłania bycie) (Heidegger, 2004).

Niewłaściwą egzystencję Heidegger nazywa „Się” (Heidegger, 2004, s. 213). Człowiek żyje w świecie, świat jest horyzontem jego funkcjonowania. Kluczowe jest natomiast to, że może w tym świecie funkcjonować na sposób właściwy, albo niewłaściwy. Jak można się domyśleć, właściwe funkcjonowanie to takie egzystowanie, które jest nastawione na bycie, natomiast niewłaściwe jest oparte o byty (Heidegger, 2004). Niewłaściwe funkcjonowanie w świecie Heidegger nazywa „upadaniem” (Heidegger, 2004, s. 224). Ujmuje je w trzech fenomenach: „gadanina”, „ciekawość”, „dwuznaczność” (Heidegger, 2004). Gadanina jest przeciwnością mowy, która jest właściwym sposobem funkcjonowania. Zajmiemy się pokrótce obu przypadkami.

Mowa zwykle się wypowiada – i zawsze jest już po dokonaniu tego. Jest językiem. W tym, co wypowiedziane, tkwią już zawsze rozumienie i wykładnia. Język jako możliwość wypowiedziania kryje w sobie wykładalność rozumienia jestestwa (Heidegger, 2004, s. 214).

Właściwe użycie języka, to komunikowanie bycia, które jest fundamentem i kluczem do rozumienia całej rzeczywistości. Język powinien służyć otwarciu na rzeczywistość bycia. Heidegger chce, żeby język, który również przyczynił się do zapomnienia bycia (poprzez mówienie o bycie), stał się bramą do świata ontologii (Heidegger, 2004).

Wypowiadająca się mowa jest komunikatem. Zmierza ona do tego, by słyszającego doprowadzić do udziału w otwartym byciu ku temu, co w mowie omawiane (Heidegger, 2004, s. 215).

Właściwą funkcją języka jest otwarcie słuchacza na rzeczywistość, o której się mówi. Mowa to nie tylko znaki, ale przede wszystkim wspólna podróż w krainę tego, o czym jest mowa. Co więcej, to nie tylko podróż, ale i udział, egzystencja. Prawdziwa mowa powinna zmieniać sposób życia, wprowadzać w nową egzystencję. U Kierkegaarda podjęcie decyzji o konkretnym sposobie życia powodowało możliwość lub brak możliwości mówienia o swoich przeżyciach, zrozumiałość lub niezrozumiałość dla innych. Cisza mogła oznaczać najgłębsze komunikowanie przeżywanego egzystencji. U Heideggera, mowa jest nie tylko sposobem odkrywania fundamentów, ale i początkiem funkcjonowania w oparciu o doświadczenie nowej rzeczywistości.

Często jednak mowa nie pełni funkcji, o których wspominaliśmy wyżej. Bardzo często mowa zostaje zniekształcona.

„Nie tyle rozumie się omawiany byt, ile raczej słucha się już tylko czegoś obgadane jako takiego. To coś jest rozumiane, „o czym” - tylko w przybliżeniu, powierzchownie” (Heidegger, 2004, s. 215). Powierzchnowe ujęcie omawianego problemu sprawia, że nigdy nie dotrze się do jego głębokiego sensu. Taki sposób mówienia jest prosty i pasuje do prostego słuchania, które nie wymaga wysiłku, ani zagłębiania się w szczegóły. Takim sposobem można mówić dużo, nie mówiąc nic konkretnego, ani nie zbliżając się ani na krok do prawdy. Taki sposób mówienia nie tylko bowiem nie otwiera drzwi do zrozumienia, ale można pokusić się o stwierdzenie, że coraz bardziej je zamyka. Heidegger nazywa taki zamykający sposób mówienia „gadaniną” (Heidegger, 2004, s. 214).

Gadanina sprawia wrażenie zrozumiałości, oczywistości. Poprzez to złudzenie zakrywa prawdę, pozwala na pozostanie na powierzchni bez wnikania w istotę rzeczy. Pozwala sądzić, że niewielkim wysiłkiem można osiągnąć zrozumienie. Natomiast złudzenie nigdy prawdą nie będzie. Prawda nie ukaże się w półśłówkach, ale domaga się pełni. Dlatego powracając do myśli Heideggera gadanina jest „sposobem bycia wykorzenionego rozumienia jestestwa” (Heidegger, 2004, s.217). Gadanina nigdy nie stanie się sposobem odsłaniania prawdy, ale będzie jej iluzją i zakryciem.

#### **4. Zakończenie**

Język jest siłą, która może odkrywać przed nami rzeczywistość, lub ją całkowicie zasłaniać. Pytanie tylko brzmi: czy to naprawdę język decyduje, co ukaże? Czasem faktycznie wydaje się, że to język decyduje, co może być odkryte, a co zakryte. Tym niemniej doświadczenie człowieka może się wymknąć językowi, bo zabraknie pojęć, które mogłyby je opisać. Kierkegaardowski „rycerz wiary” może co najwyżej opisywać swoje doświadczenia w kategoriach negacji. Pytaniem pozostaje: czy taki opis przybliży nas cokolwiek do zrozumienia, czyli wkroczenia w rzeczywistość, której ten człowieka doświadcza? Czy przybliży nas w jakikolwiek sposób do autentycznego wczucia się w doświadczenia i przeżycia drugiego? Kierkegaard odpowiedziałby negatywnie. Według niego istnieją doświadczenia nieprzekazywalne, i właśnie ta nieprzekazywalność jest największą niezwykłością życia. Indywidualizm człowieka polega na tym, że tego, co on przeżywa, nie da się zakomunikować w sposób, który umożliwiłaby dogłębne zrozumienie. Taki sposób myślenia ukazuje niezwykłość i tajemniczość każdego człowieka, ale również konieczność jego samotności i niemożliwość porozumienia.

Heidegger uważa, że to nie niedoskonałość języka wprowadza nas w błąd, ale niedoskonałość człowieka. Człowiek, który nie egzystuje w sposób prawdziwy, opiera się na tym, co jest mu znane i „oswojone”. Bojąc się dostrzec tego, co stanowi fundament, ale za razem jest przerażające, ucieka do świata. Przerażenie bierze się stąd, że zrozumienie własnego bycia wiąże się z samotnością. Człowiek sam ze sobą, z własnym byciem, odczuwa lęk, bo jest samotny. Ucieczka jest schronieniem w rozumiałość i stabilność.

Język posiada swój kres. Jest nim spotkanie człowieka z samym sobą, z pytaniem: kim jestem? Niezależnie od tego, jak będzie brzmiała odpowiedź, wydaje się, że zawsze będzie się łączyła z koniecznością wyjścia z bezpiecznego schronienia

w tym, co zrozumiałe dla ogółu. Dotarcie do granic języka jest możliwe, ale poprzez język możliwe jest również otwarcie się na prawdę o sobie. Język może być bramą; kiedy się ją otworzy i przekroczy, może się okazać, że jedynym językiem, który pozostał, jest cisza.

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## **DESAKRALIZACJA POJĘĆ POD WPLYWEM POPKULTURY**

### **Abstract**

The aim of the article is to present changes in the Polish tongue caused by popculture. The main emphasis is placed on the changes affecting *lingua sacra*. The article depicts the process of changes in meanings of concepts, changes of the names of religious festivals, and the usage of *lingua sacra* in everyday contexts, which results in removing the concepts in question from the religious realm and depriving them of their original sense.

**Key words:** language, culture, desacralisation, festival, christianity, rite

### **1. Język polski i kultura chrześcijańska**

W historii państwa polskiego niezwykle ważny był etap silnej ekspansji chrześcijaństwa. Wejście w krąg państw chrześcijańskich otworzyło Polskę na nowe źródła kultury, „nie tylko podniety, ale i gotowe wzorce językowej i literackiej działalności” (Klemensiewicz, 1985, s. 22). Nowa religia objęła wszystkie niemal dziedziny życia ludzkiego, przekształcając je i wdrażając w kategorie chrześcijańskie. Wiązało się to nieodzownie ze zmianą zachowań rytualnych praktykowanych na ziemiach polskich. Chrześcijaństwo jako *novum* wyznaniowe na ziemiach polskich zderzyło się z wielowiekową tradycją wierzeń pogańskich. Chrystianizacja, często nie potrafiąc wyeliminować z „życia magicznego” społeczeństwa niektórych pogańskich świąt, wchłonęła je i przekształciła w święta chrześcijańskie. Stanisław Urbańczyk stwierdza, iż „Kościół nie zdołał całkowicie tych obchodów wyplenić, związał je wszakże powoli z chrześcijańskimi świętami, przez co stępił trochę ich ostrze” (1947, s. 84). Sama zmiana czynności rytualnych nie była sprawą kluczową. Najważniejsze było przekształcenie w umyśle odbiorcy związków pomiędzy działaniami a ich źródłem. Święto dla nowego wyznawcy nie mogło pochodzić z wiary pogańskiej, musiało ono mieć swoje korzenie w religii chrześcijańskiej. Aby tego dokonać trzeba było zmienić nomenklaturę pojęciową. Jest to wyraźnie widoczne na przykładzie dwóch obrzędów: Nocy Kupały oraz Dziadów.

#### **1.1. Obrzęd Dziadów**

Dziady, jako obrzęd, były obchodzone, aby zaskarbić sobie przychylność oraz aby pomóc w pośmiertnym życiu „Dziadom”, czyli duchom domowym. Okazuje się bowiem, „że życie pozagrobowe w zasadzie podobne do ziemskiego było ciężkie, stąd potrzebna była pomoc żyjących” (Urbańczyk, 1947, s. 49). Było to o tyle istotne, że Dziady byli opiekunami płodności i urodzaju. Żywi w dwojaki sposób zdobywali błogosławieństwo umarłych. Po pierwsze poprzez wspólne ucztowanie, które często odbywało się bezpośrednio na grobach. Z każdego posiłku część jedzenia i napojów



była oddawana zmarłym. Drugi rytuał polegał na rozpalaniu ognisk lub świec, bądź to w celu ogrzania dusz, bądź wskazania im drogi w zaświaty.

Echem rytuału rozpalania ognia są prawdopodobnie znicze, jakie zapalamy na grobach bliskich. Silnie zakorzeniony w kulturze obrzęd Dziadów związany został ze świętem Wszystkich Świętych. Pogański obrzęd nie został jednak zapomniany i to nie tylko dzięki twórczości Mickiewicza. Równoległe bowiem do oficjalnej nazwy, „Dzień Wszystkich Świętych”, funkcjonuje określenie „Święto Zmarłych”, a temu mianu bliżej raczej do pogańskiego obrządku niż chrześcijańskiej uroczystości. Warto zauważyć, iż, jak pisze Brückner, „znaczenie kościelne, ‘sanctus’, otrzymało chyba przez chrześcijaństwo dopiero” (1985, s. 537). Wcześniej oznaczało kogoś, lub coś, silnego (Brückner, 1985). Natomiast słowo *zmarły* wywodzi się od *mrzeć*, którego pierwotne znaczenie, to „ginąć, niszczyć” (Brückner, 1985, s. 347), a więc znaczenie zostało *de facto* zachowane i niezmienione przez żadne wpływy religijne.

### **1.2. Halloween contra Wszystkich Świętych**

W latach dziewięćdziesiątych poprzedniego wieku coraz większą popularność zaczął w Polsce zdobywać zwyczaj Halloween. Trafił on do Polski w związku z wpływami kultury amerykańskiej. Znanе są nam jednak tylko rekwizyty obrzędu, nie jest natomiast jasne źródło i sens tego święta, chociaż jest ono wiązane i uważane dość powszechnie za konkurujące z uroczystościami Wszystkich Świętych. Halloween jest u nas całkowicie pozbawione elementów sakralnych i jako takie objawia się tylko poprzez *Jack-o'-lantern*, czyli wydrążone dynie ze świecą wewnątrz, oraz bale przebierańców. Nie przyjął się natomiast popularny w Stanach Zjednoczonych zwyczaj *Trick-or-treating* znany w Polsce pod nazwą „cukierek-albo-psikus”.

Powierzchnowa tylko adaptacja zwyczaju Halloween ujawnia się między innymi w braku tłumaczenia, które oddawałoby sens pojęcia *Jack-o'-lantern*. Określenie to odsyła do legendy o Jacku, który sprzedał swoją duszę diabłu za doczesne bogactwa. W języku polskim nie ma jednak określenia, które odpowiadałoby anglojęzycznemu pojęciu. Nie powstała również żadna adaptacja fonetyczna, chociaż te są ostatnio bardzo popularne. Warto również zauważyć translacyjną niedbałość w związku z tłumaczeniem nazwy *trick-or-treating*. Polskie sformułowanie „cukierek-albo-psikus” chociaż oddaje sens frazy, to całkowicie jest pozbawione paronomazji, która oddawałaby i wzmacniała lekką i swobodną formę przekazu ukrytą w tym idiomie.

### **1.3. Noc Kupa(j)ły**

Podobne przemiany jak obrzęd Dziadów pod wpływem kultury chrześcijańskiej spotkał sobótki. Początkowo nazywane były one „stadem” (Urbańczyk, 1947), później przyjęło się nazywać je „sobótkami”. Funkcjonowała również nazwa pochodzenia ruskiego brzmiąca *kupało*. Pierwsza nazwa wywodzi się od zbiorowych zabaw podczas uroczystości: „Długosz opowiada o zabawie w Zielone Święta, zwanej *stadem*, kiedy to gromady ludzi podzielone na stada zabawiają się popadając w rozpustę” (Urbańczyk, 1947, s. 82) W nazwę „stado”, którą podaje Długosz nie wierzy Brückner stwierdzając, że „to jego własny wymysł” (1985, s. 512). Nazwa „sobótki” wzięła się stąd, iż uroczystości te najczęściej odbywały się właśnie w soboty. Natomiast etymologii słowa *kupało* należałoby poszukiwać

w prasłowiańskim *kopati*, co oznacza „kąpać” (Urbańczyk, 1991, s. 198), a ma związek z obrzędowością tej nocy.

Sobótki były świętem nadchodzącej wiosny. Obrzędy związane ze zmianą pór roku to między innymi pierwsza oczyszczająca kąpiel (stąd nazwa *kupało*), skakanie przez ogień i topienie kukły. Tradycja ta budząca zgorszenie wśród kapłaństwa została zasymilowana przez kulturę chrześcijańską pod postacią wigilii św. Jana Chrzciciela. Aleksander Brückner pisze: „Na jego dzień przeniósł kościół-cerkiew święto, jakie pogaanie odprawiali (tańce całonocne dookoła ogni; wicie wianków z bylicy; zbieranie ziół; kwiat paproci tajemniczy); stąd znaczenie *Kupa(j)ły* i *Sobótki* we zwyczajach i zabobonach ludowych; ogólnoeuropejskie zresztą” (1985). I znów mamy do czynienia z analogią pomiędzy pogańską noworoczną kąpielą oczyszczającą a chrztem przez całkowite zanurzenie, o jakim czytamy w Biblii i jakiego dokonuje właśnie św. Jan Chrzciciel.

Noc sobótkowa była też nocą kojarzenia małżeństw. Pomagał przy tym obrzęd wianków, okręgów splecionych z gałązek brzoźowych, poprzez które pary mogły się całować. A zatem święto *kupałnocki* było również niczym innym jak świętem zakochanych. Ten aspekt święta sobótek chyba najbardziej uległ zapomnieniu. Sam jednak koncept święta miłości powrócił do świadomości Polaków w końcu XX wieku w formie skomercjalizowanego Dnia św. Walentego. Brak jednak w tym dniu rytualnych czynności o charakterze magicznym (plecenie wianków, rzucanie ich na wodę), a wiąże się on jedynie z obdarowaniem partnera prezentem o charakterze czysto materialnym.

#### **1.4. Św. Mikołaj i świecki Mikołaj**

Laicyzacja wpłynęła w bardzo znaczący sposób na wizerunek i odbiór społeczny jednego z najbardziej znanych świętych kościoła katolickiego, czyli św. Mikołaja. Postępujący proces komercjalizacji związał św. Mikołaja tylko i wyłącznie z obdarowywaniem prezentami. W kulturze popularnej postać ta ma bardzo charakterystyczny wizerunek – czerwony strój, biały, długi zarost, powóz z reniferami, skrzaty. Figura świętego została zatem wyekstrahowana z obszaru religijnego i przeniesiona w obszar świecki, w którym zachowane zostały tylko elementy atrakcyjne dla odbiorcy masowego. Zmiany w rzeczywistości kulturowej znalazły odbicie w języku. I choć różnica wydaje się niewielka, to oddaje idealnie zaistniałe zmiany. I tym sposobem św. Mikołaj stał się po prostu „Mikołajem”.

Pozbawienie imienia własnego przymiotnika „święty” w sposób oczywisty i bezpośredni ujawnia desakralizację samego przedmiotu denotacji nazwy. Podobny los spotyka uroczystość przyjęcia sakramentu I Komunii Świętej. Pisze o tym Antonina Grybosiowa, powołując się na wypowiedź dziennikarza, który „podał cenę komunii (bez świętej)” (2003b, s. 28). Wspomniana uroczystość została pozbawiona perspektywy religijnej i potraktowana jako świeckie wydarzenie w życiu młodego człowieka, które ocenia się z ekonomicznego punktu widzenia i rozważa pod kątem zysków i strat. Ten sam dziennikarz stworzył „Ranking prezentów”, a jak stwierdza Grybosiowa, „[p]o uroczystości, w zamierzeniu religijnej, można usłyszeć dialog dzieci: *ile zebrałeś do koperty? A ja mam więcej*” (2003b, s. 28).

Proces desakralizacji objął swym zasięgiem inne pojęcia ściśle związane z obszarem religii. Na pytanie: „Z czym kojarzą Ci się Święta Wielkanocne?”, internauci odpowiadali, używając następujących pojęć:

*jajka, zajac, kurczak, śniadanie, baranek, koszyczek, baze, święconka, żółty kolor, narcyz (kwiat), śmigus-dyngus, lany poniedziałek, prezenty, palemki wielkanocne, pisanki, święcenie żarcia, rekolekcje, baranek lukrowy, post, agnusek.*<sup>44</sup>

Odpowiedzi na pytanie: „Z czym kojarzą Ci się Święta Bożego Narodzenia?”, zawierały natomiast pojęcia:

*zakupy, gotowanie, porządki, choinka, wigilia, prezenty, kolędy, pierwsza gwiazdka, gwiazdor, potrawy, zakupy, seans filmowy, rodzina, kolędy, dwanaście potraw, sprzątanie, szopka, wigilia, kościół, zabijanie karpi, czas wolny, odpoczynek, rodzina, siano, kolacja, choinka, gitara, prezenty, mikołaj, ładny ubiór, pismo święte, pasterka, jemiola, stajenka, Kevin, gotowanie, opłatki, świąteczny stół, wolne od szkoły, ubieranie choinki, wesoly czas, śpiewanie kolęd, Jezusek.*<sup>45</sup>

Nomenklatura pojęciowa użyta przez internautów w udzielanych odpowiedziach zdecydowanie odbiega od pojęć *lingua sacra*, chociaż zadane pytanie uruchamiało tę właśnie dziedzinę języka. Najwidoczniej jednak grupa testowa nie łączy ściśle (świadomie bądź nieświadomie) czasu Świąt Bożego Narodzenia i Wielkanocy z obszarem *sacrum* i kultu. Używany zasób słownictwa ujawnia raczej koneksje „popkulturowe” oraz życia codziennego. „Do laicyzacji obyczaju włączyć można zupełnie świeckie podejście do wielu uroczystości religijnych, w tym także do przeżywania niedzieli na rodzinnych zakupach w hipermarketach” (Grybosiowa, 2003b, s. 28). Skoro użytkownicy języka nie „wchodzą” w sferę kultu, to jest zrozumiałe, że nie stosują pojęć języka *sacrum*, a jedynie pojęć obszaru kultury powszechnej. Leszek Kołakowski zauważa: „Poza kontekstem wiary poszczególne składniki języka *sacrum* muszą wydawać się niepojęte albo wręcz nonsensowne” (1988, s. 137). W podanych odpowiedziach pojawiają się określenia, które czas świąt wyłączają z dziedziny życia duchowego i ustanawiają na równi z obszarem życia codziennego, traktując ten czas jako po prostu „czas wolny” od pracy i szkoły. W takim wypadku staje się zrozumiałe, że użytkownicy języka nie stosują języka *sacrum*, który w kontekście życia codziennego jest bezsensowny i niepojęty. Jednocześnie atrybuty obu wspomnianych świąt zaczęły funkcjonować jako wypreparowane ze świętości. W związku z tym potrzebne były do ich określenia nowe pojęcia. Z podanych odpowiedzi można wypreparować te, które wywodzą się z języka sakralnego, ale uległy przekwalifikowaniu i wchłonięciu przez język powszechny:

- *baranek*
- *baranek lukrowy*

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<sup>44</sup>Pobrano ze strony:

[http://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/001,003/2,10799152,Z\\_czym\\_kojarza\\_Ci\\_sie\\_swieta\\_Wielkanocne.html](http://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/001,003/2,10799152,Z_czym_kojarza_Ci_sie_swieta_Wielkanocne.html)

<sup>45</sup>[http://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/024,001/2,26131571,Z\\_czym\\_ci\\_sie\\_kojarza\\_swieta\\_Bozego\\_Narodzenia\\_.htm](http://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/024,001/2,26131571,Z_czym_ci_sie_kojarza_swieta_Bozego_Narodzenia_.htm)

- *Jezusek*
- *palemki wielkanocne*
- *pierwsza gwiazdka*
- *szopka*
- *stajenka*.

Warto zwrócić uwagę na licznie występujące *deminutiva*. Niemal wszystkie wyżej wymienione pojęcia są zdrobnione. Pytaniem jest, czy te zdrobnienia pełnią tylko funkcję wyrażenia emocjonalnego, pozytywnego stosunku do nazywanego przedmiotu, czy może również pełnią rolę elementu „zaklinającego” rzeczywistość? Jeszcze w obrębie sfery *sacrum* zdrabniano pewne nazwy, takie jak:

- *baranek boży*
- *dzieciątko Jezus*
- *stajenka*
- *szopka*
- *agnusek*.

Zdrobnienia te najprawdopodobniej pomagały przekroczyć barierę pomiędzy tym, co święte, a tym, co ludzkie. Zdrobnienie funkcjonuje jako eufemizm. Pawlikowska podążając za Dąbrowską stwierdza: „Jedną z funkcji leksyki religijnej we wtórnym dyskursie jest eufemizacja – zjawisko znamienne, ponieważ sfera *sacrum* potencjalnie jest objęta działaniem tabu pierwotnego” (2011, s. 125). I właśnie aby to tabu przełamać, został przez użytkowników zastosowany środek językowy jakim jest *deminutivum*. I w tej zdrobnionej, już oswojonej formie, pojęcia sakralne zostały przeniesione do języka świeckiego. Jednak przeniesienie tych pojęć w inny kontekst funkcjonowania zmienia też zasadniczo ich denotację. Pojęcia te zostały przeniesione z kontekstu wiary i boskości w kontekst odpoczynku od pracy i rodzinnych spotkań. O ile w pierwszym kontekście pojęcia te odnosiły się do tego, co transcendentne, to w drugim już związane są z czymś zupełnie innym. I właśnie dlatego „baranek” w *lingua obscura* oznacza lukrowego baranka w cukierni – słodkiego *agnuska*. Szopka to przedmiot do kupienia w sklepie, czy różnorakie budowle biorące udział w konkursach (w jednej z wielkanocnych szopek w Krakowie pojawił się aniołek – lalka Barbie), a Jezusek, to mała figurka dzidziusia leżącego na sianku pod choinką, i którego można kupić w sklepie. Poniżej przedstawione jest przesunięcie znaczeniowe kilku pojęć w obrębie sfery *sacrum* poprzez zastosowanie środka jakim jest *deminutivum*, a następnie wyłączenie ich z tej sfery i włączenie w obszar języka powszechnego.

Pojęcia w obrębie *Lingua sacra*

Pojęcia w obrębie języka powszechnego

<i>Agnus Dei</i> >	<i>Baranek boży</i> >	<i>baranek, baranek lukrowy</i>
<i>Agnus Dei</i> >		<i>agnusek</i>
<i>Żłób</i> >	<i>szopka, stajenka</i> >	<i>szopka, stajenka</i>
<i>Syn Boży, Dziecię</i> >	<i>dzieciątko Jezus</i> >	<i>Jezusek</i>

## 2. Kontekst kulturowy a znaczenie pojęć

Przedstawione powyżej zmiany językowe dotyczą przede wszystkim wpływów i zmian zachodzących pod wpływem kultury chrześcijańskiej oraz, z drugiej strony, pod wpływem współczesnej popkultury zachodu:

„Pozostając tylko w historii nowożytnej, wymienić można dominującą aż do początków wieku XX kulturę francuską oraz wyraźniejsze od początku XX wieku oznaki wpływu kultury angielskiej (pojęcie dżentelmena i damy, fair play, splendid isolation, spleen i podobne). Obecnie ulegamy wpływowi kultury nowej, do pewnego stopnia egzotycznej, czyli amerykańskiej. Ogarnia ona Stary Świat – Europę. Dla osób młodych, które nie zdążyły jeszcze utożsamić się z kulturą rodzimą, a w pełni uległy wzorom medialnym, [kultura amerykańska] jest często jedyną propozycją kulturową. (Grybosiova, 2003a, s. 50).

Zmiany zachodzące w języku w różnym stopniu „wglębiają” się w jego strukturę, co powoduje, iż są mniej lub bardziej trwałe. Zaprezentowane zmiany językowe obrazują przekształcenia warstwy leksykalnej języka i absorbowanie nowych pojęć, które odzwierciedlają nowe zjawiska i przemiany zachodzące w sferze kultury. Zmiany nazw świąt wiążą się z głęboką przemianą całego obszaru *sacrum* narodu i odrzuceniem wcześniejszej wiary. Ma tutaj zatem zastosowanie teorii metodologicznej Paula Feyerabenda, który stwierdza:

Ostatecznie, znaczenie każdego używanego przez nas terminu zależy od teoretycznego kontekstu, w którym się pojawia. Stąd, jeśli rozważamy dwa konteksty, których podstawowe zasady albo zaprzeczają sobie nawzajem, albo prowadzą do sprzecznych konsekwencji w pewnych dziedzinach, powinniśmy się spodziewać, że niektóre terminy pierwszego kontekstu nie pojawią się w drugim kontekście w dokładnie tym samym znaczeniu. Co więcej, jeśli nasza metodologia domaga się stosowania wzajemnie niezgodnych, częściowo pokrywających się i empirycznie adekwatnych teorii, to żąda tym samym również stosowania systemów pojęciowych, które są wzajemnie nieredukowalne (ich terminy pierwotne nie mogą być łączone przez prawa pomostowe, które byłyby sensowne i zgodne z faktami). (Feyerabend, 1979, s. 48).

I tak jest w istocie.

Proces chrystianizacji rozpoczął się w Polsce już w X w.: „Nawracanie pogan oraz katechizacja świeżo ochrzczonych na terenie Zachodniej Słowiańszczyzny odbywała się w językach miejscowych, często w oparciu o specjalnie w tym celu przygotowane księgi” (Michałowska, 2002, s. 57). W związku z tym procesem naturalnym elementem było eliminowanie z życia świąt pogańskich przy jednoczesnym wprowadzaniu kalendarza świąt chrześcijańskich. I chociaż niektóre z tych świąt, jak zostało wskazane wcześniej, zawierają elementy obrzędów pogańskich, to jednak dokonało się całkowite przewartościowanie celów, znaczenia i sensu tych obrzędów. Z konieczności wymagało to zmiany aparatu pojęciowego, co nie zawsze było proste, zwłaszcza jeśli zmiany były wymuszane sztucznie.

U niemieckiego kronikarza Thietmara możemy przeczytać, że „aby łatwiej nauczać powierzone swej pieczy owieczki, biskup Bozo spisał słowo Boże w języku słowiańskim i polecił im śpiewać *Kyrie eleison*, wskazując na wielki płynący stąd pożytek. Ci nierozumni Słowianie jednak przekręcili te słowa gwoli szyderstwa na pozbawione sensu: ‘ukrivolsa’, co w naszym języku znaczy: ‘w krzu stoi olsza’” (Michałowska, 2002, s. 57). Pomimo tych trudności zmiany nastąpiły. Innymi słowy zmienił się „teoretyczny kontekst” z pogańskiego na chrześcijański. W związku z tym nawet jeśli funkcjonuje do dziś sformułowanie Święto Zmarłych i jest ono echem obrzędu Dziadów, to kontekst funkcjonowania nie jest pogański, ale chrześcijański. A zatem, zgodnie z zastosowaniem teorii Feyerabenda, pojęcie Święto Zmarłych co innego znaczy w ramach kontekstu kultu dawnych Słowian, a co innego w przestrzeni kultury chrześcijańskiej.

### 3. *Nec Hercules contra plures?*

Głębokość i trwałość zmian językowych odzwierciedlają takie same przemiany kulturowe. Możemy stwierdzić, że obrzędy Dziadów, Sobótki i Kupajły zostały wyparte ze społecznej świadomości jako obyczaje duchowe i religijne, co potwierdza wielowiekowa tradycja kultywowania obrzędów Wszystkich Świętych, czy Wigilii św. Jana. Trwałość tych zmian jest jasna i oczywista. Inaczej w przypadku nowszych i współczesnych przemian kulturowo-pojęciowych. I tak, o ile pojęcie Halloween wydaje się nie wypierać, ani nie zastępować Dnia Wszystkich Świętych, a „cukierek-albo-psikus” oraz *Jack-o'-lantern* w zasadzie w ogóle u nas nie funkcjonują, to „nowy”, świecki Mikołaj wręcz całkowicie zdeklasował Św. Mikołaja. Jednak w tak krótkim czasookresie jakim są dwie lub trzy dekady trudno przesądzić o trwałość tych zmian językowych i kulturowych jednocześnie. Waszakowa stwierdza w wywiadzie udzielonym Tygodnikowi Powszechnemu: „W perspektywie wielowiekowej historii polszczyzny obserwowana dziś inwazja zapożyczeń, zwłaszcza tych najbardziej widocznych, jawnych, nie powinna budzić większego niepokoju. Wiele wśród nich okazjonalizmów, krótko żyjących w języku. Rzeczywiste zmiany językowe dokonują się powoli. Najważniejsze jest to, aby polszczyzna zachowała swą żywotność, nie została odstawiona na bok jako język nieużyteczny, bo społecznie niewystarczalny. Ani też jako język z jakichś względów gorszy, np. w najwyższych gremiach zjednoczonej Europy czy w publikacjach naukowych” (za Stylińska 2009). Przemiana aparatu pojęciowego to proces długotrwały; przesądzenie o utrwaleniu pewnych zmian i ich stabilnym ukonstytuowaniu się jest możliwe i prawomocne tylko w wielowiekowej perspektywie historii języka umożliwiającej gruntowne i wiarygodne badania diachroniczne.

