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WSTĘP

Neophilologica Sandeciensa, wydawana od 2006 roku, jest czasopismem naukowym dotyczącym zagadnień z zakresu szeroko pojętej filologii. Jej założeniem jest prezentacja dorobku naukowo-dydaktycznego pracowników Instytutu Języków Obcych PWSZ w Nowym Sączu, a także dokonań badaczy związanych z innymi ośrodkami akademickimi. Czasopismo zawiera artykuły odnoszące się do rozmaitych, niekiedy odległych, dziedzin neofilologii – w ten sposób sygnalizując szeroki wachlarz zainteresowań jej autorów i jednocześnie kierując się ku jak najszerszej grupie odbiorców. Publikacja adresowana jest jednak nie tylko do specjalistów, ale również do studentów, w nadziei, że przyczyni się do poszerzenia ich horyzontów oraz rozwoju naukowego, stanowiąc inspirujący materiał do analizy.

Niniejszy tom skupia się na zagadnieniach dotyczących głównie filologii angielskiej. Zgodnie z otwartą formułą czasopisma, zawarte w nim artykuły poruszają kwestie związane z językoznawstwem, przekładoznawstwem, glottodydaktyką oraz literaturą. Czytelnik znajdzie tu teksty poświęcone, m.in. strategiom komunikacyjnym w glottodydaktyce, ideologii amerykańskiego transcendentalizmu, a także muzycznej twórczości poety Allena Ginsberga. Autorami artykułów są pracownicy Instytutu Języków Obcych Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej w Nowym Sączu, Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Ventspils University College.

Powierzając Państwu ten numer *Neophilologii* mamy nadzieję, iż opublikowane w niej artykuły znajdą należne im uznanie i wniosą istotny wkład w badania naukowe nad poruszonymi w nich kwestiami.

Katarzyna Jasiewicz
Monika Zięba-Plebankiewicz

ESTABLISHING MACRO-INVARIANT FROM SAMPLES OF LITERARY SOURCE AND TARGET TEXTS

Abstract

The paper studies the concept ‘semantic invariant’ applied in translation studies, text linguistics, and contrastive textology. First, the concept has been discussed from theoretical perspectives outlining its various definitions. Second, the semantic invariant has been applied to the French poet Charles Baudelaire’s texts of the grotesque. Thirdly and illustratively, the paper brings out various text invariant subtypes from samples of source texts that have been contrasted with target texts in English translations. Finally, certain associative links have been established among primary lexemes of the invariant models. The macro-invariant of the source texts has been preserved in English translations and thus target texts have been shown to conform macro-structurally to the authorial intention.

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł koncentruje się na idei ‘stałej semantycznej’, spotykanej w przekładoznawstwie, lingwistyce tekstu oraz tekstologii. Artykuł otwiera dyskusja nad różnymi definicjami tego konceptu. Następnie, stała semantyczna przedstawiona jest na przykładzie groteski francuskiego poety, Charlesa Baudelaire’a. Kolejnymi przykładami są różnorodne rodzaje stałej w tekstach oryginalnych i ich tłumaczeniach na język angielski. Ostatnim zagadnieniem jest ustalenie związków pomiędzy podstawowymi leksemami nieodmiennych modeli. Makro-nieodmienność w tekstach źródłowych została zachowana w angielskich tłumaczeniach, w wyniku czego tłumaczenia te odpowiadają makro-strukturalnie założeniom autorów.

Introduction

Noam Chomsky in his work on universal grammar poses a question about how meanings are to be represented. In the context of a sentence, he also tacitly assumes that the semantic interpretation of a sentence is determined by universal, language-independent principles (Chomsky, 1970). However, N. Chomsky did not go beyond universal syntax stating “we might hope to establish a universal system of semantic features and laws” (Chomsky, 1970, pp.115-116). In the fifties, he admitted that “there is some promise of fruitful development” (Chomsky, 1970, p. 116). He proceeds to provide a simple example of the concept “knife” which must be specified in part of terms of features having to do with characteristic functions and in terms of an abstract evaluation feature. Thus two sentences “this is a good knife” and “this knife cuts well” bear the semantic relationship.

It is in the realm of text linguistics and translation studies that the missing gap has been closing in. A useful concept that has been introduced in text linguistics, particularly with relation to translation studies, is that of the invariant. In the context of

the paper, the term “macro-invariant” (may also be referred to as the invariant) has been proposed thus indicating that it refers to a language sample larger than a phrase, clause, and even sentence. The present study considers the concept of the macro-invariant in target texts of the French poet Charles Baudelaire’s grotesque. The poet’s aesthetic programme, namely, that of the grotesque, gained popularity across the English Channel. Modernity, novelty, high degree of individualization were some of the aspects that made him one of the most frequently translated French classics into English resulting in numerous target texts. In the “Oxford Dictionary of Literature in Translation”, there is a reference to 40 published book-length editions (France, 2001). The first literary disciples of C. Baudelaire in England were Swinburne, George Moore, Oscar Wilde, Arthur Symons, John Gould Fletcher, Richard Aldington, and Thomas Stern Eliot (Leakey, 2001). In his seminal essay “On the Essence of Laughter” published in 1855, C. Baudelaire defines grotesque from several aspects – incongruity, specific vocabulary, national character, the response (that grotesque evokes) (Baudelaire, 2008). He established the contemporary approach in literary studies to regard the grotesque as the aestheticization of the ugly to evoke specific effects. With his essay, C. Baudelaire expounded his theory of the grotesque that entails the coupling of unrelated and clashing concepts. The poem as a text elaborates not only the central image, but also supports the image through the macabre, gloomy and often tragic mood. In line with his theory of the grotesque, the poet equips the reader’s mindset with the approach (of suspense, surprise, also puzzlement) to the grotesque mode present in a large number of his poems. The grotesque fundamentally operates through contradictions and exaggerations (Adams, 1997). Felix Leakey characterizes the poet’s language as “the unexpected linkage of ideas and a paradoxical antithesis in which there is a linkage of two apparently incompatible ideas” (Leakey, 2001, pp.98-99). The translator Carol Clark notes that C. Baudelaire “deliberately and constantly breaks the rules of decorum and achieves poetic effects through studied mismatches” (Baudelaire, 1995, XV). Through this practice it is also possible to refer to the origin of the word “poet” from the Greek language “*poiein*” – ‘to create’, namely, the creator of the grotesque. If some of the lexicographic sources are considered, grotesque is often referred to as exaggeration, comic, absurd, derision, fantastic, unnatural combinations, extravagance, contrasts, supernatural, strangeness (Brown, 1993; Larousse, 1996; Cuddon, 1991; WEUDEL, 1996). In the light of text linguistics and translation studies, it should be admitted that “the author uses a code the readers might be familiar with and wants them to recognize that he has used this particular code” (Hermerén, 1975, p. 76). The standard procedure for eliciting the intended meaning from source texts (necessary to establish the macro-invariant between source and target texts) envisages at least two steps: 1) describing the linguistic and other conventions the author can have known and used, 2) showing that the text could or should be read as expressing the intention in question (1975). Thereto, texts of the grotesque highlight three types of meaning: 1) the intended meaning, which means the authorial meaning, 2) textual meaning, which is meaning according to conventions and traditions, 3) response meaning – defined in terms of effects. All the types of meanings are embedded structurally through the position of the text-specifier – *Point*. Consequently, the text of the grotesque may be described as a pattern of habitualization. Habitual realization of *Point* may structurally be located

either text-initially, text-medially, text-finally, and / or diffusely across the text (Chesterman, 1998). Habitual realization evokes the effect of the grotesque that binds the response meaning, namely, “the presence of clash, incongruity, or juxtaposition of two or more different or contradictory elements within the same work” (Fingesten, 1984, p. 420), or in terms of James Luther Adams – “the grotesque may evoke “shock, confusion, disorder, or contradiction” (Adams, 1997, p. 229). The code that is of particular interest in the present study is the macro-invariant of the grotesque in source and target texts. The topicality of macro-structures in translation studies and poetry translation is well put forth by James Holmes – “Not much close attention has been paid, up to now, to the question of exactly how the translator makes choices at the level of the macro-structure” (Holmes, 2005, p. 55). The established proponents of macro-structures include Carl James, James Holmes, Reinhard Hartmann, Andrew Chesterman, William Croft, Alan Cruse, Christiane Nord, and Katharina Reiss. The methodology of establishing the invariant is to establish certain foregrounded language instances in the texts of the grotesque. According to Mick Short, the foregrounded features are constitutive elements for the analysis (1996) and therefore indicative of the authorial intention which should not be abandoned in target texts. The foregrounded (or salient) features of the grotesque can be linked to lexical and semantic aspects of the grotesque. The vocabulary of C. Baudelaire’s poems is the most indicative of the foregrounded or salient features. The most typical word-stock of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque contains references to deformity, hybridity, formlessness, metamorphosis, synesthesia, also reptiles, the display of bodily functions, savagery, naturalism, the cycle of death and rebirth, anxiety, disharmony, pathology, etc. Such features bear a degree of similarity (between source and target texts) and Andrew Chesterman states that “entities are similar if they share at least one feature, and entities are the same if neither has the features that the other lacks” (Chesterman, 1998, p. 7). This will hold true with regard to certain semantic text models of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque that have been given the umbrella term – the macro-invariant. The invariant in theoretical sources has been defined followingly – 1) an abstraction that covers a group of language variants (VPSV, 2007; Baldunčiks, 2007); 2) the contours of the coherent design (Steiner, 1998); 3) the core that preserves the meaning of the source text message and influences the expressive form (Basnett, 1994); 4) semantic abstraction “which exists in common between all existing translations of a single work” (Basnett, 1994, p. 27); 5) macrostructure that contributes to the sense-making of the text (Alekseyeva, 2008). In the present paper, the invariant is linked with the translator’s decision-making at the macrostructural level of the text. For example, in a number (n) of target texts (T) the content of a theme-rheme, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, or verse has been expressed in a number of ways ($E = x$) by different translators. However, the same target text retains the content of the source text (i.e., the original), although every individual translator has used diverse components of the text’s macrostructure (lexis and punctuation in particular). It is possible to illustrate the invariant broadly in the following way:

$$n = T(x) / E(x).$$

If we take an example of a C. Baudelaire’s poem titled “Le Mort Joyeux”, we may collect from different target texts in English at least 4 translations made by James

McGowan, Francis Scarfe, Walter Martin, and Richard Howard. It is possible to establish the following statistical correspondence of the invariant:

$$n(ST I) = T(4) / E(3).$$

Because the titles of the four target texts illustrate three different translations (J. McGowan’s and R. Howard’s titles match), we may state that the invariant (the core content) of the poem’s original title (“Le Mort Joyeux”) has been rendered into three different ways (“The Happy Corpse” by J. McGowan and R. Howard; “Dead But Happy” by Francis Scarfe; “The Carefree Corpse” by W. Martin). Hence, the invariant can be presented as a relationship: $T(4) / E(3)$, where T stands for the number of target texts and E – for the number of the variants in target texts. In Part 1 of the present paper, however, the examples of the invariant of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque have been described from the perspectives of the translators’ decision-making regarding their individual preferences as to how the content of the French source texts was expressed lexically and semantically into English. Besides, the invariant of the text (namely, both source and target texts) is regarded as a parameter that allows to contrast text semantics in at least two language pairs.

Altogether 24 source and 80 target texts have been analyzed. Depending on the number of published translations 24 target texts have been produced by Francis Scarfe, 16 target texts – by James McGowan, 15 target texts – by Richard Howard, 16 target texts – by Walter Martin, 9 target texts – by Carol Clark. Types of the semantic organization of the text reflect the concept of foregrounding and thus bringing out the macro-invariant. The semantic organization of the text of the grotesque is subdivided into the following subtypes of the invariant – binary differential features, categorical contrasts (Dolinin, 2007), gradual opposition, semantic selection (Fromkin, 2000), lexical contrasts (Croft, 2010), juxtapositions (Chesters, 2010). After having established models of the macro-invariant, the constitutive element of the invariant – the associative link among the primary lexemes of the grotesque – has been studied.

1. Models of the macro-invariant of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque

The six extrapolated models of the macro-invariant of the grotesque have been described. The summary of the models is presented in the table below.

Table 1. Models of the Invariant and Their Definitions.

| Model: | Definition: |
|------------------------------|---|
| Binary differential features | The use of words belonging to unrelated or partially related semantic fields. For example, <i>a tree / a man</i> . |
| Violated semantic selections | A break in predictable word sequences (hence, syntagmatics), for example, the <i>sun melts</i> high in the sky (instead of <i>shines</i>). |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Categorical contrasts | Contrasts through the use of such conjunctions as <i>either...or</i> , <i>neither...nor</i> , the syntactic construction <i>not...but</i> ; for example, <i>not the pale moon, but a sinister, intoxicating moon</i> . |
| Gradual opposition | A construct where the meaning of an attribute is preceded and intensified by ‘ <i>so</i> ’, or ‘ <i>more</i> ’, and ‘ <i>even</i> + the comparative degree of the adjective’; for example, <i>so beautiful</i> ; <i>even lovelier</i> ; <i>more avid</i> . |
| Lexical opposition | Contrasts, antonymic constructs; for example, <i>good and bad</i> , <i>the living and the dead</i> . |
| Juxtapositions | An apposition consisting of disparate lexical items with one referent; for example, <i>John – a demanding boss and a caring father</i> . |

The examples discussed further in the paper refer to the models of the macro-invariant of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque, and the contrasts have been established between source and target texts. Contrasted samples of the invariant model (in French and English) establish the underlying theoretical assumption of the concept ‘macro-invariant’: irrespective of lexical and grammatical differences in a number of translations of the same source text (the original), the same core content may be established in the macro-structure (a segment that spans over more than one meaningful or categorematic word) of both source and target texts.

Binary differential features emphasize the presence of two various language items belonging to unrelated or partially related semantic fields. For example, the poem “Une charogne” (A Carcass) employs such lexemes as *charogne*, *pouriture*, *carcasse* / *soleil*, *cuire*, *fleur* (in English: *carcass*, *rottenness*, *cadaver* / *sun*, *cook*, *flower*). Also, in the poem “Le Mort Joyeux” (The Carefree Corpse), or the poem “Remords posthume” (Remorse after Death) where binary differential features include such lexemes as *tombeau* / *nuits* / *ver* / *mort* (in English: *tomb*, *nights*, *worm*, *death* / *beauty*, *fine black*).

The violation of semantic selections is a syntagmatic notion where predictable sequences are broken. Violations of semantic selection are referred to as the deformation of norms (Veidemane, 1977). In the case of the grotesque, semantic selections are broken because of the expected sequence – a misfitting word occurs. For example, in James McGowan’s translation of the poem “Une Martyre” (A Martyr) line 7 “flowers [are] encoffined in glass”, in Walter Martin’s translation – “flowers [are] trapped” (Baudelaire, 2006, p. 287), in Richard Howard’s translation line 5 – “lilies [are] sorrowing” (Baudelaire, 2010, p. 121). On the overall, translators tended to

accurately transfer the violation of semantic selections of the source texts into target texts, although lexical items vary from translator to translator. The function of such semantic violations is unpredictability that broadens the network of associations (Veidemane, 1977).

Between lexical items there may be categorical contrasts of different degrees, and they may be signaled by such conjunctions as “either...or”, “neither...nor”, or morphological formatives that indicate the degree of comparison – “more” or “less”. For instance, in the poem “La Muse Malade” (The Sick Muse) coordination in line 5 “*le succube verdâtre et le rose lutin*” (*the green-skinned succubus and the pink elf*) (Baudelaire, 1995, p. 10), apart from Richard Howard’s translation, all English translations preserve a French source text pattern of coordination through the use of the conjunction “and”. In general, this subtype of the invariant is seldom encountered in source and target texts of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque.

Gradual oppositions can be observed in the poem “Je t’adore à l’égal de la voûte nocturne” (I Love You as I Love the Night Itself). The French phrase in line 4 of the verse has several versions of gradual opposition in the target texts, for example, in James McGowan’s translation the opposition is indicated by the particle “so”, in Walter Martin’s, Francis Scarfe’s, Richard Howard’s and Carol Clark’s translations gradual opposition is expressed through the comparative degree of the adjective – *more avid, lovelier, more beautiful* (from French *plus belle*).

Lexical oppositions indicate contrasts. For example, in James McGowan’s translation of the poem “Un Fantôme” (A Phantom) line 6 “*black*” is opposed to “*light*”; in Carol Clark’s translation lines 3–4 “*black*” is opposed to “*luminous*”. Also, in the poem “Un Cheval de race” (A Thoroughbred) lexical oppositions appear in the use of such adjectives as *laide / délicieuse / exquise* (in Francis Scarfe’s translation: *ugly, magic, exquisite*).

Words of different semantic fields can be juxtaposed in the grotesque. “A juxtaposition of the disparate challenges the normal contiguity of lists” (Chesters, 2010, p. 12), and thus it produces an effect of poetic novelty. Grammatically, a syntactic apposition is formed – “a relationship of two or more words or phrases, such that the two units are grammatically parallel and have the same referent” (Chalker 1994, p. 30). The appended part denotes the same notion through specification or explanation (Kobrina, 1965). For example, in the source text “Les Tentations, ou Eros, Plutus et la Gloire” (Temptations, or Eros, Plutus and Glory) the attributive word group *serpent chatoyant* (in English: *a glistening snake*) is juxtaposed with *ceinture vivante* (in the English translation: *living belt*). Also, in the poem “Le Désir de peindre” (The Desire to Paint) the attributive nominal word groups – *soleil noir, astre noir* (*black sun / black star*) are juxtaposed. In the poem, attributive phrases are juxtaposed through syntactic parallelism – *la lune sinister et enivrante* (*sinister, intoxicating moon*).

In some poems, at least two subtypes of the macro-invariant can be discerned. For example, in the above-mentioned poem “Une Charogne” (A Carcass) such primary concepts as *charogne, pourriture, carcasse* (carcass, rotteness, cadaver) are juxtaposed, and the grotesque elaborates on secondary, i.e. supportive concepts such as *étrange, vague* (strange, vague) that serve as descriptors for the primary concepts. Juxtapositions and binary differential features are from several semantic fields –

physiology, flora and fauna. Violations of semantic selections operate through a simile containing disparate concepts – “*Et le ciel regardait la carcasse superbe / comme une fleur s’épanouir*” (And heaven watched the splendid corpse / like a flower open wide (Baudelaire, 2010, p. 35) in R. Howard’s translation; *And the sky cast an eye on this marvelous meat / as over the flowers in bloom* (Baudelaire, 2008, p.61) in J. McGowan’s translation; *The swelling hide burst open like a flower / As all heaven watched above it* (Baudelaire, 2006, p. 75) in W. Martin’s translation; *And heaven watched the splendid carcass unfolding like a flower* (Baudelaire, 1995, p. 28) in C. Clark’s translation). In the poem “Danse Macabre” (Dance of Death), the grotesque is realized mostly through juxtapositions by elaboration. The central concept – *the dance of death* is connected to related lexemes – *clavicules, crâne, squelette, armature, vertebres; douleur, cauchemar, crains, horreur, insanité; nausées, dégoûté* (clavicles, skull, skeleton, neck, armature, grief, nightmare, afraid, horror, madness, nausea, self-deceit). Binary differential features intensify the grotesque – *néant, caricature, sabbat, cauchemar, enfer, tombeau* (nothingness, caricature, Sabbath, nightmare, hell, tomb). The medieval allegory reflects the concept of the Dance of Death juxtaposed with *fête, sabbat, orgies* (festival, Sabbath, orgies). In the poem “Sépulture” (Burial), violations of semantic selection create a device of personification – *étoiles ferment leurs yeux* (stars are nodding their heads (Baudelaire, 2008, p.139) in J. McGowan’s translation; *planets renounce their vigilance* (Baudelaire, 2010, p. 72) in R. Howard’s translation; *stars await the dawn* (Baudelaire, 2006, p. 183) in W. Martin’s translation). Juxtapositions signal syntactic parallelism – *l’araignée y fera ses toiles / Et la vipère ses petits* (There the spider will weave her web / While the viper is giving berth; The spider has her web to tidy up / the viper’s brood must hatch; The spider starts to spin its web / And vipers twine to hatch their spawn (ibid, 139; 72; 183) in J. McGowan’s, R Howard’s, and W. Martin’s translations). Juxtaposition is created through an attributive phrase of inversion – *nuit lourde et sombre* (a woebegone night; some night will be dark enough; on a dark and gloomy night (ibid, 139; 71; 183) in J. McGowan’s, R Howard’s, and W. Martin’s translations), and through a postpositive nominal phrase – *cris des loups et des sorcières* (wolvish howls and witches’ moans; howling wolves and hags excite; the howling wolf-pack grieves and hags (ibid, 139; 72; 183) in J. McGowan’s, R Howard’s, and W. Martin’s translations) followed by syntactic parallelism of coordination – *les ébats des vieillards et les complots des filous* (Frolics of dirty old men / Plottings of black racketeers; old men to do their worst / while killers dice for victims; the thoughts of petty thieves and sons of bitches (ibid, 139; 72; 183) in J. McGowan’s, R Howard’s, and W. Martin’s translations). Separate juxtapositions are linked through binary differential features – *nuits/ araignée / vipère / cris / ébats / complots* (night / spider / viper / cries / frolics).

2. The constitutive element of the macro-invariant models – the associative link

Among the directly observable elements – text segments of the grotesque, sentences, clauses, phrases and, most notably, words – the structurally binding component is the associative link. Because C. Baudelaire’s poems are subject to the reader’s interpretation, associations evoked by the above described imagery of the macro-invariant of the grotesque can be referred to as a binding and constitutive element that bridges the semantic gap of the incongruous and often disparate lexical

items the poet used in order to construct the grotesque imagery and mood in many of his poems. A typical literary figure that may evoke associations is, for instance, personification. The cohesive device in the invariant of the grotesque - the association can be defined as “the shared connection between an object and ideas” (Cuddon, 1991, p.63). Associations may stem from an individual’s own unique sensory and behavioral experiences and the capacity of conceptual links that an individual can make. Because of the subjective nature, the associations of a single word in literature may differ from recipient to recipient. Besides, associative links of *idea–concept–stimulus* activate recipients’ imagination. Certain French poets of the 19th century are known to have induced a variety of associations that often verged on synaesthesia (transposition of senses) due to the use and abuse of opiate and sedative hypnotic substances, and C. Baudelaire wrote extensively, for example, about hashish and wine. Besides the negative evocations that associations may result in, they also help to order and structure the incoming stimuli, and, as a result, they underlie a copious imagery potential of any poem.

The above-mentioned models of the invariant present some lexemes among which the poet evokes associations. The primary lexemes of the macro-invariant models characteristic of C. Baudelaire’s grotesque are *carcass, rot, skeleton, twilight, succubus, phantom, snake, night*. Thus considering an example from the poem “A Martyr” in Richard Howard’s, Walter Martin’s, and James McGowan’s translations, the French source text segment “*mourant dans leurs cercueils de verre*” (Baudelaire, 2010, p. 299) has been rendered as “*lilies are sorrowing*” (ibid, p.121) in R. Howard’s translation, “*flowers are trapped*” (Baudelaire, 2006, p. 287) in W. Martin’s translation, “*flowers are encoffined in glass*” (Baudelaire, 2008, p. 229) in J. McGowan’s translation. Thus associations evoked by the source text segment in the translators’ minds tend to manifest themselves as diverse target text segments that can help the reader to discern the invariant from several meaningful perspectives. The target segments are directly related to the conceptual representation of a noun *vase*, and a verb *to wither*. In English, associations are either inferable or they may be referred to in online reference sources such as www.wordassociations.net. The following screen snapshot illustrates associative references to the word *phantom* (mentioned in the invariant model of lexical opposition).

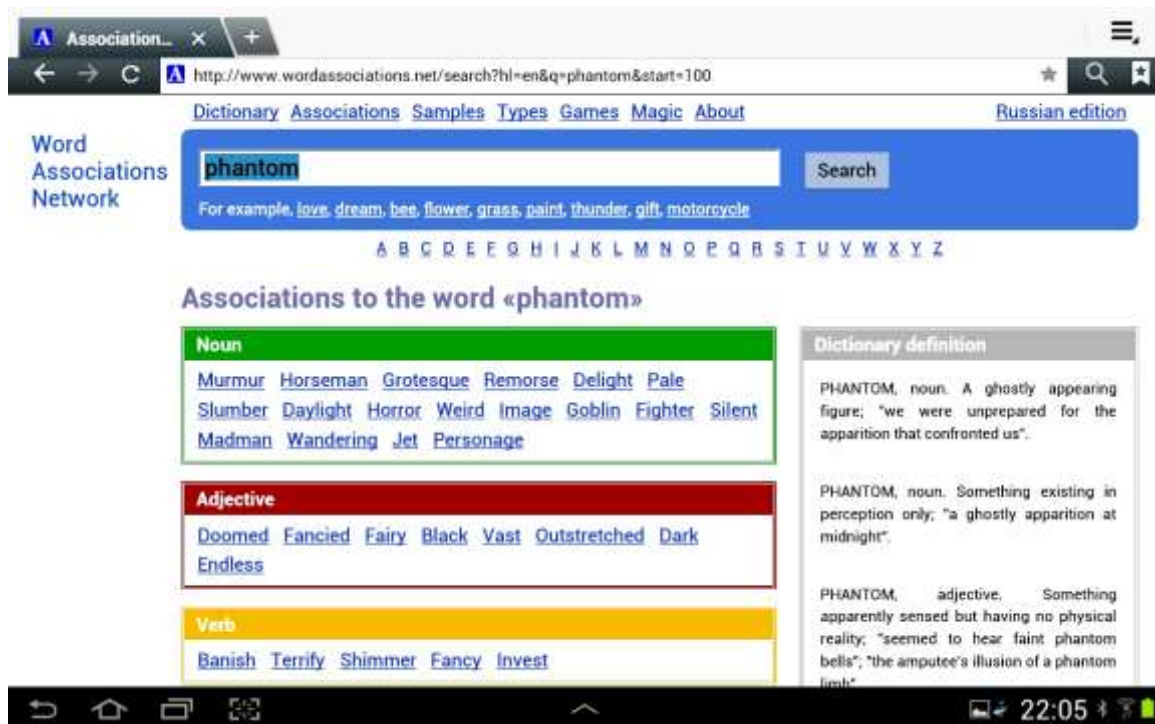


Figure 1. Snapshot of *www.wordassociations.net*

Besides the captured nouns, also certain verbs and adjectives may be associatively linked with the concept *phantom* – (verbs) *haunt, evoke, glide, loom, beckon, behold, etc.*; (adjectives) *grim, mysterious, glassy, etc.* In the table below some of the typical associative lexemes linked to the headword have been provided and that may facilitate the interpretation of C. Baudelaire’s poems of the grotesque.

Table 2. Headwords and Their Associative Concepts.

| Headword | Associative concepts |
|----------|---|
| black | (noun) <i>spectre</i> (adjectives) <i>white, shiny</i> |
| bury | (nouns) <i>coffin, tomb, grave</i> (verbs) <i>inter, resurrect</i> |
| carcass | (adjectives) <i>putrid, bloated, dead, loathsome</i> (verbs) <i>rot, reek, foul</i> |
| flower | (noun) <i>decoration</i> (adjective) <i>delicate</i> (verbs) <i>pluck, beautify, limpid, symbolical</i> |

| | |
|----------|--|
| night | (adjectives) <i>sleepless, haunted, moonlit, starry, fateful, hideous, drear, , dark, restless, stealthy, feverish</i> |
| Rot | (adjectives) <i>decaying, stinking, foul, bloated</i> (verbs) <i>rot, reek, foul</i> |
| snake | (nouns) <i>coil, twisting, tail, cable</i> (adjectives) <i>sinuous, venomous, twisted, twining</i> |
| succubus | (nouns) <i>demons, devil, female</i> (verb) <i>seduce</i> (adjective) <i>evil</i> |
| twilight | (adjectives) <i>ghostly, luminous, shadowy</i> (verbs) <i>gloom, dusk</i> |

For the conclusions it is possible to state that the patterns of the invariant of the grotesque are frequently exhibited through grammatical devices such as parallel structure and comparison, junctive and contrajunctive expressions, and lexical organization. Grammatical devices, however, are only text cohesive elements of the larger macro-structure of the grotesque – the macro-invariant (namely, the core content that establishes semantic links and meaningful analogies between target texts and source texts). The two most frequent realizations of the macro-invariant in the grotesque are juxtapositions and binary differential features. Juxtapositions may be of different kinds – coordinated parts of speech, syntactic parallelism, nominal phrases, and comparisons. Another most frequent textual organization is the use of binary differential features where words of different semantic fields contribute to the organization of the grotesque. It has been noted that several poems exhibit several patterns of the macro-invariant. However, individual translators' preferences for lexical variations should be further analyzed micro-linguistically and contrastively. Besides, the cohesion in the models of the invariant in the texts of the grotesque has been achieved with the help of establishing associative links among the primary lexemes. The study of the concept of the macro-invariant in the text semantics of translations can also be applied more broadly to the study of texts not only bilingually, but also tri-lingually and multi-lingually). Contrastive linguistic studies of the macro-invariant may also be applied in the analysis and interpretation of semantic and lexical differences in the work of various translators and therefore may be of a methodological value.

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TRAINING COMPENSATORY AND COOPERATIVE COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN THE EFL CLASSROOM

Abstract

Foreign language learners often experience a discrepancy between their communicative intention (what they would like to say) and their knowledge of the target language. The ability of the learner to bridge the gap between his communicative needs and his limited communicative resources is one of the constituents of communicative competence. Developing strategic competence, one of the four components of communicative competence, results in improved conversational effectiveness of L2 learners. However, there is some controversy around teaching and teachability of communication strategies in the EFL classroom. The primary focus of this article is the consideration of communication strategies from a pedagogical perspective and investigating the possible benefits of introducing communication strategy training into a foreign language classroom.

Streszczenie

Badacze zajmujący się glottodydaktyką zgadzają się co do faktu, że rozwijanie kompetencji strategicznej, jednego z czterech elementów kompetencji komunikacyjnej, w znacznym stopniu wpływa na biegłość językową i umiejętności konwersacyjne ucznia. Efektywne strategie pomagające uczniom radzić sobie z problemami w komunikacji są niezbędne w nauce języka obcego, jednak nauczyciele rzadko wprowadzają na lekcjach elementy treningu strategicznego, co w dużej mierze wynika z faktu, że podręczniki zawierają niewiele materiałów przeznaczonych do tego celu. Artykuł ten jest próbą spojrzenia na problem strategii komunikacyjnych z perspektywy pedagogicznej i znalezienia odpowiedzi na pytanie jaki wpływ może mieć trening strategii kompensacyjnych i kooperacyjnych na posługiwanie się tymi strategiami przez uczniów. Na początku przedstawione zostały definicje oraz zarys istniejących taksonomii strategii komunikacyjnych. Następnie omawiam kontrowersje dotyczące uczenia strategii komunikacyjnych oraz przedstawiam możliwe zalety wprowadzania treningu z zakresu tych strategii na lekcjach języka obcego.

Introduction

Achieving communicative competence is considered the main goal of learning and teaching a foreign language. It is important to appreciate the fact that on the way to achieving this goal a foreign language learner goes through a series of intermediary stages when his or her communicative competence is to a greater or lesser degree remote from native-like competence, however, allows him or her to attain certain communicative goals.

Speaking is a difficult skill, especially in a foreign language, and conversation itself is a complex and multifaceted activity. To perform this activity students need

both motor skills, such as “perceiving, recalling and articulating in the correct order sounds and structures of the language” (Bygate, 1987:5), and interactional skills, which involve “making decisions about communication, such as: what to say, how to say it, and whether to develop it, in accordance with one’s intentions, while maintaining the desired relations with others” (ibid.: 6). According to communicative language teaching (CLT) approach, conversational skills come automatically with exposure to and using the target language. However, a more recent approach to the problem is based on a premise that conversational competence should be developed by combining traditional communicative activities with a more direct approach involving “fostering the students’ awareness of conversation and increasing their sensitivity to the underlying processes” (Dörnyei and Thurrell, 1992:x). The use of communication strategies, means of overcoming communication breakdowns and enhancing fluency, is an important aspect of this conversational competence.

1. Taxonomies of Communication Strategies

Following Ellis (1994), we can distinguish two broad theoretical approaches to communication strategies. In one of them, the *interactional approach*, CmSs are viewed as discourse strategies manifesting themselves in interactions involving language learners. In the *psycholinguistic approach* they are considered to be cognitive processes typical in language reception and production not only in L2 but also used by native speakers in their L1.

1.1. TCD taxonomy

One of the earliest taxonomies was proposed in a paper by Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1983; originally published in 1976) and has been referred to by some researchers as the TCD taxonomy. In an attempt to systematize what had been said and written about CmSs up to date, the authors developed a working typology of CmSs referring to four levels of language: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. The identified types of CmSs included:

1) Transfer from NL

In this category only negative (observable) transfer is considered; it results in “utterances that are not just inappropriate but actually incorrect by native standards” (Tarone, Cohen, Dumas 1983: 5). An example of a lexical transfer provided by the authors is: *Je sais Jean* instead of *Je connais Jean*.

2) Overgeneralization

It is defined as “application of a rule of the target language to inappropriate target language forms or contexts” (p. 5). At the lexical level, an example of overgeneralization would be using the word *pretty*, as in *He is pretty*, while being unaware of its semantic limitations.

3) Prefabricated pattern

It is a structure which is used regularly by the learner but without the knowledge of its underlying structure; according to the authors this strategy occurs only in the syntactic domain.

4) Overelaboration

It occurs when a learner, “in an attempt to produce careful target language utterances, produces utterances which seem stilted or inadequately formal” (ibid.: 9). An example furnished by the authors: *The people next door are rather indigent*, where *poor* instead of *indigent* would be more appropriate.

5) Epenthesis

It is limited to the phonological domain and refers to the insertion of the vowel ‘schwa’ to facilitate the articulation of consonant clusters.