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**Wiesław Szalaj**

*Wyższa Szkoła Filologiczna we Wrocławiu*

## **LANGUAGE AND CULTURE – THE TOOLS OF SURVIVAL IN THE ENVIRONMENT**

### **Abstract**

The article introduces and defends a hypothesis that language and culture are products of the brain, and serve the brain (the organism governed by the brain) as tools of adaptation and survival in the environment (the BLC hypothesis). The hypothesis, therefore, presents a new, adaptive definition of language and culture based on Newberg, d'Aquili and Rause's hypothesis about the brain (2002). The article also highlights the BLC research simplification, where language and culture are studied in isolation from their adaptive functions to the brain and its goal – the survival of the organism. It demonstrates a way to eliminate the conflict between religion and science (resulting from the BLC research simplification) by implementation of the BLC hypothesis.

**Key words:** language, culture, religion, brain, adaptation, survival

### **1. Introduction**

The article considers a new definition of language and of culture based on Newberg, d'Aquili and Rause's hypothesis of the brain: “[t]he goal of every living brain [...] has been to enhance the organism's chances of survival by reacting to raw sensory data and translating it into a negotiable rendition of a world” (2002, p. 15). If their hypothesis is true – we further hypothesise – the conclusion must be true that language and culture, as products of the living brain, also serve this goal of survival. This enlarged hypothesis we call “the adaptive hypothesis of the brain, language and culture” (BLC hypothesis). We illustrate some of the consequences of accepting or ignoring the BLC hypothesis in the study of language and culture. One of the consequences is “the BLC research simplification,” when language and culture are studied in isolation from their adaptive functions to the brain and its goal – the survival of the organism. We indicate that such a research approach is incomplete, and its results may lead to false generalisations and conclusions. The BLC hypothesis is an attempt to eliminate the BLC simplification.

### **2. The BLC hypothesis**

The BLC hypothesis allows us to form some detailed assumptions: (1) Survival is the individual and collective prolongation of the living organisms' existence in the process of the organisms' adaptation to the environment, achieved through language and culture they develop “by reacting to sensory data” (Newberg et.al., 2002, p. 15).



(2) Language and culture as products of the living brain help the brain to adapt<sup>46</sup> and in this way to survive in the environment; language serves as a cognitive tool<sup>47</sup>, and culture as a limiting (Maslow, 1943) and intermediary tool (Duranti, 1999) (we will discuss it later). (3) The brain (governing the organism), in order to survive, converts its sensory inputs into an analysable internal model of the external environment; then the model can be analysed by the brain to draw adaptive conclusions. The assumptions allow us to see the brain, language and culture as mutually dependent, with the dominating position of the brain.<sup>48</sup>

### 2.1. Adaptive definition of language

On the basis of the assumption above we can build an adaptive definition of language:

Language (L) is a created and managed by the brain collection (c) of three elementary repetitive (r) sets: the stimulus (S) derived from the environment, reaction (R) to the stimulus S, and the environmental conditions (C) in which S and R take place:  $L_c(SCR)^r$  that allows the organism to adapt to the environment and survive.

In such a definition of language, the stimulus S and the circumstances C select the response R adaptively: When the survival-giving R enables an organism to survive, the three-elementary set (SCR), after some repetition (learning), remains in the organism's mind as an element of *grammalexicon*, as a *grammalexeme*. We assume that the grammalexicon expressed in the formula  $L_c(SCR)^r$  is just the “negotiable rendition of a world” (Newberg et.al., 2002, p. 15) and serves the organism as a language, based on the senses, where R indicates meaning of the language. To understand how the grammalexicon works in an organism's brain we will use elements of Halliday's theory of systemic functional linguistics (1973; 2009).

### 2.2. Halliday's theory

The theory which supports the BLC hypothesis is Halliday's theory of systemic functional linguistics, especially the notion of metafunctions of language and the notion of lexicogrammar:

The idea of words as bricks held together by grammar as mortar is not helpful. Rather, we think of a unified region where meaning is fashioned and organized (Hjelmslev's “form of the content”). [...] We can think of the job of the lexicogrammar as that of managing the complexity of human existence; more specifically, the complexity of our experience and the complexity of our social relationships. [...] This [the managing]

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<sup>46</sup> According to Chruszczewski, every natural language can be described as a constantly improving adaptive system (2011, p. 269).

<sup>47</sup> “The activities which necessarily involve the use of a language (i.e. a grammar-governed representational system) are not communicative but cognitive. Language is an essential tool for the processing and memorising of information” (Sperber & Wilson, 1999, p. 173).

<sup>48</sup> Baddeley, for instance, presents “[t]he three component model of working memory in which visual and verbal subsystems are controlled by an attentional executive [of the brain]” (2003, p. 186).

has been the driving force in the evolution of the brain, which is simultaneous with the evolution of language. (Halliday, 2009, p. 74)

We accept Halliday's view that: "Lexicogrammar [grammalexicon  $L_c(SCR)^f$ ] is a unified region where meanings [grammalexemes SCR] are fashioned and organized" (2009, p. 74). Meanings contain the knowledge which the brain uses while planning adaptive actions in the environment. The meanings, according to the adaptive definition of language, are created from sensory data and from inference processes. Every meaning can be reconstructed and retrieved from the mental model of the environment even if the external sensory input is fragmentary (an orange, for instance, can be reconstructed in the brain on the basis of the sensory information of its taste or smell).

We also accept Halliday's metafunctional levels in lexicogrammar, characterised by Mohamadi and Nabifar as follows:

Halliday in his systemic functional linguistics identifies three meta-functions of language namely; Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual meta-functions. Ideational one is the 'content function of language' (2007) that realizes intransitivity and serves to represent outer world's situations and events and serves for the expression of speaker's experience of the real world including his own consciousness. Interpersonal function is the 'participatory function of language' (ibid) and allows for the expression and evaluation of attitudes and relation set up between the text-producer and the text-consumer. Textual function of language is an enabling one and is realized in information structure and cohesion (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999). In this function ideational and interpersonal meanings are actualized (Halliday, 2007). (Mohamadi and Nabifar, 2012, p. 22)

Halliday's metafunctions of language, after some modifications, will be taken as functional levels in grammalexicon: (LL0) – is the whole grammalexicon in the brain; the ideational level (LL1) – similar to Halliday's ideational metafunction – is mental representation of the world; the interactive level (LL2) – similar to Halliday's interpersonal metafunction – is a subset of interactions with the environment; the textual level (LL3) – is the same as Halliday's textual metafunction; the adaptive level (LL4) – absent in Halliday's metafunctions – is a subset of survival functions: recognition, usage, and transformation of the environment for adaptive purposes.

Functional levels make it possible to understand the cognitive function of language in the service of the brain. Language enables recognition of the environment by comparing environmental stimuli S with a mental model of the environment in the brain. It remembers new more effective responses R to S and in this way develops each of the levels in the grammalexicon. It also enables adaptive thought processes (inference processes) while creating new grammalexemes SCR on all levels of language. And finally, language enables creation of adaptive improvements – projects of new complex grammalexemes which create new elements of culture.

### **2.3. Adaptive definition of culture**

Culture is created in the brain, and is based on language; hence, it fulfils an adaptive function to the brain. Therefore, an adaptive definition of culture should include some significant elements of classical definition of culture, e.g. Linton's, and some elements of adaptive definition of language:

“A culture is a configuration of learned [specific knowledge, W.Sz.], behaviours, and results of behaviour, whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society” (Linton, 1945, p. 32); the elements serve the society to adapt in the environment (by its sensory recognition, usage and transformation) leading to an individual and collective survival.

We can distinguish two adaptive functions of culture: Maslow's limiting one and Duranti's intermediary one. Maslow's limiting function of culture is the following: “[C]ulture itself is an adaptive tool, one of whose main functions is to make the physiological emergencies come less and less often” (Maslow, 1943). Duranti's intermediary function of culture is as follows:

[C]ulture includes material objects such as the umbrella and ideational objects such as belief systems and linguistic codes. Both material and ideational structures are instruments through which humans mediate their relationship with the world. Although in some cases people attempt to control the environment through direct, physical intervention, at other times, they are equally if not more powerfully able to control their environment by means of symbolic tools. (1999, p. 41)

If the limiting and intermediary functions are fulfilled by language (e.g. verbal communication in the army), then language is also a tool of culture.

### **3. BLC hypothesis as a subject of study**

Adaptive hypothesis of the brain (AHB) as a research problem verifies Newberg et.al. (2002, p. 15) hypothesis that the goal of every living brain is to enhance the organism's chances of survival in the environment. The adaptive hypothesis of language (AHL) and culture (AHC) suggest that in different language and cultural behaviours we look for signs of adaptive behaviour of the brain.

#### **3.1. Hayakawa's hypothesis of self-defence and survival**

As a starting point in the study of the BLC hypothesis we will take Samuel and Alan Hayakawa consideration on human self-defence and survival:

The more we can make use of the nervous systems of others to supplement our own, the easier it is for us to survive. [...] Gregariousness as an aid to self-defence and survival is forced upon animals [and] human beings by the necessity of uniting nervous systems even more than by the necessity of uniting physical strength. [...] If we talk about human survival, one of the first things to do, even if we grant that people must fight to live, is to distinguish between those qualities that are useful

in fighting the environment and other species, and those qualities [...] that are useful in fighting other people. (1990, pp. 5-6)

Hayakawa claims that in order to survive, organisms must sometimes cooperate with the environment and sometimes have to fight it. Hence, we will distinguish four strategies of adaptive behaviours in the environment: Cooperation and non-competition (strategy of cooperation), cooperation with elements of competition (strategy of representation), competition with elements of cooperation (strategy of self-promotion), and competition and noncooperation (strategy of competition) (Szałaj, 2014). All the strategies possess their own “acts of adaptive meanings”<sup>49</sup> (adaptive acts) with their “interactive operators” (Awdiejew, 2004) (adaptive operators). The adaptive acts with their adaptive operators can be identified in different forms of culture, created and used by the brain in the process of adaptation to the environment in order to survive. We can distinguish six basic institutions of culture created by the brain for this purpose. These are: language, family, gender (based on sex), state, religion and occupation. Each of these institutions can manifest more than one adaptive strategy, however, we would expect that family and religion, especially inside those institutions, demonstrate the strategy of cooperation, whereas language<sup>50</sup>, state and occupation can perform all four adaptive strategies. In the case of gender, we anticipate that males and females are mainly cooperative, sometimes self-promoting, and usually not competing. These natural observations can form the starting point for further, more detailed and precise, analytical considerations.

### **3.2. Language and culture acts in adaptive strategies**

Through cognitive acts of language the brain wants to recognise the environment and assess the external features important for the brain’s particular adaptive strategy. This knowledge the brain takes through language from the senses: auditory, visual, tactile, smell, taste, etc. Through adaptive acts of culture, on the basis of cognitive language information, the brain strives for food, shelter and offspring, introducing the adaptive culture strategy and its limiting and intermediary advantages.

Meanings in BLC acts depend on variable contexts. We assume that every adaptive act contains two types of context: internal, in the set of the objects reflected in the semantic meanings of the utterance, and external, in the set of external environmental objects. In external contexts, we usually analyse typical utterances. Non-standard acts we analyse in both contexts: first in the internal (semantic) then in the external one, in order to choose the context (or contexts) most appropriate to the

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<sup>49</sup> Searle’s speech acts (1969) are effective not by their speech but through the meanings conveyed by the speech. In our case then, adaptive meanings can be enacted not only by speech but also by taste, smell, and all other senses; for this reason they have been called acts of adaptive meanings.

<sup>50</sup> Language, through adaptive acts of culture and their adaptive operators, serves the brain as a tool of adaptation and survival: “When analysing an utterance on the adaptive level of language we concentrate on its value as a survival tool for the speaker, and not on the world description (ideational level), nor on the message conveyed (interactive level) or the set of words (textual level). By taking into account the adaptive level of language we enlarge the analysis of the utterance towards its adaptive aspects, and in this way we avoid the situation in which narrowly interpreted utterances cause misunderstandings [...] between interlocutors in the act of communication” (Szałaj, 2014, p. 202).

communicative situation (which is not easy when the acts are very sophisticated or ambiguous).

While looking for the context, the brain should engage the whole of its knowledge gathered in the grammalexicon; a badly chosen context wrongly determines the meaning of the act and may assign it to a wrong strategy, spoiling the process of adaption. Appropriate use of knowledge from the grammalexicon depends, apart from its content, also on the efficiency of the thought system: its speed, means of inference and the accuracy of the transformed information. The content of the grammalexicon, as well as the efficiency of the thought system, are brain features which can be developed in the process of learning.

#### **4. Implementation of BLC hypothesis in the conflict between religion and science**

In the end, as an example, we present how the BLC hypothesis can help to solve the conflict between religion and science caused by the BLC research simplification. The conflict is real and serious, not only within the general public, but also among scientists. This problem has been described by Ecklund and Park in the following way:

There are debates over whether intelligent design should be taught alongside evolution in public schools, scientific advocacy of and religious opposition to stem cell research, and a host of other issues connected to the perceived conflict between religion and science (Balter, 2007; Barlett, 2006). Although we are sympathetic to scholarly views that urge movement away from a totalizing epistemological conflict paradigm (Evans and Evans, 2008), many among the media, general public, and scientists themselves continue to hold the view that there is an entrenched conflict between the domains of religion and science (Dawkins, 2006; Harris, 2004). Perceptions that religion and science are in conflict are not new and are rooted in a historical context, as exemplified by Andrew Dickson White's (1896) landmark volume, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (Brooke, 1991; Brown, 2003; Draper, 1874; Granger and Price, 2007; Leuba, 1912, 1916; Nielsen and Fultz, 1995; Rioux and Barresi, 1997; Sappington, 1991). (2009, p. 276)

Duch in his lecture entitled: "Neuronauki i natura ludzka. Kłopoty nauki z religią" ("Neurosciences and human nature. Problems of science with religion") argues that the ancient concepts have been rejected by science, but in theology are still present; theologians therefore evaluate science through the prism of concepts alien to science. Duch further adds that to avoid conflict between science and faith, theologians have to learn about the neurosciences and, perhaps, change some of their interpretations (2010, p. 7).

According to the BLC hypothesis, Duch's statement is a result of the BLC research simplification in the study of religion. The simplification relies on the fact (concluded from the adaptive definition of language and culture) that religion as part of culture serves the brain as a tool of adaptation and survival in the environment.

Unfortunately, the quote demonstrates that science ignores that fact, and treats religion as a rival in the study of the world.<sup>51</sup> Also, Geertz's definition of religion in his article "Religion as a Cultural System" fails to see the essence of religion properly:

[A] religion is: (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (2008, p. 59)

The BLC hypothesis indicates that the goal of a classical religion: Buddhism (376 million adherents), Christianity (2.1 billion), Hinduism (900 million), Islam (1.5 billion), Judaism (14 million)<sup>52</sup>, is the promotion of God, whoever he/she may be, as an entity which offers the mortal person an eternal life after death in return for almost nothing. Religion also proposes a wide cultural offer which, for many, is more important than eternal life. Religion offers a valuable (for many) moral system, which is a basic educational factor for new generations and a significant binder within a society and between societies. And, last but not least, religion gives jobs to millions of religious leaders, their office workers and cooperators, all over the world. From this point of view, the knowledge offered by science about how the world was created and what the origin of man is, for billions of adherents of different religions on Earth, is secondary, even quite marginal.

Since religion, according to the BLC hypothesis, is a cultural tool of human adaptation and survival, it should be studied in this context by science. Ignoring such a context leads to research misunderstandings made by the scholars. Duch, for instance, concludes his lecture by saying that traditional thinking about human nature, based on deep-rooted illusions supported by naive introspection, has not been significantly changed since ancient times and the Middle Ages (Duch, 2010, p. 6).

On the other hand, science, too, as a product of the living brain, and, as a system of gathering knowledge about the world, is the brain's tool of adaptation and survival. This fact is well known to billions of adherents of different religions on Earth who, following their intuition and common sense, use both systems (religious and scientific) in their everyday lives. This approach seems optimal, even if the representatives of the two systems are continuing their disputes with each other. The disputes force each of the parties to mobilize creatively, so that each of the systems becomes more perfect and more useful for adaptive and survival purposes.

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<sup>51</sup> Ecklund and Park's research has indicated that 37 percent of the scientists of 21 leading American universities agreed that a conflict exists between science and religion (2009, pp. 283, 292).

<sup>52</sup> Approximate estimates according to [http://www.adherents.com/Religions\\_By\\_Adherents.html](http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html)

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# **CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES**



**DECEPTIVE COMMUNICATION IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT:  
AN EXAMINATION OF ONLINE CHATTERS' INTERPERSONAL  
DECEPTION IN POLISH AND ENGLISH**

**Abstract**

With the invention of the Internet, the impact of online deception on interpersonal communication has become a very significant problem. This study aims at showing the research conducted among twenty online chatters in Poland and the USA. The aim of the research was to determine the following: (1) how prevalent online interpersonal deception was among interviewees, (2) differences as well as similarities between face-to-face and online deception, (3) the way(s) in which interviewees successfully detect online deception (the cues which helped them detect deception), and (5) positive and negative outcomes of online deception.

**Key words:** deception, intercultural communication, online, internet

**1. Introduction**

Lying and deception are believed to be a part of daily life (Saarni and Lewis, 1993) and everyday relationships (DePaulo and Kashy, 1998). Deception and assumed deception happen in at least one quarter of all conversations (Turner et al., 1975). DePaulo (1996) claims that people use some form of lying in 20% to 30% of their social interactions, although communication is established on a presumption of truth. Job applicants overemphasize their qualifications to make an impact on the interviewer; spouses lie to circumvent marital conflicts; politicians do not tell the truth about their actions to the media.

Since interpersonal deception is connected to ethics, it has become an intriguing subject in interpersonal communication research. A variety of studies centering on face-to-face interpersonal deception have been conducted to answer deception-related questions, such as why people deceive others, what influences the success or failure of deception, and what are the results of deception.

Buller and Burgoon (1996), perceiving deception as an instrumental or functional behavior (e.g., avoiding conflicts, facilitating marital relationships, or avoiding embarrassing others), have created the interpersonal deception theory (IDT) and implemented IDT to guide their interpersonal deception studies. Other scholars have also carried out several studies on face-to-face interpersonal deception. They noticed that (1) interpersonal deception is a widespread phenomenon in everyone's daily life (O'Hair and Cody, 1994; Turner et al., 1975); (2) human beings are not good at deception detection (Buller et al., 1991; Burgoon and Buller, 1994; Cole, 2002; deTurck et al., 1990); (3) intimacy between two parties may influence the success of interpersonal deception (Anderson et al., 1997; Comadena, 1982; McCornack and

Parks, 1986; Millar and Millar, 1995); (4) there are diverse motives behind deception acts (Cochran and Mays, 1990; Ekman, 1989; Hample, 1980; Lippard, 1988. Rowatt, 1998); (5) deceivers may unintentionally signal deception by way of verbal and nonverbal signals (Buller and Burgoon, 1994; Buller et al, 1994; Burgoon and Buller, 1994; deTurck et al, 1990); and (6) deception is a double-edged weapon exerting a positive (Buller and Burgoon, 1996) and negative (Cochran and Mays, 1990; O'Hair and Cody, 1994) impact on interpersonal relationship.

Lately, as a result of the Internet being exploited as a shell game to conceal identities by Internet users (Tamosaitis, 1995), in the field of interpersonal communication online interpersonal deception has become a research issue as significant as face-to-face interpersonal deception. Burgoon et al. (2003) tried to examine the ways how people detect deception when interacting with others on the Internet.

In this paper online interpersonal deception in Poland and the USA will be studied with a view to enriching and extending the understanding of online interaction dynamics and outcomes of online interpersonal deception across cultures. Yet, literatures about online interpersonal deception in Poland are fragmentary. Therefore, this paper would like to yield a clear picture about interpersonal deception in the US and Poland by reviewing findings about the occurrence of interpersonal deception, the possibility of interpersonal deception success, the relationship between intimacy and interpersonal deception, and motives, detection, and outcomes of interpersonal deception. Hopefully, the literature about interpersonal deception in the US will also offer insights into online interpersonal deception in Poland.

## **2. The concept of deception**

Deception is defined by scholars as a communication act intended to create a personal belief in the target that the source considers false, either by causing a false belief to be created or by altering a preexisting belief to a false one (Knapp and Comadena, 1979; Zuckerman, DePaulo, and Rosenthal, 1981; Zuckerman and Driver, 1985). Taking into account this definition of deception, online deception can be believed to be a communicator communicating online who encodes a deceptive message designed to generate a false belief with the intention of establishing the veracity of the central deceptive message or of protecting the source in case deception is detected.

Turner et al. (1975) noticed that roughly 62% of conversational statements made by subjects could be classified as deception. That is, only 38% of communication acts are totally truthful. O'Hair and Cody (1994) explain this proliferation in the following way: Deception is becoming a fairly common event, and is evaluated less negatively, relative to decades ago.

Besides the frequency of interpersonal deception, the accuracy in detecting face-to-face interpersonal deception has been the focal point of research. According to Cole et al. (2002), this might be, in part, caused by the fact that deceivers erratically mark their deceptive practice. DeTurck et al. (1990) noticed that lie detection rates frequently ranged from 55% to 60%, detection rates as high as 75% being very rare. On the other hand, observers in the Feeley and deTurck study (1997) properly identified only 31% of all liars, and observers in the Buller et al. study (1991, pp.45-

49) properly identified only 49% of liars. Thus, past research concerning the success of interpersonal deception has yielded a consistent finding that less than 60% of interpersonal deception will be recognized by people because of their inability to distinguish lies from truth.

Although humans seem to be deficient in the ability to detect deception, they will develop a sense of another's baseline for communicating truthful information while becoming closer or more familiar with this person over time (Anderson et al., 1997, p. 34). Greater familiarity with another person may not only offer a more reliable sample of what this person looks like when truthful, but may also supply a guide to how one may look when deceiving (Anderson et al., 1997, p. 56).

People think that lie detection accuracy increases as relational intimacy and familiarity increases. Moreover, they believe that the person telling a lie may be apprehensive that the relational other has the ability to uncover the truth. There are a diversity of studies analyzing the relationship between the familiarity with the source and lie detection accuracy but these studies lead to a paradoxical conclusion: the relationship between intimacy and lie detection accuracy is indirect. Millar and Millar (1995) mentioned that under certain conditions friends fare worse than strangers while facing deception. Other studies (e.g., Comadena, 1982; McCornack and Parks, 1986) revealed that spouses fare no better than friends, who fare no better than strangers at deciphering lies. McCornack and Parks (1986) argue that closeness is positively related to confidence, which is positively related to a truth bias. This truth bias, on the contrary, is negatively related to the accuracy of deception detection. Briefly, the truth bias means that one's trust and confidence in another makes the lie detection task much more difficult. In the future, more attention should be given to how intimacy affects the possibility of interpersonal deception.

### **3. Motives of interpersonal deception**

To understand interpersonal deception, researchers should also comprehend the motives of deception. Different studies (e.g., Cochran and Mays, 1990; Ekman, 1989; Hample, 1980; Lippard, 1988; Rowatt, 1998; Seiter et al., 2002) stated that the motives of deception included: benefiting the deceiver or the deceived, circumventing conflicts, acquiring or protecting sources, manipulating interactions with others, protecting the image or avoiding self-disclosure, teasing or tricking others, initiating a dating relationship, etc.

Basing on past research, O'Hair and Cody (1994, pp. 75) created a taxonomy depicting what people think are reasons behind deceptive acts. It appears that deception motives can be classified into six categories, namely: "egoism," "exploitation," "benevolence," "malevolence," "utility," and "regress." Egoism is a self-directed motive including deceptive strategies intended to protect, preserve, or promote the self-concept or self-esteem of the deceiver; exploitation refers to the idea of gaining something at the cost of others; benevolence is a strategy directed toward the advancement and security of others; malevolence is perceived as a deception motive with the intent to hurt or harm others; utility is a type of positive relational deception strategy and usually concentrates on tactics aiming to improve, enhance, or repair relationship; and regress is a category embracing negative relational motives.

#### **4. Detection of deception**

Having evaluated the motives of interpersonal deception, the present review will clarify why people are able or unable to detect deception. Actually, people may unwittingly indicate deception via verbal and nonverbal cues. Buller and Burgoon (1994) stated that during deception some non-strategic messages were unintentionally transmitted indicating that deception was occurring. Similarly, Navarro and Schafer (2001) mentioned that investigators frequently discover deception by the other party's verbal cues, eye contact, head and body movement, breathing, etc. With respect to verbal cues, they noticed that liars prefer concealing the truth rather than fabricating an entirely untrue story. As to nonverbal cues, they concluded that (1) recurrent liars typically increase eye contact; (2) lying people have a tendency to mirror the head movements of the person with whom they converse; (3) people who try to hide information frequently breathe faster and take a series of short breaths followed by one long deep breath; (4) and liars often keep their hands motionless and draw their arms close to their bodies as if "flash frozen."

DeTurck et al. (1990) analyzed the behaviors connected with deceptive communication and concluded that there appeared eight cues correlated with deception: greater pupil dilation, more blinking, decreased response length, more speech errors and hesitations, greater voice pitch, more negative statements, and more irrelevant information. These findings revealed that there are verbal and non-verbal cues for people to detect deception during a communicative encounter.

#### **5. Outcomes of interpersonal deception**

One vital question that cannot be missed is the impact of interpersonal deception on the relationship between two parties. Some scholars (Buller and Burgoon, 1996), taking an instrumental or functional perspective on deception, emphasized that the positive impact of interpersonal deception included preserving relationships, avoiding conflicts, or preventing both parties from suffering from embarrassment. Some scholars (O'Hair and Cody, 1994) stressed the need to take into account the dark side of deception. For example, lying about one's positive HIV status before having unprotected sex would be atrocious (Cochran and Mays, 1990). O'Hair and Cody (1994) noted that many deceptive acts may be motivated by the desire to protect someone's feelings, but they lead to negative consequences.

One of the costs of detection for the deceiver is the loss of trust and respect; reestablishing one's credibility after deception is one of the most complicated and challenging communication tasks. Correspondingly, negative consequences of being deceived comprise hurt feelings, lowered self-esteem, bewilderment, and thoughts of retaliation.

On the basis of a review of the literature on face-to-face interpersonal deception, this paper will try to (1) understand the possible targets of online deception in online interpersonal communication, (2) examine the motives of online interpersonal deception, (3) study online deception detection strategies, and (4) reveal the impact of online deception on interpersonal relationships. Hopefully, this study will explore the similarities and differences between face-to-face and online interpersonal deception across cultures.

## 6. The empirical study

### 6.1 Method

This study concentrated on online chatters' interpersonal deception. Hence, it recruited twenty online chatters in Poland and in the USA with at least two years of online chatting experience as research targets, and employed qualitative interviews from September 1, 2012 to September 30, 2012 to request information about their experience of online interpersonal deception. Respondents came from different social groups (students, restaurant staff, banker, petrol station owners, company owners, teachers, the unemployed, civil servants, web designers). 5 of them were aged 15 to 20, 13 aged 21 to 25, 1 aged 26 to 30, and 1 aged 30 to 35 (the USA); 4 of them were aged 16 to 20, 10 aged 21 to 25, 4 aged 26 to 30, and 1 aged 30 to 35 (Poland).

This study used qualitative interviews to collect data. Open-ended interviews offered an opportunity to gain insights into the dynamics, behavior and experience of the online chatters. Most prominently, the collection of the data was guided by the interviewees' experiences rather than fixed assumptions.

There were five interviewers recruited. Before the interviews all interviewers were trained how to pose questions and take notes during the interview. Each interviewer also used a recorder to record what the interviewee said. Each interview on average took about one hour.

The questions asked by the interviewers were related to the following problems: (1) how prevalent online interpersonal deception was among interviewees, (2) differences as well as similarities between face-to-face and online deception, (3) the way(s) in which interviewees successfully detect online deception (the cues which helped them detect deception), and (5) positive and negative outcomes of online deception. After interviews, all answers were transcribed by interviewers and analysed.

### 6.2 Results

*H1: Most interviewees deceived once strangers or intimate others online. Correspondingly, they had been deceived by strangers or intimate others online.*

Interviewees' answers were incompatible. Some found that intimate friends or classmates were effortlessly deceived by them, whereas others reported that strangers were easily deceived by them. By the same token, interviewees stated that they might be deceived recurrently by strangers or people who had an intimate relationship with them:

[PL] "I used to deceive strangers because of the lack of familiarity between us. Under such circumstances, I could chat anything else with them without being detected."

[US] "Familiar people might tell me lies online."

[US] "I was deceived by strangers since I did not understand her/him a lot. Without understanding the background of a person, it was obvious to believe everything he/she told you."

[PL] "I could make sense of any deception if I chatted with a person I had a long-term relationship with him/her. In contrast, I could not tell anything wrong if I interacted online with anyone who was a stranger to me."

*H2: The reason for deceiving intimate others was fun, whereas the motives of deceiving strangers were fun and/or preventing themselves from being hurt mentally.*

Some interviewees, having admitted to deceiving others online, specified that they might tell a lie to others while chatting on the Internet. It was only for fun. They particularly liked to deceive their intimate friends:

[US] "Play a joke on friends was fun. I deceived my friends online very often."