6) Avoidance

Under this category, the authors locate “all different means of getting around target language rules or forms which are not yet an established part of the learner’s competence” (ibid.: 10). Avoidance covers:

- a. **Topic avoidance** - e.g. avoiding to talk about one’s work due to lack of technical vocabulary; it may take the form of either a (i) *change of topic* or (ii) *no verbal response at all*.
- b. **Semantic avoidance** - talking about related concepts when the appropriate TL rules and forms are not available.
- c. **Appeal to authority** - asking someone else to supply the missing form or lexical item, asking if a form or item is correct or looking it up in a dictionary.
- d. **Paraphrase** – “rewording of the message in an alternate, acceptable, target language construction, in order to avoid a more difficult form or construction” (ibid.: 10). In the area of lexical paraphrase the authors differentiate between using a (i) **high coverage word**, e.g. *tool* for *wrench*; using a (ii) **low frequency word**, e.g. *labour* for *work*; (iii) **word coinage**, creating a non-existent word, e.g. *airball* for *balloon* and (iv) **circumlocution**, i.e. a description of the concept or a definition, e.g. *a thing you dry your hands on*.
- e. **Message abandonment** - stopping half-way through an utterance when running into a difficulty.
- f. **Language switch** - inserting a native language word or expression into the utterance; it can be motivated either *linguistically*, when the lexical item needed is not accessible, or *socially*, i.e. by the desire to comply with the group.

The above typology is a profligate list of different categories and subtypes, however, given its product-oriented nature, it does not seem to exhaust the possible number of CmS categories. Moreover, Tarone herself admitted that: “[...] it is clear that any such attempt to establish an enlightening typology of clear-cut mutually-exclusive communication strategies is bound to run into trouble as soon as we begin to deal with real data” (Tarone 1977: 197).

1.2 Tarone's typology

Tarone focuses on the CmSs in the lexical domain and reduces the number of categories (in comparison to the TCD taxonomy). Her typology was devised on the basis of a small seminal study in which nine intermediate adult learners of English from different language backgrounds were asked to perform a picture description task in their NL as well as TL. After the analysis of the transcribed data, five main categories were distinguished: *avoidance*, *paraphrase*, *conscious transfer*, *appeal for assistance* and *mime*. Most categories correspond to their equivalents in the TCD taxonomy, however, Tarone reduces their number and organizes them differently into subtypes:

1. **Avoidance** (TCD)
 - a. **topic avoidance** (TCD).
 - b. **message abandonment** (TCD).
2. **Paraphrase**

Tarone slightly altered its definition: “rewording of the message in an alternate, acceptable, target language construction, in situations where the appropriate form or construction is not known or not yet stable” (Tarone, 1977: 198). Its basic types are:

- a. **Approximation** – “the use of a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the learner” (p. 198); here the author includes both low- and high-coverage words as well as other word substitutions which “operate at more or less the same level of generality, but are simply inappropriate” e.g. *lamp* for *waterpipe*.
 - b. **Word Coinage** (TCD).
 - c. **Circumlocution** (TCD).
3. **Conscious transfer** – later renamed as **borrowing** (Tarone, 1983).

It must be noted that in comparison to TCD conceptualization, Tarone does not consider transfer only in the negative sense of interference. Transfer is based on similarities between the languages involved (usually L1 and L2 but sometimes L3 is also implicated) and it may from time to time result in producing an item which already exists in TL.

- a. **Literal translation** - translating word for word from the native language; e.g. a Mandarin speaker translating literally the Mandarin expression: *He invites him to drink* in order to describe two people toasting one another.
 - b. **Language switch** (TCD)
4. **Appeal for assistance** (‘appeal to authority’ in TCD).
5. **Mime** - the use of non-verbal strategies; Tarone is the first to include this category in relation to CmSs.

1.3 Faerch and Kasper's classification

Faerch and Kasper's conceptualization of CmSs is strictly related to the model of speech production which they propose. While producing L2 speech, a learner may encounter problems either in the *planning phase* (the learner feels that his linguistic resources are insufficient for executing his plan) or in the *execution phase* (a problem with retrieving the rules or items included in the plan). The learner has two options: he can either avoid the problem which leads to a change of the communicative goal and reduction strategies, or face the problem and develop an alternative plan which leads to achievement strategies.

1. Reduction strategies

- formal reduction
- functional reduction:
 - a. **topic avoidance** (cf. TCD)
 - b. **message abandonment** (cf. TCD)
 - c. **meaning replacement**

2. Achievement strategies

- retrieval strategies
- compensatory strategies
 - based on a different code
 - a. **code switching**
 - b. **interlingual transfer**
 - based on a different code and the IL code
 - inter-/intralingual transfer** (generalizing of an IL rule under the influence of the corresponding L1 structures; e.g. Danish learners of English generalizing the regular suffix -ed to irregular verbs on the basis of the Danish distribution of regular and irregular verbs)
 - based only on the IL code
 - a. **generalization** (Tarone's 'approximation')
 - b. **paraphrase** (in the form of **descriptions**, **circumlocutions** or **exemplifications**)
 - c. **word coinage**
 - d. **restructuring** (the learner stops when realizing a problem and restructures the utterance so as to communicate the message without message reduction)
 - discourse phenomena
 - a. **cooperative strategies** (direct and indirect appeals)
 - b. **non-linguistic strategies** (mime, gesture, sound-imitation)

2. Approaches to teaching communication strategies

The taxonomic and analytic differences in the approaches of ‘the Pros’ and ‘the Cons’ are accompanied by conflicting opinions on the issue of teachability of CmSs. In general, the researchers adopting the ‘conservative’ approach question the validity and usefulness of CmS instruction; Kellerman’s notable statement illustrates this point vividly: “Teach the learners more language and let the strategies look after themselves” (Kellerman, 1991; quoted in Yule and Tarone, 1997; p. 28). In contrast to this position, ‘the Pros’ are the proponents of CmS instruction. The arguments of both groups are outlined below.

2.1 Against strategy instruction

Two major arguments refuting the usefulness of strategy instruction are often deployed. First of all, from the psycholinguistic perspective, CmSs are reflections of underlying psychological processes and as such cannot be taught. As Yule and Tarone put it: “[...] strategies employed in creating L2 reference are perceived within the Cons’ approach to be essentially cognitive processes [...] teaching them would amount to an attempt to teach cognitive processing” (1997: 28).

Another argument against CmS teaching is that they are already developed in relation to L1 production and are transferable to the L2 context. What is suggested by the supporters of this view as an alternative to direct strategy instruction is providing the students with opportunities to foster the CmSs, which are part of their L1 strategic competence, by practice in authentic communication tasks.

Moreover, it should be noted that employing strategies in order to communicate may have an adverse effect on the development of linguistic competence and lead to fossilization of incorrect but communicatively effective IL forms. Matuszek (1991) rightly points out that strategic training cannot replace functional approach and grammar and vocabulary learning; it can only be used to supplement the regular language courses.

2.2 In support of strategy instruction

The perspective supporting direct CmS teaching is based on a lower-order description of CmSs and the main assumption behind it is that “in strategic terms, performance creates competence” (Yule and Tarone 1997: 29).

For Corder (1983) “it is a part of good language teaching to encourage resource expansion strategies and [...] successful strategies of communication may eventually lead to language learning” (p.17). In his view the need for CmS instruction is clear and uncontroversial, however, the nature of such instruction and its content is left unspecified.

Færch and Kasper (1983b) also admit that “it seems desirable that learners should be made aware of the communicative problems they might encounter, and of the devices they can use in order to solve them” (p. 32). Similarly to Corder, the authors advocate promoting achievement rather than avoidance behaviour. They particularly emphasize the usefulness of developing those strategies which enhance language acquisition through hypothesis formation (inter- and intralingual transfer, generalization, word coinage, appeal for assistance and mime) and retrieval strategies, playing an important role in the automatization process.

Haastrup and Phillipson (1983) agree with Faerch and Kasper's view that communication strategy instruction should involve consciousness raising. They also emphasize that strategy teaching should not be viewed as "a substitute for vocabulary learning, but as a useful supplement, involving attention to a different aspect of the learner's communicative competence" (p.157).

Tarone and Yule (1989) argue: "[...] for the purpose of developing communication strategies, we feel that a more focused and even explicitly didactic approach is possible. We differ in our approach from other researchers, who argue that communication strategies cannot be explicitly taught" (p. 114).

3. The benefits of communication strategy instruction

3.1 Strategic competence as part of the learner's communicative competence

There are quite a few convincing arguments in favour of communication strategy instruction in a FL classroom. First of all, strategic competence is an important component of communicative competence. Researchers deploying this argument (e.g. Manchon, 2000; Dörnyei, 1995) maintain that L2 learners will not become aware of strategies, nor will they use them effectively in L2 communication, unless an effort is made to draw their attention to this particular aspect of their competence. Enhancing this metacognitive awareness in the learners should be the aim of explicit teaching.

3.2 Transfer of L1 skills

Another argument, deferring one of the strongest points made against the utility of strategy training, is that L1 skills are not always transferred to L2. Faucette (2001) reports a study by Mendelsohn (1995)¹ on listening strategies in which the author concludes that: "often people use certain helpful listening strategies in their first language, but they fail to transfer those strategies over to their second language listening" (quoted in Faucette, 2001; p.5). Faucette argues that the same is often true in the case of communication strategies. The author invokes other studies of learning indicating that experience with particular problems often yields little transfer to similar problems unless a conscious effort is made to direct the learner's attention to the parallels in those problems. "It seems that transfer between problems relies on individuals *noticing* and making use of the similarities between problems" (Najar, 1992)².

Thus, the need for training is justified on the grounds that learners' attention must be drawn to the strategies available to them, including those they already use in their L1. In other words, teachers should remind students of what they already do in their L1 and encourage them to do the same in L2.

¹ Mendelsohn, D. J. (1995). Applying learning strategies in the second/foreign language listening comprehension lesson. D. Mendelsohn & J. Rubin (Eds.), *A guide for the teaching of second language listening*. San Diego, CA: Dominie Press.

² Najar, R. (1992). *Transfer of training in second language tasks*. Unpublished MA thesis; quoted in Faucette (2001)

Furthermore, it has been suggested that despite the fact that learners already have communication strategies in L1 at their disposal, they may not use them often enough, appropriately, efficiently, and spontaneously in the L2. It is a consequence of the fact that a learner faces a wider range of problems in L2 communication than in L1 communication. L2 communication poses more processing demands on the speaker because of his IL deficits, lack of automatization and inefficiency in accessing and using his knowledge (Manchon, 2000). Thus, explicit instruction may enhance strategic transfer and help learners develop and automatize more effective strategies.

3.3 Bridging the gap between classroom and real-life communication

Faerch and Kasper (1983b) suggest that there will always exist an “inevitable gap between classroom interaction and various communicative situations outside the classroom” (p.56). According to the authors, in the case of general English courses, especially those offered within school programmes, it is impossible to predict reliably the learners’ specific communicative needs. In such circumstances, “instead of basing a syllabus on a rather unrealistic assumption that it should prevent the learner from running into communicative problems, one can adopt an alternative approach which acknowledges the potential problematicity of FL communication, and incorporate ways of dealing with such problems into the syllabus” (p. 31). CmSs are devices which may enable learners to deal with such problems, and consequently to “bridge the gap [...] between pedagogic and non-pedagogic communicative situations” (p. 56); in other words between the classroom and real-life communication.

It has also been emphasized (e.g. Faucette, 2001; Dörnyei and Thurrell, 1992) that with the use of achievement or interactive strategies L2 learners create opportunities to stay in the conversation and thus to receive more input. Learners should be explicitly cautioned against withdrawing from conversation when they face lexical problems and encouraged to “negotiate meaning” and to use CmSs to “keep the communication channel open”.

3.4 Security, self-confidence and motivation to communicate

Communication strategy training may contribute to enhancing the student’s sense of security and self-confidence when attempting to communicate using his limited IL resources (Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1991). As a consequence, learners confidently employing CmSs when facing difficulty and realizing their success in communicating what they want to say, will become more motivated to speak in the target language. This is particularly important in the case of less proficient, often inhibited students who, without the strategic tools to maintain the conversation are likely to quit.

Moreover, by developing confidence in learners, strategy training also “facilitates spontaneous improvisation skills and linguistic creativity” (Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1991: 22). This aspect of CmS instruction is also highlighted by Manchon (2000):

Having the possibility of using CS can facilitate the task of using the L2 for some learners, especially those who lack confidence in their own resources or those less capable, linguistically speaking. For instance, being aware of the

fact that one does not always have to use the exact word in order to be communicatively effective, can push the student into the search for alternative means to convey his/her intended meaning. This search, in turn, can contribute to the creative use of the learner's linguistic resources, which is another reason to foster the learner's strategic competence (p. 21).

3.5 Learner Autonomy

Promoting autonomous learning is one of the widely accepted goals of strategy training. Faucette (2001) argues that “learner autonomy is one of the most significant goals of communication strategy training” (p.19). The author emphasizes that to become fully autonomous participants in real communication outside the classroom L2 learners must first be skilful strategy users. To help them in achieving that goal the teacher cannot ignore communication strategies in the classroom; he must seek to equip them with the strategic tools via awareness raising and practice activities.

Wilczyńska (1999) sees developing the awareness of communication strategies in the classroom as a part of enhancing the learners’ *communicative self-awareness* (p.79). The author emphasizes that dealing with communication problems due to IL deficits as well as the ability to ‘transform’ those deficits (temporarily compensated for in communication with the use of CmSs) into learning goals are both important aspects of the language learners’ autonomy.

4. How to implement communication strategy training

In general, the strategies which are recommended for teaching are ‘risk-taking’ achievement strategies (Corder, 1983; Faerch and Kasper, 1983b). They encourage hypothesis formation and testing and enhance the process of automatization, as well as “keep the communication channel open” providing the learner with opportunities for receiving comprehensible input and practicing the IL.

The recommendable strategies include (Faucette, 2001):

- the two conceptual strategies of approximation and circumlocution;
- TL-based code strategies, i.e. word coinage and possibly foreignizing, depending on the L1 and how useful foreignizing would be in the L2;
- appeal for assistance (if verbal then in TL);
- (possibly) time-stalling devices.

Moreover, learners should be encouraged to rely on their TL knowledge (however limited) rather than resorting to L1. They should be encouraged to take risks and make use of their all resources without being afraid of making errors. Finally, the learners must be made aware that the use of a communication strategy is not an indication of communication failure; on the contrary, it can be very successful in compensating for the lack of linguistic knowledge (Faucette, 2001).

Dörnyei (1995) suggests six guidelines for a direct approach to teaching communication strategies. These are:

1. Raising learner awareness about the nature and communicative potential of CmSs (making learners aware of the strategies which are already in their L1 repertoire and making them realize in which situations they work).
2. Encouraging students to be willing to take risks and use CmSs.
3. Providing models of the use of certain CmSs (e.g. through demonstrations, tape-recorded materials and videos; a useful technique is also recording the students' own performance on tasks and analysing it afterwards).
4. Highlighting cross-cultural differences in CmS use (the learners must be made aware which CmSs are appropriate in various cultures and how they may be verbalized).
5. Teaching CmSs directly ('by presenting linguistic devices to verbalize CmSs which have a finite range of surface structure realizations' (p. 64); in other words by providing the students with the adequate procedural vocabulary; see below).
6. Providing opportunities for practice (necessary for the automatization process).

Many researchers emphasize the importance of incorporating certain 'core' vocabulary and structures into CmS training (Dörnyei, 1995, Dörnyei and Thurrell, 1991, 1992, 1994; Tarone and Yule, 1989). This *procedural vocabulary* includes lexical items and formulaic expressions often used to formulate definitions, paraphrases or explanations. The authors suggest that certain linguistic expressions are worth teaching because they constantly prove to be useful in CmSs (e.g. in the description of shape: *circular, flat, square, like a plate, bowl-shaped, triangular*; locative phrases such as *on each end, in the middle, on the rim, two inches from the top*, instructional verbs such as *put, take pick up, set down, turn etc*). Moreover, they propose that the teacher should encourage the use of monolingual dictionaries, which make use of certain 'defining terms'. Following Nelson³, the authors also argue in favour of teaching L2 learners which *initial strategies* may be more effective and economical in a given situation. Some objects are easier to identify when one begins with expressions like: "it's a kind of..." (e.g. a racing car); others, when we begin with: "It's a part of" (e.g. a steering wheel). Some objects are best described in terms of function (e.g. a corkscrew), and others when the speaker specifies the "associated circumstances" or "typical context of occurrence" (e.g. a crutch is best referred to by a phrase *'you need it when you break a leg'*).

Conclusion

Language instructors have a responsibility to help learners improve their communicative ability. Since non-native speakers often find themselves lacking the linguistic resources needed to communicate their intended message, it seems natural that language teachers should foster strategic competence among students. Teaching achievement communication strategies enables students to participate in communication by helping them to not give up in the conversation; consequently, it prepares learners for autonomous and spontaneous language use outside the classroom, which can be considered the primary goal of language teaching.

³ Nelson, E. (1989) 'Teaching Communication Strategies'. Unpublished manuscript, University of Minnesota. Reported in Tarone and Yule (1989).

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**AMERYKAŃSKA MYŚL TRANSCENDENTALNA
W KULTURZE I LITERATURZE STANÓW ZJEDNOCZONYCH**

Abstract

The paper presents American transcendentalism as a philosophical, cultural and literary movement with no clearly defined boundaries. It inspired the most recognizable literary transformation in the 19th century and paved the way to America's gradual withdrawal from European patterns of thought and tradition. The philosophical concepts as introduced in the works of such great New England thinkers as R. W. Emerson, H. D. Thoreau and W. Whitman discredited Europe's cultural hegemony and gave birth to America's new mentality and the formation of its unique self. Transcendentally, wilderness and nature as well as individualism, self-reliance and democracy have become the most noticeable features of American cultural identity.