[PL] "Some time ago, I tried to find some answers concerning my friend's life. Because my friend did not tell me the truth, I could not but deceive him online to find the answer. It was very funny since he really told me the answer automatically."

[PL] "It was only for fun because I could hide my identity. I was like an actor who played a role which was diverse from mine in the real world."

Besides for fun, interviewees would tell a lie also when they sensed the counterpart was a stranger who was not honest, who was boring, or who attempted to invade their privacy. The intention to deceive strangers online was motivated by the desire to protect oneself from being hurt mentally. Interviewees revealed that they could deceive strangers productively because of the lack of familiarity between them:

[US] "I would not vacillate to tell a lie if I felt that a counterpart I interacted with on the Internet was not honest."

[PL] "I would not tell anyone about my privacy, thus, if required, I dared to deceive others when chatting about something related to my privacy online."

[US] "Sure, ... I would not hesitate to tell a lie if I felt that a counterpart I interacted with on the Internet was not sincere."

[US] "Telling a lie was no good. But, I would hide something if I were asked some questions regarding my privacy by someone who I never saw or was unfamiliar with before."

[US] "If I could tell the counterpart's attempt of question asking, I might hide the real answer and told them something opposite to the real answer. The first time, particularly, I interacted online with a stranger, I would be very careful about my self-disclosure."

[PL] "Of course, I would hide my identity. People chatted online with me never understood that I was a girl. They could not see me and believed that I was a boy. Why did I do so? Guys would like to play a trick on me if they knew I was a girl which bored me very much. I have an aversion to that kind of feeling. Hiding my identity made me feel more comfortable when chatting with others.... Most significantly, online role-playing was very interesting."

*H3: Online deceivers believed that their deceptions were rarely detected by others. They were detected when they narrated something online too exceedingly and unreasonably.*

Interviewees' online deception was rarely detected by others, according to their experience. Only when interviewees' responses could not be made sense of or sounded unreasonable would their deceptions be detected.

[US] "Generally, my deception was seldom detected by others. The percentage of being detected was pretty low, ... only about 10%."

[PL] "They were stupid..., they were deceived by me over and over again."



[US] “Haha, ...it was impossible to be detected that I was lying when I chatted with others online.”

[PL] “She found that I was lying because I exaggerated a lot of things.... She could not believe most I told her online. Then, she did not make me any response.”

The interviewees had two different views on their ability to detect others' online interpersonal deceptions. Some reported they could not tell anything wrong if people deceived them when chatting online, whereas others were very certain that they could differentiate between truth and lies:

[US] “If they did not tell me they lied to me, I really could not sense anything wrong.”

[US] “When I chatted online with others I was familiar with, I could quickly tell what they said was true or untruth. Think about that. I might have already known the answer.”

[PL] “Exaggeration was not a good policy. I frequently found that I was deceived because they illustrated some unbelievable examples or facts. They were ridiculous and could not convince me.”

[PL] “Some people liked flirting with you, behaving naively, or telling you nothing but ‘garbage.’ It meant that they were not sincere and might tell you a lie.”

*H4: Online interpersonal deception will not have an effect on the relationship between people with an intimate social tie, but it will prevent the development of interpersonal relationships between two strangers*

Interviewees declared that they might deceive their intimate others. Their reason for online deception was fun, so their deceptions would not influence their interpersonal relationships with those intimate others. On the other hand, the outcome of being deceived by a stranger was quite opposite.

Interviewees chatted online for fun or to kill time, and they appeared not to care about online deception. They claimed that it did not matter since they did not know each other. In contrast, some interviewees would be angry because of deception. Some reported that once their online interpersonal deceptions were detected, the interpersonal relationships would be affected acutely. Since the interpersonal relationships between two strangers were weak essentially, the deceived would not communicate with them again in the future. By the same token, they might take action to block those strangers who deceived them since they disliked the feeling of being deceived:

[US] “If the deceiver did not hurt me mentally or physically, I was not very worried about his/her online deceiving behaviors. If the counterpart deceived me about romance, I would block him forever and never chat with him again.”

[US] “If the deceived was my friend, we would laugh a lot after the deception was detected. If we did not know each other, I just let it be no matter what happened. We chatted online just for fun, so I would not take it too seriously. It was the attraction of online chatting.”

[PL] “Angry, angry, and angry..., I would not trust in others again if I was deceived online.”

[PL] “I would take revenge on people who deceived me. I once have others chatted online with the netter who deceived me and tried to deceive him as well.”

## **7. Discussion**

This study analyzed the online interpersonal deception on the basis of past face-to-face interpersonal communication findings. It noticed that most interviewees deceived once strangers or intimate others online. They also had been deceived by strangers or intimate others online. In the case of deceiving intimate others the motive was only fun, whereas in the case of deceiving strangers the motives were fun and/or preventing himself/herself from being hurt mentally. These findings are supported by past studies (Lippard, 1988; Seiter et al., 2002) showing that the reasons for deceptive behaviors include: gaining or protecting resources, increasing or decreasing affiliation, protecting self, protecting another, manipulating another, being humorous, and excusing oneself. Online chatters can easily make themselves taller, thinner, married, unmarried, richer, or smarter, which has led to the growing popularity of a strange form of digital deception (Tamosaitis, 1995). To avoid being deceived by strangers with dishonest intentions, people become more cautious about self-disclosure. Online chatters interacting with strangers may be unwilling to reveal their identities or share private information.

The interviewees frequently indicated that they could detect others' online deception without difficulty; they also believed their own deceptions were rarely detected by others. It is noticeable that the interviewees were confident about their capability of online interpersonal deception detection and very skeptical about others' being able to detect their online interpersonal deception. This finding is also confirmed by Shippee's study (1977), showing that most people think they could always tell when others lie.

The interviewees of this study stated that online interpersonal deception would not affect the relationships between people with an intimate social tie. As far as strangers are concerned, this study discovered that people who took deception sincerely would like to stop chatting and take retribution, whereas people who chatted online only for fun would pay no attention to the online interpersonal deception.

The main difference between deception in cyberspace and in face-to-face communication is that in the real world people can discover deception by observing eye contacts, breath, voice pitches, etc. In cyberspace, the lack of reliable deception cues may prevent people from making the proper veracity judgment. Nevertheless, the interviewees of this study were still confident about their capability of deception detection. Shippee mentioned that people always believe that they are good at detecting others' deception (1977). The question whether people properly estimate their online interpersonal deception detection competence needs to be addressed.

## **8. Conclusion**

This study of online chatters' interpersonal deception indicated that (1) most online chatters once deceived strangers or intimate others online, and vice versa; (2) online deceivers' motive for deceiving intimate others was reported as fun, whereas the motives of deceiving strangers were fun and/or preventing himself/herself from being hurt mentally; (3) online chatters believed that they were good at detecting others' online interpersonal deception, and they were also convinced that their deceptions were rarely detected by others; (4) the effects of deception on the relationships between two online chatters depended on their existing social ties; online

deception had no influence on an intimate relationship, but it could end the relationship between two chatters who did not know each other very well.

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## THE IMPACT OF GENDER ON THE USE OF LANGUAGE

### Abstract

Earlier studies have shown that some differences exist between female and male speakers while producing polite utterances. Being aware of this fact, this study examined the importance of context in which they use the language. This study was carried out with 20 female and 15 male Turkish subjects. Their conversations were recorded in the same gender as well as mixed gender groups in different contexts, such as social gatherings, classroom, office, meetings, etc. Then the recordings were analysed in view of the criteria of the level of formality, the choice of lexical items, sentence structures, etc. The results showed that speakers accommodate their speech to the context in which they communicate with each other.

**Key words:** gender, language, context, polite, overlap, backchanneling, face-saving

### 1. Introduction: differences between female and male speakers

Gender surrounds us from the very early times of our lives. Since our institutions, actions, beliefs and desires have been shaped by gender, it becomes a natural part of us. As indicated by West and Zimmerman (1987, cited in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10), we are not born with gender or have gender, but we do it.

Although biological constraints have a role on the differentiation of gender, in reality it is a social construction. That is to say, the differences between the male and female arise from people's beliefs about sexual difference. A small boy follows an adult male role model, most probably his father, when he swaggers and swells his chest to act like a *man*. Similarly, a small girl follows an adult female model, when she puts on her mother's high-heeled shoes, make up on her face and walks around the house (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

After the birth, the baby instantly gains its gender and is announced to be a "boy" or a "girl." Then the process of learning to be a boy or a girl starts. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet point out the importance of this process:

[S]ex determination sets the stage for a lifelong process of gendering, as the child becomes, and learns how to be, male or female. Names and clothing are just a small part of the symbolic resources used to support a consistent ongoing gender attribution even when children are clothed. That we can speak of a child growing up *as a girl* or *as a boy* suggests that initial sex attribution is far more than just a simple observation of a physical characteristic. *Being a girl* or *being a boy* is not a stable state but an ongoing accomplishment, something that is actively *done* both by the individual so categorized and by those who interact with it in the

various communities to which it belongs. [...] It is perhaps at this early life stage that it is clearest that gender is a collaborative affair – that one must learn to perform as a male or a female, and that these performances require support from one’s surroundings. (2003, pp. 16-17)

### **1.1. Gender as a social construct: evidence**

Research has shown that male and female children’s reactions are interpreted differently and treated differently. For instance, adults’ perceptions related to the actions of an infant affected their judgement about their sexes. When they watched infants crying in a film, they were more likely to evaluate the cry as angry if they believed the baby was a boy, but their judgement was uncertain, if they believed the baby was a girl (Condry and Condry, 1976).

Parents adapt their language to the sex of the child. The number of diminutives such as *kitty*, *doggie* is high when they address girls (Gleason et al. 1994). While addressing boys, they often use direct prohibitives like “*Don’t do that*” and emphatic prohibitives like “*No! no! no!*” (Bellinger and Gleason, 1982). Eventually, boys and girls behave differently as a result of different treatment they had seen from their parents or adults around them (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

In the early years, boys and girls tend to play similar games, however, after about the age of two, they are interested in different toys and differ their activities. Adults’ directions and behaviours such as buying gender specific toys (e.g. trucks for boys, dolls for girls) have an impact on this process (Langlois and Downs, 1980). Another factor affecting the gender difference is connected with separation. In some cultures and communities, boys and girls are separated and they play with children of the same sex. Even though sometimes boys have a mixed-sex playgroups, they prefer playing with the same sex.

Gender separation in playgroups is a problem, because children playing in same-sex groups socialize in different ways, and develop different behavior as well as norms and understanding. Boys and girls interact differently and interpret each other’s messages differently. As indicated by Maltz and Borker (1982), this can result in cross-cultural miscommunication. Young children spend more time with their peers, and eventually peer influence increases. Children who spend some time with the other gender quit doing this when they realize that their place in society depends on their adherence to gender norms formed by social order.

Gender development enters a new stage in adulthood in relation with occupation and also family status. To put it another way, individuals learn to act like nurses, secretaries, lawyers, porters, etc. and to be wives and husbands, mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, etc. Age is an important factor in gender differentiation since the expectations about an adolescent are different from those about an adult at the age of forty or eighty.

Gender ideology attributes different features to each sex. These features are important, because in view of them some verbal and nonverbal actions carried out by individuals can be explained. Some of these features are presented below (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 35):

<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
strong	weak
brave	timid
aggressive	passive
sex-driven	relationship-driven
impassive	emotional
rational	irrational
direct	indirect
competitive	cooperative
practical	nurturing
rough	gentle

Some objections can be raised against this list, however, it represents the dominant ideology. The existence of these differences is also seen in the expressions “the opposite sex,” “the battle of the sexes,” “the gender gap” and “my better half” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 36).

## **1.2. Language and gender**

Language is a communication system which is organized in a society. Therefore, knowledge of social norms as well as knowledge of grammar is needed to participate in verbal practice. In other words, knowing the conventions related to communicative practice and social situations is necessary in linguistic interactions. This is called *communicative competence* (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972). Communicative competence involves gender differences as a part of social norms. This implies that gender is an inseparable part of language. The gender terms such as *Mr. Mrs. Miss, sir, madam, he, she, etc.* provide evidence.

Every individual develops their identity in relation to the people they interact with and the activities they engage in. Face-to-face interaction has a crucial role in the formation of identity since individuals express their ideas in conversation. The place and value of the individual become obvious when s/he communicates with other people. Erving Goffman has realized this and proposed a framework for everyday conversational exchanges. It is called *facework* (Goffman, 1967). Goffman defines *face* as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (1967, p. 5).

An individual wants to produce a good impression on the party s/he interacts with and hence s/he tries to present a self that is considered desirable and acknowledged and supported by others. Two types of acts are distinguished in terms of face: *face-saving act* and *face-threatening act*. Saying something that represents a threat to another’s face is considered a face-threatening act (a), but the opposite, that is saying something that lessens the possible threat (b), is a face-saving act (Yule, 1996):

- e.g. a) *Turn off that loud music right now!*  
 b) *Could you please turn down the music as it’s getting a bit late?*



In conversations the basic pattern of exchanging the speaker's and the hearer's roles is in the form of "I speak-you speak-I speak-you speak." This pattern exemplifies a smooth transition, however, turn taking may not have such a smooth structure in the real communication, as conversational structure can change according to the gender and number of participants. Sometimes two or more speakers may try to speak at the same time and *overlaps* will occur. These overlaps present some valuable information about the relationship of the participants. The same is valid for *pauses*, silent periods observed in conversations (Yule, 1996).

## 2. The design of the study

In this study 20 female and 15 male Turkish subjects took part. Their conversations in the same gender group and mixed gender groups in contexts such as classroom, office meetings, informal social gatherings, etc. were recorded and transcribed. Then, a small part of the data, including nearly 10.000 words, was qualitatively analysed to show some striking features and trends in the use of Turkish.

## 3. Data analysis

The analyses focused on gender differences in terms of backchanneling, overlaps, pauses, level of formality, choice of lexical items, and sentence structures.

### Examples:

#### *Example 1*

<Date: January 24, 2013>

<Participants: S1: Female student at the age of 22, S2: Female Lecturer at the age of 45>

<Theme: Giving a task>

<Location: Office>

Turkish

*K2: Anlambilimle başlayacak olursak, anlambilimde mes'la, dildeki*

*K1: Evet*

*hataların hepsi deęiřtirme hatası farklı bir sözcük kullanılmış olması gerekirken kullanılmamış, bunların da alt türleri var, mesela, 'hyponym' dediğimiz birbirine benzer sözcüklerin yani diyelim ki mutfakla ilgili bir şeyden bahsedeceęiz, çatal yerine kařık demek*

*K1: hmhm*

*K2: söylememiz gereken çataldı ama bi' anda onun yerine eş anlamlı, eş değerde olanı*

*K1: aynı grup gibi*

*K2: aynı grupta olup eş değeri olan bir sözcük kullandık*

English

*S2: If we start with semantics, in semantics, for instance,*

*S1: Yes*

S2: all the mistakes in the language are substitution mistakes, although a different word should be used, it has not been used, they have some subtypes, for instance, similar words which we call hyponym, namely we'll talk about something related to kitchen, to say spoon instead of fork

S1: hmhm

S2: the word we should produce was fork but suddenly we used a similar, hyponym word

S1: like a word from the same group

S2: a hyponym occurring in the same group

### *Example 2*

<Date: January 28, 2013>

<Participants: S1: Female student at the age of 21, S2: Female lecturer at the age of 45, S3: Female student at the age of 22>

<Theme: Talking about exam results>

<Location: Office>

### Turkish

*K1: Aslında geçebilirdi de, o Hocam hiç çalışmıyor, yaa, ben şimdi //nasıl diyim*

*K2: Yani //ben ne bileyim?*

*K1: biz yeni bir şey çıkardığımızda sınıfa geliyo', okuyo', o kadar*

*K2: Olmaz öyle şey (0.1), çalışmayı öğrenir.*

*K1: (anlaşılmayan bölüm)//ben iki saat*

*K3:// 30 almışım ikinci sorudan şu anda mutlu oldum.*

*K1: Ben sadece bir sorudan puan almışım*

### English

S1: Infact, he could pass, he, ma'm, doesn't study at all, well, I now //how I can explain

S2: Namely //what can I say?

S1: when we produce something new, he comes to the classroom, reads, that's all

S2: No way [0.1] he learns to study.

S1: [unheard voices]//I for two hours

S3: //I got 30 points from the second question, I feel happy right now.

S1: I got points just from one question

### *Analysis of Examples 1 & 2*

In face-to-face interaction in *Example 1*, the female speaker talking to the lecturer shows her attention to what the lecturer says by using the backchannels, "hmhm" and "yes" during the explanations of the task. Sometimes she produces some expressions to clarify the point made by the lecturer ("like a word from the same group").

In *Example 2*, there are two female students checking their exam paper. Speaker 1 makes some explanation about another student. In her explanation, she produces

Turkish informal expression *yaa*. When an overlap marked with two slashes occurs, she stops when the lecturer speaks and leaves the floor to her. When Speaker 3 speaks at the same time that Speaker 2, she does not stop as she considers her friend her equal. However, Speakers 1 and 3 sometimes overlap with the lecturer and try to cooperate with her in her explanation or to clarify some point concerning their answers on their sheets.

Although the power relationship exists between the lecturer and the students, the students are quite relaxed in their interaction. This could be explained by the fact that the interaction does not take place in the classroom.

### *Example 3*

<Date: May 26, 2013>

<Participants: S1: Female lecturer at the age of 45, S2: Male student at the age of 25, S3: Male student at the age of 23, S4: Female student at the age of 21>

<Theme: Talking about the previous day's class >

<Location: Classroom >

### Turkish

*K1: Yoktun A dün.*

*K2: Efendim?*

*K1: Yoktun dün, T'de notlar*

*K2: Hocam, şey benim ayağım burkulmuştu, şişti davul gibi oldu.*

*K1: Ne oldu, geçmiş olsun?*

*K2: Bi' de akşam arkadaşlarla bi' şey yapmıştık ta, bir etkinlik yapmıştık, ondan dolayı gelemedim, sabah kalkamadım.*

*K1: Tamam, ben de dedim, Bursa'ya gitmiş olamaz, Bursa'dan yeni geldi.*

*K2: Yok gitmedim de, gitmiş kadar oldum o kadar hastalandım ki iki gündür*

*K1: Teşekkür ederim, E.*

*K3: Rica ederim.*

*K1: Sen de yoktun Y.*

*K4: Ben de Isparta'ya gittim.*

*K1: Memlekete mi gittin, memleketin Isparta mı?*

*K4: Benim memleketim Niğde, Arkadaşın yanına gittim?*

*K1: Isparta çok küçük bir şehir (0.1) Hiç yapısı bozulmamış*

*K4: Niğde'de öyle, aynı şekilde hiç fark etmez*

### English

S1: You were absent . yesterday

S2: Sorry?

S1: You were absent, your exam results are in T.

S2: Ma'm, well, my foot was injured, it was bloated

S1: What happened, get well soon?

S2: Also in the evening, we did something with my friends, an activity, I couldn't come because of it, I couldn't wake up.

S1: OK, I said, he can't have gone to Bursa, he just came from Bursa.

S2: I didn't go, but I felt like I went as I was so sick for two days

S1: Thank you, E.  
S3: Not at all.  
S1: You were absent Y, too.  
S4: I went to Isparta.  
S1: You went to your hometown, your hometown is Isparta?  
S4: My hometown is Niğde, I went to see my friend?  
S1: I is a small city [0.1] Its structure has not been altered  
S4: Niğde is like that, in the same way, it does not change

#### *Example 4*

<Date: June 6, 2013>

<Participants: S1: Female lecturer at the age of 45, S2: Male student at the age of 25, S3: Female student at the age of 26, S4: Female student at the age of 21, S5: Male student at the age of 24>

<Theme: Talking about the theme of the unit >

<Location: Classroom >

#### Turkish

*K1: İnternette alışveriş yapıyo' musunuz?*

*K2: Evet Hocam.*

*K1: Ne alıyo'sunuz?*

*K2: //Ayakkabı*

*K3: // Ayakkabı*

*K4: // Ayakkabı, çanta, gözlük, ti'şört*

*K1: Ti'şört, neden internette?*

*K2: Daha ucuz*

*K4: Hocam, ben (0.2) yurtdışından aldığım için öyle*

*K1: Nereden, nereden alıyorsun, yani marka birşeyleri aldığın mı için mi?*

*K4: Hocam ebay'den alıyorum. Yani şey olmuş, satılmıyor benim istediğim şeyler, ben de gidip ordan //alıyorum, uzun zamanda kullanıyorum.*

*K2: //Hocam*

*K1: Peki internet üzerinden kredi kartın mı?*

*K4: Sanal kartla*

*K1: Haa, sanal kartla*

*K2: Kartla da (anlaşılmayan sesler)*

*K5: Hocam, tek kullanımlık kredi kartı numarasıyla da alabiliyorsunuz.*

#### English

S1: Do you do shopping on internet?

S2: Yes, ma'm.

S1: What do you buy?

S2: //Shoes

S3: // Shoes

S4: // Shoes, bag, glasses, T'shirt

S1: T'shirt, why from internet?

S2: Cheaper

S4: Ma'm, I [0.2] buy from abroad so it is like that  
S1: Where, from where do you buy, namely is it like that because you buy something with a wellknown brand?  
S4: Ma'm, I buy from ebay. That is, it becomes thing, the things I want are not sold, so I go and buy there, I use them for a long time  
S2: // Ma'm  
S1: Alright, do you buy by credit card on the internet?  
S4: By virtual card  
S1: Yeah, by virtual card  
S2: by card [unheard voices]  
S5: Ma'm you can buy with a credit card number valid for a single use

#### Example 5

<Date: June 6, 2013>

<Participants: S1: Female lecturer at the age of 45, S2: Male student at the age of 22>

<Theme: Talking about his problems>

<Location: Office>

#### Turkish

K1: *Dönmüş olmana sevinmiş bulunuyorum, daha erken, daha önce halledilebilirdi bu iş de'mi?*

K2: *eheh (0.1), o biraz imkansızdı, o koşullar, o şeyler ol... daha doğrusu bu sene*

*... (bir diğer öğrencinin içeri girmesi ve bir şey sorması)*

*O geçen seneye sebep olan bi' sürü sebep vardı (0.2), eheh onları bir şekilde temizledim, bir kısım duruyo' ama en azından onlarla da başetmeyi öğrenebileceğime inanıyorum.*

K1: *İnşallah, yani (0.3) eheh //gayret*

K2: *// artık gözümde ışık olmasını istiyorum (gülme), böyle bakmış olmak istiyorum (gösteriyor)*

K1: *gayret gösterdiğin takdirde çok başarılı olacağına inanıyorum ben senin // senin de bütün*

K2: *//ya bi*

*arkadaşlarının da ama böyle bir bıkkınlık bi bezginlik oldu dönemin sonunda niyeyse*

#### English

S1: I'm happy that you came back, this could be solved earlier, before, couldn't it?

S2: eheh [0.1], it was a little bit impossible, those conditions, those things hap... in fact this year

... [another student enters and asks something]

There were many reasons giving way to the things happened last year [0.2] eh eh I solved them in a way, some of them still exist but I believe I can learn at least how I can handle them

S1: I hope so, namely [0.3] eh eh // effort

S2: // I want to have a light in my eye from now on [laughing], I would like to look at like that [he shows]

S1: If you put in effort, I believe you, //you and all of your friends will be successful

S2 // yeah a

S2: but a tiredness, a kind of weariness appeared at the end of the term

#### *Analysis of Examples 3, 4 & 5*

The qualitative analysis of the data provided evidence that Turkish male and female speakers use negative politeness, that is face-saving acts, while talking in the classroom, and generally construct full sentences. This means they are aware of the importance of context as regards the formality of the language.

In *Example 3*, sometimes they hesitate about the utterance they produce and insert a filling word, *şey* (“thing”), to get more time to decide on the word they will use. The same situation is observed in *Example 4*. This word is one of the commonest items showing hesitation. However, both female and male speakers make use of this word in a formal context.

In *Example 4*, students overlap with each other, but not with the lecturer. There is an interruption during the speech of the lecturer to draw the attention of the lecturer to the explanation the male speaker wants to make. Male speakers contribute more to the class activity. This can be the result of their upbringing and might reveal some gender differences in the Turkish society.

In *Example 5*, the male speaker says something about his problems. Sometimes he makes short pauses to decide on what he is going to say in the following part. The lecturer tries to make him express his feelings openly by encouraging him.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The early findings obtained from the data transcribed so far have revealed that speakers accommodate their speech to the context in which they communicate with each other. As regards gender, both gender groups take care of the language they use in the classroom, though female speakers are at ease in the context of an office meeting. Male speakers take more turns and speak more than female speakers. This can be explained by the fact that in the Turkish society male speakers have more rights in the household. However, the trend is changing and females gain more ground day by day.

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## CROSSLINGUISTIC INFLUENCE ON THE ACQUISITION OF DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE ARTICLES IN ENGLISH BY TURKISH LEARNERS

### Abstract

Turkish has no article system marking the semantic feature of “definiteness.” However, it encodes this feature through case morphology, word order, stress and tense-aspect modality. In view of this fact, this study investigated the acquisition of the definite and indefinite articles in English by Turkish learners. Two hundred ninety six English major students participated in the study. Data were collected from the corpus generated from the compositions written by Turkish learners of English. A multiple choice test including 48 items was also given to learners to assess their proficiency level. The results showed that the most common error made by the Turkish learners was that of omission.

**Key words:** definite, indefinite, article, Turkish, English

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1. The definite and indefinite articles in English

English is the language with the article system putting emphasis on definiteness. Articles in English are mainly divided into four types: definite article *the* and indefinite article *a(n)*, zero article and null article. The definite article is used if presupposition exists or an entity is previously mentioned in a text:

*A man was running in the park. The man disappeared in the darkness of the night.*

In the example given above the indefinite article *a* is used before the noun *man* as it is new information presented to the reader; however, in the second sentence, the definite article precedes the noun. As it is pointed out by Irwin, Beck and Stanovich: The definite article “marks old, given or presupposed information while the indefinite article marks new or asserted information” (1982, p. 308, cited in Kim and Lakshmanan, 2009, p. 89).

As regards the *a* and *an* distinction, the simple rule concerning the beginning sound of the noun should be observed. If it is a vowel, the indefinite article *an* is to be selected, otherwise the indefinite article *a* is the one that should be inserted into the sentence.

Zero article refers to the nouns which can be used without an article or that require no article. These nouns include the names of languages (e.g. *She knew French*), the names of sports (e.g. *He is good at basketball*), and academic subjects (e.g. *We are taking science and math this term*). Null article refers to a pragmatically



unique entity: e.g. *John is the tallest student in the classroom.* In this sentence John is a proper noun and does not take an article.

## 1.2. Expressing definiteness in Turkish

The acquisition of the definite and indefinite articles in English is one of the biggest issues for second language learners, in particular for the learners whose native language lacks an article system similar to the one in the target language they learn. Besides, the choice of the right article is quite complicated since it is context-dependent and has no one-to-one form-meaning association. De Keyser draws attention to this and expresses the view that “where the semantic system of the L1 is different from that of the L2, as it is often the case, or where equivalent notions do not get expressed overtly in L1, except through discourse patterns the learning problem is serious and persistent” (2005, p. 5). Turkish has no article system similar to the English one. However, it encodes these items through case morphology, word order, sentence stress and tense-aspect modality. It also has indefinite determiner *bir*, which corresponds the English articles *a* or *an* (Underhill 1976, Göksel and Kerslake, 2005):

<i>Masa</i>	<i>-nın</i>	<i>üst-ü</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>mektup</i>	<i>gör-dük.</i>
Table	buffer-GEN	on-ACC	buffer-LOC		a	letter	see-PAST-
							1st pr. pl

“We saw a letter on the table”

The word *bir* in Turkish realizes two functions: the indefinite determiner and numeral “one.” The function of this word can be identified from its position in the sentence. *Bir* coming after an adjectival modifier is an indefinite determiner. On the other hand, the indefinite *bir* inserted before an adjectival modifier is the numeral one (Johanson and Csato, 1998, p. 218, cited in Atay, 2010 p. 25):

<i>Köşe</i>	<i>-de</i>	<i>büyük</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>ev</i>	<i>var.</i>
Corner-LOC		big	a	house	there-PRS-3rd pr sing
“There is a big house on the corner”					

<i>Köşe</i>	<i>-de</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>büyük</i>	<i>ev</i>	<i>var.</i>
Corner-LOC		one	big	house	there-PRS-3rd pr sing
“There is one big house on the corner”					

When it is stressed, the numeral *bir* (“one”) realizes the function of an indefinite article. The numeral *bir* acts as an indefinite article if it is not stressed:

<i>Bir</i>	<i>çocuk</i>	<i>koş-tu.</i>
One	child	run-PAST-3rd pr sing
“A child ran”		

<i>BİR</i>	<i>çocuk</i>	<i>koştu.</i>
One	child	run-PAST-3rd pr sing
“One child ran”		

As for the definite article, the accusative case marker *-ı*, which transforms into *-i/-u/-ü* according to vowel harmony in Turkish,<sup>53</sup> indicates definiteness in a noun phrase. Göksel and Kerslake state that for a noun phrase to be regarded as definite there should be no indefinite determiner and the accusative case marker should be used in the noun phrase functioning as a direct object (2005, p. 371):

*Çocuk-lar cam -ı kır-dı.*  
 Child -PL window-ACC break-PAST-3rd pr  
 “The children broke the window”

In this example the noun phrase occurring in the direct object position is definite as well as the noun phrase in the subject position. The former is definite as it is in the accusative case, whereas the latter is definite due to the fact that in Turkish a noun phrase which occurs in its bare form in the subject position is treated as definite.

The following examples show the difference between the definite and indefinite noun phrases:

*Öğretmen soru-y-u sor-du.*  
 Teacher question-buffer-ACC ask-PAST-3rd pr.sing.  
 “The teacher asked the question”

*Öğretmen sor-u sor-du.*  
 Teacher question- ACC ask-PAST-3rd pr.sing.  
 “The teacher asked a question”

In the first example the use of a bare noun in the position of ACTOR or DOER expresses definiteness, and also the addition of the accusative case marker *-u*, which changes in accordance with vowel harmony, marks definiteness. The lack of the accusative case marker in the second example marks indefiniteness.

Other ways of marking definiteness in Turkish are word-order, sentence stress and tense-aspect and modality. The position of a subject noun phrase in a bare form determines its referential status, as explained by Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 384):

*Anket dün biz-e gönder-il-di.*  
 Questionnaire yesterday us-DAT send-PASSI.-PAST-3rd  
 pr.sing  
 “The questionnaire was sent to us yesterday”

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<sup>53</sup> Vowel harmony is a feature of Turkish which requires back vowels to be followed by back vowels and front vowels by front vowels. For example, if a noun ends with a back vowel then the following suffix should start with a back vowel: *başarı* (success)-*lı* (-ful), *araba* (car)-*lar* (-s).

<i>Dün</i>	<i>biz-e</i>	<i>anket</i>	<i>gönder-il-di.</i>
Yesterday	us-DAT	questionnaire	send-PASSI.-PAST-3rd pr.sing

“A questionnaire was sent to us yesterday”

The word “questionnaire” occurring in the subject position in its bare form is interpreted as a definite item, whereas the same word used in a preverbal position refers to a categorical or indefinite meaning.

Göksel and Kerslake point out that sentence stress plays an important role in determining the referentiality of the noun phrase in the sentences including merely a plural noun phrase as the subject and a verb as the predicate (2005, p. 385). If the stress is on the verb, the plural noun phrase becomes definite. If the stress is put on the plural noun phrase, the noun phrase is indefinite, as shown in the following examples:

<i>Öğrenci-LER</i>	<i>gel-di.</i>
Student-PLU	come-PAST-3rd pr
“Students came”	

<i>Öğrenci-ler</i>	<i>gel-Dİ.</i>
Student-PLU	come-PAST-3rd pr
“The students came”	

In determining definite or generic reference, tense-aspect-modality is crucial as well. Göksel and Kerslake emphasize its importance and write that a noun phrase has a generic function if the verb ends with the aorist morphemes *-(a/i)r/-maz*, which corresponds to the simple present tense in English (2005, p. 385). In other words, these sentences indicate a permanent or generalized situation related to a general truth.

<i>Erkek-ler</i>	<i>hızlı</i>	<i>yürü-r.</i>
Man-PLU	rapidly	walk-AOR-3rd pr
“Men walk rapidly”		

Nevertheless, the noun phrases occurring together with a verb taking perfective aspect marker *(-dı/-muş)* or future tense marker *-(y)/-acak* are definite (Erguvanlı, 1984, p. 28):

<i>Erkek-ler</i>	<i>hızlı</i>	<i>yürü-dü.</i>
Man-PLU	rapidly	walk-PAST-3rd pr
“The men walked rapidly”		

### 1.3. Previous studies

A number of studies have been carried out on the production of English articles by second language learners whose native languages lack articles (see Goad and White 2009; Ionin and Montrul 2009; and Trenkic 2009). The main findings of the earlier studies revealed that there is a systematic pattern in which contexts second language

learners omit articles, for example, they often do it if an adjective precedes a noun as a modifier (e.g. *the beautiful girl*) (see Goad and White 2009; Trenkic 2009).

According to the previous studies, learners exclude articles more often in topic than non-topic positions (Trenkic 2009). Learners drop articles when referring to objects present in the immediate context but use them in other definite contexts. Although most studies argue that article production in the second language goes hand in hand with overall proficiency, the patterns concerning the omission of articles can be seen even at a high proficiency level (Trenkic 2009).

Apart from omission errors, article substitution errors have also been reported in the previous studies. Trenkic identifies patterns for the contexts in which definite article is placed instead of the indefinite article or vice versa. In the context requiring the indefinite article, learners produced the definite article more often with concrete noun phrases (e.g. *a letter*) than with abstract noun phrases (e.g. *a disaster*). Ionin observed a pattern in article substitution as well: second language learners use the definite article instead of indefinite when they can identify the referent (e.g. they say: *the girl from my class* instead of *a girl from my class* when they know the girl's name).

## **2. Design of the study: methodology**

Subjects: Two hundred ninety six Turkish learners of English took part in the study. The learners were English major students in the Department of English Language and Literature (264 students) and the Department of Teaching English (32 students) at two different universities. The study involved the learners from the first year to the final year. The learners were asked to write a composition about one out of five topics: i) the description of some of the learners' earliest memories, ii) a television programme that seemed to the learner definitely harmful, iii) the foreign country the learners would most like to live in and the reason why, iv) the career the learner had chosen and the reasons for his/her choice, and v) the things that should be done to preserve the world peace. The subjects were instructed to write at least 200 words. Two learners were removed from the data analysis as the number of words they wrote was lower (around a hundred and a hundred twenty).

The study was designed cross sectionally, hence the participants were given a proficiency test including 48 multiple choice questions to assess their proficiency. The learners were firstly administered the proficiency test and then the writing task in two class hours.

## **3. Data analysis**

After collecting the data, a learner corpus whose size was approximately 80.000 thousand words was generated from the compositions written by the students. The compositions were handwritten. They were entered into the computer without making any changes to their format. Then, the data was analysed through a software package, *Oxford MicroConcord*, searching a large number of computer-readable texts (i.e. ten million words) for definite and indefinite articles. The concordances presenting all the occurrences of the target items existing in the corpus were produced in KWIC (Key Word In Context) system. Additionally, a manual analysis was carried out to find the articles omitted in the contexts they should occur. Finally, one third of the data set

was manually analysed by two colleagues in order to check the reliability of the analysis carried out by the researcher.

#### 4. Results of the study

The analysis of the results showed that articles in English pose difficulty to Turkish learners, even though in most cases they use them correctly. The total distribution of articles in the learners' corpus revealed that they constitute nearly 6,8 percent of the whole corpus as they are very common in the construction of sentences. The percentage of the definite articles (i.e. 4 percent) was higher than that of the indefinite articles (i.e. 2,8 percent). The total number of the indefinite article *a* was 1978, whereas that of the indefinite article *an* was 263. This meant that the indefinite article *a* constituted nearly 2,4 percent of the corpus.

Table 1. *Total distribution of articles in the learners' corpus*

	<b>Raw scores</b>	<b>Total number of words</b>	<b>Percentage scores</b>
<b>Definite</b>	3254	79903	4
<b>Indefinite</b>	2241	79903	2,8
<b>Total</b>	5495	79903	6,8

The distribution of these articles became more meaningful when the results of the incorrect articles were found. According to these results, the rate of the incorrect articles produced by Turkish learners was 10,57 percent of the total number of articles used in the corpus. The learners produced the definite article incorrectly slightly more often than the indefinite articles *a* and *an*, as their percentages were 10,9 and 9,9, respectively.

Table 2. *Overall results of the incorrect English articles*

	<b>Raw scores</b>	<b>Percentage scores</b>
<b>Definite</b>	357	10,9
<b>Indefinite</b>	224	9,9
<b>Total</b>	581	10,57

In terms of the types of errors, the distribution of the incorrect items demonstrated that the learners mostly omitted the articles in the contexts they should occur. They discarded the definite article more often than the indefinite ones (66 percent and 34 percent, respectively). The learners, as illustrated by the following examples, mostly omitted the articles in front of superlative constructions, *adjective + noun* combinations, or in the modified items.

32- 24- 4	he/she is cultured one	Omission
34- 17- 3	the strongest country of world	Omission
35- 25- 1	This was very unbelievable event	Omission
169- 30- 3	I'm very romantic person	Omission
176- 31- 3	surrounded by beautiful Alps	Omission
195- 37- 2	the theme is always same	Omission
234- 26- 3	Japan, --- it is magnificent country	Omission
237- 33- 1	Came from north	Omission
241- 33- 1	There were nobody in park	Omission
243- 25- 3	education is most important thing	Omission
293- 36- 5	Become main cause of the war	Omission

Table 3. *Distribution of incorrect items according to the types of errors*

	Definite	Percentage	Indefinite	Percentage	Total	Percentage
<b>Omission</b>	243	66	124	34	367	63
<b>Addition</b>	90	61	57	39	147	25
<b>Selection</b>	24	36	43	64	67	12
<b>Total</b>	357	61	224	39	581	100

The use of articles in the contexts which does not require them, that is addition errors, showed a similar tendency. The addition of the definite article was 61 percent; the learners added *the* before proper nouns and fixed phrases more often than the indefinite article, as can be seen in the following examples taken from the corpus. The learners produced *a* before pronouns or together with the definite article.

22- 73- 63	In <i>a</i> conclusion,	Addition
26- 43- 25	<i>another</i> problems	Addition
28- 33- 52	What <i>the</i> love is	Addition
28- 72- 92	At <i>the</i> weekends I usually	Addition
36- 19- 2	we watch <i>the</i> television	Addition
202- 30- 3	<i>The</i> <i>another</i> reason	Addition
235- 36- 3	To see <i>the</i> Europe	Addition
239- 30- 3	By <i>the</i> means of media	Addition
280- 32- 4	Process has no <i>an</i> end	Addition
293- 36- 5	Will not have <i>a</i> something	Addition

There were also selection errors, that is the use of the definite article instead of the indefinite one or vice versa, and also the provision of the indefinite article *a* instead of *an*. This type of error was more common for the indefinite article because the learners committed errors in the selection of the right indefinite article as shown in the following examples.

165- 26- 5	shouldn't be a reason for wars	Selection
193- 29- 3	A profession I like most	Selection
246- 36- 1	On a unbearable hot day, we set off	Selection
276- 36- 2	I think the programme nearly all people watch	Selection

288- 30- 4	They have a ideal job	Selection
290- 37- 5	Should be a impartial community	Selection

As mentioned before, in the earlier studies it was found out that second language learners omit articles when an adjective comes before a noun in the function of a modifier. To see whether it was the case in this study, the pattern of the omission errors was investigated and the distribution of the omission errors in terms of the context supported the findings of this study.

Table 4. *Distribution of omission errors according to the phrase pattern*

	<b>Definite</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Indefinite</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Article + Adjective + Noun</b>	152	63	91	37	243	66
<b>Article + Noun</b>	73	59	51	41	124	34
<b>Total</b>	225	61	142	39	367	100

This shows that Turkish learners omitted the definite article in the pattern adjective + noun more often than in the non-modified noun context (63% versus 59%, respectively). As far as the indefinite article is concerned, the figures were 37 percent and 41 percent.

## 5. Conclusion

The results showed that the most common error made by the Turkish learners was that of omission. In view of the results, the negative impact of the learners' native language was obvious and this implied that the Turkish learners' awareness of the articles in English should be raised. They should be instructed about the context in which the definite and indefinite articles should be used and they should be exposed to the exercises showing the appropriate use of English articles.

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**CZY DU OZNACZA "TY"? O UWARUNKOWANIACH WYBORÓW  
TRANSLATORSKICH W PROCESIE TŁUMACZENIA SZWEDZKICH  
ZAIMKÓW OSOBOWYCH NA JĘZYK POLSKI**

**Abstract**

The paper is an attempt to discuss factors which influence the translator's choices in the process of translating Swedish personal pronouns into Polish. The research approach takes into consideration both the structural-lexical aspect and the pragmalinguistic one. The author focuses on examples excerpted from the books of well-known Swedish writers and their Polish translations.

**Key words:** Swedish, Polish, personal pronouns, translation

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi próbę wprowadzenia do problematyki związanej z oddawaniem w języku polskim szwedzkich zaimków osobowych. Analiza konfrontatywno-porównawcza szwedzkich zaimków osobowych i ich translacyjnych odpowiedników, dotycząca odpowiedniości formalnej i semantycznej, pozwoli wykazać podobieństwa i różnice w zakresie funkcjonowania badanych jednostek językowych. Perspektywa badawcza zostanie poszerzona o kryterium pragmatyczno-kontekstualne, będące często czynnikiem determinującym wybory translatorskie. Materiał językowy, stanowiący podstawę uogólnień teoretycznych, został zaczerpnięty z powieści Ingmara Bergmana, kryminałów autorstwa Stiega Larssona i Larsa Keplera, a także prac szwedzkiego językoznawcy Bengta Sigurda. Punkt wyjścia stanowi tekst szwedzki, materiałem porównawczym jest jego polski przekład.

Zaimki tworzą klasę wyrażen, której jednorodność często budziła wątpliwości językoznawców i była przedmiotem kontrowersji. Brak jednolitej podstawy definicyjnej wynika z nieregularności formalnej (supletywizm w odmianie zaimków osobowych) jak i też braku kryterium znaczeniowego, obejmującego całą klasę tradycyjnych zaimków (Grzegorzczkova, 1986, s. 53; Grzegorzczkova, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1998, s. 333; Padučeva, 1992, s.17; Polański, 1995, s. 609). W dalszych rozważaniach będziemy się odwoływać do definicji zaprezentowanej w *Encyklopedii językoznawstwa ogólnego*, w której zaimki charakteryzuje się jako zamkniętą klasę wyrażen uznawanych za odrębną część mowy, wyróżnioną na podstawie kryterium znaczeniowego (Polański, 1995, s. 609). W przypadku zaimków osobowych proponuje się podział tych wyrażen na dwie grupy, różne pod względem funkcjonalnym (odmienne pod względem techniki oznaczania). Grupa pierwsza to wyrażenia o funkcji referencyjnej wyznaczające osoby „poprzez ukazanie ich stosunku do aktu mowy”, czyli zaimki pierwszej i drugiej osoby, tzw. „zaimki osobowe właściwe”. Grupa druga obejmuje zaimki trzeciej osoby pełniące funkcję deiktyczną oraz funkcję anaforyczną. Podobną definicję zaimków zaproponowała Padučeva, wg której zaimki stanowią klasę wyrazów służących do wyrażania referencji (Padučeva, 1992, s. 185).

Zaimki pierwszej i drugiej osoby (zaimki deiktyczne) odsyłają do sytuacji aktu mowy, zaimki trzeciej osoby (zaimki anaforyczne) odsyłają do poprzedzającej wypowiedzi lub tekstu, w skład których wchodzi. Podobna koncepcja klasyfikacji i opisu zaimków osobowych przedstawiona została przez autorów najnowszej gramatyki języka szwedzkiego (SAG<sup>54</sup> 1999, s. 263-283). Podstawę wyodrębnienia dwóch grup obrębie klasy zaimków osobowych stanowi, tak jak w cytowanych powyżej definicjach, kryterium funkcjonalne (wskazywanie deiktyczne lub anaforyczne).

Zaimki osobowe wskazują na odpowiedniego uczestnika aktu mowy (sytuacji komunikacyjnej):

- jag/„ja”* – zaimek 1. os. lp. identyfikuje uczestnika omawianej sytuacji z mówiącym
- du/„ty”* – zaimek 2. os. wyznacza słuchacza, do którego mówiący kieruje swoją wypowiedź
- vi/„my”* – zaimek 1. os. lm. wyznacza zbiór osób, którego elementem jest również osoba mówiąca
- ni/„wy”* – wskazuje na zbiór osób, będących adresatami wypowiedzi

(Grzegorzczkova, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1998, s. 334; Polański, 1995, s. 609; SAG, 1999, s. 255).

Zarówno w języku szwedzkim jak i polskim, zaimki 1. i 2. os. są zaimkami bezrodzajowymi; te same formy stosuje się zarówno dla rodzaju męskiego jak i żeńskiego (Polański, 1995, s. 609; SAG, 1999, s. 263). Wymienionym zaimkom przeciwstawia się zaimek 3. osoby wskazujący na dowolny przedmiot (lub zbiór przedmiotów w przypadku liczby mnogiej), który nie jest uczestnikiem aktu porozumiewania się (Grzegorzczkova, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1998, s. 334). Zaimek ten może być użyty zarówno w funkcji deiktycznej, stanowiąc językowy odpowiednik gestu wskazującego, lub też anaforycznej, stanowiąc wtedy anaforyczny substytut pełnej grupy nominalnej (ibid.). W języku polskim deiksa i anafora 3. osoby są wyrażane w ten sam sposób, co jest zasadniczą różnicą między porównywanymi językami. Zarówno w języku polskim jak i szwedzkim, formy zaimka 3. osoby wykazują zróżnicowanie zależnie od wyrażanego rodzaju gramatycznego (rodzaj zaimka odpowiada anaforyzowanej grupie imiennej). W obu językach używane są następujące zaimki w celu wskazania osoby lub też nie-osoby, która nie jest ani nadawcą ani odbiorcą wypowiedzi:

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| <i>han</i> (rodzaj męski) / „on”                  | deikt. |
| <i>hon</i> (rodzaj żeński) / „ona”                | deikt. |
| <i>det</i> (rodzaj nijaki) / „ono”                | anaf.  |
| <i>den</i> (utrzym, rodzaj nienijaki) / „on, ona” | anaf.  |

<sup>54</sup>*Svenska Akademiens Grammatik*

*de* (neutralizacja opozycji rodzajowej) / „oni, one”

(Maciejewski, 1983, s. 198; SAG, 1999, s. 257; Szulc, 1992, s. 46).

Powyższe zestawienie wykazuje rozbieżności pomiędzy systemem zaimków osobowych, będących wykładnikami rodzaju, w porównywanych językach. Brak symetrii między porównywanymi językami na planie wyrażania zmusza tłumacza do zastosowania różnego rodzaju przekształceń struktur języka wyjściowego. Jedną z przyczyn zastosowania odmiennych środków gramatyczno-leksykalnych w języku docelowym jest więc odmienne ujmowanie językowe, bardziej szczegółowy lub bardziej ogólny opis tego samego wycinka rzeczywistości pozajęzykowej, przez język docelowy. Spójrzmy dla przykładu na następujące zdania:

(1) *De sökte något i förväg bestämt.* (K)  
Szukały czegoś z góry określonego.

(2) *Vi åkte med mamma till Amalfi.* (B)  
Pojechałyśmy z mamą do Amalfi.

(3) *Eter fars och mors död är vde jag ett praktigt antal album [...] Jag skrev så, som jag sedan femtio år är van att skriva: i kinematografisk, dramatisk form. [...] Jag rörde försiktigt vid mina föräldrars ansikten och öden och tyckte att jag lärde mig åtskilligt om mig själv.* (B)

Po śmierci rodziców odziedziczyłem pokaźną liczbę zdjęć [...] Pisałem tak jak zwykłem to robić od pięćdziesięciu lat: w filmowej, dramatycznej formie. [...] Ostrożnie dotykając losów i twarzy rodziców, nauczyłem się niejednego o sobie.

(4) *Jag fick den här medaljongen på min förlovningsdag. Jag fick den av Henriks far, den hade naturligtvis kostat alldeles för mycket, men han brydde sig inte om pengar.* (B)

Dostałam ten medalion od ojca Henryka, naturalnie kosztował stanowczo za dużo, ale on nie dbał o pieniądze.

W powyższych przykładach szwedzki zaimek osobowy w przekładzie nie otrzymał formalnego odpowiednika w postaci zaimka osobowego. W języku polskim zaimki osobowe pozostają w ścisłym funkcjonalnym związku z wyrażaną fleksyjnie kategorią osoby czasowników (Grzegorzczkowska, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1998, s. 198). Morfem fleksyjny, będący składnikiem obligatoryjnym osobowych form czasownika, jednoznacznie wskazuje na osobę podmiotu. Zaimek osobowy w funkcji podmiotu staje się więc członem redundantnym w schemacie zdania, możliwym do pominięcia bez strat informacyjnych (ibid.). W języku szwedzkim nie ma możliwości pominięcia podmiotu zaimkowego, co wynika z obligatoryjności wypełnienia pozycji podmiotu w schemacie zdania, a także braku kategorii osoby czasownika. Szwedzki czasownik pozbawiony jest również kategorii rodzaju i liczby.

System gramatyczny języka polskiego zmusza tłumacza do użycia form zawierających wyraźne wskaźniki rodzaju gramatycznego (opozycja końcówek). Fakt

ten może być przyczyną trudności przekładowych w przypadku antecedencji zaimka, tzn. gdy zaimek poprzedza nieznany korelat (Maciejewski, 1983, s. 200) lub gdy w intencji nadawcy istotne jest ukrycie lub neutralizacja informacji o płci. Przykład 3 stanowią zdania zaczerpnięte z początku, środka i końca tekstu pierwszego rozdziału książki Ingmara Bergmana *Den goda viljan*. Nieobecność morfologicznych wykładników rodzaju gramatycznego w szwedzkiej fleksji werbalnej, i w formie wyrazów zależnych, powoduje, iż czytelnik oryginału nie otrzymuje informacji o płci mówiącego, w przeciwieństwie do polskiego przekładu. Brak fleksyjnych opozycji rodzajowych wyznacza w wariancie szwedzkim szerszy zakres nazwy konstytutywnej, desygnatem podmiotu może być zarówno istota płci męskiej jak i żeńskiej. W pozostałych przypadkach (przykład 1, 2 i 4) wskazówek dotyczących prawidłowego wyboru spośród możliwych odpowiedników dostarcza tłumaczowi kontekst. Dokonana przez tłumacza konkretyzacja przyczynia się oczywiście do identyfikacji obiektu predykcji, „wspomagając” takie środki pozajęzykowe jak wiedza odbiorcy i sytuacja komunikacyjna.

W badanym materiale różnica strukturalna przejawia się również funkcjonowaniu zaimków 1. os. 1. mn. *vi/„my”* (Engel, 2000, s. 945; Maciejewski, 1983, s. 201). W przykładzie 2 zdanie w języku oryginału implikuje, że co najmniej trzy osoby pojechały do Amalfi – mówiący i jedna lub więcej osób oraz mama. Przekład dopuszcza dodatkową interpretację, niemożliwą w przypadku formy źródłowej: tylko dwie osoby pojechały do Amalfi (mówiący i mama). W polskim przekładzie podmiot nie jest leksykalnie wyrażony, jego powierzchniowym reprezentantem staje się końcówka imiennych części mowy występujących w pozycji orzeczenia (forma czasu przeszłego 1. os. lm.). Nacechowanie końcówki fleksyjnej pod względem rodzaju zawęża zakres nazwy konstytutywnej, podmiot wyrażenia zdaniowego *Pojechaliśmy z mamą do Amalfi* nie może oznaczać „bytów, które są mężczyznami” (Maciejewski, 1983, s. 201). W wariancie szwedzkim *Vi åkte med mamma till Amalfi* wykładnik morfologiczny, w postaci morfemu fleksyjnego czasownika, nie ujawnia płci referentów oznaczanych zaimkiem *vi*.

Dalsza różnica dotyczy także zasobu form i dystrybucji zaimków zwrotnych, pełniących funkcję anaforyczną do poprzedzających zaimków osobowych lub rzeczowników. Język szwedzki dysponuje odrębnymi zaimkami zwrotnymi dla wskazania koreferencji z różnymi osobami (przykład 3 wariant szwedzki: *jag – mig*), w przeciwieństwie do języka polskiego, w którym istnieje tylko jedna forma, stosowana do wszystkich osób (przykład 3: podmiot zerowy, morfem fleksyjny 3. os. l. poj. – *się*) (Polański, 1995, s. 614; SAG, 1999, s. 2-255). W przypadku zaimków dzierżawczo-zwrotnych język szwedzki nie dopuszcza wymienności tegoż zaimka w funkcji atrybutywnej z zaimkiem dzierżawczo-osobowym. W przekładzie omawiane zaimki wyrażane były za pomocą zaimków dzierżawczo-zwrotnych, konstrukcje z zaimkiem dzierżawczo-osobowym uważane są za wariant „niższy” stylistycznie (Maciejewski, 1983, s. 212; Polański, 1995, s. 614):

- (5) *Kom genast och se på din systerson.* (B)  
Natychmiast musisz zobaczyć swojego siostrzeńca.

Wybór środków języka docelowego w procesie tłumaczenia szwedzkich zaimków osobowych na język polski uwarunkowany był także określonymi celami

komunikacyjnymi, czy też wartością emocjonalną wypowiedzi. Rozważmy następujące przykłady:

- (6) – *Jag tänker undersöka mordet, envisas Jooni.*  
– *Det är jag som bestämmer en sådan sak, svarar Peter.* (K)  
– Zamierzam zbadać te zabójstwa.  
– To ja o tym zdecyduję – odpowiada Joonie przełożony.
- (7) – *Var det du som bjöd hem den där ynglingen?* (B)  
– Czy to ty zaprosiłeś tego młodzika?  
– *Jag bjöd honom.*  
– Tak, właśnie ja go zaprosiłem.

W celu realizacji intencji komunikacyjnej nadawcy, tj. podkreślenia ważności elementu językowego w postaci zaimka osobowego, użyto w języku szwedzkim konstrukcji określanej jako parafraza emfatyczna (Ekerot, 1979, s. 102; Maciejewski, 1983, s. 183). Wybór takiej struktury syntaktycznej (szyku nacechowanego) pozwala na umieszczenie wyeksponowanego składnika w postaci podmiotu na dalszej pozycji w schemacie zdania, nie inicjalnej, jak w przypadku zastosowania zdania nienacechowanego. Konstrukcja *Det är NP* wprowadza więc wzmocniony temat zdania w postaci zaimka osobowego, który wyznacza referenta poprzez odesłanie do sytuacji mowy: referent jest jednoznacznie identyfikowany przez uczestników sytuacji komunikacyjnej. Subiektywny wybór nadawcy, polegający na uwydatnieniu określonych, jego zdaniem, najważniejszych informacji, został odwzorowany w polskim przekładzie przy pomocy szyku wyrazów, użycia zaimka osobowego *ja* (pod akcentem w tekście mówionym) (przykład 6), *ty, ja* (przykład 7) oraz zastosowania partykuły *właśnie*, służącej wzmocnieniu treści członu zdania, któremu towarzyszy (Polański, 1995, s. 134; SJP<sup>55</sup>, 1995, s. 682).

Prawidłowe odczytanie przez odbiorcę (tłumacza) intencji komunikacyjnej nadawcy istotne jest także przy przekładzie jednostek zaimkowych pełniących funkcje zwrotów adresatywnych. Zastosowanie odpowiedniego modelu adresatywnego, adekwatnego w opisaną sytuację komunikacyjną, zmusza często tłumacza do odejścia od formalnej struktury oryginału:

- (8) *Nu känner Ni familjen.* (B)  
Teraz zna pan rodzinę.
- (9) – *Jag är Simone Bark, mamma till Benjamin [...] Aida och min son brukar umgås och jag undrar om du vet var de kan vara [...]* (K)  
– Jestem Simone Bark, mama Benjamina. Aida i mój syn spotykają się i pomyślałam, że może pani wie, gdzie mogą teraz być.
- (10) ”*Det är jag som är Henrik Vagner*” hälsade han. ”*Tack för att du ville besöka mig.*” (L)

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<sup>55</sup> Słownik Języka Polskiego

– Henrik Vagner, to ja. Dziękuję, że zechciał pan do mnie przyjechać.

(11) *Efter att ha anmält sig hos en flicka i receptionen, får han gå in till Nils Åhlen, professor i rättsmedicinet, allmänt kallad Nålen [...] Nålen söker i datorn med trutande mun [...]: min bedömning var att mannen dog lite mer än en timme före de två andra.*

– Har du en annan uppfattning nu? (K)

Zgłosiwszy się w recepcji, może wreszcie pójść do Nilsa Ålena, profesora medycyny sądowej, zwanego „Nålenem” [...] Nålen przeszukuje pliki w komputerze [...]: moim zdaniem mężczyzna zmarł trochę ponad godzinę przed pozostałą dwójką.

– Czy teraz zmieniłeś zdanie?

Konfrontacja tekstu szwedzkiego i polskiego przekładu pokazuje różnice pod względem honoryfikatywności zaimkowej. W powyższych przykładach zaimek osobowy 2. osoby lp. *du* i 2 osoby lm. *ni* pełni funkcję formy adresatywnej oznaczającej odbiorcę będącego uczestnikiem aktu komunikacji językowej. W przykładzie 8, zaczerpniętym z powieści Ingmara Bergmana, której akcja rozgrywa się na początku XX wieku, bogata arystokratka, Karin Åkerblom, używając formy adresatywnej *ni*, zwraca się do młodego Henryka Bergmana, studenta pochodzącego z ubogiej rodziny. Użycie zaimka *ni* miało na celu zaznaczenie dystansu dzielącego rozmówców i ich różnej pozycji społecznej. Według *Svenska Akademiens Grammatik* (1999, s. 267) zaimek 2. os. lm. był uważany za formę dystansową, ale sugerującą jednocześnie niesymetryczne relacje adresatywne, co zadecydowało o tym, iż nie upowszechnił się on w uniwersalnej funkcji honoryfikatywnej, tak jak na przykład zaimek *Sie* w języku niemieckim (Łaziński, 2006, s. 139; SAG, 1999, s. 267). Przeprowadzona pod koniec lat sześćdziesiątych i na początku siedemdziesiątych szwedzka reforma honoryfikatywności doprowadziła do powszechnego użycia zaimka 2. os. lp. w przypadku zwracania się do rozmówcy, zarówno w sferze komunikacji prywatnej jak i publicznej (ibid.). Kolejne przykłady zaczerpnięte zostały z kryminałów współczesnych szwedzkich autorów, Stiega Larssona (przykład 10) i Larsa Keplera (przykład 9 i 11). Zaimek *du*, odzwierciedlający skłonność do redukcji dystansu społecznego i podkreślający przynależność grupową, jest w porównywanych tekstach zwrotem powszechnie stosowanym w odniesieniu do adresata wypowiedzi.

W polskim przekładzie (przykłady 8, 9 i 10) pojawia się odpowiednik pragmatyczny wersji oryginalnej, rzeczownik tytułarny *pan*, składniowo łączący się z czasownikiem w 3. osobie, zróżnicowany rodzajowo (Łaziński, 2006, s. 17). Informacja o towarzysko-społecznej relacji między nadawcą a adresatem wypowiedzi zostaje w tłumaczeniu wyrażona eksplicytnie. Przekład zaimków adresatywnych uzależniony jest od określonej sytuacji, kontekstu oraz odbiorcy, który dysponuje inną kompetencją językową i kulturową. W przykładzie 11 pochodzącym również z kryminału Larsa Keplera, tłumacz zdecydował, że w polskim przekładzie bohaterowie będą się zwracać do siebie na „ty”, w celu zaznaczenia bliższej relacji łączącej rozmówców. Tekst oryginału nie zawiera jednak takiej informacji, czytelnik może się

jedynie domyślać, że nie jest to pierwsze spotkanie komisarza kryminalnego i profesora medycyny sądowej Nålana.