Streszczenie

Artykuł ukazuje amerykański transcendentalizm jako ruch filozoficzny, kulturowy i literacki bez jasno określonych granic. Transcendentalizm zapoczątkował najbardziej widoczną transformację w literaturze XIX wieku i przyczynił się do stopniowego uniezależnienia się Ameryki od europejskich wzorców myśli i tradycji. Idee filozoficzne prezentowane w dziełach wielkich myślicieli nowoangielskich, takich jak R. W. Emerson, H. W. Thoreau i W. Whitman, podważały kulturową hegemonię Europy oraz dały początek nowej mentalności i niepowtarzalnej tożsamości Ameryki. Dzikość, przyroda, indywidualizm, samodzielność i demokracja stały się najistotniejszymi cechami amerykańskiej tożsamości kulturowej.

Ideologia transcendentalizmu utożsamianego z ruchem *sensu stricto* amerykańskim, który wyrósł na gruncie nowoangielskim, ukształtowała amerykańską umysłowość warunkując filozoficzne, społeczne i literackie odrodzenie młodego państwa. Czerpiąc inspirację z romantyzmu europejskiego i myśli orientalnej, transcendentalizm obfitował w wiele sprzeczności. Jako ruch programowo ahistoryczny kontynuował purytańską tradycję moralizatorską, a odzegnując się od kulturowego dziedzictwa Europy łączył w sobie *de facto* wpływy pięciu źródeł: neoplatonizmu, niemieckiego idealizmu i mistycyzmu, francuskich doktryn utopijnych oraz purytańskiej tradycji szkockiej i kwakerskiej, a także mistycznej filozofii Wschodu. W sferze literatury transcendentalizm pobudził tak zwany renesans amerykański, który uznawany jest za najbardziej doniosły zryw literacki XIX-wiecznej Ameryki, stopniowo prowadzący do ostatecznego uniezależnienia od europejskiej historii i hegemonii kulturowej.

Precyzyjna definicja doktryny, często kojarzonej z ruchem religijno-filozoficznym, pozostaje kwestią sporną. Nowoangielski fenomen, któremu przypisuje się brak uporządkowania i formalnego zorganizowania, przynależy do systemu z pogranicza rozważań filozoficznych. Transcendentaliści nie wytworzyli klarownej doktryny, lecz zaproponowali szereg idei, będących eklektycznym połączeniem koncepcji przedstawionych nieco wcześniej w Niemczech, Anglii czy Francji. Przetworzona i zaadaptowana na gruncie amerykańskim postoświeceniowa filozofia w postaci nowoangielskiej myśli transcendentalnej pozwala zaklasyfikować się jako „fragment dość powszechnej, romantycznej reakcji na oświeceniowy racjonalizm z jednej strony i na skostniałe formy tradycyjnej religijności – z drugiej; reakcji w imię >>czucia i wiary<< przeciwko >>szkiełku i oku<<”⁴. Obiegowe określenie transcendentalizmu autorstwa jednego z czołowych jego wyznawców, Ralpha Waldo Emersona, który ukuł termin „the party of the future” (partia przyszłości), przeciwstawione jest pojęciu „the party of the past” (partii przeszłości), reprezentującej przywiązanie do tradycji. J. E. Cabot, uznany krytyk ruchu, wyraził swój pogląd odnosząc się do systemu wartości grupy myślicieli z Concord, twierdząc: „Pojęcie >>transcendentalny<< mieściło w sobie wszystko, co leżało poza ogólnie przyjętymi zasadami i tradycyjnymi przekonaniami” (Cieplińska, 2005, s. 7). Sumując złożoność obrazu amerykańskiego transcendentalizmu, Andrzej Kopcewicz i Krystyna Sienicka przekonują, że określenie właściwe dla rzeczonoego ruchu „oddaje [jego – K.H.] młodzieńczy rozmach i optymizm [...], poczucie nowatorstwa, odżegnywanie się od przeszłości” (Kopcewicz, Sienicka, 1983, s. 241). Współcześni amerykańscy badacze parający się problematyką transcendentalną dodają: „Transcendentalizm to wybuch entuzjazmu, fala uczuć, oddech umysłu” (Cieplińska, 2005, s. 7).

Nazwa „transcendentaliści” *per se*, stosowana w odniesieniu do grona amerykańskich myślicieli, może wydawać się wątpliwie adekwatna. Idealizm i transcendentalizm zwykło się uznawać za charakterystyczny rys filozofii Immanuela Kanta. Uzasadnienie zastosowania nazwy w ujęciu amerykańskim wyraża się w tezie, w myśl której intuicja, jaką dysponujemy, zdolna jest „transcendentować” (przekraczać) ograniczenia narzucane przez naszą cielesność, przez rozum, zmysły, tradycję, usankcjonowane doktryny kościoła i politykę rządową. Uzasadnienie nazewnictwa amerykańskiej zjawiskowości odnosi się raczej do etymologii terminu „transcendentalny” (ang. *transcend*) niż do filozofii Kanta, choć zarówno geneza przyjętej przez transcendentalistów nazwy, jak i przedział czasowy transcendentalizmu, wciąż pozostają niezdefiniowane do końca.

Kolebką amerykańskiej myśli transcendentalnej stało się miasteczko Concord w stanie Massachusetts. Z początkiem XIX wieku wokół „mędrca z Concord”, jak nazywano Emersona, zgromadziła się awangarda filozoficzna i literacka, której trzon stanowili bostończycy, absolwenci Uniwersytetu Harvarda, wywodzący się z rodzin duszpasterskich bądź prawniczych, parający się kaznodziejstwem, krytyką literacką, eseistyką, poezją. W 1836 roku, w dwóchsetlecie powstania Harvardu, zawiązał się Klub Transcendentalistów (*Transcendental Club*), w którym swoją obecność nader wyraźnie zaznaczyli Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888), Frederic Henry Hedge (1805-

⁴ Posłowie. Emerson i przesłanie wiary w siebie, P. Gutowski, 2005, W: R. W. Emerson, *Natura. Amerykański uczoney* (s. 85). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Zielona Sowa. Jeśli nie podano nazwiska tłumacza, wszystkie oryginalne cytaty przedstawiono w przekładzie własnym [K.H.].

1890), George Ripley (1802-1880), Margaret Fuller (1810-1850), Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) oraz Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), formułując podstawowe założenia ideologiczne transcendentalizmu.

U podstaw światopoglądu transcendentalnego leży idealizm monistyczny zakładający możliwość intuicyjnego poznania wszechświata bez odwoływania się do świadectwa zmysłów i racjonalnych metod naukowych. Siłę poznania intuicyjnego, w którego nieograniczone możliwości wierzyli amerykańscy myśliciele, towarzyszyło przekonanie o prawdzie absolutnej związanej z ponadczasowymi prawami rzeczywistości duchowej wszechświata, której emanacją był świat natury. Transcendentaliści propagowali antymechanistyczną koncepcję wszechświata, w którym natura – jak przekonywali – przeniknięta jest immanentną boskością. Człowiek, jako najdoskonalszy twór przyrody, predestynowany jest do zgłębienia istoty boskości świata drogą kontemplacji symbolicznych form natury. Zasadę osobistego, mistycznego kontaktu człowieka z Bogiem Perry Miller postrzega jako „kontynuację purytańskiego pragnienia dotarcia do istoty świętości we wszechświecie bez pośrednictwa rytuału, ceremonii, mszy świętej i konfesjonau” (Kopcewicz, Sienicka, 1983, s. 247). Zainteresowaniu przyrodą, jej umiłowaniu, wierze w możliwość ucieczki od nowej epoki industrialnej na łono natury towarzyszył nieskrywany krytycyzm wobec „materializmu jankeskiego świata” (Cieplińska, 2005, s. 6). W dobie fali dobrobytu, rozwoju przemysłu, handlu i rolnictwa transcendentaliści potępiali niskie handlowe instynkty żądnych sukcesu Amerykanów, nawołując do zwrócenia się ku przyrodzie i samopoznaniu oraz wyzwolenia z dyktatu hierarchii społecznej. Ważnym wyznacznikiem transcendentalnej wizji człowieka jest szeroko pojmowana koncepcja indywidualizmu. Charakterystyczne dla kultury amerykańskiej pierwiastki skrajnego indywidualizmu Emerson i jego wyznawcy usiłowali zrównoważyć ideą odpowiedzialności społecznej, propagując zasadę polegania na samym sobie (*self-reliance*) oraz moralnego współkształtowania świata.

W posłowniu do polskiego wydania jednego z najsłynniejszych Emersonowskich dzieł, *Natura (Nature, 1836)*, Piotr Gutowski stawia przewrotne pytanie: „Jaki jest powód, aby dzisiaj czytać i polecać do czytania prace myśliciela, który nie wiedział nawet, jak poprawnie używać słowo >>transcendentalny<<?” (2005, s. 86). Odpowiedzią, jaka nasuwa się w pierwszej kolejności, może być przekonanie, że filozofia Emersona jest kluczem do zrozumienia amerykańskiej tożsamości. Twórczość wielkiego transcendentalisty przynależy do amerykańskiego dziedzictwa kulturowego i tak, jak lektura dzieł Mickiewicza pozwala poznać umysłowość Polaka, tak przesłanie XIX-wiecznej myśli transcendentalnej wpisuje się w ramy skomplikowanego portretu amerykańskiej tożsamości narodowej. Drugim powodem poznania Emersonowskiej filozofii jest uniwersalizm i ponadczasowość przekazu, który – niezależnie od tradycji kulturowej – z pewnością zainspiruje do refleksji nad aktualnymi problemami współczesnego świata.

Ralph Waldo Emerson uważany jest za czołowego propagatora i teoretyka transcendentalizmu. Nowoangielski filozof-moralista ukończył studia teologiczne na Uniwersytecie Harvarda w wieku 23 lat i uzyskawszy stanowisko kaznodziei przy jednym z unitariańskich kościołów w Bostonie oddał się pracy duszpasterskiej, która wkrótce rozbudziła w nim charakterystyczną dla umysłowości przyszłego przywódcy transcendentalistów reakcję przeciw organizacyjnym i obrzędowym formom religii.

Podczas jednej z pamiętnych mów, jakie wygłosił wobec zgromadzenia duchownego, stwierdził: „Modlitwy czy nawet dogmaty Kościoła są [...] całkowicie obce wszystkiemu, co ma związek z życiem i sprawami ludzi” (Emerson, 2005, s. 79). Następnym śmiałej wypowiedzi z 1838 roku była rezygnacja z posługi pastorskiej. Kolejne lata Emerson spędził przemierzając Europę i Stany Zjednoczone z cyklem wykładów, znajdując w działalności publicystycznej i prelekcyjnej właściwe swoje twórcze powołanie. Wśród jego audytorium znaleźli się wybitni przedstawiciele pióra, myśliciele, a w 1862 roku na jeden z odczytów wygłoszonych w Waszyngtonie przybył prezydent Lincoln. W wyrażaniu swoich przekonań Emerson raczej stronił od polityki, a agitację na rzecz zniesienia niewolnictwa usprawiedliwiał tzw. doktryną kompensacji – koniecznością przeciwdziałania wszelkiemu złu dobrem. W zapisach pamiętnikarskich z 1851 roku oraz w czasie apogeum wojny secesyjnej występował w roli rzecznika Północy, opowiadając się za abolicjonizmem: „Na niewolnictwo nie może być zgody, zatruwa i niszczy wszystko, czego dotyczy” (Lindeman, 1962, s. 201). Kreśląc psychologiczny portret Emersona, amerykański filozof George Santayana charakteryzuje grono słuchaczy „mędrca z Concord”, którzy – jak twierdzi – „gromadzili się tłumnie nie dla samych jego słów [...], ile dla atmosfery czystości, uduchowienia i otwartości, jaka roztaczała się nad zgromadzeniem” (Porte, 1991, s. 87).

Najważniejsze etapy w życiu Emersona wyznaczają daty jego głównych dzieł, które tworzył w dalekim od wielkomiejskiego zgiełku Concord. Formułując naczelną doktrynę powstającego transcendentalizmu, w 1836 roku Emerson publikuje esej *Natura*, czyniąc z idei badania natury podstawową zasadę transcendentalnej epistemologii. Natura, postrzegana przez Emersona w kategoriach religijno-moralno-estetycznych, jest instrumentem komunikacji między człowiekiem a Bogiem. Emerson określa naturę jako „metodę Bożą” (*God's process*) pouczenia nas o prawdzie rzeczy. Sięgając po głębszy wymiar natury, nowoangielski filozof twierdzi, że natura rozbudza ludzkiego ducha, kształtuje go, zaspokaja jego poczucie piękna i dostarcza przestrzeni dla jego intelektualnego i moralnego rozwoju, zbliżając go ku Bogu i przydając atrybutów boskości. Emerson pisze:

To właśnie [w lasach – K.H.] czuję, że nie może mnie spotkać nic złego – żadna niełaska, żadne nieszczęście, których natura nie mogłaby naprawić. I gdy stoję na gołej ziemi, z głową skąpaną w rozświetlonym powietrzu i sięgającą nieskończonych przestworzy, pryska wszelki mój nędzny egotyzm [...]. Jestem częścią czy cząsteczką Boga [...]. Staję się miłośnikiem bezgranicznego, nieśmiertelnego piękna. W gęszy odnajduję coś, co jest mi droższe i bliższe niż wszystko to, co napotykam na ulicach i w wiejskich osadach. Pośród spokojnego krajobrazu, zwłaszcza na odległej linii horyzontu człowiek spostrzeżę coś równie pięknego, jak jego własna natura. (Emerson, 2005, s. 10)

Obcowanie z naturą, niekończący się dyskurs człowieka z Bogiem, ma na celu – w przekonaniu Emersona – dyscyplinować i kształtować postawę moralną, o której wspomina w eseju *Dyscyplina*, notując: „prawo moralne tkwi w sercu natury i promienieje ku jej peryferiom. Jest ono samym rdzeniem każdej substancji, każdej relacji i każdego procesu. Wszystko, z czym mamy do czynienia udziela nam

moralnych nauk” (Emerson, 2005, s. 28). Emerson szerzy pogląd o moralnym współkształtowaniu świata, który jest plastyczny i niegotowy, nawołując: „Stwarzaj więc swój własny świat!” (2005, s. 47). W odróżnieniu od św. Augustyna utożsamiającego przyrodę z księgą, dzięki której możemy poznać siebie, Boga i prawo moralne przypisane nam przez Niego, amerykański transcendentalista ustanawia bardziej równorzędną płaszczyznę porozumienia między człowiekiem a Bogiem. Relacja obu interlokutorów nie jest stosunkiem aktywnego nadawcy (Boga) do biernego odbiorcy (człowieka), który miałby jedynie za pomocą natury odczytać jak księgę przekaz Stwórcy. „Wiedz zatem, że świat istnieje dla ciebie” (2005, s. 47), głosi Emerson, dodając: „Natura nie jest niczym trwałym, lecz płynnym tworem. Duch ją przemienia, kształtuje i stwarza [...]. Każdy duch stwarza swój własny dom, poza domem – swój własny świat, poza światem – swoje niebiosa” (2005, s. 47). Motyw plastycznego świata, który Bóg udostępnia, nawołując do współtworzenia, sprawia, że w Emersonowskiej filozofii pobrzmiewa wyraźna nuta optymizmu. W eseju *Perspektywy* dociekania dotyczące zasad funkcjonowania świata tchną iście amerykańskim optymizmem:

Jak przed nastaniem lata, co nadciąga od południa, topnieje śnieg na brzegach, a oblicze ziemi okrywa się zielenią, tak nadchodzący duch stwarzać będzie na swej drodze rozmaite cuda, pomnoży piękno, które napotka i podchwyci pieśń, która go zachwyci; sprawi, że wokół niego twarze wypięknieją, w serca wstąpi żar, dyskurs zyska głębię, będą dokonywać się bohaterские czyny – aż w końcu po złu nie pozostanie ani śladu. (Emerson, 2005, s. 47-48)

Kolejnym istotnym wyznacznikiem twórczości i filozofii Emersona stał się pamiętny odczyt wobec audytorium harwardzkiej uczelni. W wygłoszonej 31 sierpnia 1837 roku prelekcji *Amerykański uczony* (*The American Scholar*) Emerson zawarł kwintesencję transcendentalnego indywidualizmu. Słynna przemowa nabrała wkrótce cech manifestu odrębności i niezależności kulturowej Ameryki od Europy. W eseju, który zdobył miano „deklaracji niepodległości kultury amerykańskiej”, po raz pierwszy odzywa się – jak pisze Roman Dyboski – „poczucie dojrzałości kulturalnej młodego społeczeństwa amerykańskiego, przemawia po raz pierwszy pełna świadomość jego indywidualności narodowej” (1958, s. 131). Do zgromadzenia intelektualistów z Cambridge Emerson zwrócił się ze znamienym apelem: „Zbyt długo wsłuchiwalismy się w dworskie muzy Europy” (2005, s. 66), przekonując jednocześnie, że „okres naszej zależności, długiego pobierania nauk u innych narodów dobiega końca. Wszak dziesięć milionów ludzi pochłoniętych przez wir życia nie może zawsze karmić się zwiędłymi resztkami tego, co zasiał ktoś inny” (2005, s. 51).