Przykłady 12 i 13 ilustrują wartościujące użycie zaimka osobowego:

- (12) – *Du där, kom hit!* (B)  
– Ty tam, podejdź tu!

- (13) *Simone sitter och tittar ut genom fönstret i tunnelbanevagen. [...] – Du där, säger mannen mitt emot henne med en retsamt pockande röst.* (K)  
Simone siedzi w wagonie metra i wygląda przez okno. [...] – Ty tam  
– odzywa się mężczyzna z naprzeciwnika zaczepnym tonem.

Zaimek osobowy *du* fakultatywnie w połączeniu z zaimkiem przysłownym *där* („tam”) może pełnić funkcję deprecjatywną, służy wrażeniu dystansu lub negatywnego stosunku mówiącego do osoby nazywanej tym zaimkiem (Lyons, 1977, s. 669; SAG, 1999, s. 316). Równoważność pragmatyczna zwrotu osiągnięta została w przekładzie poprzez zastosowanie zaimka 2. os. *ty* w wołaczu oraz zaimka przysłownego *tam*. Użycie zaimka bezdystansowego, zamiast oczekiwanej w tej sytuacji dystansowej formy adresatywnej, umożliwiło tłumaczowi oddanie negatywnych emocji i lekceważącego stosunku mówiącego do adresata wypowiedzi.

Jak wykazała analiza wybranych przykładów decyzje tłumacza w trakcie szukania i znajdowania odpowiedników uzależnione były od wielu czynników, jak np. różnice strukturalne, różnice kulturowe, aspekt komunikacyjny czy wreszcie interpretacja tekstu oryginału przez tłumacza. Jak pokazują paralelne przykłady, szwedzki zaimek osobowy, będący tematycznym członem wypowiedzi, nie otrzymywał w przekładzie odpowiednika formalnego na powierzchni zdania. Jego powierzchniowym reprezentantem jest końcówka imiennych części mowy, występujących w pozycji orzeczenia. Nacechowanie końcówek pod względem rodzaju gramatycznego i płci zawęży zakres nazwy konstytutywnej w polskiej wersji. Formalna reprezentacja zaimka osobowego obecna jest w zdaniach nacechowanych pod względem ekspresywnym, w których zaimek stanowi człon wyeksponowany (rematyczny). Dyferencjacja dotyczy także zaimków zwrotnych, które w języku szwedzkim, w przeciwieństwie do języka polskiego, wskazują na osobę.

Podobieństwo na płaszczyźnie formalnej porównywanych jednostek językowych nie gwarantuje stworzenia ekwiwalentnego komunikatu w języku docelowym. Różnice w zakresie znaczeniowym oryginału i obcojęzycznego odpowiednika wynikają np. z różnych interpretacji semantycznych form docelowych i źródłowych, czy też z ich różnej wartości pragmatycznej. Porównanie przekładowych odpowiedników wykazało, iż rozbieżności leksykalno-semantyczne determinowane są najczęściej ekstralingwistycznie, przez kryterium pragmatyczno-kontekstualne. Tłumacz dokonuje wyboru spośród dostępnych w języku docelowym środków pełniących określoną funkcję pragmatyczną, równoznaczną z pragmatyczną wartością form i wyrażen zastosowanych w języku źródłowym. I tak np. użycie odpowiedniej formy zaimka, pełniącego funkcję zwrotu adresatywnego, zależy od kontekstu i sytuacji, w których dane wypowiedzi się pojawiają. Tłumacz, poszukując adekwatnych odpowiedników tłumaczeniowych, musi dokonać wyboru takich środków języka docelowego odzwierciedlających intencję komunikacyjną autora,

które będą ekwiwalentne w aktualnym kontekście językowym (w konkretnej sytuacji użycia).

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**Joanna Jakubik**

*Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Nowym Sączu*

## **COMMUNICATION IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE BETWEEN ENGLISH NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS**

### **Abstract**

Communication between native and non-native speakers of English occurs on a daily basis. Despite this, there are still disturbances which inhibit the transmission of information. In this study both native and non-native speakers of English presented their opinions on the main causes of disruptions in communication and pointed out the language areas which were essential for successful interaction. Native speakers as well as non-native speakers of English indicated that vocabulary was the most crucial area of language knowledge. Thus, from the perspective of the majority of the participants of this study, the ungrammatical response may still be understood, but the lack of vocabulary effectively blocks communication.

**Key words:** communication, native speakers, non-native speakers, vocabulary

### **1. Introduction**

Language is a feature which distinguishes human beings from other species and enables people to express their thoughts, emotions, knowledge, as well as to communicate with each other. It may be observed that nowadays English is one of the most popular languages in the world. According to the British Council 750 million people are believed to use English as a second language.<sup>56</sup> Thus, if we can speak English, the chances that we will be able to communicate with people all over the world are high. Communication, i.e. “the transmission and reception of information between a source and receiver using a signaling system” (Crystal 2003, p. 85), is often disturbed by noise and mistakes, such as wrong pronunciation, accent, lack of proper grammar or vocabulary. Not only do these factors make the communication much more complicated, but they also lead to misunderstanding or offending the interlocutor. The aim of this article is to present the points of views of both native and non-native speakers of English on the subject of communication between them.

### **2. Participants**

130 randomly chosen subjects between the age of 18 and 56 completed an international survey via the Internet. The survey comprised 100 non-native English speakers who were native speakers of related languages, such as Slavic languages, Romance languages, Ural-Altaic languages and Germanic languages. 59% of the participants were male, and 41% were female. Representatives of Slavic languages

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<sup>56</sup><http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-faq-the-english-language.htm>

were native speakers of Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian. Romance languages were represented by Italian, Spanish and Portuguese native speakers. The survey was also completed by people from Turkey and Hungary – native speakers of Ural-Altaic languages. Germanic languages were represented by Dutch and German speakers.

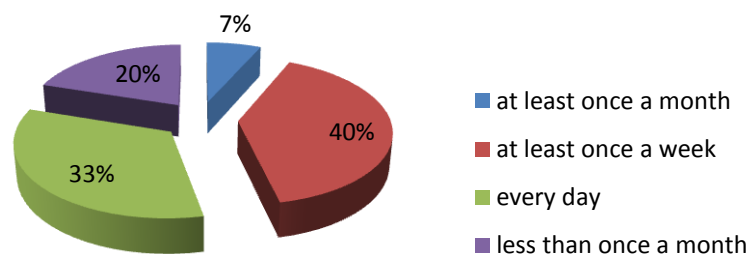
The group of native speakers of English language from Great Britain, United States of America, Canada and Australia comprised 30 people. 60% of them were females, 40% were males. Their age was between 20 and 55.

### 3. Research results

#### 3.1. Native speakers

Native speakers of the English language answered 11 questions regarding the frequency of communicating with non-native English speakers, most common situations in which they communicate with them, as well as disturbances and errors made by non-native English speakers.

One of the first questions the native speakers were asked was: “How often do you communicate with non-native English speakers?” Its purpose was to determine the frequency of their interaction. The most common answers were: at least once a week (40%), every day (33%), and at least once a month (7%), which is illustrated in *Figure 1*. From this data it can be observed that native speakers interact with non-native English speakers regularly. The most common circumstances in which native English speakers communicate with non-natives is work (47%). Other situations involved talking to tourists (20%), family (13%), friends (13%) and shopping (7%) (*Figure 2*).



*Figure 1.* Frequency with which English native speakers communicate with non-native English speakers.

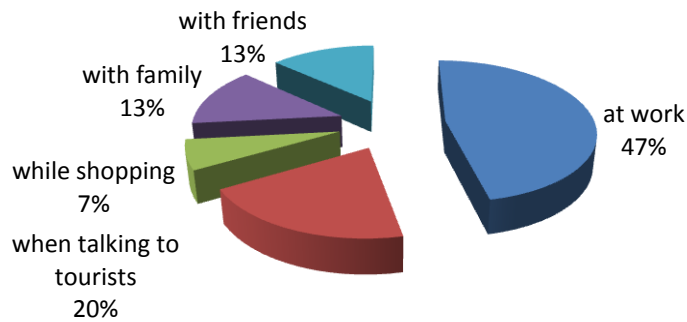


Figure 2. Situations in which native speakers of English communicate with non-native English speakers.

The survey showed that disruptions in communication with non-native speakers are not a serious problem (Figure 3). 47% of interviewees stated that they communicated without interruptions. English native speakers claimed to approach communication with non-native speakers with patience and willingness to understand. In many opinions, non-native speakers had very good grammar skills. In 33% of the cases the disturbances in conversation were present and they led to frustration on the part of native speakers, making communication more demanding. Also, some native speakers noted that misunderstandings were caused by misinterpreting the interlocutor's thoughts. Another disruption in communication was induced by non-native speaker's strong accent as well as the fast pace of speaking. 20% of the interviewees did not state whether the disturbances in communication were present or not.

The most frequent factor disturbing communication between native and non-native English speakers was accent (40%). The less common reasons included the lack of proper vocabulary (14%), lack of proper grammar (13%), wrong pronunciation (13%), and language calques (13%). 7% of the interviewees answered that there were other errors (which were not listed in the survey) which disturb communication most. The results show that a good command of target grammar and vocabulary does not reduce the number of misunderstandings arising from poor pronunciation.

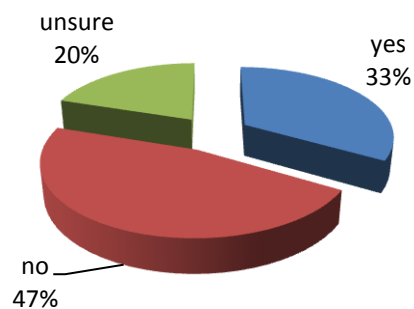


Figure 3. Perception of disturbances during communicating with non-native English speakers.

### **3.1.1. Excuse me, where is your accent from...?**

The interviewees were asked if they can tell from which country their interlocutor came by the way he or she spoke. 60% of the respondents responded positively, 27% were not certain and the remaining 13% stated that they did not have that skill. The most common clues for the native speakers concerning the nationality of their interlocutors were accents, grammatical choices and speech patterns. Interviewees explained that many nationalities had characteristic ways of using grammar (e.g. using *calques*). Native speakers also noted that the most frequent mistake made by German people was the wrong pronunciation of *th* sound (pronounced as /z/). Many of them also thickened consonants, and they had problem with subject-verb agreement.

### **3.1.2. The Poles**

The Poles' most frequent mistakes were the pronunciation of *th* as /f/ or /t/ in words such as *thank you* or *that*. Moreover the *-ing* inflection was strongly pronounced. Polish people also had a tendency to emphasize vowels which should not be stressed. They also misplaced the words in the sentences, e.g. *Would like you to read?* instead of *Would you like to read?*

### **3.1.3. The Spaniards**

Spanish native speakers frequently made pronunciation mistakes. Interviewees stated that Spanish-speaking people pronounced English with a heavy Spanish accent, for example pronouncing /s/ instead of /ʃ/. It did not go unnoticed that their pace of speaking was fast. Also, having forgotten the target word, many of them had a tendency to slip back into Spanish.

### **3.1.4. The French**

The French were also mentioned as a nation with a characteristic accent (their strong pronunciation of *r*). Furthermore, their vocabulary was often insufficient to communicate without disruptions.

### **3.1.5. The Italians**

The Italians, according to the interviewees, often pronounced /h/ before words which begin with a vowel, such as *old* and *all*. They also very strongly pronounced *-ed* at the end of words, e.g. in words like *tired*. Additionally, they often pronounced /z/ instead of /s/ and /i:/ instead of /ɪ/, e.g. in words like *sit* or *will*.

## **3.2. What should you do, so that I could understand you?**

Most interviewees (47%) pointed out that vocabulary is crucial. In their opinion, though proper grammar, accent and pronunciation were important, the mistakes caused by them might be dealt with whereas not knowing the right words would often lead to frustration and communication failure. 20% emphasized the importance of the knowledge of culture and history in understanding certain behaviors and phrases. Pronunciation was seen as a priority by 13% of the respondents, good command of grammar by another 13% and accent by 7%. It was stated that the clearer the pronunciation, the better the understanding was.

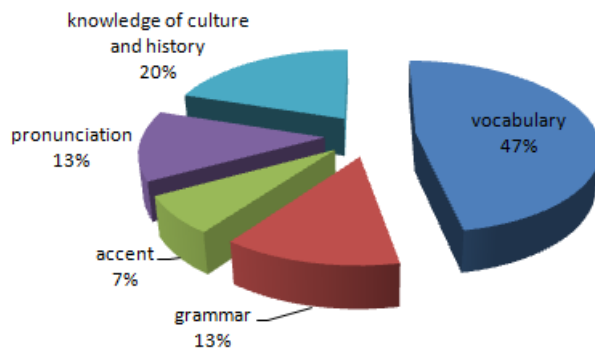


Figure 4. The most essential skills to acquire for non-native English speakers to communicate without disturbances.

### 3.3. Non-native speakers

Most of the interviewees (80%) have been learning English for 6 or more years, 13% from 3 to 5 years, and the remaining 7% from 1 to 2 years. These data could suggest that most of them have reached the advanced level, but only 27% respondents admitted that they thought of their English in this way. The majority of the interviewees (60%) perceived their English as good – they could understand and communicate with others but the difficulties were present. The remaining 13% of the respondents believed that their English skills were basic – they could understand and communicate with others using simple grammar and basic vocabulary.

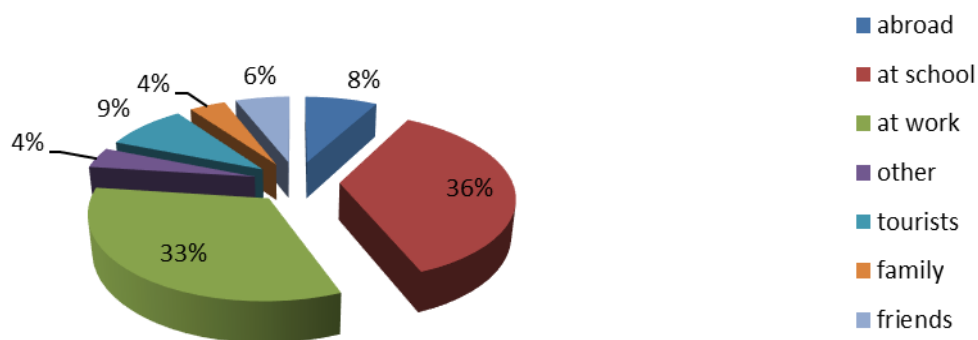


Figure 5. Contexts of the use of English by non-native speakers outside English classroom.

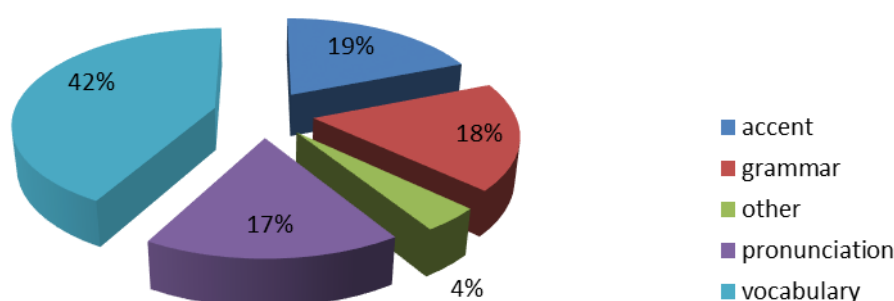
The majority of the respondents used English at school/university (36%) and at work (33%). 9% of them used English to communicate with tourists and 8% used it abroad. Only 6% used English to communicate with friends, 4% to communicate with family, and 4% answered that they used it in other contexts (Figure 5).

The majority of the non-native speakers communicated in English at least once a week (28%). 26% used it less than once a month and 24% at least once in two weeks. 22% responded that they used English outside English classes every day and for the remaining 10% it was at least once a month. It was not how long English had been

studied but how often it had been used that determined whether communication was effective or not.

### 3.2.1. *Why do I not understand you...?*

The disturbances in communication between non-native English speakers may occur because of a number of reasons. 42% of the non-native English speakers blamed vocabulary for being the source of misunderstandings. Accent was a problem for 19% of the respondents. They noted that during conversation heavy accent disrupted communication. Others pointed to grammar (18%) and pronunciation (17%). They explained that misusing the rules of grammar and mispronouncing different words can confuse the interlocutor. 4% of the interviewees mentioned reasons not listed in the survey (*Figure 6*).



*Figure 6.* Areas responsible for disturbing comprehension most according to non-native speakers of English.

Non-native users of English were also asked about possible disturbances in communicating with English native speakers. 45% of the interviewees claimed to have experienced such disturbances. They pointed to fast pace of speaking and accent as aspects of communication that complicated comprehension. 28% of the interviewees did not experience any communication problems and the remaining 27% were unsure.

The respondents were questioned about the most common reasons for the disturbances in communication in English on their part. For all the respondents insufficient vocabulary was seen as the major cause of communication breakdown (such a view was held by 47% of Slavic native speakers, 47% of Romance native speakers, 45% native speakers of Germanic languages and 35% of Ural-Altaic – *Figures 7-10*). The interviewees felt to have been limited by their vocabulary, which resulted in less fluent conversation and troubles with expressing their thoughts.

Grammar was marked as the most important reason of communication breakdown by 20% of native speakers of Germanic languages (*Figure 8*), 20% native speakers of Slavic languages (*Figure 9*) and 27% native speakers of Romance languages (*Figure 10*). Those respondents explained that proper accent and richer vocabulary might be developed later in time, but the English language has a wide variety of grammatical rules which need to be mastered early to ensure the effectiveness of communication.

Morris-Adams (2008) points out in her research that non-native speakers are often perceived as those who fail in communication because of their insufficient language skills. She also shows that in many scholarly books about communication between native and non-native speakers the authors blame the latter for difficulties in conversations. However, as she explains, in the recent years these ideas have been changing. The blame for difficulties in communication starts to shift towards the native speakers (it is frequently a result of their attitude towards the non-native speakers).

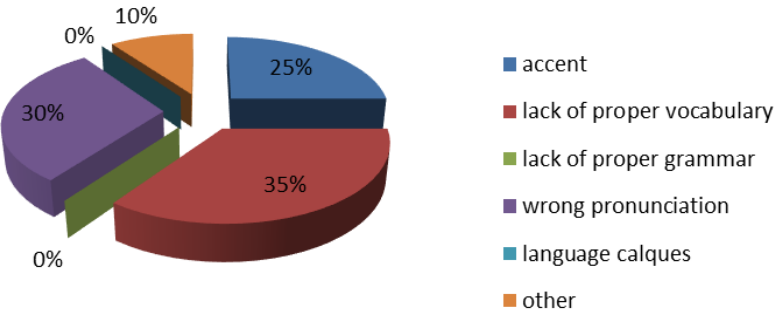


Figure 7. Reasons why native speakers of Ural-Altaic languages cannot successfully communicate in English with English native speakers (according to native speakers of Ural-Altaic languages).

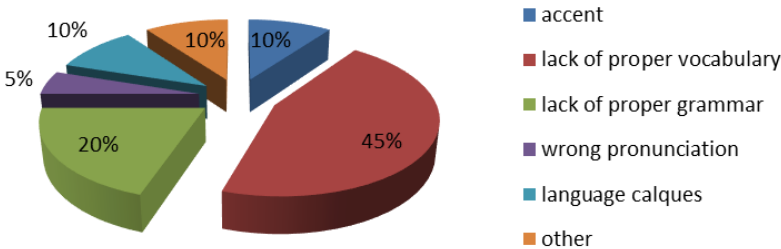


Figure 8. Reasons why native speakers of Germanic languages cannot successfully communicate in English with English native speakers (according to native speakers of Germanic languages).

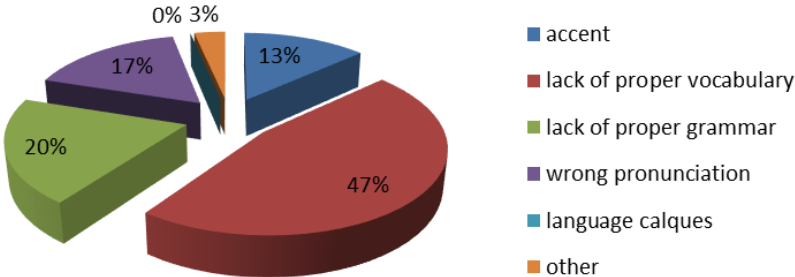


Figure 9. Reasons why native speakers of Slavic languages cannot successfully communicate in English with English native speakers (according to native speakers of Slavic languages).



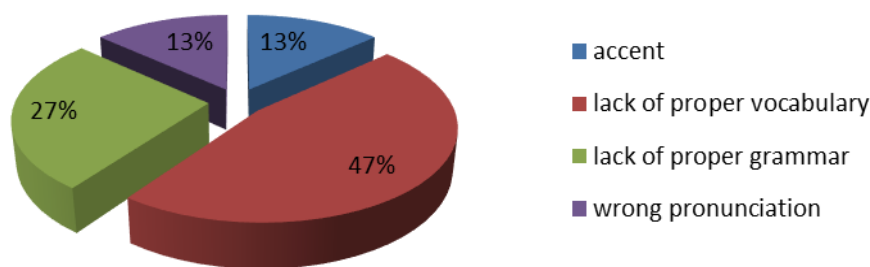


Figure 10. Reasons why native speakers of Romance languages cannot successfully communicate in English with English native speakers (according to native speakers of Romance languages).

### 3.3. Non-verbal international communication

Unintelligible pronunciation may impede communication, but body language may facilitate it. According to 60% of the interviewees non-verbal means of communication make communication more effective. Many of the respondents noted that pictures have the same meanings all over the world and sometimes they convey more meaning than words. The remaining 40% of the interviewees claimed that using pictures might lead to misinterpreting the message and to offending or confusing the interlocutor.

However, as Zhao (2013) points out, the importance of non-verbal transmission of information is high. She bases her opinion about the significance of non-verbal communication on other scholars' researches (Marsen 2006, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997). The outcomes of those researches show that non-verbal interaction is important in everyday communication, even though some people might not be aware of it.

## 4. Conclusion

Communication between native and non-native speakers of English occurs on a daily basis. Despite this, there are still disturbances which inhibit the transmission of information. Both native and non-native speakers of English presented their opinions on the main causes of disruptions in communication and pointed out the language areas which were essential for successful interaction. Native speakers as well as non-native speakers of English indicated that vocabulary was the most crucial area of language knowledge. Thus, from the perspective of the majority of the participants of this study, the ungrammatical response may still be understood, but the lack of vocabulary effectively blocks communication.

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# **ISSUES IN LANGUAGE TEACHING**



## **ELF IDEOLOGY AND THE CULTURAL CONTENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSES**

### **Abstract**

ELF scholars (e.g. Kramersch and Sullivan, 1996; McKay, 2001; Matsuda and Friedrich, 2011) have proposed a new set of assumptions with regard to teaching culture in an English language classroom. Firstly, it is expected from teachers to familiarise pupils with many different cultures of both English- and non-English-speaking countries. Secondly, learners need to be sensitised to what might be termed “international culture.” Thirdly, it is believed that teachers must train pupils how to talk about their own native culture. However, research (e.g. Jenkins, 2006) indicates that these recommendations have not been widely accepted or adopted. The present paper attempts to shed light on how Polish teachers of English approach the problem in question. The cohort consists of 55 in-service teachers who agreed to complete a short qualitative questionnaire. The main findings of the study are that the sampled group largely reject the concept of exposing pupils to outer or expanding circle cultures, putting more emphasis on informing learners about inner circle. The findings of our small-scale study lend support to the observation that most teachers still follow a more traditional approach to teaching culture, which treats English as firmly anchored in Anglo-American context. The present author raises the need to sensitise pre-service and in-service teachers to the new perspective promulgated by ELF researchers.

**Key words:** English, lingua franca, culture, ELT, ELF

### **1. Introduction**

As English has assumed the role of a global lingua franca, one may ask about implications that this transformation carries for teaching this language. The worldwide transition in the use of English has called traditional assumptions regarding language and language use into question. The ownership of English is under negotiation between native speakers and the ever-growing number of non-native speakers of the language (Singleton and Aronin, 2007, p. 18). Research findings pose considerable challenges to current classroom beliefs and practices (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey, 2011, p. 305). It seems pertinent to ask whether these changes are reflected in the school reality. More specifically, the present paper reflects upon the implications that the emergence of English as a lingua franca (hereafter ELF) has on the cultural content of English language classes.

The association of English with one nation is no longer tenable, and neither is the restriction of exposing students to only one variety of English. However, there is evidence coming from empirical studies that most language classes still revolve

around the concept of native speaker and fail to reflect the lingua franca status of English (e.g. Jenkins, 2006; McKay, 2002). English as a lingua franca has become a household word among researchers but still means little to classroom practitioners. This paper aims to contribute to the debate concerning the incorporation of an ELF approach into the teaching of culture. The data of our small-scale study shed some light on in-service teachers' attitudes towards what/whose culture to present as content of their classes.

## **2. Teaching culture in a lingua franca classroom**

The relationship between an international language and culture is discussed by Smith (1976, p. 17) and presented as follows:

- learners of an international language have no need to internalize the cultural norms of native speakers of that language;
- the ownership of an international language becomes de-nationalized;
- the goal of learning an international language is to enable learners to communicate their ideas and their culture to others.

Put differently, firstly, learners of English do not need to internalise the cultural norms of the English-speaking countries. What is more, McKay claims that learners of English do not even need to accept these norms (2001, p. 9). Secondly, English can no longer be associated with one country, one nation or one culture. As Brumfit observes, the ownership of any language is in the hands of people who use it (2001, p. 116). Statistically, native speakers are a minority of language users and it can be inferred they are no longer in position to consider themselves owners of the language. As English has assumed the role of a lingua franca, no single group of speakers can claim its property. Thirdly, schools need to prepare students to be able to communicate their own cultural norms to speakers in international contexts. Appropriate pedagogy needs to “prepare learners to be both global and local speakers of English and to feel at home in both international and national cultures” (Kramsch and Sullivan, 1996, p. 211).

Matsuda and Friedrich point out that because of the status of English as a lingua franca, language classes need to expose learners to three kinds of culture. Firstly, learners need to be familiarised with topics that concern the global society as a whole, e.g. world peace and environment conservation. Secondly, it is commendable that students become familiar with the culture of their prospective interlocutors, who may come from the inner, outer or expanding circle (Matsuda and Friedrich 2011, p. 340). Of course, it is impossible for learners to get to know the culture of every single country in the world, but it is sufficient when several countries from each circle are discussed in order to deepen students' understanding of the diversity of the English-speaking world. Last but not least, the language classroom should also develop students' understanding of their own culture and, what is more, provide them with the ability to discuss it with foreign interlocutors.

A slightly different typology is provided by Cortazzi and Jin (1999, p. 204f), who distinguish three types of cultural information that can be presented to students and discussed in the classroom:

- a) source culture (based on the students' own culture as content);
- b) target culture (based on the culture of English-speaking countries);

c) international culture (based on various cultures of English- and non-English-speaking countries).

Despite the minor differences between these two classifications of the cultural content, they both clearly move away from a more traditional native-speaker orientation. Instead, they rely heavily on the assumption that ELT must inculcate greater awareness of cultural diversification of the English-speaking world by promoting both local and global culture. However, as pointed out by McKay, supplying information about various cultures is insufficient and it needs to be supplemented by encouraging students to reflect on their own culture in relation to others (2002, p. 88).

Also of note, McKay points to the danger of using materials that assume that students want to acquire rather than learn about cultural values of particular countries (2001, p. 9). There is a marked difference between a coursebook informing about a certain behaviour typical of target language community and a coursebook actually encouraging students to emulate this kind of behaviour. The latter approach is out of place in a classroom where English is taught as an international language because students have no need to internalise the cultural norms of English-speaking countries.

As mentioned earlier, the exhortations of researchers that encourage teachers to incorporate elements of an ELF orientation into the classroom reality seem to have little effect. The majority of classroom practitioners still prepare their students for communication primarily with native speakers of English. McKay observes that teachers prefer to instruct their students about culture of the UK and the USA instead of teaching them how to talk about cultural values of their own country (2001, p. 10). What is more, Matsuda et al. point out that in most language classrooms the cultural content is discussed in a way that often boils down to stereotypical perception of different nations (2011, p. 341). Such an approach to presenting culture is counterproductive and must be avoided.

Teachers' classroom decisions are likely to be connected with the fact that most instructional materials focus almost exclusively on aspects of culture of English-speaking countries. Teaching materials are most commonly the main source of classroom input. As stated by Seidlhofer, coursebooks, reference books, supplementary materials, examinations and qualifications revolve almost exclusively around notions of the native speaker culture (1996, p. 65). As pointed out by Erling, "it seems as if we are clinging to an outdated model of standard ideology that is no longer possible or even useful to maintain" (2002, p. 10). For this to change, McKay contends that instructional materials must include local cultural content (2003, p. 140). It is speculated that classroom professionals are more likely to expose their students to a wide range of cultures when the teaching manuals provide them with appropriate content. Taking Poland as a case in point, our small-scale study explores in-service teachers' attitudes towards teaching culture of both English- and non-English-speaking countries.

### **3. Purpose of the study**

The aim of the present study was three-fold. Firstly, our intention was to examine whether Polish teachers of English working in the state sector develop their students' cultural awareness. Secondly, more problematically, the study investigated

teachers' attitudes towards the cultural content of their classes. Our intent was to evaluate to what extent teachers of English are attached to more traditional classroom pedagogies that emphasise the importance of inner circle cultural values and do not necessarily prepare students for cross-cultural encounters. Thirdly, the aim of the study was also to problematise the idea of teaching culture vis-à-vis what scholars working within the ELF paradigm have proposed. It is hoped that the present paper will contribute to the promotion of a discussion concerning the emergence of ELF and its ramifications for ELT practices.