W jednej z tez wykładu Emerson powraca do odnotowanych w *Naturze* przemyśleń o relacji Bóg – człowiek – przyroda, przekonując, że Ameryka gotowa jest pójść własną drogą bez europejskiego pośrednictwa. Nie potępiając kultury Starego Kontynentu amerykański myśliciel uderza w nutę dumy narodowej, demonstrując wiarę w nieograniczone indywidualne możliwości rozpoczynających „od nowa” Amerykanów. Autor traktatu *Amerykański uczony* pisze: „Z książek uczony korzysta tylko wówczas, gdy próżnuje. Gdy bezpośrednio może czytać Boga, jego czas jest zbyt cenny, by go trwonić na studiowanie tego, co wyczytali inni ludzie” (Emerson,

2005, s. 56). Działanie współistniejące z myśleniem jest istotnym ogniwem transcendentalnej filozofii, a prawda o życiu jako bezpośrednim źródle wiedzy objawia się zarówno w kontemplacji natury, jak i w innym transcendentalnym *credo*: „Tyle tylko wiem, ile przeżyłem” (Emerson, 2005, s. 57).

Ilustracją Emersonowskiego zamysłu działania jako jednego z ważniejszych przejawów życia jest postawa Henry’ego Davida Thoreau, który – w odróżnieniu od teoretyczno-literackiej aktywności duchowego przywódcy transcendentalizmu – dążył do wcielenia w życie głoszonych przez siebie zasad. Z perspektywy blisko dwóchsetlecia amerykańscy badacze twierdzą zgodnie, że „sława Thoreau przyćmiła blask jego mistrza” (Hochfield, 1993, s. 160). Słowa George’a Hochfielda wpisują się w nurt krytycznoliterackich i kulturoznawczych rozważań:

Postać Thoreau [...] została utrwalona w naszej pamięci szczególnie wyraziście dzięki jego postawie wyrażającej bunt i sprzeciw wobec wszelkich form zorganizowania. Thoreau jest pisarzem postrzeganym jako bohater, którego dokonania literackie i aktywny udział w życiu społecznym stanowią niepodzielną jedność [...]. Na zawsze zapamiętany zostanie jako aktor w teatrze kulturowej mitologii, dzieląc los właściwy tym, dla których przemiany w kulturze kraju z pewnością nie są obojętne. (1993, s. 161)

Thoreau urodził się w 1817 roku w Concord, w wieku 20 lat ukończył studia na Uniwersytecie Harvarda po czym podjął pracę w pobliskiej szkole miejskiej, którą wkrótce utracił, przeciwstawiając się karaniu uczniów chłostą. W kolejnych latach miał się różnych zajęć: pracował jako nauczyciel greki i łaciny, matematyki i przyrody, redaktor, robotnik, producent ołówków, pisarz i poeta. W 1840 roku debiutował w literacko-filozoficznym piśmie *The Dial*, wspierał eksperyment transcendentalnej komuny The Brook Farm, unikał towarzystwa, był ekscentrykiem, idealistą i samotnikiem. W oczach sąsiadów, jak pisze tłumaczka i redaktorka zbioru *Walden, czyli życie w lesie*, „uchodził za dziwaka, bo na co dzień trzymał się zasad i praw, które oni szanowali tylko od święta, i żył zgodnie z zaleceniami starożytnych filozofów” (Cieplińska, 2005, s. 20). Ekscentryczny styl bycia w nowoangielskiej samotni nie powodował jednak całkowitego odizolowania od politycznych i społecznych przemian w kraju. Hołdując założeniom transcendentalnej ideologii, Thoreau próbuje godzić skrajny indywidualizm powiązany z poczuciem konieczności polegania na samym sobie z dojrzałą odpowiedzialnością społeczną. Powołując się na znaną sentencję prezydenta Jeffersona: „najlepszym rządem jest taki, który rządzi najmniej”⁵, Thoreau krytykuje zaborczą politykę Stanów Zjednoczonych zaangażowanych w wojnę z Meksykiem i odmawia płacenia podatków. Zderzenie racji myślicielstwa Emersona i czynnej, buntowniczej filozofii Thoreau, potępiającego konflikt zbrojny i politykę sankcjonującą niewolnictwo, ilustruje scena odwiedzin w więzieniu, kiedy do aresztanta Emerson miał się zwrócić: „Henry David, what are you doing in here?” („Henry, dlaczego siedzisz tutaj?”), by usłyszeć ripostę: „Ralph

⁵ Cyt. za *Historia literatury amerykańskiej w zarysie. Wiek XVII-XIX* (s. 260), A. Kopcewicz, K. Sienicka (red.), 1983, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. W oryginale: „That government is best which governs least”. Por. *Walden or, Life in the Woods and On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* (s. 222), H. D. Thoreau, 1960, New York: The New American Library.

Waldo, what are you doing o u t there?” („Ralph Waldo, a dlaczego ty tutaj n i e siedzisz?”).

Wydarzenia z 1845 roku stały się tłem eseju *Obywatelskie nieposłuszeństwo* (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849) uznawanym za klasykę eseistyki amerykańskiej. W tłumaczonym na wiele języków i wielokrotnie wznawianym dziele, Thoreau uświadamia, że obywatel ma prawo do nieposłuszeństwa. Zgodnie z ideałami transcendentalnego indywidualizmu postrzega państwo jako zbiorowość indywidualności, których obowiązkiem jest kierować się dyktatami własnego sumienia nawet wówczas, gdy sprzeczne są one z prawami ustanowionymi przez instytucje władzy lub regułami wyznawanymi przez większość. Kontrowersyjny esej Thoreau ukształtował najnowszą historię doktryny obywatelskiego nieposłuszeństwa, ciesząc się zainteresowaniem wielu literackich sław i ugrupowań uczestniczących w procesach przemian społeczno-kulturowych. Wiele lat po dacie pierwszej publikacji *Obywatelskie nieposłuszeństwo* stało się podręcznikiem dla ruchu oporu w czasie drugiej wojny światowej, inspiracją dla buntującej się przeciw konformistycznej obyczajowości młodzieży amerykańskiej w latach 60. XX wieku, a także dla przywódców światowego formatu takich, jak Mohandas Gandhi czy Martin Luther King, Jr. Zasadę odrzucenia rządowej sublimacji wyrażoną przez Thoreau słowami: „Z całą stanowczością odmawiam identyfikowania się z polityczną organizacją, jaką jest *mój* rząd będący równocześnie rządem *niewolników*” (1960, s. 224) dwudziestowieczny przywódca na rzecz równouprawnienia czarnej społeczności Amerykanów przyjmuje jako drogowskaz w walce z „systemem zła”. W opracowaniu poświęconym filozofii Henry’ego Davida Thoreau Lawrence A. Rosenwald zamieszcza wzmiankę na temat ideologicznego sztafazu Kinga:

Pamiętam silne wzruszenie, kiedy w trakcie studiów po raz pierwszy sięgnąłem po dzieło [Thoreau – K. H.]. Zrozumiałem wówczas, że [demonstracje], do których przygotowywaliśmy się w Montgomery były zgodne z duchem idei głoszonych przez Thoreau. Wysyłaliśmy czytelny sygnał dla białej społeczności: „Odmawiamy dalszego poparcia i udziału w pokrętej polityce systemu zła”. (2000, s. 161)

Jednym z donioślejszych wydarzeń w życiu Thoreau był pobyt w concordzkich lasach nieopodal stawu Walden. Dzięki pustelniczemu trybowi życia w bezpośredniej bliskości natury Thoreau ucieleśnił fundamentalne zasady transcendentalizmu. Owocem doświadczenia dwóch lat, dwóch miesięcy i dwóch dni spędzonych w leśnej głuszy było dzieło *Walden, czyli życie w lesie* (*Walden, or Life in the Woods*, 1854), które obok najslawniejszych esejów Emersona stało się manifestem amerykańskiej myśli transcendentalnej. Wyznanie filozoficznej wiary Thoreau udokumentował stwierdzeniem: „Zamieszkałem w lesie, albowiem chciałem żyć świadomie, stawać w życiu przed najbardziej ważkimi kwestiami, przekonać się, czy potrafię przyswoić sobie to, czego może mnie życie nauczyć, abym w godzinie śmierci nie odkrył, że nie żyłem” (2005, s. 120). Opowiadając o niezwykłych duchowych predyspozycjach Thoreau, współczesny mu Nathaniel Hawthorne pisał: „[...] jest zapalonym i wnikliwym obserwatorem Natury [...] a Natura w zamian za jego miłość zdaje się go adoptować jako dziecko na specjalnych prawach i odkrywa przed nim tajemnice, które

niewielu ludzi ma prawo poznać” (Cieplińska, 2005, s. 19). Zbiór 18 esejów, w których dominuje myśl, iż istota pełni życia polega na jedności z naturą, jest retorycznym, ekspresyjnym, poetyckim dziełem, a wartość jego przekazu służy wielu pokoleniom amerykańskiej i międzynarodowej społeczności.

W XX-wiecznym odbiorze interpretacyjnym *Walden*, jako źródło antyindustrialnej krytyki, stał się lekturą obowiązkową na kursach etyki środowiska naturalnego (*environmental ethics*), nowej i prężnie rozwijającej się w Stanach Zjednoczonych dziedziny współczesnej filozofii. Z tego punktu widzenia Thoreau uważany jest dość powszechnie za prekursora idei ekologicznych. Jego przewartościowanie obowiązującej w XIX-wiecznej Ameryce idei dzikości, zbieżne w czasie z triumfalnym pochodem cywilizacji na zachód, kosztem znacznych szkód w środowisku naturalnym, utorowało drogę współczesnym ruchom ekologicznym. Thoreau przeciwstawia się idei przyrody jako uczłowieczonego parku narodowego, wychodząc z założenia, że – jak pisze Tomasz Sikora – „każdy system etyczny warunkowany jest istnieniem strefy dzikości” (2001, s. 39). Kiedy przekonuje w tożsamym ideologicznie pierwszym dziele esejowi *Walking*, że „wszystko, co dobre, jest dzikie i wolne” (Thoreau, 1990, s. 2046) uzmysławia, że dzikość, mimo zagrożeń, jakie niesie ustabilizowanej cywilizacji, zapewnia jednocześnie trwanie i przetrwanie świata. W dyskursie literaturoznawczym literacki dorobek amerykańskiego transcendentalisty wyznacza kanon romantycznej postawy Amerykanina, który w dobie XIX-wiecznej transformacji cywilizacyjnej źródła wszelkiego poznania szuka w wolności i obcowaniu z nieokiełznaną przyrodą – kategoriami współokreślającymi go jako jednostkę i jako istotę społeczną.

Z nowoangielską myślą transcendentalną utożsamiało się wiele osobistości XIX-wiecznej i XX-wiecznej amerykańskiej sceny literackiej. Posłannictwo Emersona i Thoreau najwierniej i najdonioślej kultywował największy bard Ameryki Walt Whitman. Kilkanaście lat młodszy od przywódców transcendentalizmu poeta-prorok wyznał, że „zagotowujący się kocioł jego myśli dopiero Emerson doprowadził do stanu kipienia” (Dyboski, 1958, s. 164). Whitmanowska twórczość inspirowana skłonnością do nonkonformizmu, indywidualizmu i kontemplacji jest najwierniejszym upostaciowieniem Emersonowskiego ideału poety. Poetycki talent Whitmana rozkwitł w latach 50. XIX wieku poprzedzony długim okresem przygotowawczym, kiedy to w nadatlantyckiej Long Island, a później Nowym Orleanie kształtowała się transcendentalna ideowość kontynuatora, wyznawcy i praktyka nowoangielskiej filozofii.

Walter Whitman (1819-1892) wychował się w wielodzietnej nowojorskiej rodzinie ubogiego cieśli. Kwakerskie tradycje rodzinne wywarły znaczny wpływ na wyobraźnię jego młodego umysłu, a częsty kontakt z przyrodą na pograniczu wiejskiego i wielkomiejskiego środowiska ukształtował poetycką tożsamość Whitmana poszukującego najwyższych natchnień i najgłębszej mądrości w kontemplacji natury. Podążając śladami Thoreau, początkujący poeta miał się różnych zajęć i poznawał Amerykę z perspektywy pomocnika drukarza, czeladnika, dziennikarza, wydawcy i pielęgniarza sprawującego opiekę nad rannymi żołnierzami waszyngtońskich szpitali w czasie wojny secesyjnej. Nagrodą za wzorową służebną postawę podczas wojny była posada urzędnicza w Ministerstwie Spraw Wewnętrznych, którą Whitman rychło utracił z chwilą ukazania się drugiego,

rozszerzonego wydania dzieła, jakie stało się synonimem jego życia i twórczości. Wiersze z tomu *Żdźbła trawy* (*Leaves of Grass*, 1856), modyfikowane i wzbogacane na przestrzeni 37 lat, gorszyły – jak pisze Dyboski – „wybujalowością zmysłowych elementów swej treści” (1958, s. 164). Niecodzienna wówczas forma wolnego wiersza, a przede wszystkim zuchwała metaforyczność, będąca owocem wieloletnich obserwacji i doświadczeń wśród żywiołu przyrody i świata ludzkiego, spotkała się – pośród skąpych, przeważnie negatywnych recenzji – z entuzjastyczną pochwałą Emersona, który swój zachwyt wyraził w liście adresowanym do poety-wizjonera 21 lipca 1855 roku:

Nie jestem ślepy na wartość tego cudownego daru, jakim są *Żdźbła trawy*. Znajduję, że jest to najznakomitszy przykład twórczej pomysłowości i mądrości, jaki Ameryka dotychczas wydała. Czytam dzieła Pańskie z uczuciem szczęścia, które daje rzeczy naprawdę potężne... Winszuję Panu swobody i odwagi myśli. Raduję się nią wielce [...]. Znajduję [w książce – K.H.] tę odwagę w traktowaniu zagadnień, którą natchnąć może jedynie szerokość wejrzenia. Witam Pana u progu świetnej kariery.⁶

W *Żdźbłach trawy* obok jawnych, silnie erotycznych akcentów, za pomocą których Whitman czcił piękno ludzkiego ciała, w akcie prokreacyjnym widział mistyczną unię człowieka z duchem wszechświata, gloryfikował miłość fizyczną do kobiety oraz miłość homoseksualną, na plan pierwszy wysuwa się idea boskiego wszechbytu objawiającego się przez przyrodę. W przedmowie do pierwszego wydania *Żdźbeł trawy* „dobry, siwobrody poeta” (*The Good Gray Poet*), jak przyjęło się nazywać amerykańskiego piewce, zdefiniował rolę duchowego przywódcy Ameryki jako wizjonera, którego wzrok sięga nie w przyszłość, lecz w teraźniejszość w poszukiwaniu istoty wszechrzeczy, odczytując ukryte znaczenia w żdźble trawy, ziarnku piasku, falach oceanu, do czego namawiał zarówno małych, jak i wielkich tego świata. W poemacie *Do Prezydenta* z cyklu *Na skraju drogi* (1860) pisał:

Wszystkie twoje słowa i czyny są dla Ameryki złudnym mirażem,
Nie byłeś uczniem Natury, nie czerpałeś z jej nauk o wspaniałej
hojności,
prawości i bezstronności,
Nie wiesz, że tylko one są godne tych Stanów,
A wszystko, co poślednie, wcześniej czy później, musi te Stany
pożegnać. (Whitman, 1992, s. 213)

W trosce o Amerykę przeobrażoną zuchwałym nomadyzmem (*Go west, young men!*), pogonią za pieniądzem i uprzemysłowieniem Whitman ostrzega przed spustoszeniem duchowym. Zauroczoney *Dziennikami* i *Waldenem* Henry’ego Thoreau, Whitman intonuje, na kpiarską nutę, swój „barbarzyński wrzask ponad dachami świata” (1992, s. 99).

⁶ Por. *Whitman the Poet* (s. 66), J. C. Broderick (red.), 1962, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company. Cyt. za *Wielcy pisarze amerykańscy* (s. 158), R. Dyboski, S. Helsztyński (red.), 1958, Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax.

Najsilniejszą nutą w całej twórczości Whitmana jest pierwiastek indywidualizmu przesycony transcendentalną myślą Emersona i Thoreau. W systemie myślowym Whitmana jednostka jawi się jako naczelny i moralny autorytet. Tak, jak Emerson utożsamiał człowieka z częstką boskości, tak poeta-transcendentalista nakazuje człowiekowi – może z nieco większą śmiałością – obcowanie z Bogiem oraz uwielbienie duszy i ciała, przypisując jednocześnie jednostce ludzkiej atrybuty boskości: „Wiem, że ręka Boga jest obietnicą mojej własnej ręki, / I wiem, że duch Boga jest bratem mojego własnego ducha” (Whitman, 1992, s. 47). Kwintesencją transcendentalnej wrażliwości Whitmana stają się słowa: „Misterium i ja – tutaj oto jesteśmy” (1992, s. 47). O przebudzeniu osobowości człowieka jako suwerennego indywiduum i jako istoty społecznej traktuje najświetniejszy bodaj poemat amerykańskiego wieszczka *Jednostkę śpiewam (One's Self I Sing)* z cyklu *Inskrypcje* (1867).