#### **4. Method**

In this study, a qualitative method was used which was a survey composed of five open-ended questions. Additionally, respondents were asked to provide background information concerning the length of their teaching experience, the institution they work in and their sex. The questionnaire was worded in English and the participants were instructed to provide the answers in English. The survey asked teachers whether they developed their students' cultural awareness and if so, in what ways. More importantly, respondents were also asked whether they presented their students with aspects of culture of English-speaking countries and non-English-speaking countries. Last but not least, the survey included a question regarding the inclusion of Polish culture in English language instruction. The teachers were kindly requested to provide as much information as possible.

#### **5. Subjects**

55 in-service Polish teachers of English serving in the state sector were surveyed regarding their views on teaching culture. The teachers were contacted through either personal communication with the author of the study or e-mail messages. The respondents were aged 27-45, average age being 34.7, and worked in different types of schools in Silesia, Poland. The sampled group consisted of 42 females and 13 males. All teachers had between 3 and 21 years of teaching experience. The sample included primary, junior high and senior high school teachers. Kindergarten teachers were not asked to participate in the study because of the limited role that cultural content seems to serve in kindergarten English teaching. The respondents' opinions are quoted verbatim throughout the paper in order to illustrate the points in question. Because of space limitations, only selected quotations are adduced. For the sake of anonymity, the respondents are given pseudonyms.

#### **6. Results**

There is a consensus among teachers that culture holds an important place in language teaching (Matsuda, 2012, p. 176). This observation is confirmed by the present study. Asked if they develop their students' cultural awareness, the vast majority of informants (94%) responded with a resounding "Yes." Only 3 teachers answered this question negatively. The following statements illustrate their opinions:

The school syllabus is so tight that I have no time to develop my students' cultural awareness. I teach in gimnazjum and the exam I prepare my students for does not require that they know about culture of English-speaking countries. (teacher statement, Agnieszka)



I don't teach about culture because I know that my students have contact with American and English culture on a daily basis. They listen to English songs, watch American TV shows, use Facebook and travel abroad. They don't need to hear about English culture at school, it's simply unnecessary. That's why when I teach I prefer to focus on the language. (teacher statement, Anna)

In the first statement Agnieszka confesses she does not develop her students' cultural awareness because she is under the pressure of time and can't afford to spend it on anything else than building the students' language skills. Furthermore, she admits there is no need to provide students with cultural content as the school-leaving exam they need to take has no cultural component. This statement clearly reflects the workings of the backwash effect which equips the teacher with an argument for choosing not to include cultural content in her classes. A different justification for not teaching culture is provided in the latter statement. Here, Anna maintains she feels no need to provide her students with cultural content because they are already immersed in foreign culture outside the classroom.

However, apart from the three teachers, an overwhelming majority of 94% of the respondents devote some of the classroom time to teaching culture. Asked about ways in which they incorporate the cultural component, teachers enumerate the use of authentic materials (films, books, newspapers, Internet resources, songs, interviews, postcards, pictures, flashcards, leaflets, food labels, tickets) and the use of a textbook. A few teachers notice the need to supplement the textbook with additional culture-related materials, while others rely exclusively on the textbook as a source of the cultural content. Some teachers observe that teaching culture is a nice diversion from teaching the language:

I chose this course book because it contains interesting readings, mostly about cultural stuff. Teaching “past simple” for the 100<sup>th</sup> time gets boring and so I organise lessons about culture. I do this not only for my pupils, but also for myself. (teacher statement, Marta)

We use a book that concentrates on culture and it is also interesting to me because I learn new things. (teacher statement, Paweł)

The findings so far have shown that teachers consider teaching culture as both important and diverting. However, it is interesting to see what/whose culture they choose to present as content of their classes. A majority of about 55% of the respondents admit that in their classes they discuss exclusively inner circle cultures. Of these, it is the UK and the USA that are clearly privileged countries. A few teachers expressed their surprise at the idea of including cultures of non-English-speaking countries in English language instruction:

I teach English and any cultural issues that appear during lessons regard British and American history, geography or lifestyle. Why would I talk about culture of Italy or Russia? My school also teaches other languages

(German, French) and I believe that during these lessons students talk about cultural issues of Germany and France. (teacher statement, Karolina)

I show them differences between Great Britain and America because they need to know them. [...] How can I teach about other cultures? I think they would be surprised if I told them about cultural values of non-English-speaking countries. My subject is English. (teacher statement, Monika)

Culture holds a very special place in my classroom. I do everything I can to immerse pupils in the world of the UK and the USA. I know they'll appreciate it when they go abroad. (teacher statement, Barbara)

Some teachers stated that their choice of cultural content was determined by their individual preferences:

I am a freak about Britain. I love England, British accent, British films and so on. I often talk about England and English culture during my classes. I don't like America so I don't tell my students about American culture. (teacher statement, Joanna)

This line of reasoning seems dangerous since it presents students with a very limited view of the language. Naturally, it is commendable that the teacher is enthusiastic about the culture she teaches about but her negativity towards other culture(s) is likely to impinge on her students' thinking. Firstly, students in such a classroom are denied access to the cultural variety of the English-speaking world. Secondly, students may be left with the impression that one culture is superior to others, a view which must be avoided at all cost.

As already pointed out, about 55% of the participants admit that in their classes they discuss exclusively inner circle cultures. The remaining 45% of the informants can be categorised into two groups. The first group of about 14% claim to complement teaching inner circle cultures with discussions concerning Polish customs and traditions. The other group of about 31% claim to include cultures of both English- and non-English-speaking countries, including Poland into their classes. Of these, a few teachers presented views that reflect sentiments posited by ELF scholars. For instance, the following statements reflect a more egalitarian approach to teaching culture, which is very much in accordance with the ELF ideology:

In my classes British or American culture is only the point of departure for students to talk about their own culture. If a course book text discusses British bank holidays we talk about them first and then move on to Polish national holidays. I make sure that students know how to explain in English words that represent Polish traditions, for example *pierogi*, *bigos*, *pasterka*, *opłatek*. (teacher statement, Julia)

I have travelled a lot across Europe and Asia and encountered many different cultures. For me English is not stiff British gentleman but all those amazing people from all over the world that I met in trains and hostels. When I teach I never forget that English is just a tool of communication. It's important but not an end in itself. I tell my pupils about different cultures that I got to know, I show them pictures and films. (teacher statement, Wojciech)

These teachers' views are attributable to their awareness of the role of English in contemporary world. They understand the need to expose their students to the cultural richness of the English-speaking world and also to train them to explain their own cultural values to foreigners. Regrettably, the two voices presented above are a rarity. Even though 31% of the respondents claim to present cultures from the three Kachruvian circles, most of them express their views in a more half-hearted way:

I teach whatever is in our book. Mostly it is England and USA, but also Scotland, Ireland etc. I sometimes refer to Polish culture while discussing other cultures, but there's no separate exercise dedicated to this matter. If the book mentions non-English countries we also talk about them. (teacher statement, Małgorzata)

In September I always ask my students to tell about their holidays. They visit Spain, Egypt, even Japan and it is their homework to prepare a short presentation about the culture of these countries. Apart from this, we don't spend time on culture. (teacher statement, Danuta)

To sum up the main findings, teachers develop their students' cultural awareness and consider it important and diverting. The majority introduce only cultures of English-speaking countries, with England and the US being visibly privileged. 14% of the participants declare that apart from presenting inner circle cultures, they encourage their students to reflect upon their own Polish culture. 31% of the respondents teach inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle cultures although only a few of these do it in full awareness of why such practices are essential.

## **7. Conclusion**

As aptly put by Matsuda,

Teaching English as an international language [...] requires a mindset that is significantly different from the approach traditionally used in English language teaching (ELT) that positions English as the language of UK and/or United States and its people. (2010, p. 169f)

Sadly, the survey data suggest that most teachers of English are still strongly attached to this traditional approach. The main thrust of this paper has been to establish whether teachers of English choose to incorporate cultures of non-English-speaking countries into their classroom discussions. In line with our expectations, most

of them do not. The vast majority of teachers still perceive English as firmly anchored in Anglo-American context and refuse to expose students to other cultures. Traditional assumptions seem to prevail. Teachers appear to have little awareness of the changes in the use of English and potential implications that these changes have on teaching the language. A few informants expressed their surprise at the survey question, which asked whether cultures of non-English-speaking countries are included in their lessons. This surprise means that some of the respondents do not take it into consideration that their students are more likely to use English in communication with non-native speakers than with native speakers.

What is more, some teachers' decisions about what/whose cultures to include seem to be motivated by their individual preferences. Teachers who decide to discuss culture of only one country may be doing a disservice to many learners, who are denied knowledge about other cultures. During their schooling, students have a unique opportunity to be exposed to speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds. Regrettably, a number of teachers do not seize this chance to introduce their pupils to the cultural richness of the English-speaking world. Their classroom performance is still determined by the view that the ultimate aim of instruction is for students to replicate native speaker behaviour. Seidlhofer argues that “the daily practices of most of the millions of teachers of English worldwide seem to have largely remained untouched by the developments' within ELT” (2011, p. 9). This observation is confirmed by the present study.

On a more positive note, the study has also revealed that a small group of participants hold very egalitarian, ELF-oriented views towards teaching culture. They seem to have embraced an entirely new perspective that aims at adequately preparing learners for intercultural communication. These teachers want to inculcate greater awareness of the diversification of English in their students. The sample used in the study is not representative enough to draw any decisive conclusions. However, there seems to have emerged a tendency for teachers with more extensive teaching experience to have more ELF-oriented views. Also, judging by the comments and reflections, it appears that teachers who are willing to incorporate cultures from all the three Kachruvian circles are those who have travelled extensively and have more first-hand experience of using English internationally.

Scholars raise the need for classroom practitioners to embrace an ELF approach to English. This reorientation in English language teaching involves the promotion of different cultures and cultural reference norms. As teachers' attitudes drive classroom practices, it is crucial that these attitudes are formed in full awareness of the transitions that have taken place in the use of English worldwide. As Boxer discusses,

Cross-cultural interactional competence is increasingly critical in societies where neighbors, coworkers, and colleagues are likely to come from distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds. To ignore cross-cultural pragmatics entails running the risk of prejudice, stereotyping, and ultimately alienation. Understanding these differences opens doors, not only for those who are in less powerful status, but for all of us. (2002, p. 161f)

Generally stated, the present research demonstrates that most teachers accept standard language ideology, in which native speakers and their culture are regarded as the exclusive reference norm. However, it is reassuring to see that there is a small, and hopefully growing, group of teachers who have clearly departed from native-speaker framework towards pluricentricity of English and ELF ideology.

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## **DIFFICULTIES TURKISH AND POLISH LEARNERS OF ENGLISH FACE IN THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH PREPOSITIONS *AT, IN, ON***

### **Abstract**

This study investigates the acquisition of English prepositions by two different learner groups. Data used in the study came from two tasks: a cloze test and an error recognition and correction task. The participants of the study were 30 Turkish learners studying English Language and Literature as their major at a university in Turkey and 30 Polish learners doing their BA degree in Translation Studies at the State Higher Vocational School in Poland. The results obtained in the study show that both groups have difficulty in producing and comprehending prepositions, especially when they are in their extended senses. The sources of the difficulty include L1 influence, incomplete knowledge and lack of vocabulary.

**Key words:** acquisition, English prepositions, Polish and Turkish learners

### **1. Introduction**

English prepositions which are defined as items encoding a spatial relation between a located element in focus (i.e. trajector) and a locating element in background (i.e. landmark) have been one of the most difficult areas of acquisition for language learners (Lakoff, 1987). Although they are so common that statistically one in ten words is a preposition in a corpus of one million English words (Fang, 2000), there is some controversy about their categorizations and characteristics. Some researchers classify them as content words and attempt to provide evidence from child language acquisition (Littlefield, 2005) or aphasia studies (Froud, 2001; Grodzinsky, 1988), whereas others think that they are function words as their number is limited (Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams, 2007). Nevertheless, a common point among researchers is that these items pose difficulty to both language learners and native speakers because of their vagueness.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1998) have put forward several reasons to account for the difficulty English prepositions cause to second language learners. First, they point out that some crosslinguistic differences exist between languages in the use of prepositions, even in languages having close relations such as English and French: the preposition *in* in the English sentence *The woman walked **in** the rain* is replaced with the preposition *under* in its French translation *La femme marche **sous** la pluie* (i.e. *the woman walks **under** the rain*).

Second, although in English the position of the words indicating spatial or temporal relations is usually before the noun, in some languages it is after the noun, and instead of having a distinct item functioning as prepositions, some languages, such

as Turkish, use inflections or case markers in the form of postpositions. In other words, in some languages the work of prepositions can be carried out by other forms.

Third, the characterization of the semantics of prepositions is difficult. For example, the meaning of the prepositions *over* and *above* is a near paraphrase in the sentences, *The mirror is over the mantle* and *The mirror is above the mantle*, but they are differently interpreted in the sentences *Jane walked over the bridge* and *Jane walked above the bridge*. The former indicates a physical contact, yet the latter does not.

One further point related to English prepositions is polysemy. Most of the prepositions in English have extended meanings besides their core meaning. Evans and Tyler (2005) assert that the extended senses of English prepositions are systematically connected and they form a semantic network rather than arbitrary lists of separate meanings. They exemplify this with the preposition *up*. If there is a liquid in a container and more liquid is added to this container, the level of the liquid rises vertically. This can be expressed with the sentence *The level of the water went up after adding more water*. The same preposition can be used in the sentence *The visitors' tally is really up today* through the extension of the conceptual association between increased amount and vertical rise. They also add that systematic meaning extension is the result of the proto scene, that is increased elevation in the vertical dimension.

### 1.1. Postpositions in Turkish

As mentioned above, there are some crosslinguistic differences between languages in the use of prepositions. Some languages use inflections or case markers as well as words functioning as postpositions. Turkish is one of these languages. It is an agglutinative language in which postpositions are used to indicate the spatial and temporal relations. Turkish postpositions are divided into two main categories: *bare postpositions*, which take no suffixes; and *possessive-marked postpositions*, which take a possessive suffix in concord with the complement, and an oblique (dative, locative and ablative) case marker. Such words as *gibi* (“like”), *için* (“for”), *önce* (“before”), and *sonra* (“after”) are examples of bare postpositions:

<i>Ahmet</i>	<i>benim için</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>bıraktı mı?</i>
Ahmet	me	for money	leave-PAST-3rd-person-sing-ques.suf.
“Did Ahmet leave money <i>for</i> me?”			

The second group of postpositions carry case markers added at the end of nouns as inflections to match up the functions of English prepositions:

<i>Ali</i>	<i>kütüphanede</i>	<i>bir kitap</i>	<i>okuyordu.</i>
Ali	library-LOC case marker	a book	read-PAST PROG-3rd-person-sing
“Ali was reading a book in the library.”			

In this sentence locative case marker *-de* is used after the noun *kütüphane* (“library”) to indicate the location of the action. The case marker in the sentence changes, depending on the spatial or temporal relation expressed in the sentence. The Turkish equivalent of the English prepositions *at*, *in* and *on* is the locative marker *-de*,

which can become *-da/-te/-ta* in accordance with vowel harmony. Turkish has just one item for three distinct prepositions in English. This means that Turkish learners have to reset their parameters for three different prepositions when acquiring the target language.

## 1.2. Prepositions in Polish

Polish is an inflectional language. The words are formed with a number of particles called *morphemes*. The morphemes are divided into *lexical morphemes* (roots of words with lexical meanings, e.g. *dom*), and *grammatical morphemes*, which have no meaning, e.g. *owi*, *om*, *y*.

According to the explanation presented on:

<http://grzegorz.w.interia.pl/gram/en/gram03.html>, the feature which distinguishes inflectional languages from agglutinative ones such as Hungarian and Turkish is the fact that one morpheme performs different functions. In agglutinative languages a morpheme determining plural is present (e.g. *Tür. ler* in Turkish), whereas in inflectional languages each morpheme determines the number and the case.

<i>Comparison of inflectional and agglutinative languages</i>				
	Inflectional		Agglutinative	
	Polish	Latin	Hungarian	Turkish
Nominative sg.	<i>dom</i>	<i>domus</i>	<i>ház</i>	<i>hane</i>
Dative sg.	<i>domowi</i>	<i>domui:</i>	<i>háznak</i>	<i>haneye</i>
Nominative pl.	<i>domy</i>	<i>domu:s</i>	<i>házak</i>	<i>haneler</i>

Polish has more prepositions than cases, which allows to assume that the meaning of cases is more abstract and general than prepositions. Preposition is defined as an uninflected part of speech added before a noun in order to help specify its function in a sentence. In Polish they function similarly to case endings, but are more specific as far as their meaning is concerned. As Barbara Bacz (2009) states, prepositions do not exist in isolation from case — a preposition requires the presence of an oblique casemarker in the word or a group of words that the preposition precedes. Polish prepositions combine with one, two or maximum three different cases (for instance *po* combines with locative, accusative and dative cases). The genitive is required after more prepositions than any other case, e.g. *blisko* (“near”), *dla* (“for”), *do* (“to”), *dokoła* (“around”), *według* (“according to”), *obok* (“next to”), *od* (“from”), *prócz* (“besides”), *podczas* (“during”), etc.

The locative is used with certain prepositions in the senses given below:

*na* – literally “on” ( e.g. *on a bike, on the floor*), figuratively “on the basis of”;

*na* – for wide open spaces in the meaning of “at” (e.g. *at the airport, at the cemetery*) “on” (e.g. *on the square*);

*na* – for presence at events (e.g. *at the party, at a concert, at a conference*).



There exists no one-to-one correspondence between the prepositions in different languages; it is suffice to present the various uses of English *at* and Polish *na* to show this (Fisiak et al., 1978, p. 68):

English <i>at</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>w</i> (<i>w szkole</i> – “at school”)</li> <li>– <i>na</i> (<i>na uniwersytecie</i> – “at the university”; <i>być złym na kogoś</i> – “be angry at sb”; <i>gapić się na kogoś/coś</i> – “stare at sb/sth”)</li> <li>– <i>przy</i> (<i>stać przy ścianie</i> – “stand at the wall”)</li> <li>– <i>o</i> (<i>o piątej</i> – “at five o’clock”)</li> <li>– <i>do</i> (<i>uśmiechać się do kogoś</i> – “smile at sb”)</li> </ul>
Polish <i>na</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– “at” (<i>patrzeć na kogoś/coś</i> – “look at sb/sth”)</li> <li>– “on” (<i>siedzieć na krześle</i> – “sit on the chair”)</li> <li>– “for” (<i>na pewno</i> – “for sure”; <i>zostaw to na jutro</i> – “save it for tomorrow”)</li> <li>– “onto” (<i>wskoczyć na stół</i> – “jump onto the table”)</li> <li>– “to” (<i>zmienić nazwisko na Smith</i> – “change a name to Smith”)</li> <li>– “of” (<i>umrzeć na zapalenie</i> – “die of”)</li> </ul>

All in all, prepositions are so unpredictable in every language that they become the source of students’ common mistakes. This is also confirmed by Takahaski (1996), who believes that the correct usage of prepositions is the greatest problem for EFL learners of English.

## 2. Methodology

The data used in the study was collected by giving two tasks to learners: a cloze test, and an error recognition and correction task. To prepare the cloze test every seventh word was deleted from a text taken from the source called *Contemporary English* written by Edgar Baker (1972), and 34 blanks were produced. As to the error recognition and correction task, there were 90 sentences measuring the comprehension and production of the three common English prepositions, *at*, *in*, *on*, and 30 distractor sentences. The sentences assessed the acquisition of the target prepositions by taking into account location, time and sense extension. Several sentences are given below to display the design:

S10. *On* the first day of the term there was a welcome reception. (Time)

S13. You should put this plant *at* the appropriate angle to the sunshine. (Location)

S34. Corn is the main crop *in* the Black Sea area. (Location)

S45. Her husband made a fortune *in* business. (Extended sense)

S61. There was an advertisement *\*in* (on) the back page of the magazine. (Location)

S83. The new factory employs workers *\*at* (in) hundreds. (Extended sense)

The participants of the study were 30 Turkish learners studying English Language and Literature as their major at a university in Turkey and 30 Polish learners doing their BA degree in Translation Studies at a university in Poland.

### 3. Results and Discussion

As indicated in the methodology section, data was collected through an error recognition and correction task. The sentences requiring no correction were used to measure the learners' prepositional competence, whereas the sentences requiring the learners' to identify and correct incorrect prepositions measured the students' performance. The task consisted of forty two items measuring comprehension and forty eight items measuring production. Furthermore, on the basis of the results of the cloze test, the learners taking part in the study were divided into two groups: high level and low level learners.

The overall results presented in Table 1 show that both the Polish and Turkish learners obtained higher scores in the comprehension of the prepositions than in the production. The percentage scores were 81 for the Polish learners and 79 for the Turkish learners. However, the percentages calculated for the sentences assessing production, that is the sentences requiring the correction of the error beside the recognition of the error, were quite low. They were 37 percent for the Polish learners and 32 for the Turkish learners.

Table 1. Overall results obtained from both learner groups

	Comprehension				Production			
	Polish		Turkish		Polish		Turkish	
	Raw Score	%	Raw Score	%	Raw Score	%	Raw Score	%
<b>High</b>	647	81	384	76	399	44	287	50
<b>Low</b>	375	81	606	80	127	24	180	21
<b>Total</b>	1022	81	990	79	526	37	467	32

The results in Table 1 demonstrate that although the Polish learners at the high and low proficiency levels had the same percentage for the comprehension sentences, their percentages changed in favor of the high proficiency group for the production sentences (44 percent versus 24 percent). For the Turkish learners, in comprehension the high proficiency learners' percentage was slightly lower than the low proficiency learners', that is 76 percent and 80 percent, respectively, but the situation changed in production: 50 percent for the high level learners and 21 for the low level learners.

In the error recognition and correction task, the sentences were produced to reflect the core and peripheral senses of the prepositions. For that reason, some prepositions included in the sentences referred to location or time, but others were related to metaphorical, even idiomatic meanings. The percentage scores calculated for sense distinction brought into light the various difficulties learners experienced. The proficiency levels of the learners played an important role in the comprehension and production of sentences with prepositional phrases. The results concerning these variables are given and discussed first for comprehension and then production in the following part.

The results in Tables 2 and 3 show that in the comprehension of the sentences including the prepositions which indicate location, the percentages were high for both

learner groups. The total percentages were 86 for the Polish learners and 82 for the Turkish learners. One striking similarity between the two groups was that the low level learners' percentages were slightly higher than the high level learners' (i.e. 88 percent versus 86 percent for the Polish learners, and 84 percent versus 80 percent for the Turkish learners).

Table 2. *The results of the Polish learners for the comprehension of the prepositions related to location*

		Polish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	5	75	79	47	85	122	81
<b>In</b>	5	93	98	49	89	142	95
<b>On</b>	6	93	82	58	88	151	84
<b>Total</b>	16	261	86	154	88	415	86

Table 3. *The results of the Turkish learners for the production of the prepositions related to location*

		Turkish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	5	50	83	85	94	135	90
<b>In</b>	5	48	80	70	78	118	79
<b>On</b>	6	55	76	87	81	142	79
<b>Total</b>	16	153	80	242	84	395	82

As it can be seen in Table 4, the Polish learners comprehended the prepositions referring to time at the percentage of 84 in total. The effect of proficiency was obvious as the high level learners answered correctly more sentences than the low level learners.

Table 4. *The results of the Polish learners for the comprehension of the prepositions related to time*

		Polish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	3	47	82	23	70	70	77
<b>In</b>	3	49	89	24	73	73	81
<b>On</b>	3	56	98	28	85	84	93
<b>Total</b>	9	152	89	75	76	227	84

Their total percentage was 89, but the low level learners' percentage was 76. The Polish learners' comprehension percentage for the target prepositions showed that they understood the preposition *on* better (98 percent for the high level learners and 85 for the low level learners) than *in* and *at*.

The results of the Turkish learners presented in Table 5, however, were different from the Polish learners', though they also had high percentage scores for the

comprehension of the target prepositions when they referred to time. The Turkish high level learners comprehended sentences with the preposition *in* better (89 percent), yet the Turkish low level learners comprehended sentences with the preposition *on* better (85 percent). The comprehension of the sentences with the preposition *on* was 81 percent and *at* 78 percent for the high level learners. The low level learners comprehended the sentences with the preposition *at* slightly better than those with the preposition *in* (78 percent vs. 76 percent).

A similar parallelism was observed in the sentences containing the prepositions *at*, *in* and *on* in their extended, that is metaphorical or idiomatic, senses. The low level learners were more successful in comprehending them than the high level learners as it can be seen in Table 6. The percentage scores for the Polish learners were 78 percent for the low level learners and 72 percent for the high level learners. The Polish learners both at the high and low levels comprehended the sentences in which the preposition *on* was in the extended senses (82 percent for the high level learners and 85 percent for the low level learners), but they had difficulty in understanding the preposition *at* in its extended senses since the percentage scores were 46 for the high level learners and 61 for the low level learners.

Table 5. *The results of the Turkish learners for the comprehension of the prepositions related to time*

		Turkish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	3	28	78	42	78	70	78
<b>In</b>	3	32	89	41	76	73	81
<b>On</b>	3	29	81	46	85	75	83
<b>Total</b>	9	89	82	129	80	218	81

Table 6. *The results of the Polish learners for the comprehension of the prepositions related to extended senses*

		Polish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	3	26	46	20	61	46	51
<b>In</b>	6	83	73	51	77	134	74
<b>On</b>	8	125	82	75	85	200	83
<b>Total</b>	17	234	72	146	78	380	75

As to the Turkish learners, the results given in Table 7 were 77 percent for the low level learners and 70 percent for the high level learners. As regards the sentences involving the prepositions with the extended senses, the Turkish high level learners had a stable result, nearly 70 percent for each, but the Turkish low level learners' results changed for each preposition. They managed to comprehend the preposition *at* in its extended senses better than the other two prepositions, as the percentage score for *at* was 80, whereas the percentage scores for *on* and *in* were 78 and 74, respectively.

Table 7. *The results of the Turkish learners for the comprehension of the prepositions related to extended senses*

		Turkish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
At	3	25	69	43	80	68	76
In	6	50	69	80	74	130	72
On	8	67	70	112	78	179	75
<b>Total</b>	17	142	70	235	77	377	74

The results obtained for the production sentences were quite low for both the Polish and Turkish learners. In the production of the prepositions relating the location the results in Tables 8 and 9 show that the Polish learners' percentage was higher than the Turkish learners'. However, the Turkish high level learners produced more correct answers than the Polish learners at the same level (55 percent for the Turkish high level learners vs. 47 percent for the Polish high level learners). The opposite was the case for the low level learners. The Polish low level learners outscored the Turkish low level learners in the production of correct answers (38 percent vs. 24 percent).

Table 8. *The results of the Polish learners for the production of the prepositions related to location*

		Polish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
At	3	23	40	10	30	33	37
In	5	57	60	28	51	85	57
On	7	55	41	25	32	80	38
<b>Total</b>	15	135	47	63	38	198	44

The difficult prepositions were *at* and *on* for both the high and low level learners as their percentages were about 40 for the high proficiency learners and 30 for the low proficiency learners. The results of the Turkish learners ranged from 21 percent to 56 percent for the same prepositions. The percentage scores of the low level learners were 26 and 21 for *at* and *on*. Their percentage score for *in* was quite low (i.e. 27 percent), as well. The sentences with the preposition *at* caused trouble for the Turkish high proficiency learners. Their percentage score was 31.

Table 9. *The results of the Turkish learners for the production of the prepositions related to location*

		Turkish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
At	3	11	31	14	26	25	28
In	5	41	68	24	27	65	43
On	7	47	56	27	21	74	35
<b>Total</b>	15	99	55	65	24	164	36

In the sentences assessing the production of the prepositions referring to time there were 5 items; four were related to the preposition *at* and one to the preposition *in*. The production of the preposition *on* was not tested as no item related to this preposition existed. The uneven number of the items assessing the prepositions was a weakness of the study.

As given in Tables 10 and 11, the Polish learners' production of the correct prepositions relating time was 47 percent and the Turkish learners' production for the same preposition group was 45 percent. In contrast with the comprehension sentences, the positive effect of proficiency on the production of the correct prepositions was evident in the task.

Table 10. *The results of the Polish learners for the production of the prepositions related to time*

		Polish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	4	42	55	16	36	58	48
<b>In</b>	1	12	63	1	9	13	43
<b>Total</b>	5	54	57	17	31	71	47

Table 11. *The results of the Turkish learners for the production of the prepositions related to time*

		Turkish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
<b>At</b>	4	25	52	26	36	51	43
<b>In</b>	1	8	67	8	44	16	53
<b>Total</b>	5	33	55	34	38	67	45

The high proficiency learners provided the correct preposition at the percentage of 57 but the low proficiency learners at the percentage of 31. The high level learners used the correct preposition in the contexts requiring preposition *in*, but the low level learners had great difficulty in providing this item as only one learner produced it. The Turkish learners' results for the production of the prepositions expressing time were 55 percent for the high level learners and 38 percent for the low level learners. The Turkish low level learners produced correctly the preposition *in* more often.

Tables 12 and 13 demonstrate that the prepositions referring to the extended senses pose real difficulty to the learners. Although the high proficiency learners obtained higher scores than the low proficiency ones, the results were low for both learner groups. The low proficiency learners produced correct answers for only 15 percent of the sentences measuring these items.

All three prepositions were problematic. They were difficult even for the high proficiency learners, but they at least handled 40 percent or more correctly. The most difficult one was *at* for both the Polish and Turkish learners as the percentage scores were 29 and 39, respectively.

Table 12. *The results of the Polish learners for the production of the prepositions related to extended senses*

		Polish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
At	11	61	29	15	12	76	23
In	9	73	43	14	14	87	32
On	8	76	50	18	20	94	39
<b>Total</b>	28	210	39	47	15	257	31

Table 13. *The results of the Turkish learners for the production of the prepositions related to extended senses*

		Turkish					
		High		Low		Total	
Prepositions	N. of items	Raw score	%	Raw score	%	Raw score	%
At	11	52	39	27	14	79	24
in	9	48	44	24	15	72	27
on	8	55	57	30	21	85	35
<b>Total</b>	28	155	46	81	16	236	28

To understand which sentences were most difficult in comprehension and production, item analysis was carried out. The item analysis of the results in the comprehension section showed that Sentences 93 and 75 were the most difficult for the Polish learners. The former included the preposition *in* and the latter *at*:

S93. The young children are asked to write only *in* pencil.