W swojej poetyckiej wizji autor przywołuje transcendentalną prawdę o niepełnym, plastycznym obrazie świata, do którego malowania (współtworzenia) zaprasza nas Bóg. Liryczne „ja” nabiera istnienia jako siła określana w kategoriach demokratycznego świata, który tworzy i kontroluje, będąc przez niego formowaną i ubogaconą. Dynamiczna indywidualność Whitmana odsłania tajemnice człowieczej świadomości posiadającej tyle wcieleń ile jest jednostek ludzkich. Wyraźne tropy panteistycznej filozofii boskości człowieka oraz filozofii indywidualizmu stają się pretekstem do afirmacji ugruntowującej się nowej państwowości Stanów Zjednoczonych, które – według Whitmana – są „największym poematem”:

Jednostkę śpiewam, skromną, osobną osobę,
Lecz wypowiadam słowo „Demokratyczny”, słowo „En-masse”.

Śpiewam fizjologię od stóp do głowy,
Nie sama fizjonomia, nie sam jedynie mózg godzien jest Muzy;
twierdząc, że cała Postać godna jest jeszcze bardziej,
Śpiewam zarówno Mężczyznę, jak Kobietę.

Życie bezmierne – jego pasję, puls, potęgę,
I radość – boskim prawem stworzone dla nieskrępowanej wolności,
Śpiewam Nowoczesnego Człowieka. (Whitman, 1992, s. 7)

Echa XIX-wiecznego transcendentalizmu, będącego domeną Klubu Transcendentalistów z Nowej Anglii, rozbrzmiewają w kolejnych dziesięcioleciach kulturowej transformacji Stanów Zjednoczonych. W XX wieku Emerson i Thoreau zdobyli pozycję niekwestionowanych klasyków amerykańskiej filozofii i literatury. Krytykowany często jako „tani i powierzchowny” (1992, s. 204) optymizm nowoangielskich transcendentalistów dla wielu ich naśladowców stał się, jak twierdzi Wiesław Gromczyński, autor studium poświęconego filozofii Emersona, „bodźcem do walki z własną słabością” (1992, s. 204). Obraz człowieka polegającego na sobie samym, poddającego się stałemu samoudoskonalaniu, narzucającego swą wolę przyrodzie z zachowaniem jednocześnie szacunku dla jej samoistności tworzy wizerunek transcendentalnego ideału Amerykanina osiągnącego pełnię harmonii

i równowagi między refleksją a spontanicznością, myśleniem a działaniem, indywidualizmem a społeczną aktywnością. Podejmując się prób rozstrzygnięcia odwiecznego konfliktu imperatywów wynikających z faktu dwuwymiarowości istnienia człowieka: jego uczestnictwa w porządku egzystencjalno-moralnym oraz w życiu społeczno-politycznym kraju, Emerson, Thoreau i Whitman opowiadają się za pochwałą ludzkiego ducha afirmując jego podobieństwo do Boga, który nie domaga się od człowieka całkowitego posłuszeństwa, lecz pragnie jego gotowości do współkreowania niegotowego jeszcze świata.

Dzikość natury (*wilderness*), indywidualizm i demokracja stanowią przymioty określające szczególny charakter amerykańskiej kultury i literatury. Poszukiwanie prawdy i epifanii w przyrodzie – w każdym źdźble trawy, w przepastnych lasach Nowego Świata, w których pełnej harmonii bliscy byli Thoreau i Whitman, stało się zadaniem, jakiego podjęli się także inni znakomici literaci, m.in.: Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, John Dos Passos, Mark Twain, Ernest Hemingway, Herman Melville, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, Gary Snyder, Ken Kesey, Norman Mailer, John Steinbeck i Emily Dickinson. Nurtujące Dickinson kwestie sensu życia, miłości, śmierci, nieśmiertelności, Boga, wiary, kondycji ludzkiej – skalane nieco większym zwątpieniem i sceptycyzmem niż myśl Emersona – poetka rozstrzyga poprzez kontemplację natury jako niezastąpionego źródła twórczego natchnienia. O żmudnej, mistycznej wędrówce w poszukiwaniu prawdy, piękna i spełnienia pisze romantycznym werselem, równoważąc Emersonowski optymizm i pochwałę życia w Whitmanowskim poetyckim kunszcie konfesjonalnymi rozważaniami o niezgłębionej tajemnicy trwania i przemijania:

Zmarłam szukając Piękna—ale
Gdy się mościłam w mrokach Grobu—
Kogoś, kto zmarł szukając Prawdy,
Złożono w Pomieszczeniu obok—

Zapytał—co mnie uśmierciło—
Odpowiedziałam—„Piękno”—
„Mnie—Prawda—one są Tym Samym—
Jesteśmy Rodzeństwem”—szepnął—

I tak gwarzyliśmy—przez Noc—
Przez Ścianę gliny—blisko—
Aż Mech dosięgnął naszych ust—
I zarósł—nasze nazwiska— (Dickinson, 1990, s. 65)

Nowoangielski transcendentalizm ukształtował amerykańską tożsamość narodową, środowiskową i literacką. W XIX-wiecznej Ameryce i Ameryce kolejnych epok filozofia transcendentalna stworzyła nową umysłowość, która z kolei stała się inspiracją renesansowego prądu literatury o wysublimowanym smaku świadczącym o jej odrębności i amerykańskości.

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AUSTRALIANISMS IN MAD MAX: FURY ROAD

Abstract

Mad Max: Fury Road is an international film intended for international audiences. Still, there are a number of inherently Australian elements woven into its fabric. Present there are: an homage to the iconic Australian film *The Cars That Ate Paris* (and the beginning of Australian film industry as such), allusions to Australian feminist directors, hints at immanent rivalry between Ford and Holden, examples of Australian gallows humour, and decidedly “Aussie lingo” vernacular, though mainly in the background and used by side characters. This article presents and explains a few of these elements and assumes that the reader is familiar with the film.

Streszczenie

Mad max: Na drodze gniewu, czwarta z kolei wizja postapokaliptycznego świata stworzona przez reżysera George’a Millera, z założenia jest filmem skierowanym do szerokiej widowni i jako taka nie zawiera zbyt wielu „aluzji erudycyjnych”. Jednak osoby zafascynowane kulturą Australii mogą się dopatrzeć kilku subtelnych nawiązań zarówno do języka jak i do historii kinematografii australijskiej. Miller zdaje się cytować samego siebie z czasów swojego debiutu, a także składa hołd najbardziej znanemu reżyserowi z Antypodów, Peterowi Weirowi „pożyczając” z jego debiutanckiego filmu kultowy już model samochodu. Cała saga o Mad Maxie jest wyrazem miłości Millera do głęboko zakorzenionej „kultury samochodowej” w Australii, która przejawia się gloryfikowaniem muscle cars – samochodów o potężnych silnikach – a szczególnie dwóch marek i odwiecznych rywali: Holdena i Forda. Wątki feministyczne poruszone w *Na drodze gniewu*, mogą być postrzegane jako swoisty dialog z filmem australijskiej reżyserki Margaret Dodd *This Woman is not a Car* i przejawiającym się w całej jej twórczości wątkiem roli kobiety w społeczeństwie zdominowanym przez silnych mężczyzn i ich samochody. W końcu fragmenty dialogu, a szczególnie bardzo australijskie niedomówienie jako figura stylistyczna, zdradzają narodowość reżysera.

Introduction

Mad Max: Fury Road, fourth installment in George Miller’s post-apocalyptic saga about Max Rockatansky, has been critically acclaimed with near perfect score of 97% “fresh” from top critics at Rotten Tomato (Internet source 1) and many raving reviews praising the film for its strong feministic tone and stunning visuals. While the first two parts, *Mad Max* and *Road warrior*, retain a strong Australian flavour in terms of dialogue, accent, cars and the unmistakable Australian landscape with its wild fauna, the two later parts *Mad Max: Beyond the Thunderdome* and – particularly – *Fury Road* are intentionally geared towards international audiences. Yet

Australophiles can notice certain nods to Aussie culture peppered throughout the picture⁷.

Olgierd Wojtasiewicz, in his book *Wstęp do teorii tłumaczenia* introduces the notion of “erudition allusions” and defines them as different types of phenomena whose cultural specificity will evoke certain associations only in those recipients who understand them (Wojtasiewicz 1957/1992:77-78, after Hejwowski 2004:128-129). These culture-bound items require a certain degree of “erudition” of familiarity with the history, literature, art, geography, institutions and the like of the given country and usually pose a serious challenge for the translator who can only attempt to explain these allusions to the readers in the target language, but realistically should not expect them to fully reconstruct the cognitive base of the sender/writer (Hejwowski 2004:129). One of the reasons why *Fury Road* has been so successful internationally is its reliance on visual storytelling rather than dialogue. Translation-wise, there is one word in the dialogue list which might have required additional notes explaining the cultural context for the purpose of the Polish translator. All other Aussie elements can be seen as Miller’s winks to fellow Australians and will not affect the perception of the film in any serious way. This article, then, is more of a light-hearted attempt at explaining these little nods to non-Australians, and as such is aimed at viewers who enjoy trivia and would like to have their viewing experience enhanced.

“B movie filmmaking with A movie filmmaking aspirations”⁸

In the late 60s and early 70s Australia was going through a considerable social revolution. The hippie ideologies migrated from the United States bringing in liberalization of sexual behaviour, interest in the Eastern philosophies and growing acceptance for mood enhancing and hallucinogenic substances. British author, Germaine Greer published her confronting book *The Female Eunuch* in 1970, which gave rise to a new understanding of feminism. Young generations in Australia were also vehemently protesting against compulsory army conscription (done with lottery) and Australia’s involvement in the Vietnam War. The young people believed they were a part of a worldwide social rebellion and were disappointed that those social changes were not, in any way, represented by national cultural institutions, controlled by the generation of their parents. The film industry especially, was virtually non-existent, with Australia ranking beyond Ecuador and Iceland in terms of films produced in a year. Two governments, however, changed the situation. Prime Ministers John Gorton (in office between 1968 and 1971) and Gough Whitlam (between 1972 – 1975) introduced a number of laws that would see any amateur filmmaker with any artistic inclinations be financed by national art institutions (Hartley 2008).

⁷ This should not come as a surprise since the films’ director George Miller frequently laments over Australian youths’ disinterest in their native culture, and advocates its revival. “I think the culture has almost gone. It’s an awful thing for me to say because I’m a storyteller. An Australian storyteller. (...) but I notice that for instance my children, as they grow up (...) they know so little Australian culture. It’s very, very hard to direct them towards it. (...) And this is with parents like myself who are consciously trying to push it their way. And it’s very, very hard.” [George Miller, video interview, Internet source 2].

⁸ George Miller about *Mad Max* (Hartley 2008).

That policy gave rise to a wave of films made by newcomers who had meagre budgets, little-to-no experience and very ambitious visions. Along Miller, one of those debuting filmmakers was Peter Weir, who would become one of Australia's best known film directors, with features including *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975), *Gallipoli* (1981), *Dead Poets Society* (1989) and *The Truman Show* (1998). Before he went to helm these high-culture masterpieces, he debuted with a quirky picture titled *The Cars That Ate Paris* (1974) which initially failed at box office despite receiving glowing reviews, but soon attracted cult following. It is a story of a quiet country town terrorized by a group of feral youth who are driving “hot rod” cars. The film serves as a bitter commentary on the gap between generations, with hypocritical adults on one side and unruly youth almost blending into their animal-like cars on the other. Weir shot the movie in such a way that the drivers are rarely visible, and the demonic cars become characters on their own. This “dehumanizing” style of filming is reflected in *Fury Road*, and George Miller has clearly stated in numerous interviews that the War Rig – a big weaponised truck – is a character on its own, equal to Max Rockatansky and the main female character, Furiosa. But there is another, more direct homage paid to *The Cars That Ate Paris* in Millers’ newest film. Peter Weir’s film’s poster featured a spiked hedgehog-like car – and almost identically looking “buzzards” feature in the first car chase in *Fury Road*. The poster has become such an iconic element of Australian B-movie or Ozploitation⁹ genre that this similarity has been acknowledged in numerous reviews, even ones written by critics who have not seen Weir’s film.



Figure 1. Spiked car (The Cars That Ate Paris) and Buzzard Tribe vehicle (Mad max: Fury Road) compared¹⁰.

⁹ The term was first used by Quentin Tarantino in the documentary *Not Quite Hollywood* (2004). It is a corruption of the term “Aussie (=Australian) exploitation” genre.

¹⁰ Images have been released by film distribution companies and are in public domain.

In an interview featured on Australia Screen, a governmental website devoted to archiving Australia's audiovisual heritage, George Miller calls his first *Mad Max* (1979) 'pure cinema' – "I basically wanted to make a silent movie. With sound. The kind of movie that Hitchcock would say, 'They didn't have to read the subtitles in Japan'" (Internet source 2). Several decades later, with budget finally matching his aspirations, Miller came back with a visually stunning picture with almost no dialogue – an exercise in form – but one very much rooted in the film aesthetics of his and Peter Weir's debuts. History went full circle and *Mad Max: Fury Road* blu-ray edition will feature a completely silent (OST only) black-and-white cut of the film (Internet source 3).

“For every hero there is a villain. For every XB Interceptor there is a Gigahorse”¹¹

One of the backbones of Australian society is an ongoing rivalry between two car makers, Holden and Ford. On and off racing track, Holden and Ford vehicles have been competing for over 100 years. Ford entered the market in 1908 with the elegant but sturdy cars that could easily drive on bad dirt roads. Ten years later Holden Motors Body Builders Ltd. was established giving birth to home motor industry (Bedwell 2009). After Holden's merging with American General Motors and becoming its subsidiary, the two brands dominated the market for the next forty years, organically becoming natural competitors. It was racing, however, that truly sparked the rivalry and elevated the brands to the position they hold in Australian psyche today. In the 60s, the era of "muscle cars" powered by V8 engines and consuming ridiculous amounts of gasoline which was still relatively inexpensive, the Bathurst racing track became the venue of an annual 1000 Endurance Race. A popular saying at that time was "Win on Sunday, sell on Monday", which reflected wins in the race having an impact on sales of a particular model (Internet source 4). The competitive element also translated into growing brand loyalty, which in turn polarised the Australian society. Even though a given person may have driven both makes of the car in his life, he would barrack for and associate himself with only one of them.

Ford and Holden became "identity badges" with Holden being the default car of the working class and the true-blue "Aussie battler", while the more sophisticated Ford would serve as the "ride" for the middle class (Bedwell 2009). Today this division is still present and is often employed by Australian directors as a shorthand for establishing heroes and villains. If a protagonist of an Australian film drives a Holden, his nemesis will drive a Ford. In *Two Hands* – an Australian caper film from 1999 – Jimmy, the character played by the late Heath Ledger, enters the road of crime when he takes an assignment from a crime boss Pando and drives his sidekick Acko's Ford XB Falcon. Once Jimmy attempts to rehabilitate himself, he seeks the protection of his aunt Deirdre, whose family drives Holdens. There is an iconic scene in this film, when the camera shows the yard outside Deirdre's house, where several Holden Commodore cars are parked. Then the camera pans sideways and stops showing the letterbox with the house number - 186, the classic Holden engine size. In another caper film called *Getting' Square* (2003) an exchange between two brothers must be all too familiar in many Australian homes:

¹¹ Colin Gibson, *Mad Max: Fury Road* production designer, comments on the symbolism of cars in the film (*Mad Max Fury on Four Wheels* featurette).

“Come on, I’ll give you a ride.”
“You are kiddin', aren't ya? I'd rather walk.”
“What're you talking about? Ford's King!”
“Holden is!”
“Ford, mate!”
“Holden!”
“Ford!”
“Holden!”
(Teplitzky 2003)

Undoubtedly the most iconic among all Australian film cars is Mad Max’s Ford Falcon XB GT Coupe 1973 "V8 Interceptor", which Max drove in first two films of the series. In *Fury Road* George Miller is playing a game with Australian viewers by both employing and averting the Ford vs. Holden rivalry trope. The car has always served as a metaphor for the main character, and Miller begins the fourth installment with Max’s monologue in which he muses over the loss of his humanity in the crazy world, only to show the Interceptor captured and destroyed in the following scene (Miller 2015). Without his car, Max has to redefine and rebuild himself. In *Fury Road* it is ironically the absence of the Falcon XB that defines Max for most of the film. In a similar vein, the trope is partially averted in that Max’s nemesis, Immortan Joe, does not drive a Holden, but a custom-built car called The Gigahorse, which consists of two bodies of Cadillac de Ville welded together, powered by two V8 engines. The joke is that Cadillac is another of General Motor subsidiaries so it came from the same “stable” as Holden, and was sold along Holdens in the Australian market.

“We are not things!”¹²

For a film that seems to be an embodiment of a male fantasy about war, power, gasoline and extravagant cars, *Fury Road* has attracted a lot of attention for its strongly feminist messages. The film has been lauded for making the female-warrior Furiosa its main protagonist (Mad Max has always been an outsider in his own films – he is a side character who wanders into other people’s stories). Also in its focal point are the Five Brides – five young women who choose to stand against being objectified and used solely for breeding healthy babies by the warlord Immortan Joe. A lot of critics also noted that playwright and feminist, the author of *Vagina Monologues* Eve Ensler, worked on the film as a consultant. Using her experience gained during humanitarian work in African countries, she led a workshop with the five actresses on the behaviour of women who experienced severe trauma¹³.

¹² One of slogans recurring in Mad Max: Fury Road (Miller 2015).

¹³ Ensler also approved of the finished picture. She has been quoted to say: “I read the script and was blown away. One out of three women on the planet will be raped or beaten in her lifetime - it’s a central issue of our time, and that violence against women relates to racial and economic injustice. This movie takes those issues head-on. I think George Miller is a feminist, and he made a feminist action film. It was really amazing of him to know that he needed a woman to come in who had experience with this” (Internet source 5).



Figure 2. “We are not things” slogan painted in the Citadel, where the Brides were imprisoned in Mad Max: Fury Road.¹⁴

Throughout the film, the Brides are shown to say or draw two messages: “Who killed the world?” and “We are not things!” The latter one echoes the title of an experimental film called *This Woman is not a Car*, directed by a sculptor and filmmaker Margaret Dodd in 1982. Before her film debut, Dodd was already established as a feminist artist by her series of ceramic sculptures portraying models of XB Holden cars dressed as brides, mothers and babies (Internet source 6).

This Woman... is hard to classify, with some looking at it as a dark comedy while others seeing it as a suburban horror film. A wife takes her children to a picnic on a beach, but this “suburban dream” soon changes into a nightmare when murky water of the tide begins to swallow the blankets, children are irritatingly noisy, and they devour their snacks in a manner that makes the viewer compelled to wonder if they are eating the food or – metaphorically – the female protagonist. The second part is even more disturbing. On her way back, the woman stops at a service station to get petrol. Australian Screen curator, Susan Lambert, describes this scene in the following way:

Four car mechanics stare at the woman as though she is their prey. What follows is a powerful scene that incorporates eroticism, humour, intimidation and violence. One man moves toward her but then veers off to make love to the car – his true object of desire. At first the analogy between the car and the woman (...) takes on an erotic quality and it could be the woman’s fantasy. But as his mates, car fetishists, move in, they gang rape their love object, the car. This sets off a horror sequence from the ‘woman as victim’ point of view as the woman questions the meaning of marriage and sexuality. The final scenes of the woman giving birth to a ceramic car take this fantasy to its logical, painful and absurd conclusion (Internet source 6).

¹⁴ The image has been released by film distribution company and is in public domain.

It is hard not to make parallels between the film and *Fury Road*. Dodd questions the “Australian dream” of early 80s – a house in the suburbs, a woman in her idealised role of a wife and mother, and the intense car culture among the males. Miller, in turn, builds an apocalyptic world in which men form war parties led by warlords, make cars both their objects of desire and insignia of power, worship the V8 engine, and tattoo car parts on their bodies believing that in the afterlife they will be reborn as machines. The only place for women in this world is to either be “breeding stock” (if they are young and healthy) or “dairy cattle” for the young War Pups. In both films the women decide to escape from this world order, and prove that “they are not things/cars”.

“Mediocre!”¹⁵

Casting South African actress Charlize Theron and a Brit Tom Hardy in main roles resulted in a number of internet articles openly asking, “Where did Australians go in the film universe?” Still there are plenty of Australianisms and lexical jokes in the language fabric of the film, even though they are not in plain view.

Characters who speak with unmistakably Australian accents, like the Organic Mechanic have only a few lines. The most obvious one comes from the chief War Rig War Boy, when he shouts at Theron’s character Furiosa, “AW WOI CARN’T YOU STOP?” in a broad Outback accent (Miller 2015).

Furiosa herself does not speak with Australian accent, but she uses Australian idiom. Asked whether they should make a U-turn and seek the help of the rest of the car armada when the War Rig is attacked by the Buzzards, she snaps back, “No, we’ll fang it!” The Urban dictionary¹⁶ defines this expression to mean “to dump the clutch and go as fast as possible in the shortest possible time” (Internet source 7). One of the Five Brides, played by Australian actress Abbey Lee, hisses “He’s a crazy smeg who eats schlanger!” (Miller 2015) at Max when he collects all the weapons stored inside the war Rig. Schlanger is defined as “old Australian ockerism for dick/penis” (Internet source 8). The Amada’s “bugle boy” Doof Warrior plays a flame-throwing electric guitar and encourages the War Boys to fight. The name derives from Australian slang term for techno rave parties, or doof-parties (Internet source 9).

However the most interesting is the use of the word “mediocre” by Immortan Joe to comment on the failed attempt of Nux. A lot of viewers and critics alike noticed the apparent disparity between the seriousness of the War Boy’s failure and Immortan’s choice of words, and because of its shock value, “mediocre” has almost immediately entered the language and become a new “thing to say”. The following excerpt from one of internet reactions to the screening illustrates the phenomenon:

“MEDIocre!”

TP: This is my thing now. This is what I say to people.

HC: Anyone else would have just shouted “FUCK SAKE”, but Immortan Joe says that. Hero.

¹⁵ A comment made by Immortan Joe when one of War Boys fails miserably at a mission he assigned him (Miller 2015).

¹⁶ An online dictionary created at street level by users of the English language, constantly updated and as such reflecting all most recent developments in a variety of English slangs.

TP: Like, even people who aren't being mediocre. I just use it instead of "hello".

HC: Just shouting this at everyone now. Tom has just started shouting this in meetings in lieu of other words. Great for office morale.

DD: Getting this tattooed.

HJ: I apparently completely missed this bit, presumably because I was too busy shitting bricks already.

HC: Probably someone offered you some Maltesers at that exact second because this bit is basically unforgettable. BEST BIT OF THE WHOLE FILM.

DD: Mediocre, Hannah. (Internet source 10)

Ironically, the expression fits nicely into the notion of Australian understatement. Conditioned both historically (by years of convicts being chastised for even smallest complaint) and geographically (where the stoic attitude was often the only option left in the face of challenging climate, natural disasters and killer fauna), Australians developed a tentative way of expressing their feelings, one that maybe even surpasses the one present in British English. In his article in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, John Watson quotes a passage from a book titled *Cultures of the World: Australia*:

Making little of major happenings is a distinguishing feature of Australian conversation. Australians do not like to dramatise events, unless they are telling one of their 'tall' stories. In this case, everything is blown out of proportion. However, understatement is the more usual feature. (*Cultures of the World: Australia* 1990, after Watson 2013)

This is especially noticeable in the language of sport commentary and the way athletes describe their own performance – as can be illustrated by the following examples:

- 1) "Champion veterans James Kelly and Corey Enright had ordinary nights, but they were hardly alone." /ordinary nights = really bad games/ (Internet source 11)
- 2) "'I remember going into Joshy's office after we'd played North Melbourne and I thought a had a pretty good game, and he said 'I thought you were pretty average' and it hit me like a ton of bricks," Kennedy said after accepting his award from the man after whom it is named, Bob Skilton." /average = really bad/ (Internet source 12)

Watson observes that intrinsically Australian "no worries, mate" and "she'll be all right" are used at times of crisis, while acknowledging that someone "did all right" will be more than appropriate to congratulate someone on their success. "Linguistic restraint [imposes] a steady-headed perspective on everything in between" (Watson 2013).

Concluding points

The translator of Polish subtitles quite successfully managed to convey Australian understatement illustrated above by opting for “miernota” as the translation of “mediocre” – the emotion and sarcasm are present in both versions. As mentioned in the introduction, *Mad Max: Fury Road* does not rely on the viewer’s familiarity with Australian culture and ability to decipher any “erudition allusions”; if one can, it only comes as an added bonus. However being aware that they are present in the film constitutes a wonderful starting point for an adventure in discovering the world through the prism of a different culture.

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POETRY AS PERFORMANCE. ALLEN GINSBERG AND ROCK 'N' ROLL

Abstract

The article discusses the musical career of Allen Ginsberg, showing that his interest in rock 'n' roll was a natural consequence of his deeply held conviction that poetry is primarily a performative art. Ginsberg always wanted to create art that would influence thousands of people and thus change the world. Unfortunately, despite being a great performer, he lacked both knowledge and the necessary skills to succeed as a musician. Still, he managed to change the general perception of rock 'n' roll music. He popularized the view that rock 'n' roll is an art which is as important as poetry, that it is in fact the ultimate poetry.

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia muzyczną karierę Allena Ginsberga. Pokazuje, iż jego zainteresowanie rock'n'rollem było naturalną konsekwencją jego poglądów na temat poezji; jego przekonania, iż poezja jest przede wszystkim sztuką performatywną oraz jego pragnienia tworzenia sztuki, która byłaby w stanie oddziaływać na tysiące i zmieniać świat. Jednakże pomimo swoich talentów oratorskich Ginsbergowi brakowało zarówno wiedzy jak i umiejętności, aby osiągnąć sukces na tym polu. Tym niemniej udało mu się zmienić sposób, w jaki rock'n'roll był postrzegany. To głównie dzięki niemu rock'n'roll został uznany przez wielu za sztukę równie wartościową, co poezja.

In March 1997, just a few days before his death, Ginsberg wrote from the hospital the following letter to President Clinton:

I have untreatable liver cancer and have 2-5 months to live. If you have some sort of award or medal for service in art or poetry, please send one along unless it's politically inadvisable or inexpedient. I don't want to bait the right wing for you. Maybe Gingrich might or might not mind. But don't take chances please, you've enough on hand. (after Morgan 2006: 648)

As a matter of fact, Clinton did not take any chances, and most likely Ginsberg's insistence on the President's being very careful was totally superfluous.

The letter reveals a certain paradoxical truth about Allen Ginsberg. It reflects arrogance bordering on monomania mixed with a genuine concern for the well-being of the others, a strange combination of extreme pride and modesty to the point of self-effacement. A similar sentiment is frequently encountered in his poems; for instance when he declares in "America": "It occurs to me that I am America./ I am talking to

myself again” (Ginsberg 2007: 155), he is both indulging his Witmanesque desire to speak for the entire nation and making fun of himself as a prophet.

This irony is also present in Ginsberg’s letter to President Clinton and it certainly wasn’t lost on the writer: the die-hard rebel, the sworn enemy of the state was asking the authorities for official recognition. This doesn’t mean, though, that he, as some claimed, “sold out.” The truth is that Ginsberg always shocked and asked for recognition at the same time, and being extremely self-conscious he was well aware of this paradox. He learnt to accept his own inconsistencies and laugh at them. After all he was a passionate disciple of Walt Whitman, who famously stated “Do I contradict myself? / Very well then I contradict myself, / (I am large, I contain multitudes.)” (Whitman 1960: 96). Back in the fifties, when Ginsberg was on the threshold of his literary career, he did not hide his contempt for Professor Lionell Trilling’s views on literature (his former teacher at Columbia University), yet he valued Trilling’s opinion about his own work very highly, and he often asked him for advice. Most likely, for Ginsberg fame and public recognition were a means of compensating for the lack of emotional safety at home caused by his mother’s illness. He sought them as a poet, and later, with definitely less luck, also as a rock singer. And apparently he still needed them when he was dying, even though his letter to President Clinton might look like a joke.

There was also something very funny, almost absurd about Ginsberg’s desire to become a rock star. It was an adolescent fantasy embraced at the age of almost forty, treated by Ginsberg with his characteristic mixture of humor and seriousness. In 1964 he noted in his diary that he was no longer in love with Dick Davalos, or with Lance Henrickson (his former lovers), nor even with Rimbaud, now he was in love with the Beatles (after Morgan 2006: 395). In 1967 when he visited Pound in Italy, he brought along the Beatles’ *Sgt. Pepper Lonely Hearts Club Band* and Dylan’s *Blonde on Blonde*, which he played for the old poet. These were the things that he wanted to share with him most. It is not clear whether Pound took to rock or not because at that time Pound, aged 82, hardly spoke at all. Earlier this year when the Beatles actually let Allen into the control room in the studio where they recorded their song, Ginsberg, as his biographer Bill Morgan put it, “was in ecstasy” and “being with these musicians was one of the high points of his life” (Morgan 2006: 438-439). This fascination did not diminish with time. In 1975 Dylan asked Ginsberg to join the Rolling Thunder Revue. Larry Sloman remarked that “during the entire time that Allen was on the tour he was not much more than a glorified groupie, watching every one of the performances and hoping, usually in vain, that Dylan would invite him on stage” (after Morgan 2006: 513).

There is definitely more to Ginsberg’s fascination with rock ’n’ roll than just the desire to compensate for the lack of emotional safety. It was actually the most logical conclusion of his development as an artist. Even though the critics praised *Howl* for its complex and original imagery, and its well-thought-out structure (which they refused to believe to be the result of spontaneous creation), *Howl* was first and foremost Ginsberg’s success as a performer. He became famous not after publishing the poem but after reading it aloud. The key to Ginsberg’s success lay in what happened between the poet reading the poem and his audience. Jonah Raskin comments on the event in the following way:

In the process of reading the poem, he [Ginsberg] found himself forging a new identity as a public poet sharing his private thoughts and feelings with eager, admiring listeners. *Howl* made Ginsberg. The poem created the poet. The audience was transformed too – indifferent spectators becoming energetic participants. “Everyone was yelling ‘Go! Go! Go!’” Kerouac wrote. No one had ever been at a poetry reading so emotional and so cathartic. (Raskin 2004: 18)

The atmosphere of the evening was frequently compared to that of jazz sessions. It was unlike regular poetry readings. There was nothing intellectual about it. The audience joined Ginsberg in an almost ecstatic frenzy. The poet cried, the listeners screamed. The poem became a shared experience; the poet and his readers participated in it on equal rights. This became for Ginsberg a measure of poetic success. He had already rejected the idea of academic poetry, which he denounced as sterile and ineffectual. What counted for him was not the formal perfection but the ability to move people. The poet’s job, as Ginsberg saw it, was to reconnect people to basic natural emotions which they seemed to have forgotten, rather than to engage them intellectually. This explains why he held rock ’n’ roll in such a high esteem. What he witnessed during rock ’n’ roll concerts filled him with a sense of religious awe. These events exceeded in their emotional intensity the famous Gallery Six poetry reading. He was absolutely amazed by the power that the rock artists wielded over their audiences. They could easily bring them to tears or to the verge of ecstasy. If poetry was about the power over human souls, rock ’n’ roll was the ultimate poetry. But it wasn’t only the question of aesthetics, it was also the question of politics. Even though Ginsberg was a very popular poet, his poetry readings were attended by several hundred people at most. It was most impressive for a poetry reading, but rock ’n’ roll concerts drew tens of thousands. Ginsberg always wanted to change the world. He was painfully aware of his limitations as a poet and he dreamed of the possibilities which lay wide open before a rock star. In his poem “Portland Coliseum” describing the Beatles’ concert in Portland in 1965, he wrote:

The million children
the thousand words
bounce in their seats, bash
each other's sides, press
legs together nervous
Scream again & claphand
become one Animal
in the New World Auditorium
—hands waving myriad
snakes of thought
screech beyond hearing

while a line of police with
folded arms stand

Sentry to contain the red
sweatered ecstasy
that rises upward to the
wired roof.
(2007: 373-74)

The implication being that no matter how hard the police try, they won't be able to contain "the red sweatered ecstasy" of "the million children."

Apart from Bob Dylan, in his various musical projects Ginsberg collaborated with such celebrities as Paul McCartney, John Lennon, John Cale, John Cage, Laurie Anderson, the Clash, or Bono. Many of these projects were not planned in advance but it was something that was developed on the spur of the moment, a result of a chance encounter. Socializing with rock stars created opportunities. Sometimes during a rock concert Ginsberg was spotted in the audience, and he would be asked to contribute something to the show. Usually Ginsberg was only too happy to agree.

But equally frequently he worked with amateurs, friends and family (his brother's teenage children), or even complete strangers who just happened to be around. For instance during his poetry reading in Australia, Ginsberg invited four aborigines onto the stage and asked them to demonstrate how they use their song sticks (Ginsberg was fascinated by their oral tradition). He was always thrilled by the prospect of working with famous musicians but he was very grateful for any help that he could get. Anybody who could play any musical instrument was most welcome.

His first major musical project, an adaptation of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (1969) was everything but professional. One sympathetic reviewer (Lester Bangs) described it as "an oddly moving album that manages to sound amateurish and pure at the same time [...] Nothing here sounds strained or pretentious" (Bangs 1999: 251). The reviewer tried to present Ginsberg's musical incompetence as an asset. Sounding amateurish is suggested to be an important artistic achievement, requiring considerable skill. But the purity referred to is in fact Ginsberg's ignorance about music. At that time, as he himself admitted, he knew only two chords. In an interview with Barry Alfonso, he said: "[A]fter many years of chanting monochordal mantras – I began discovering that there was a second chord possible. I had played the harmonium, but with one chord. In doing the Blake songs, I began discovering that I needed to change a chord for some bending of the melody" (Alfonso 1999: 253).

Still the main problem was much more serious than the lack of musical education. Ginsberg could not sing. He was very good at chanting monochordal mantras, but whenever he tried "bending the melody," it usually ended in a disaster. The Blake album provides ample evidence of Ginsberg's deficiencies as a singer.