S75. The latest book of Stephen King is *at* £7.95.

They were correct sentences, but the learners thought that they were wrong and corrected them, changing them to “with pencil” and “cost £7.95.” Both prepositions were in their extended senses and the learners relied on their mother tongue and did not accept these items as possible combinations.

Similarly, only five Turkish learners identified Sentence 93 as correct. Others corrected it by providing “with” instead of “in,” as it would be used in their native language.

In the production section the number of sentences causing trouble for the learners was high. Only one learner provided the correct answer for Sentences 18, 19 (given earlier) and Sentences 21 and 107:

S21. The students living next door had the music set playing \*in (at) full volume.

S107. He attended the meeting \*on (at) the director’s command.

The Turkish learners could not give the right answers to these items, either. The reason why they made mistakes was the fact that their native language uses the same case marker *-de/-da* without making any distinction.

Errors in several other sentences were not recognised by most Polish learners:

S23. She is still \*in (at) her most productive age.

S35. We saw a really nice wedding gown \*on (in) the shop window.

S66. The teacher could not set a pass mark \*on (at) 50 percent because of the regulations.

S73. You have to lighten the screws \*in (at) both ends.

The most problematic sentences for the Turkish learners were Sentences 9, 18, 19, 53, 63 and 107. Few learners used the correct preposition:

S9. The whole group sat \*on (at) a table near the door.

S18. Cargo planes were taking off \*in (at) sixty minutes intervals.

S19. The records of each student are \*in (on) file.

S53. You have a one \*at (in) three chance of success in getting this job.

S63. There was an island \*in (on) the horizon.

S107. He attended the meeting \*on (at) the director's command.

For the Polish learners, Sentence 75 (given earlier) was difficult to comprehend even for the high level learners, as only one learner comprehended it correctly. Another sentence causing difficulty was Sentence 22:

S 22. The young couple decided to build a house *on* the river.

Most learners unnecessarily corrected this sentence by replacing *on* with *by*. In addition to Sentence 22, the Turkish high level learners received low scores for Sentences 62 and 93. Four learners accepted Sentence 62 "We need your complaint *in* writing," and one learner Sentence 93 "The young children are asked to write only *in* pencil" as correct.

In the production section, all the sentences given above were difficult for both learner groups because merely one or two learners produced the required prepositions instead of the incorrect prepositions presented in the sentences.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In view of the main findings, this study has revealed that both Polish and Turkish learners have problems with prepositions in English. This study has shown that both Polish and Turkish learners comprehend the English prepositions indicating location and time better than the prepositions referring to extended senses. The



difficulty they faced was greater in the production. Their native language had a negative impact on their production. The English prepositions referring to extended senses were incorrectly produced by both learner groups because of either lack of knowledge or incomplete knowledge.

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**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PERCEPTION AND IMPORTANCE  
OF ACADEMIC EMOTIONS AND EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES  
IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING<sup>57</sup>**

**Abstract**

The main purpose of this study has been to reveal the perceptions of academic emotions and emotional experiences of English language learners. A slightly modified version of the Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (AEQ) prepared by Pekrun et al (2005) was administered to the prep-class students of the School of Foreign Languages at Atatürk University in 2011-2012 academic year. The parts of AEQ related to enjoyment and anger before, during and after learning and taking a test were included to find out the differences.

**Keywords:** academic emotions, achievement, anger, enjoyment

**1. Introduction: What is emotion?**

The term “emotion” has a significant place in educational psychology. Emotion and emotional regulation strategies can affect students’ academic achievement and goals, and also determine the processes that university students experience before, during and after learning, class and test. Previously, emotion or emotional experience was not intensively studied, but in recent years, a number of studies have been carried out to clarify the relation between emotions, emotional experience, academic emotions and achievement.

The etymological development of the word *emotion* shows that it dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The semantic notion underlying *emotion* – of applying “physical movement” metaphorically to “strong feeling” – is an ancient one: Latin used the phrase *mōtusanimā*, literally “movement of the spirit,” in this sense. *Emotion* itself is a post-classical Latin formation; it comes ultimately from Vulgar Latin *exmovēre*, literally “move out,” hence “excite,” a compound verb formed from the prefix *ex-* “out” and *movēre* “move” (source of English *move*). In French this became *émouvoir*, and English borrowed its derived noun *émotion*, but at first used it only in the literal sense “moving, agitation” (“The waters continuing in the caverns ... caused the emotion or earthquake,” *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society* 1758) and the metaphorically extended “political agitation or disturbance” (a sense now preserved only in 19<sup>th</sup> C *émeute*, another derivative of French *émouvoir*). It was not until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century that the sense “strong feeling” really came to the fore. The back-formation *emote* is a 20<sup>th</sup>-century phenomenon, of US origin.

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<sup>57</sup> This study was taken from my PhD thesis.

Pekrun (2006) defined emotions as “multi-component, coordinated processes of psychological subsystems including affective, cognitive, motivational, expressive, and peripheral physiological processes” (p. 316). According to Pekrun et al. (2002) emotions can enhance individuals’ motivation and help them focus attention on the emotional state. Schutz and DeCuir (2002) pointed out that “the experience of an emotion arises from interpreting and evaluating both the emotional state and the context in which it occurs” (as cited in Webster, 2008).

Kelly (2004) wrote that emotions can be affected by individual’s thoughts, ideas and behavior. Emotions play a crucial role during education process. Oatley (2000) argued that the main function of emotion is to serve specific social goals – protection, affiliation and dominance – that constitute the foundation of society and so called human cooperation.

## **2. Literature review**

### **2.1. Classification of emotion**

According to Pekrun and Hofmann (1999), and Pekrun (2000), academic achievement is related to test anxiety. Several emotions determine the emotions which university students experience at university. In the experimental research conducted by Pekrun et al. (2002) nine different emotions were found effective in university students’ academic achievements. Consequently, these emotions were called “academic emotions.” Four of these emotions were described as positive emotions whereas five of them as negative emotions.

#### Positive Emotions

1. Joy
2. Hope
3. Pride
4. Relief

#### Negative Emotions

1. Anger
2. Anxiety
3. Shame
4. Hopelessness
5. Boredom

According to Kelly (2004), positive and negative emotions influence university students’ attention, motivation and performance. Negative emotions decrease learners’ academic achievements since they affect negatively their concentration on the target subject, comprehension and all other intellectual functions. Thus, it is crucial for teachers and instructors to pay attention to the positive and negative emotions; it is crucial that positive emotions should be increased and negative emotions should be decreased in order to increase academic achievement.

### **2.2. Academic emotions and emotional experiences**

Despite the fact that emotions are complex and a considerable disagreement exists among theorists about their nature, there is an agreement that subjective experience is an important aspect of emotion, at least for humans. Many areas of psychology have enabled human beings to comprehend emotion, most importantly social psychology.

Human beings are not independent of their experiences in their lives. This is also valid for learning. Experience is of paramount importance in education because it

is directly related to the individual. Learning and teaching are emotional as well as cognitive activities occurring within the context of relationships. Emotional experiences may affect learners' moods and this influence may vary from person to person.

Students experience a variety of emotions in academic settings that influence their perceptions and behavior. The results obtained from the studies conducted by Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, and Perry (2002) show that academic emotions are significantly related to the students' motivation, learning strategies, cognitive resources, self-regulation, and academic achievement. Emotions might influence students' achievement as well as their interest, engagement, and personality development, in addition to influencing the social aspect in courses and educational institutions (Pekrun, 2006).

In their broadest sense, academic emotions are the ones observed and experienced in an academic setting and context. As indicated by Pekrun et al (2002), there can be five situations related to the academic achievement: (a) attending class, (b) taking tests and exams, (c) studying or doing homework by oneself, (d) studying or doing homework in a learning group, and (e) other situations in which one is cognitively occupied with academic achievement (e.g. talking about an upcoming exam with a peer) (cited in Goetz et al., 2003, p. 11).

The following schema shows the classification of academic emotions and takes the traditional criteria of valence (positive vs. negative) and activation (activating vs. deactivating) into consideration. This schema also evaluates the academic emotions according to these criteria. While valence can be thought of as a bipolar dimension (positive vs. negative), activation can be made out as unipolar in nature, and shows the extent to which a given emotion is activating (Kleine, Goetz, Pekrun and Hall, 2005).

Table 1. *Classification of Academic Emotions*

Activation	Valence	
	Positive	Negative
Activating	enjoyment	anxiety
	pride	anger
	hope	shame / fault
Deactivating	relief	boredom
	relaxation	hopelessness

In Pekrun's social cognitive model, separate academic emotions are conceived as having specific effects on learning and achievement, based on how they are sorted out within this conceptual schema. This model distinguishes between emotions that are positive-activating (enjoyment, pride, hope), positive-deactivating (relief, relaxation), negative-activating (anxiety, anger, shame/guilt), and negative-deactivating (boredom, hopelessness, disappointment). As regards achievement, one can expect positive consequences from positive-activating emotions. Nevertheless, it remains unclear how negative-activating and positive-deactivating emotions influence learning and achievement (Kleine, Goetz, Pekrun and Hall, 2005).

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. The purpose of the study**

One of the main purposes of this study has been to investigate the emotional experiences of prep-class students of School of Foreign Languages at Atatürk University, Erzurum in order to figure out how academic emotions of enjoyment and anger are perceived by Turkish university students. Eight emotions in learning – enjoyment, hope, pride, anger, anxiety, shame, hopelessness and boredom – and eight in taking a test – enjoyment, hope, pride, anger, anxiety, shame, hopelessness and relief – were assessed in three different situations, before exam, during exam and after exam, by using the related parts of the Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (AEQ). However, this study tries to give information about only one positive academic emotion (enjoyment) and one negative academic emotion (anger) in learning and taking a test in order to give teachers and instructors an insight into the academic emotions in general.

#### **3.2. Participants**

The research sample consists of 215 university students in total: 156 male and 59 female students studying at different faculties in 2011-2012 academic year. They were students attending the prep-course offered by the School of Foreign Languages at Atatürk University before their graduate or post-graduate courses. 36% of the students studied in the Department of Mechanical Engineering, 21% in the Department of Chemical Engineering, 21% in the Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, 14% in the School of Tourism and Hotel Management, 7% in the Department of Chemistry, and 1% in the Department of Civil Engineering. At the beginning of the study, the students were informed about this study and its importance. In addition, their consent for all of the research was obtained.

#### **3.3. Data collection instruments**

As mentioned earlier, the Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (AEQ) by Pekrun, Goetz and Perry (2005) was used to collect the data. This questionnaire consists of 196 statements in total, however, only 152 items related to learning and taking a test were used to collect data. The items in the questionnaire were translated into Turkish in order to enable the students to understand them properly. The Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (AEQ) is a multidimensional self-report instrument which has been designed to evaluate college students' achievement emotions. It is based on a program of quantitative research that has examined students' emotions experienced in academic achievement situations.

### **4. Results and Discussion**

In the following paragraphs, I would like to show briefly some findings of the study.

In this study, 7 different statistical analyses were used in the data analysis. The analyses were computed using software package SPSS 16.0. The statistical significance level was set at  $p=0.05$ . These analyses were as follows:

1. Percentage
2. Frequency

3. Arithmetic mean
4. Standard deviation
5. Kruskal-Wallis analysis
6. Student's t-test
7. Dunnett's T3 post-hoc test

Student's t-test was used for paired samples to determine if there is a difference among scores of university students with respect to Enjoyment Before, During and After Learning, and the results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. *Differences among scores of university students with respect to Enjoyment Before, During and After Learning*

	<b>N</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>S.s.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Enjoyment Before Learning</b>	215	2.69	1.08	3.389	0.001
<b>Enjoyment During Learning</b>	215	2.44	0.53		
<b>Enjoyment Before Learning</b>	215	2.69	1.08	5.762	0.000
<b>Enjoyment After Learning</b>	215	2.21	0.69		
<b>Enjoyment During Learning</b>	215	2.44	0.53	4.396	0.000
<b>Enjoyment After Learning</b>	215	2.21	0.69		

As seen in Table 2, the t-values regarding the differences among scores of university students with respect to Enjoyment Before, During and After Learning are statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ). These findings have indicated that there are differences among scores of university students with respect to Enjoyment Before, During and After Learning.

The results show that the arithmetic mean for Enjoyment Before Learning is 2.69, which is greater than the arithmetic mean for Enjoyment During Learning, which is 2.44.

Moreover, the results indicate that the arithmetic mean for Enjoyment Before Learning is 2.69, which is greater than the arithmetic mean for Enjoyment After Learning, which is 2.21.

The arithmetic mean for Enjoyment During Learning is 2.44, which is greater than the arithmetic mean for Enjoyment After Learning, which is 2.21.

These findings indicate that Enjoyment Before Learning exceeds Enjoyment During Learning and Enjoyment After Learning, actually Enjoyment After Learning is at the lowest level.

Table 3. *Differences among scores of university students with respect to Enjoyment Before, During and After Taking a Test*

	<b>N</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>S.s.</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Enjoyment Before Taking a Test</b>	215	2.81	0.66	-0.473	0.637
<b>Enjoyment During Taking a Test</b>	215	2.84	0.71		
<b>Enjoyment Before Taking a Test</b>	215	2.81	0.66	5.715	0.000
<b>Enjoyment After Taking a Test</b>	215	2.43	0.78		
<b>Enjoyment During Taking a Test</b>	215	2.84	0.71	5.873	0.000
<b>Enjoyment After Taking a Test</b>	215	2.43	0.78		

Table 3 demonstrates that the t-values are statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ), with the exception of the differences with respect to Enjoyment Before and During Taking a Test ( $p > 0.05$ ). These findings have demonstrated that enjoyment is at the highest level During Taking a Test and it is at the lowest level After Taking a Test.

Table 4. *Differences among scores of university students with respect to Anger Before, During and After Learning*

	<b>N</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>S.s.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Anger Before Learning</b>	215	2.39	0.76	-0.263	0.792
<b>Anger During Learning</b>	215	2.41	0.84		
<b>Anger Before Learning</b>	215	2.39	0.76	0.531	0.596
<b>Anger After Learning</b>	215	2.35	1.15		
<b>Anger During Learning</b>	215	2.41	0.84	0.780	0.436
<b>Anger After Learning</b>	215	2.35	1.15		

Table 4 shows that the t-values are not statistically significant ( $p > 0.05$ ). These findings have demonstrated that there are not any differences among scores of university students with respect to Anger Before, During and After Learning. Anger Before, During and After Learning is similar.

Table 5. Differences among scores of university students with respect to Anger Before, During and After Taking a Test

	N	X	S.s.	t	P
<b>Anger Before Taking a Test</b>	215	3.09	0.84	4.526	0.000
<b>Anger During Taking a Test</b>	215	2.75	0.94		
<b>Anger Before Taking a Test</b>	215	3.09	0.84	6.688	0.000
<b>Anger After Taking a Test</b>	215	2.64	0.82		
<b>Anger During Taking a Test</b>	215	2.75	0.94	1.611	0.109
<b>Anger After Taking a Test</b>	215	2.64	0.82		

Table 5 demonstrates that the t-values are not statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ), with the exception of the differences among scores of university students with respect to Anger During Taking a Test and Anger After Taking a Test ( $p > 0.05$ ). These findings show that anger before taking a test is at the highest level, and anger after taking a test is at the lowest level.

## 5. Conclusions

In light of these results, we can say that the participants are more prone to be stressful before taking a test rather than after taking a test. Enjoyment Before Learning is at the highest level and Enjoyment After Learning is at the lowest level. These findings might help instructors and teachers grasp the emotional experiences of learners. The results obtained from this study might also help learners increase their awareness of their academic emotions and emotional experiences, and become more conscious in their learning and taking a test.

This study shows that university students have different approaches to learning and taking a test. Experiences and feelings before, during and after learning and taking a test may vary from person to person. As a result, it is essential that learners are carefully observed with regard to their emotions and it is important to choose the approaches to learning in harmony with the academic emotions and experiences. Instructors and teachers should take the learners' individual emotional experiences into account while preparing and presenting teaching materials.

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## **JĘZYKI SPECJALISTYCZNE JAKO NARZĘDZIE KOMUNIKACJI MIĘDZYKULTUROWEJ**

### **Abstract**

The popularity of specialised (business) languages has been unremitting for many years. An interesting observation, though, has been made that a consistent definition of specialised language cannot be found in the available literature.

Specialised language can be perceived as a communicative tool between both native and foreign language speakers (intercultural communication). Nevertheless, specialised languages cannot be regarded as additional collections of terms used in the general language. They differ with respect to specific characteristics on various linguistic levels.

The slightest, even marginal, discrepancies can be distinguished in the system of grammar – grammatical rules applicable to the general language are used in specialised languages as well (nonetheless, some structures may be used more frequently). The main differences concern nomenclature, defining terms, semantic and pragmatic properties, vocabulary development (its systematization and norms), as well as phraseology.

The complexity of specialised languages is undoubtedly a challenge for the teachers of foreign languages.

**Key words:** specialised, business, multi-disciplinary language, intercultural communication

Żyjemy w czasach, w których przed nami stoją coraz większe wyzwania, otwarte granice sprawiają, że globalizacja nabiera tempa, powodując tym samym intensyfikację powiązań wielu działów gospodarki, co z kolei skutkuje tworzeniem się międzynarodowych zespołów pracowniczych i wiąże ze zwiększoną mobilnością załogi. To zacieśnianie kontaktów prowadzi z jednej strony do zmian struktur komunikacyjnych, z drugiej do modyfikacji wymagań językowych stawianych przyszłemu pracownikowi sfery biznesu. Można powiedzieć, że znajomość co najmniej jednego języka obcego jest w dzisiejszych czasach koniecznością. Dlatego nasze szkolnictwo stoi obecnie przed ważnym zadaniem, jakim jest przygotowanie przyszłych, czynnych zawodowo ludzi, członków danych społeczności, do funkcjonowania w ciągle zmieniającej się rzeczywistości zawodowej. Od przyszłego pracownika oczekuje się, że będzie on przygotowany do realizowania konkretnych, typowych czynności i sytuacji zawodowych (np. ustalenie terminu), rozwijania sprawności receptywnych i produktywnych (np. rozumienie, prawidłowe interpretowanie prospektów, sporządzenie pisemnej oferty). W związku z tym obserwujemy od kilkunastu lat zwiększone zainteresowanie językiem fachowym

(specjalistycznym), a zacieśnianie i rozszerzanie kontaktów biznesowych poza granice państwa prowadzi również do większego zainteresowania szeroko pojętą kulturą państw, z których pochodzą partnerzy biznesowi.

Języki specjalistyczne (fachowe) cieszą się od kilkunastu już lat dużą popularnością, jednak, co ciekawe, nie można znaleźć w literaturze jednoznacznej definicji tego pojęcia. Już przy pierwszej próbie zdefiniowania go napotykamy na problemy z dokładnym określeniem jego istoty. Wyjaśnienie tego pojęcia zależy od założeń teoretycznych, których ilość i złożoność powoduje, że w literaturze przedmiotu pojawiają się wciąż nowe próby definicji. Autorka przychyliła się do teorii, że język fachowy zintegrowany jest z językiem ogólnym i nie może być definiowany w oderwaniu od niego, tym bardziej, że język ogólny jest intensywnie zasilany nowymi słowami, wyrażeniami i strukturami pochodzącymi z języka specjalistycznego.

Bardzo ogólną definicję języka fachowego proponuje Buhlmann, wg której jest to zbiór wszystkich środków językowych, które są używane w obszarze komunikacji fachowej, a zasadniczym jej celem jest zagwarantowanie porozumienia między uczestnikami aktu komunikacji. Jest to kompleksowy obszar języka, uwarunkowany specyfiką jego użycia i charakteryzujący się wewnętrznym zróżnicowaniem (Buhlmann, 1989).

Dieter Möhn definiuje bardziej szczegółowo język fachowy jako wariant języka ogólnego, wykorzystywany w specyficznych sytuacjach komunikacyjnych. Język specjalistyczny jest bezpośrednio powiązany przede wszystkim z przedstawicielami konkretnych specjalności i uwzględnia znajomość fachowych pojęć i określanych przez nie przedmiotów i zjawisk; mogą się nim posługiwać również nieprofesjonaliści, zainteresowani daną dziedziną. Język fachowy używany jest w licznych, bardziej lub mniej rozgraniczanych wariantach, nazywanych językami danej dziedziny. Zależnie od sytuacji jest on realizowany w formie pisemnej lub ustnej, zarówno w obrębie jednej specjalności (język branżowy) jak również pomiędzy nimi (międzybranżowy) (Möhn, w: Kubiak, 2002).

Zatem nie stanowi on tylko dodatkowego zbioru terminów wykorzystywanych w języku ogólnym, ponieważ różni się od niego specyficznymi cechami na różnych poziomach języka. Uwzględniając element wielokulturowości w kontaktach biznesowych można określić język specjalistyczny jako narzędzie fachowej komunikacji międzykulturowej, którym uczestnicy – reprezentanci różnych zawodów, specjalności itp., i jednocześnie reprezentanci tradycji własnego kraju – muszą się posługiwać podczas kontaktów biznesowych, pokonując przy tym ewentualne bariery kulturowe. Cechą takiej komunikacji jest również udział w niej co najmniej jednego uczestnika, dla którego język używany w kontaktach biznesowych nie będzie językiem ojczystym, a co za tym idzie, należy się spodziewać, że taki uczestnik będzie interpretował elementy kultury obcej przez pryzmat kultury własnej, co czasami może prowadzić do chwilowej dominacji elementów kulturowych nad fachowymi, a czasami wręcz do nieporozumień.

Jak wynika z cytowanej wyżej definicji, język specjalistyczny nie jest jednolitym fenomenem, zatem nie ma jednego języka specjalistycznego, gdyż mogą się one znacznie różnić między sobą pod względem terminologii, stylistyki, używanych struktur gramatycznych itp. Ale cechą wspólną wszystkich wariantów jest

dążenie do realizacji potrzeb i intencji językowych partnerów komunikacji, korzystanie z konkretnej metodologii i koncentracja na charakterystycznych dla danego obszaru działaniach środkach językowych, jak również zorientowanie przede wszystkim na dorosłego użytkownika języka, a to ma decydujące znaczenie w metodyce nauczania języka.

Języki specjalistyczne można przyporządkować do konkretnych rejestrów, których specyfika uzależniona jest od wielu elementów, np. od ram komunikacyjnych, pragmatycznych, od wyboru środków językowych, kanału przekazu (język mówiony czy pisany), od sposobu sformalizowania (symbole, ikony, nominalizacja) (Althaus, Wiegand, 1973). Aby ustalić, w ramach którego rejestru realizowana jest dana sytuacja komunikacyjna, należy uwzględnić trzy aspekty, a mianowicie: jaki jest cel i intencja partnerów, jaki jest poziom ich wiedzy w obrębie tej samej wiedzy fachowej, oraz czy partnerzy w komunikacji posługują się znanymi sobie kodami zarówno werbalnymi, jak i niewerbalnymi (Żydek-Bednarczuk, 1997). Komunikacja ma wtedy szansę powodzenia, jeżeli partnerzy komunikacji przestrzegają typowych dla języków specjalistycznych kryteriów, a są to: 1) ekonomiczności wypowiedzi, 2) jasność i dokładność przekazu adekwatna do rzeczywistości i intencji, 3) anonimowość, czyli możliwie daleko idąca obiektywność prezentacji informacji (por. Roelcke, 1999).

Wymienione wyżej warunki i kryteria efektywnej komunikacji są podstawą przyporządkowania języków specjalistycznych do poszczególnych rejestrów. Żydek-Bednarczuk (1997) proponuje następujący podział:

Rejestr I zawiera język nauki z jej wszystkimi wariantami: teoretycznym, dydaktycznym i popularnonaukowym. Obejmuje informacje naukowe (pojęcia, rozbudowane systemy pojęć, teorie itd.), tzn. wiedzę ze środkami językowymi i pozajęzykowymi (kody, symbole). Język naukowy obejmuje cały szereg dyscyplin, z których każda ma wypracowany własny system pojęciowy i wykorzystuje specyficzne środki językowe z języka ogólnego i sztucznego. Cechą charakterystyczną języka naukowego jest szeroko stosowana terminologia i nomenklatura, czyli typy pojęć, gdzie obok terminu pojawiają się liczby, symbole.

Rejestr II zawiera oficjalne i potoczne warianty języków zawodowych. W tym rejestrze, uwarunkowanym ściśle sytuacją komunikacyjną, występuje słownictwo związane z realiami poszczególnych grup zawodowych, jak również leksyka dotycząca człowieka i świata. Proporcje między wyrażeniami zaczerpniętymi z języka fachowego (profesjonalizmami), a tymi z języka potocznego służą do określenia stopnia „fachowości” wypowiedzi. Oprócz profesjonalizmów odnotować można w rejestrze II liczne neosemantyzmy, tworzone w oparciu o podobieństwo właściwości nazywanych przedmiotów, podobieństwo czynności, okoliczności i sytuacji, jak również zapożyczenia z innych języków.

W rejestrze III zawarte są tzw. języki specjalistyczne użytkowe, np. język instrukcji, język dystrybucji, reklamy. Dla tej grupy charakterystyczne są terminy ogólnotechniczne, leksemy zaczerpnięte ze słownictwa ogólnego i, jeśli konieczne, również terminologia fachowa. Dość często uzupełniają się teksty pisane różnego typu elementami pozajęzykowymi, np. obrazami, piktogramami itp. Ze względu na swoją specyfikę i funkcję, szczególnie interesujący i kompleksowy wydaje się być język reklamy. Ponieważ jego zasadniczą funkcją jest skuteczna perswazja i pozyskanie

szerokiej rzeszy klientów, można w nim zaobserwować daleko idący proces zbliżenia z językiem standardowym.

Uwzględniając powyższe uwagi należałoby postawić pytanie: co różni języki specjalistyczne od języka ogólnego i jaka jest ich zależność? Jeśli chodzi o gramatykę, w językach specjalistycznych wykorzystuje się zasady stosowane do języka ogólnego, przy czym niektóre kategorie, przede wszystkim z zakresu systemu morfologicznego i syntaktycznego, są wykorzystywane częściej (Funk, 1992). Ewentualne różnice dotyczą ilości, a nie jakości zjawisk, tzn. dokonuje się swego rodzaju selekcja struktur gramatycznych, które występują szczególnie często w językach specjalistycznych, natomiast w dalszym ciągu pozostają elementem systemu gramatycznego języka ogólnego. Generalnie można stwierdzić, że gramatyka języków fachowych, w przeciwieństwie do słownictwa, nie wykazuje się zbyt dużą produktywnością. Tym niemniej można wymienić kilka zjawisk gramatycznych, typowych dla tego języka. Niektórzy autorzy (patrz np. Gajda, 2002; Mamet, 1997) wymieniają następujące: specyficzne formy czasowników, przede wszystkim czasy i strony, czasowniki modalne, mowa zależna, czasowniki i przymiotniki służące do porównań, konstrukcje bezosobowe (częste w języku polskim) i wtrącone, przydawka rozwinięta. Szczególnie często stosowane są grupy nominalne, zdeterminowane takimi czynnikami jak: charakter specjalistycznych słówek, ich systemowa organizacja, warunki funkcjonowania (komunikacja ustna/pisemna, oficjalna/nieoficjalna) (Gajda, 2002). Taka terminologizacja skutkuje redukcją warstwy konotacyjnej jednostek języka fachowego. Formy nominalne wymagają też konkretnej, nierzadko specyficznej, bardzo rozbudowanej struktury zdania, uzależnionej od typu przekazywanej informacji, stopnia fachowości, dyscypliny i od partnerów komunikacji.

Przyswojenie sobie typowych dla języka fachowego struktur gramatycznych nie przysparza uczącym się większych trudności, chociażby z tego względu, że jest ona dalece zredukowana w stosunku do gramatyki języka ogólnego. Poza tym, częstotliwość ich użycia jest w porównaniu z językiem ogólnym tak wysoka, że pomaga to szybkiemu ich zapamiętywaniu, bez konieczności stosowania wielu ćwiczeń utrwalających. Istnieje tylko jedno zagrożenie, że struktury językowe z języka fachowego mogą być zamienione łatwiejszymi strukturami z języka ogólnego, a to z kolei, mimo ich poprawnego użycia, może negatywnie oddziaływać na jakość komunikacji.

Wraz z rozwojem lingwistyki tekstowej wzrasta zainteresowanie naukowców strukturą tekstów specjalistycznych i ich funkcjonowaniem w praktyce komunikacyjnej. Najwięcej uwagi w badaniach nad językami fachowymi poświęca się słownictwu. Analizowana jest gramatyka terminów, ich semantyczno-pragmatyczne właściwości, sposoby definiowania, budowa i rozwój systemów pojęciowych, ich systematyzacja i normalizacja oraz frazeologia języka specjalistycznego (Gajda, 2002). Określenie składu typowego słownictwa języka specjalistycznego jest skomplikowane, przede wszystkim ze względu na stopień fachowości wyrażań. Inaczej będzie definiowany np. język naukowy, inaczej język negocjacji. Dla pierwszego charakterystyczne jest słownictwo wspólne, uniwersalne dla wszystkich dziedzin, słownictwo ze specyficznym znaczeniem dla jednej lub kilku dziedzin, słownictwo fachowe mające różne znaczenie w różnych dziedzinach, słownictwo ogólne preferowane w tekstach prasowych i in., oddające intencje autora. Przykładowo

Gajda (2002) wyodrębnia dla języka negocjacji cztery grupy słownictwa: słownictwo języka potocznego; słownictwo przydatne do języka negocjacji, słownictwo reprezentatywne dla danej specjalności (zależnie od stron negocjujących, np. managerowie, rzemieślnicy, prawnicy itp.), słownictwo specyficzne w konkretnych sytuacjach negocjacyjnych, np. odmowa, zgoda, sformułowanie kontraktu. Porównanie języków dwóch dziedzin pokazuje rozmiar różnic pomiędzy nimi, jak również potwierdza fakt, że nie są one rozszerzeniem języka ogólnego o konkretne pojęcia, o czym wspomniano wyżej.

Obecnie na polskich uczelniach najczęściej wykładanym językiem specjalistycznym jest język biznesu. Ze względu na nasze realia gospodarcze i niedługą historię gospodarki nie-socjalistycznej, nie jest on jeszcze dogłębnie opracowanym zagadnieniem zarówno w obrębie lingwistyki, jak i dydaktyki. Do końca lat 60-ych XX w. poświęcano temu zagadnieniu mało uwagi, a rzadko podejmowane badania koncentrowały się głównie na słownictwie i terminologii. Zainteresowanie wzbogacaoną o aspekty interkulturowe kompetencją komunikacyjną w kontekście biznesu wzrosło dopiero w latach siedemdziesiątych. Kilka lat później rozszerzono sferę zainteresowań o aspekty funkcjonalne języków specjalistycznych (Mamet, 1997).

Język biznesu należy rozumieć jako połączenie dwu składników, tzn. składnika specjalistycznego związanego z daną dziedziną pracy i składnika ogólnego, związanego ze zdolnością komunikowania się w sferze biznesu. Inaczej mówiąc, kompetencja zawodowa, fachowość jest warunkiem rozwoju kompetencji komunikacyjnej w danej dziedzinie biznesu. Równolegle należy rozwijać również kompetencje socjalne, metodyczne i kulturowe. Na poziomie językowym oznacza to konieczność opanowania przez uczącego się konkretnych rejestrów (obowiązujące na interesującym nas obszarze zwroty grzecznościowe, small talk, wyrażanie prośby, żądania itp.) oraz fachowych zwrotów językowych (zgoda, odmowa, streszczenie, opis, sporządzanie protokołu itp.). Język biznesu charakteryzują również następujące cechy: celowość i ekonomiczność wypowiedzi polegająca na zastosowaniu optymalnych środków językowych dla osiągnięcia zamierzonego efektu; istnienie jakiejś grupy społecznej, stosującej istniejące i obowiązujące rytuały w kontaktach i wykorzystującej przy tym określone, ogólnie przyjęte zwroty; precyzja, jasność i jednoznaczność komunikacji, ograniczająca ryzyko nieporozumień i wydatnie redukująca czas przetwarzania informacji (Mamet, 1997) oraz anonimowość, polegająca na możliwie najbardziej obiektywnym przedstawieniu komunikatu. Również w obrębie składni obowiązuje zasada ekonomii i precyzji budowania wypowiedzi oraz, jak wcześniej wspomniano, różnorodność stosowanych typów zdań.

Językiem biznesu jest z reguły zainteresowana grupa ludzi chcąca wykonywać lub wykonująca jakiś zawód i stawiająca sobie za cel osiągnięcie konkretnych, pragmatycznych celów. Takie oczekiwania skutkują dokładnością, ekonomią wypowiedzi, ale również pewną „elastycznością“ norm językowych w zakresie leksyki, gramatyki i fonetyki, przy czym ostatnie dwa poziomy językowe nie odróżniają się zbyt od norm obowiązujących w języku ogólnym. Czynnikiem dystynktywnym języka biznesu jest jego semantyka, czyli zbiór pojęć niezrozumiałych bez wiedzy fachowej.

Wspomniana wyżej globalizacja w kontaktach biznesowych doprowadziła do wzrostu zainteresowania innymi kulturami i do prób konfrontacji między nimi. Na to zainteresowanie zareagowało szkolnictwo wyższe w różnych krajach, organizując kursy, których celem jest przekazanie zintegrowanej wiedzy z zakresu nauki o języku, komunikacji międzyludzkiej, gospodarki, komunikacji fachowej, dydaktyki, historii, religii, nauk społecznych, psychologii, antropologii i in. Wiedzę i kompetencje nabyte w obrębie ww. dziedzin można określić jako kompetencję międzykulturową. Bolten (w: Breckle, 2005) wyróżnia cztery częściowe elementy, które kształtują kompetencję interkulturową. Pierwszą fazę charakteryzuje gotowość i chęć uczenia się, uświadamiania sobie i respektowania istniejących różnic, potem następuje etap przyswajania sobie wiedzy o obcej kulturze, obyczajach, postawach, stylach komunikacji partnerów itp. Kolejnym, bardzo ważnym etapem jest nabywanie kompetencji językowych oraz komunikacyjnych i wreszcie uświadomienie sobie przez uczącego się własnego sposobu myślenia i postaw w celu ich relatywizacji (wypracowanie otwartej postawy i dystansu do roli obejmowanej w akcie komunikacji).

Bazując na powyższym, można by wstępnie zmodyfikować cele nauczania języka obcego, szczególnie w szkołach wyższych, zorientowanego m.in. na zdobywanie umiejętności w zakresie komunikacji międzykulturowej:

- prezentacja zjawisk gramatycznych i leksykalnych w oparciu o ich funkcje i sytuacje użycia;
- łączenie wiedzy specjalistycznej z kompetencjami w języku obcym;
- przekazywanie wiedzy o komunikacji werbalnej i niewerbalnej, wyrabianie umiejętności trafnej interpretacji sytuacji komunikacyjnej;
- przekazywanie wiedzy o normach komunikacyjnych, o zachowaniu się, systemie wartości, stylu w negocjacjach, sposobach interpretacji zjawisk w obcej kulturze. Tu szczególną uwagę należałoby zwrócić na konkretne czynniki warunkujące prawidłowy przebieg aktu komunikacji, np. jaki jest powód nawiązania kontaktu, jakie działania językowe mogą być wykorzystane do danej sytuacji, z kim nawiązujemy kontakt i w jakiej formie (ustnej, pisemnej).

Reasumując: W artykule wielokrotnie podkreślano kompleksowość języków specjalistycznych, co jest niewątpliwie wyzwaniem dla dydaktyki języków obcych, której jednym z głównych zadań jest sformułowanie założeń teoretycznych, niezbędnych do ich nauczania/uczenia się. W proces nauczania języków specjalistycznych (szczególnie w szkolnictwie wyższym) powinny być włączone elementy wielu innych dziedzin nauki, przyswojenie których może ułatwić kontakty międzykulturowe.

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**DEVELOPING TEXT RECEIVER'S TACIT KNOWING FOR BETTER  
PERCEPTION OF SENDER'S INTENDED MEANING IN TEXT ANALYSIS:  
USE OF POLANYI'S TACIT KNOWING THEORY AND ITS THREE CENTRES**

**Abstract**

Accurate source text comprehension is a key to good quality translation. Translator's – text receiver's – capacity to ensure it depends on the body and quality of their tacit knowledge, as well as on their ability *to see* sender's tacit knowledge in and behind the text. The present paper reflects on the development of tacit knowledge of would-be translators against Polanyi's tacit knowing theory and its three centres: (1) the focal target – text and its comprehension; (2) subsidiary particulars – language and culture knowledge, and all the relevant contexts and receiver's awareness of them; and (3) the knower, who links the first two. The article argues that the use of Polanyi's tacit knowing theory in translator education may offer an access to a more accurate unfolding of sender's intended meaning, as well as can identify gaps in the body of student tacit knowledge in terms of text comprehension, and can channel learning into reducing or closing them. Their closure requires a temporary shift in the learning process from text as the focal target to a concrete subsidiary.

**Key words:** tacit knowing, Polanyi, translation

**1. Introduction**

The present article is an attempt to bring Polanyi's tacit knowing theory from the field of knowledge management into the fields of linguistics and translation studies. The use and creation of knowledge, particularly of personal or tacit knowledge, has been of my particular interest for about a decade. Theoretical and practical studies have led to the awareness of how much professional performance of any individual depends on their tacit knowledge, rather than the tangible and easily measurable explicit text-book knowledge the body of which we try so hard to expand in our educational practices.

Michael Polanyi (1891-1976) has paid a considerable attention to discussing meaning of any act of communication in the social world (Polanyi and Prosch, 1975; Polanyi, 1974; Mitchel, 2006). His works help acquire a better access to the meaning behind the communicator's world, to comprehend the author's (further in the text – sender's) intended meaning, which many authorities in the field of translation studies regard as one of the main challenges for the translator. And translator's – text receiver's – capacity to deal with this challenge depends on their tacit knowing. The article argues that the use of Polanyi's tacit knowing theory and its three centres – the focal target, subsidiary particulars, and the knower, who links the two – in translator education may offer an access to a more accurate unfolding of sender's intended

meaning, as well as can identify gaps in the body of student tacit knowledge in terms of text comprehension, and can channel learning into reducing or closing them. This is why a broader goal of the study is an enhanced professional performance of would-be translators, but a more specific goal of this paper is looking into ways how Polanyi's tacit knowing theory could possibly contribute to better perception of sender's message in texts in English.

The chosen theoretical background and the study goal well accord with the ontological and epistemological assumptions at the basis of methodology for action research paradigm, which is chosen for reflective analysis on the individual practices of teaching text analyses. Data gathering methods include the study of theoretical literature, observations during classes of text analysis with about 60 first-year students over one semester, and analysis of student written assignments. Data processing involves identification and interpretation of lexical units that carry or reveal some element of tacit knowledge possessed by sender – either source text author or student. In both cases, eventually, the focus is on the tacit knowledge of students, particularly, on their ability *to see* the text. Further, the paper unfolds the concept of tacit knowledge or tacit knowing introduced by Michael Polanyi; then it presents the essence of Polanyi's tacit knowing theory and its three centres and links them with the roles of sender and receiver, after which it attempts to substantiate why student skills of understanding the text – decoding sender's intended meaning – can be enhanced through dissolving this tacit triad.

## **2. What is tacit knowledge and why it matters in enhancing text comprehension**

Epistemological assumptions – what knowledge is and what our ways of knowing are – matter not only when making scientific choices, such as choosing a research paradigm and methodology, but also when making our everyday choices. Not always and not all of us are conscious or aware of these assumptions, as they are within our existing structures of knowledge, which are hard to separate from us. Nevertheless, to increase the personal capacity to acquire new knowledge leading to enhanced professional behaviour, first, some conscious effort is needed from each individual to as if separate them from us and come and realise how we see knowledge and what kind of knowledge we find crucial for development.

The criticality of tacit knowledge resides in its two dimensions. First, in its technical dimension – technical skills or know-how are “embedded” or “dwelt in,” which means that we are able to act upon such knowledge automatically, on the subconscious level, without the need to consider every detail of every operation. Polanyi's example is very helpful for understanding this idea – in demonstrating a technical skill such as riding a bicycle the theoretical knowledge on how to keep our balance would be “totally ineffectual unless it is known tacitly [...] unless it is simply dwelt in” (Polanyi and Prosch, 1975, p. 41). When on the bike, you just do not have time to recall the theory, or you will fall. For a linguist or a translator, these would be language technicalities – language norms and vocabulary, and unless they are “dwelt in” or embodied, they do not bring you close to fast and accurate text comprehension. Tacit knowing allows us to perceive a printed sentence on the level of recognition and understand its meaning without directing our attention to the spelling of each word or the use of each punctuation mark since “tacit knowing can pick up simultaneously

a whole set of data and combine them in a meaningful spoken sequence” (Polanyi and Prosch, 1975, p. 42). It may also mean knowing a language to such a degree that it can be easily built upon and used in novel situations, which is very important for translators/interpreters working in the fast changing environment.

But making knowledge tacit – internalising it – is a time and effort consuming process that requires the will. Therefore the second – cognitive – dimension of tacit knowledge is by far more important. It includes “passion and commitment” (Polanyi, 1974, p. 303), deep-seated “beliefs, perceptions, ideals, values, emotions, ways of thinking, and mental models” (Takeuchi, 1998), and therefore it affects how we see and perceive the world, including how we see and perceive the world represented in any given text. Developing his theory of tacit knowing in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Polanyi seems to have put the cognitive dimension of tacit knowledge in the first place, since he attempted to counter the view that only explicitly verifiable knowledge “counted,” and that “all belief was reduced to the status of subjectivity: to that of imperfection” (Polanyi, 1974, p. 266). Drawing on St. Augustine’s (4<sup>th</sup> century AD) idea that faith precedes reason – “Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand” – Polanyi argued that a new conception of knowledge had to be introduced “that once again [would] acknowledge the reality of moral and spiritual ideals to which free and responsible men and women can commit themselves in service to a truth in reality” (Mitchel, 2006, p. xii). By belief he did not mean religious belief but cultural and ethical norms, values and principles outside of which the personal and professional behaviour he believed not possible:

We must now recognize belief once more as the source of all knowledge. Tacit assent and intellectual passions, the sharing of an idiom and of a cultural heritage, affiliation to a like-minded community: such are the impulses which shape our vision of the nature of things on which we rely for our mastery of things. No intelligence, however critical or original, can operate outside such fiduciary framework. (Polanyi, 1974, p. 266)

In text comprehension, it means that a better access to the intended meaning is acquired through developing awareness of sender’s backgrounds and contexts, i.e. of their tacit cognitive knowledge. It also means that a passionate engagement and involvement is expected from text receiver to fully decode the source text and its language.

This way tacit cognitive dimension in the knowledge structure is a great creative and driving power for each individual; no matter whether this individual works for “power and profit, [or at] a higher level of moral obligation” (Polanyi and Prosch, 1975, p. 208). The quality of any act, also that of understanding sender’s intended meaning before translating a text, depends on the quality of tacit knowledge. Students’ tacit perception of a text, even when their tacit knowledge of the language is comparatively advanced, may be wrong. Therefore there is a need to develop some habitual actions in receivers that will make them question and verify their understanding, or prove it accurate. This is where we can benefit from the three centres of Polanyi’s tacit knowing theory.

### 3. Polanyi's three centres of tacit knowing and the roles of text sender and receiver

It can be argued that tacit knowledge cannot be measured because of its relative and intangible character. But it becomes visible through one of the three elements of Polanyi's tacit triad, namely, (1) the focal target, (2) subsidiary particulars or subsidiaries, and (3) the knower. Sender's knowledge becomes visible through how they develop a source text, and receiver's knowledge – through how they perceive a text (and eventually – how they translate it). Quality in each case is the result of the interplay of the two remaining centres: subsidiary particulars or subsidiaries, and the knower, the most important of the three centres. Both sender and receiver represent the knower who controls the triad, who “links the first two by addressing the focal target within and from the subsidiary particulars [...] who causes the subsidiaries to bear on the focus of his attention” (Polanyi and Prosch, 1975, p. 38). What does it mean? The meaning given, or rather acquired, by the focal target depends on the subsidiaries of the knower; receiver's subsidiaries are numerous relevant contexts: general knowledge, field knowledge, knowledge of source and target languages, including any language technicality, and also their values, beliefs, attitudes and commitment. These subsidiary particulars – specific for each individual – give meaning or sense to a text, which explains why different text receivers may bring a different meaning to one and the same text, especially if receivers have very different cultural and intellectual backgrounds, i.e. a different body and/or quality of their tacit knowledge.

Polanyi suggests that these three centres of tacit knowing can be placed in the three corners of a triangle (Polanyi and Prosch, 1975, p. 38), allocating thus, at least visually, equal importance to each of them. A different depiction of this triad (see Figure 1) was proposed by Vizule and Kalniņš (2012, p. 777), with the focal target forming the visible top of the iceberg, subsidiary particulars the very basis deep under the water; and the knower, linking the first two, the middle part.

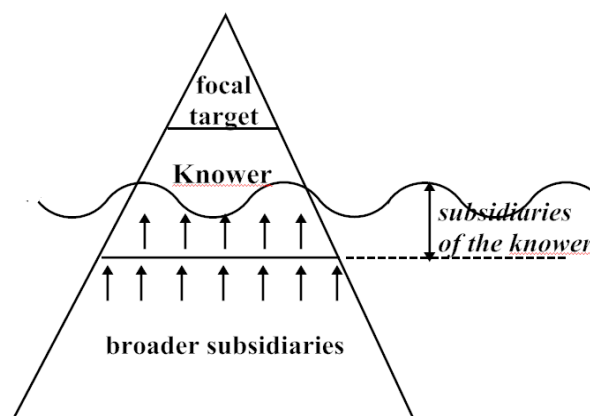


Figure 1. Polanyi's three centres of tacit knowing and how tacit cognitive knowledge affects the visible focal target (Vizule and Kalniņš, 2012, p. 777).

This figure echoes the knowledge iceberg as presented in knowledge management theory – above the surface there is explicit or codified knowledge that

can be easily captured and measured; below the surface tacit knowledge, first tacit technical and then tacit cognitive.

Another difference between Vizule and Kalniņš's model and the original depiction of the triad is the differentiation between subsidiaries relating to broader contexts (such as history and culture related beliefs and values) and those of the knower, related to performing a professional operation, in this case writing a text or perceiving it. Subsidiary particulars of the knower stand for their tacit knowledge, both technical and cognitive. Broader subsidiaries seep into the individual ones and can be either recognised or ignored by the knower; this can be a conscious activity but more often is subconscious – on the tacit level. The intended meaning and pragmatic goal of sender's message – the focal target – is composed of the whole variety of such subsidiary particulars that represent the real person and their real knowledge in a very integrated and subtle manner. Therefore text receiver's role involves much more than literal interpretation of sender's message word by word. Developing would-be translators into more discerning text readers, who would be "good at noticing things" and would know "when things are of good quality" (CIDE<sup>58</sup>, 1995, p. 390), is a very complex task. It is a much more complex task than that of sender, since the translator as a text receiver is to consider sender's subsidiary particulars as well as to make a sound judgement on the text quality. They must also be able to identify lexical units that are likely to be translation problems and hence would require additional research.

This way, Polany's theory of tacit knowing and its three centres explain, first, why we see things differently; second, why we see different things; and third, why we fail to see some things while others do not. But there is one source text, and all receivers should be able to see the same, or nearly the same. How to achieve this? One way is by dissolving the triad.

#### **4. Developing receiver's tacit knowing through dissolving the tacit triad: discussion of findings**

The triad – the focal target, subsidiaries, and the knower – is dissolved if there is a shift of the focus from the text as the focal target to a subsidiary or subsidiaries: the spelling of a separate word, some grammatical form, a comma, an original metaphor, some other verbal or non-verbal element, or some cultural *realia*. It could be some detail that brings a change in the meaning of the utterance or gives it a certain flavour. The dissolution of the triad means the failure to complete the intended activity at a given moment; however, in the process of learning, it is a necessity. It is by directing a particular attention to subsidiaries that it is possible to first identify gaps in the knowledge and then possibly close them. The dissolution of the triad – this shift of the focus as a temporary learning activity – is illustrated by examples from texts used in text analysis classes.

The examples from different source texts discussed below all include some subsidiary the focus is shifted to; they broadly can be divided into two large but related categories: sender-related subsidiaries, and receiver-related ones. They are related because you can always find a way to link the former with the latter, and they both need to be taken into consideration by receiver in order to accurately comprehend the text. Sender-related subsidiaries concern some specific source text and its sender's

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<sup>58</sup> Cambridge International Dictionary of English

tacit knowledge, while receiver-related ones mostly include receiver's tacit knowledge – a range of language technicalities and contexts that need to be understood. If understanding is insufficient, this knowledge needs to be acquired and made tacit. This paper discusses the first group of subsidiaries, focusing on what meaning is conveyed by subtle sender-related subsidiaries, i.e. sender's tacit cognitive knowledge. The discussed examples are extracts from text books or articles from the BBC news internet page.

The first two examples represent subtle cultural background as a subsidiary (obvious cultural background is far less likely to be misinterpreted); they are extracts describing a party from *The Great Gatsby* by an American author F. S. Fitzgerald.

*Example 1: On buffet tables, garnished with glistening hors d'oeuvres, spiced baked hams crowded against salads.*

The underlined phrase was misinterpreted by the majority of students. Its meaning in British and Australian English differs from that in American English. The sender's background needs to be considered; that is why hors d'oeuvres is not about “*Br and Aus* a small usually a savoury dish eaten at the start of a meal” but “(Am) small pieces of food eaten at a party” (CIDE, 1995, p. 686).

*Example 2<sup>59</sup>: In the main hall a bar with a real brass rail was set up, and stocked with gins and liquors and with cordials.*

Receiver needs to be careful not to mistake liquors for liqueurs and cordials as a noun for cordial as an adjective. Apart from that, they need to place these words in the proper cultural context: *liquor* – “*Am and Aus* strong alcoholic drinks” (CIDE, 1995, p. 829), *cordial* (n) – “*Br and Aus* a sweet fruit-based drink to which water is usually added,” but “(Am) Cordial is also another name for liqueur (=flavoured alcoholic drink)” (CIDE, 1995, p. 305).

Another large group of sender-related tacit subsidiaries imply or hint at sender's attitude, values and/or beliefs (not straightforwardly stated). Such subsidiaries may have a crucial effect on the meaning of the whole text. Not always students fail to notice them; however, there is a tendency to underestimate the role of such textual elements. They can manifest themselves in a number of ways: through original stylistic devices (see *Example 3*), specific vocabulary choices (*Examples 4, 5, and 6*), word building choices (*Example 6*), sentence structures and punctuation (*Examples 3 and 6*), and grammatical structures (*Example 5*).

*Example 3* is from a text informing about the Smoke-Free Act being passed in New York, which not only informs but also expresses sender's attitude. This is done in a stylistically rich manner – using the smoking-related family metaphor throughout the text (e.g., *smoking will be stubbed out in restaurants, a burning debate, profits of tobacco industry will go up in smoke, smokers will be smoked out at work, the company may kick the city for kicking the habit). Sender's desire to make this news article more attractive cannot be missed (the challenge, though, is not to lose this*

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<sup>59</sup> Identified by the students

beauty in translation). There are also other elements – sender’s subsidiaries – that deserve receiver’s attention, such as the use of insertions within brackets:

*New Yorkers must now wait and see if the pro-smoking lobby’s alarming predictions of citywide economic collapse come true. (After all, who will want to dine in a smoke-free restaurant?) Tobacco company, Philip Morris, may show the way. Last year it threatened to move its 2,000 head-office employees (two thirds of them non-smokers) out of the city if the smoking ban became law.*

This may be a hint at what view the sender has of restaurant goers and their ways of relaxing there. The receiver needs to interpret it before translating the text. A good translation results from the receiver’s mind being tuned to the sender’s frequency.

*Example 4:* news headlines after Downing Street 10 acquired a new occupant – cat Larry. They illustrate how sender’s chosen word, or two, can add a different shade to one and the same event.

*10 Downing Street Appoints a Cat Named Larry*

*Larry the cat moves into No 10 Downing Street*

*Cameron Hires Cat Larry to Catch Downing Street Rats*

*Downing Street ratcatcher takes over Cabinet*

*Larry the cat joins David Cameron in Downing Street*

It is important not to failure to ask the question why a given word has been chosen by the sender; this is needed to avoid under-translations or mistranslations – not to use “took” instead of “hired,” or “hired” instead of “appointed,” or “moves into” instead of “joins.” These vocabulary choices reveal how the sender treats the cat in a given article and what “job” the cat is likely to have. They also serve the pragmatic goal of the text, which is certainly less to inform and more to entertain.

*Example 5* shows how the sender’s – Shiva Naipaul’s (the author of *The Chip-Chip Gatherers*) – subsidiaries surface through grammar elements in the text. Father expects his son to inherit and run a transport company, and his expectations in terms of his son’s schooling are minimal:

*“I don’t want you to come with any doctor stupidness to me [...] I not going to tolerate any nonsense from you. I sending you to school so that you could learn to read and write and add and subtract.” [...] Having fulfilled his father’s commands [his son] seized every opportunity to absent himself from the irksome confinement of the classroom. [The father is invited to school. Teachers:] “Your son does hardly ever be in school. At the rate he seem to be going he won’t learn anything.”*

[Father:] “*You try beating him?*” [Teachers:] “*We tried beat him, but it don’t seem to have any effect on him at all.*” [Father:] “*Well then, I don’t see what all the fuss is about.*”

Interestingly enough, it is not only the father’s speech that is grammatically inaccurate, but also that of the teachers. There is no explicit criticism of the education system, at least not in the given extract, but the erroneous English of the teachers gives some grounds for the father’s negative attitude towards school, and hence also that of the sender. Students – receivers – were able to identify grammatical inaccuracies, with probably two exceptions: the use of “stupidness” (instead of “stupidity”), and the failure to differentiate between “tried to beat him” (tried but failed, he successfully avoided it) and “tried beating him” (actually did, but this measure was ineffective). Nevertheless, a task focused on grammatical accuracy in the whole piece followed, after which we again returned to the text as the focal target. What differed, though, was their ideas concerning why the direct speech contained those errors, i.e. the interpretation of sender’s intended meaning: attempts to interpret it by English not being their native language prevailed.

This very example contains another challenge in terms of text comprehension, namely the word *doctor*. This seemingly well-known word was missed by the the first-year students in their first semester. The lack of the students’ tacit awareness resulted in a person who has one of the highest-ranking degrees given by a college or university (education) being mistaken for a person with a medical degree whose job is to treat people who are ill or hurt (medicine) (CIDE, 1995, p. 408).

*Example 6* is an extract from *Real Cooking* by Nigel Slater. This example illustrates how sender’s passion and attitude (i.e. his tacit cognitive knowledge) has affected his choice of sentence structures – long, explanatory, full of detail, versus short and extremely emphatic ones. But the focus in this example is on the words the sender uses to express his love for cooking and what real cooking means to him.

*What makes something really good to eat? (..) It is simply the understanding of the little things that make something especially good; the golden, savoury, sticky stuff that builds up under a pork chop you have left to cook slowly in its pan; the intense flavour of the bits of lamb that have caught on the bars of the grill; the gravy that you make from the sticky bits left in the pan after you have sautéed some chicken thighs. This is real cooking. The roast potato that sticks to the roasting tin; the crouton from the salad that has soaked up the mustardy dressing; the underneath of the crust of a blackberry and apple pie, rich with purple juice; these are the things that make something worth eating. And worth cooking.*

It should be noticed adjective *sticky* (normally referring to unpleasant phenomena) has embodied the essence of what makes a meal taste really good. Students’ attention was caught by it as well, but perceptions varied:

*A: unpleasant, difficult; probably you can make something good from unpleasant bits of food as well;*



*B: Can mean unpleasant, stuffy, difficult, but in this text it means gluey, gummy, to give an idea of how it looks;*

*C: Usually disapproving, approving in this text – very tasty.*

Another interesting lexical item is the word *under-standing* – very important for the accurate text perception. The ability to see the pun, resulting from original word building, and to fully comprehend it requires tacit knowing as well as the realisation that the hyphen is not a mistake and has been put there with a good reason, and this reason can be found further in the source text (see the underlined phrases). A small part of all the first year students in their written analysis identified *under-standing* as a lexical unit worth attention, but initially only one noticed the pun:

*D: Probably to underline the word and make the reader read it slowly and pay more attention to it.*

*E: Usually no hyphen. In this case the author wanted to point out that the reader has to differentiate and acknowledge what real cooking is.*

*F: To emphasize that first you need understanding of what you do, only then you succeed (nothing about standing underneath something)*

*G: Not used as one word, which would be more understandable, the author uses a hyphen to show that you just need to know the main things.*

*H: To emphasize that understanding is very important.*

*I: In the text it stands both for understanding, and standing underneath (the tiny details), a problem for the translator – into Latvian.*

Students' comments reveal how differently they comprehend this word, and also how different their ways of presenting ideas are – from an overly confident manner (B, C, E, F, G, H, I) to more tentative (A, D); from rather empty claims that make little sense (B, E, G) to relevant and to the point (D, H, I). Such comments allow acquiring the awareness of where students stand with their text comprehension skills, how observant they are, and what questions they raise to perceive sender's intended meaning. It would be true to say that learning to question oneself and even to doubt is a highly desirable goal in education – if you doubt you are more likely to verify your choices or reasoning, to seek evidence in the text that would substantiate your point.

## **5. Conclusion**

The discussion above provided an insight into where sender's tacit cognitive knowledge – understanding, beliefs, attitudes, world views, values, passions, and other subsidiaries related to sender's cognitive power – may reside or be hidden in the text. It also included examples indicative of sender's tacit technical knowledge – language knowledge and the mastery of text development. If receiver's attention is focused only on the comprehension of the whole text as one single body, some details of importance may be missed and may remain unattended. When reading a text, the idea carries us

forward, and we tacitly perceive spelling and grammar and other technicalities, which may lead to making comprehension mistakes. Polanyi's explanation can be resorted to: "As we have seen, subsidiaries function as such by being integrated to a focus on which they bear. This integration, because it is the tacit *act* of person, can be either valid or mistaken. Perception can be true or mistaken" (Polanyi and Prosch 1975: 39).

Texts will be understood better when receiver's tacit knowledge is enhanced. This can be achieved by dissolving the original triad – the focal target, the subsidiaries, and the knower. Text analysis assignments would typically include an element of disintegration themselves: potential translation problems are split into categories that make sense for the translator and cover the basic textual elements worth receiver's attention; relevant examples should be selected and their detailed semantic analysis should be presented. Besides, students are expected to demonstrate their understanding and knowledge even when they seemingly "easily understand everything" and "have no problems."

Written text analyses reveal text receivers' subsidiaries – tacit knowledge comes to the surface through what they *see* in the text and what they *fail to see*, and certainly, through how they substantiate their choices and analyse the selected vocabulary units. In this process, there is a continual shifting from the text as the focal target to receivers' subsidiaries, and back to the text. The experience shows that such approach eventually brings receivers closer to the text's original meaning. Polanyi's tacit knowing theory may be viewed as a philosophy according to which one should live and work for continual development and self-development. His theory and scholarly texts are like "spectacles" that can be used to learn to *see* better:

While we rely on a scientific text, the text is not an object under scrutiny but a tool of observation. [...] You cannot use your spectacles to scrutinize your spectacles. A theory is like a pair of spectacles; you examine things by it, and your knowledge of it lies in this very use of it. You dwell in it as you dwell in your own body and in the tools by which you amplify the powers of your body. (Polanyi and Prosch 1975: 37)

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