He did not give up, though. In 1972 he was working on another album, and, as Morgan writes, "[h]e dreamed of becoming a rock 'n' roll star, although on a practical level he realized he was far too interested in the words and knew too little about music" (2006: 482). Still he thought that "[s]tranger things had occurred, and [...] was determined to improve his musical talent as much as he could" (Morgan 2006: 482). The album never materialized because the recording company was after Dylan's name, not Ginsberg's music. Dylan agreed to help Ginsberg as a musical consultant but he

did not want his name to be used in marketing materials, and the project was abandoned. Ginsberg returned to the studio in 1976 to produce the album entitled *First Blues*. The album was a moderate critical success and a commercial failure. The critics seemed to like it but the fans were indifferent. Morgan writes that Ginsberg “was disappointed by the flat reception, but nothing would deter him from his quest to be a rock star” (2006: 515). The climax of Ginsberg’s musical career came in 1994 with the release of his four-CD box set *Holy Soul Jelly Roll*. This was Ginsberg’s Collected Musical Works, with the addition of a handful of poems.

When Ginsberg recorded with professional musicians, they would try to cover his singing mistakes, and the overall result was much better. Still Ginsberg was more effective when he read his poems to the accompaniment of music than when he attempted to sing them. Ginsberg, with his deep sonorous voice and a wonderful sense of rhythm, was a master of the spoken language.

Certainly, the love affair with rock had a big impact on Ginsberg’s own work as a poet. Most poems that he wrote in 1971 were in fact simple songs. He moved in the direction of greater simplicity and clarity. His ideal of poetry seems to have been influenced by the music that he listened to. In an interview with Barry Alonso, which took place in 1994, Ginsberg made the following somewhat controversial statement:

[T]he one who taught me blues the most was Richard “Rabbit” Brown – “I’ll give you sugar for sugar/ you’ll get salt for salt/ but if you don’t love me, it’s your own damn fault.” I ends “sometimes I think that you’re too sweet to die/ other times I think you ought to be buried alive.” That’s great poetry.
(Alonso 1999: 254)

Ginsberg’s later poems are more similar to these lyrics than to *Howl* or *Kaddish*.

Ginsberg’s method of composition seemed to have changed as well. *Howl* was in fact a carefully revised poem, which Ginsberg eventually admitted when he published its annotated drafts, telling the story of how the poem came into being. As the manuscript shows, the poet worked hard to give his masterpiece the perfect form. In 1996 Ginsberg described his method as “thinking to himself in the bathtub” (after Kubernik 1999: 259). He explained that if the thought was vivid enough, he would write it down later, emphasizing that “he was not writing to write something” (Kubernik 1999: 259). This method ruled out any possibility of revision. It was informed by the conviction that every thought is inherently poetic and that one needs to accept oneself without any reservations (censoring one’s thoughts is not a good idea) but it also suggests a somewhat disparaging attitude towards the text, the implication being that it is not words alone that make poetry. Ginsberg said once jokingly, “Why write poems on paper when you have to cut down trees, why not put it into the air?” Many a true word is spoken in jest. Putting poems into the air, apart from being more ecological, has this additional advantage over writing them on paper that it preserves the poet’s physical voice. There are many indications that this was for Ginsberg something crucial.

Ginsberg attached a lot of importance to having his poetry recorded. He claimed that only on these recordings his development as a poet could be seen. He said, “My oration, my pronunciation, my singing, my vocalization differs, and it builds” (Alonso

1999: 263). He was always very aware of the performative aspect of poetry. He complained about most academic poetry being “spoken in a single solitary moan tone” and, following the example of William Carlos Williams, he sought “more musical and varied rhythmic sequences of conversation as well as the tones” (Alonso 1999: 267). When asked about a possible conflict between performance and the original text’s meaning, he replied that in his case there was none as everything that he wrote was like talking to somebody “with all the different tones of the spoken idiom, which is more musical than most poetry” (Alonso 1999: 259). In other words, there was no need for him to turn into performance something that initially was something else; his poems were from the very beginning scripts for performance.

Indeed, when considered as texts many of them seem deficient. Without Ginsberg reading them aloud they are incomplete and of little interest. Consider for instance “Hum Bomb,” the first part of the poem, page and a half long, consists of only six words repeated over and over again. Because of this excessive repetition the poem is virtually unreadable. Many lines not only look but in fact are identical. But when Ginsberg reads it aloud, it becomes a completely different experience.

Certainly Ginsberg did not get the idea of poetry as performance from rock ‘n’ roll. It is a much older concept related to the tradition of oral literature and the various connections between poetry and music. But rock ‘n’ roll defined his notion what kind of performance poetry should be; simple, crude, yet powerful. Interestingly enough, the influence was mutual. Lou Reed once stated: “Modern rock lyrics would be inconceivable without the work of Allen Ginsberg. It opened them up from the really mediocre thing they’d been to something more interesting and relevant” (“Memories of Allen” 1999: 278). Rock ‘n’ roll protest songs were inspired more or less directly by Ginsberg’s *Howl*. Ginsberg also helped to create the mystique of rock ‘n’ roll; he was much more outspoken about rock ‘n’ roll being the music of liberation, change and hope, than most rock musicians. He insisted that rock ‘n’ roll was true art, and that Dylan and Lennon were great poets and this influenced how rock ‘n’ roll was perceived by the world of literature. Rock ‘n’ roll relied on Ginsberg’s ideas. It is possible then that rock ‘n’ roll is as indebted to Ginsberg as Ginsberg was to rock ‘n’ roll.

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WHAT IS COLLABORATIVE LEARNING?

Abstract

Collaborative learning, having its roots in the theory of constructivism and sharing a common core with it, plays an important role in the process of constructing knowledge through interaction and communication with members of a group in a social context. By interacting with peers that are more knowledgeable, we are able to improve our knowledge and social skills. What is more, this type of group work adds some variety to the classroom and is a shift from the traditional way of teaching where students are rather passively involved in the learning process. In collaborative environment active involvement of students boosts the efficacy of the learning process and affects it in a positive way improving students' knowledge and motivation. Because of active involvement as well as sharing ideas, knowledge and information students improve variety of skills and remember the discussed problems better. When providing opportunities for collaborative learning, teachers must accept the fact that their role changes. They are no longer the authority in the classroom but they become guides and mediators. In addition to this, they have to take into account various aspects of forming an effective collaborative group.

Streszczenie

Metoda pracy grupowej polegająca na współpracy ma swoje korzenie w teorii konstruktywizmu oraz dzieli z nim wspólny trzon. Odgrywa ona ważną rolę w procesie konstruowania wiedzy poprzez interakcję oraz komunikację z członkami grupy w kontekście społecznym. Wchodząc w interakcje z osobami które posiadają większą wiedzę jesteśmy w stanie udoskonalić własną wiedzę oraz umiejętności życia w społeczeństwie. Ponadto ten rodzaj pracy grupowej dodaje trochę różnorodności w klasie i jest odejściem do tradycyjnego modelu nauczania w którym uczniowie są raczej biernie zaangażowani w proces nauczania. W środowisku charakteryzującym się współpracą aktywne zaangażowanie uczniów zwiększa skuteczność procesu nauczania oraz wpływa na niego pozytywnie polepszając ich wiedzę a także motywację. Aktywne zaangażowanie i dzielenie się pomysłami, wiedzą oraz informacjami wpływa na polepszenie wielu zdolności oraz lepsze zapamiętanie omawianych problemów. Nauczyciele dostarczając możliwości współpracy w grupie muszą zaakceptować fakt, iż ich rola się zmienia. Nie są oni dłużej autorytetem w klasie lecz stają się przewodnikami oraz mediatorami. Oprócz tego muszą wziąć pod uwagę rozmaite aspekty tworzenia efektywnej grupy w której wszyscy ze sobą współpracują.

1. Introduction

The system of education has undergone many changes that influenced learning methods and approaches. The roles of teachers and learners were changing throughout that time and new opportunities were appearing. One of the recent approaches that has developed in response to traditional classroom fashion where the teacher is the source of knowledge and the learner plays a rather passive role is called collaborative learning. Deriving its key concepts from constructivism, collaborative learning suggests a notable change in the organization of today's classroom. A teacher-centered classroom starts to prosper as a learner-centered one with students now being active and more creative. What is more, it emphasizes the importance of interaction and communication. In collaborative learning environment students are capable of improving their knowledge and social skills being actively involved in the learning process, which is much more effective when compared to passive involvement in a traditional classroom. The intention of this article is to analyze the basic assumptions of collaborative learning which has its roots in constructivism.

2. What is constructivism?

The process of learning has been explored by various scientists and psychologists for many years. They were trying to find and establish the most successful method in which no learners would be neglected. They were also trying to answer the question whether working in a group provides more advantages and is more effective than learning alone (Dillenbourg, 1996). Analyzing a variety of learning theories existing in education, scholars created a learning theory which is both a response to approaches such as behaviorism and an alternative to traditional teaching. This theory is called constructivism. As Driscoll (2000) states, the need for such a change was mainly caused by the fact that behaviourism is purely a teacher-centered approach where students are passive and controlled by the only source of knowledge, being the teacher. In contrast, constructivism offers a learner-centered classroom where students are actively involved both in the process of constructing their knowledge and in the learning processes. Previously employed learning theories suggested that the input equals the output. The teacher provided their students with some input (i.e. information, knowledge) and required them to produce the same output (i.e. memorize it and reproduce it). Modern learning theories emphasize that each learner is different and cannot be expected to produce exactly the same output.

Constructivism is the philosophy that sees individuals as active constructors of their knowledge and criticizes the assumption that knowledge simply exists in the external world. Proponents of constructivism believe that instead of discovering the properties of the world we invent them, and that we construct the reality by our own activity (Kukla, 2000).

The term itself refers to the theory of learning also known as epistemology according to which human knowledge and meaning is constructed from our experiences (Piaget, 1974). This fact is in direct opposition to traditional teaching practice where learners are rather passive and depend on the omniscient teacher who is the main source of knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978).

2.1 Vygotskian theory

Vygotsky (1896-1934) was a Russian developmental psychologist who emphasized the importance of learning in a group. His work contributed to thorough research in the field of developmental cognition and particularly in the field of what is known as social development theory. He emphasized the importance of social interactions, which he saw as the starting point for child's cognitive skills. Social interactions, which occur between the children, one of whom is referred to as "more able one", later on become internalized in the process of development.

In his book "*Vygotsky and Pedagogy*" Daniels (2001) states that Vygotsky's theories should be taken into account when discussing children's learning process. Vygotsky emphasizes that children's development does not take place in isolation. The process of learning occurs when the child can interact with the social environment. It is the teacher who is responsible for establishing an interactive instructional situation in the classroom in which the child is an active learner and the teacher - using his knowledge - is a guide in the learning process.

2.1.1 The Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and More Knowledgeable Other (MKO)

In his theory, Vygotsky stressed that new ways of thinking and doing are best adopted by children when they interact with those people who are more competent. He sees this kind of inequality in skills and understanding that occurs between two people as a support in the learning process.

The two basic terms that need to be explained when talking about constructivism and Vygotsky's theory are More Knowledgeable Other (MKO) and the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). MKO i.e. More Knowledgeable Other indicates the presence of two people, one of whom is better than the other. Better means that their ability level is higher when considering a particular exercise or concept. In many cases, it is either the teacher or an adult who plays the role of MKO. However, there are some instances when a child's peers may have higher abilities or more experience and hence they may act as MKO.

The Zone of Proximal Development (see figure 1) created by Vygotsky functions as a metaphor, which helps to understand the way in which social and participatory learning occurs. Generally, ZPD is the discrepancy between what a child can do individually and what they can do when involved in collaborative work with the help of others (Vygotsky, 1978). When we join MKO with ZPD, we will get something like a basis of a scaffolding. According to Vygotsky (1978), providing students with a proper scaffolding leads to a better accomplishment of a task. When they accomplish the task, the assistance (scaffolding) can be removed. As a result, students are capable of performing and completing the task one more time but on their own, without the help of others. What Vygotsky stresses in his theories and works is the fact that "in collaboration the child can always do more than he can independently. We must add the stipulation that he cannot do infinitely more. What collaboration contributes to the child's performance is restricted to limits which are determined by the state of his development and his intellectual potential" (Vygotsky 1978: 209).

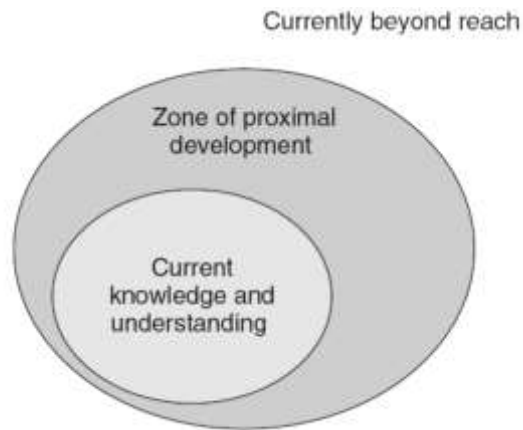


Figure 1. Zone of Proximal Development

3. Collaborative learning

Collaborative learning is defined in many ways, but the definitions tend to show similarities. In their book called “*Collaborative learning techniques: a handbook for college faculty*”, Barkley, Cross and Major (2005) define collaboration as simply working with others. In practice, to collaborate refers to a pair work or a small group work where students aim at gaining common learning goals (Barkley et al. 2005). Another definition proposed by Smith and MacGregor (1992) stresses an important aspect of collaboration, namely mutuality of intellectual work and effort shared by all members of a group. Following this further, Clark et al. (1996) defines collaborative learning as a dialogue where the accent is put on the group work and full involvement of the members of that group.

However, we can find that this type of learning has many different names. *Cooperative learning, group learning, team learning, or peer-assisted learning* are some of them. Even though Barkley (2005) accepts the fact that the definition of collaborative learning can be “*flexible*”, she states that one has to be aware of the existence of some important features which distinguish collaborative learning from the above-mentioned terms, *intentional design, co-laboring, and meaningful learning* being among them.

To start with, the design and structure of activities must be intentional, i.e. planned and purposeful. The problem of today’s teachers is that they simply ask their students to form groups and work in them. It is not done the same way in collaborative learning where it is the teacher who must construct learning activities that are intentional for their students.

Secondly, co-laboring matters in collaborative learning (Bruffee, 1993). The term *collaborate* is a Latin based term meaning *co-labor*. It is important that all members of the group are actively involved in the process of working together in order to achieve certain goals. We must remember that we cannot talk about collaborative learning if only one member of the group works on a group task while others simply observe. It is not important if students work on similar or different tasks since their contribution must be equal. However, as Bruffee (1993) states, it is still difficult for teachers to provide equal contribution and engagement. One of the possible reasons for that situation is the fact that some members of a group may show a strong desire to control the rest of the group, or they will monopolize the whole discussion and the

group work itself. Those who are less confident, or are simply not prepared, participate unwillingly and will not offer much contribution.

The last feature of collaborative learning, as Bailey (1992) states, is meaningful learning. When working together on a given collaborative task students must expand their knowledge and develop their understanding of the course. Tasks should be constructed in such a way that it is possible for students to achieve the learning objectives (Bailey, 1992). If they cannot achieve them then the task and learners' work is meaningless.

4. Types and characteristics of effective learning groups

When dealing with the issue of collaboration, it is important that teachers think about the types and characteristics of effective groups. Many teachers believe that they do create situations for collaboration during their lessons by placing students side by side in small groups and giving them opportunity to talk to each other. In many cases teachers forget about crucial factors that may influence group work such as group size, group types, selection, assigning roles etc.

There are various ways of creating learning groups as well as various forms and sizes of them depending on a particular aim. According to Gabelnick et al. (1990), some learning groups are formed during a lesson or a course only for a few minutes. A good example of such an arrangement is *Think-Pair-Share*, proposed by Lyman (1981), where students are asked to talk to their neighbours and discuss a particular problem or aspect of the lesson. Another type would be a learning group formed by the teacher for ten to fifteen minutes, which allows its members to analyze each other's reflections and opinions on the subject matter. This type is called *Buzz Groups* (Phillips, 1948) and requires four to six strong groups. When it comes to more organized learning groups that concentrate on a more specific task for a longer period until the task is accomplished, we deal with what is called *Group Investigation* (Thelen, 1960). From time to time students may work together in so-called "*learning communities*". The membership may last one semester or the whole academic year. In such "*learning communities*" learners deal with a course-related project jointly. As Barkley states "learning communities typically involve integration of curricula, team teaching, and other institutional changes designed to give students a feeling of belonging to a >>community<< of learners" (Barkley et al. 2005: 8 after Gabelnick et al. 1990).

When it comes to characteristic features of effective learning groups, Smith (1996) suggests that it is important to understand what collaborative learning really is. As it was mentioned previously, he suggests that many educators still have the wrong idea of collaborative learning and teaching. Teachers assume that arranging students in groups to work together is enough to construct a collaborative learning group. In many cases, weaker students leave the whole work to the more knowledgeable peers. Moreover, students often work individually and when some of them finish earlier, they help weaker students. According to Smith, collaboration is something more than just physical closeness of members of a particular group working on a given problem and distributing materials among each other. Each of those aspects, however, is a crucial component of collaboration (Smith, 1996).

In order to help educators, he lists some essential elements necessary for effective collaborative learning groups, *positive interdependence*, *promotive interaction*, *individual and group accountability*, *development of teamwork skills* and *group processing* being among them.

Positive interdependence refers to the success achieved by individuals that results in the success of the whole group. In order to achieve this success members of a group are positively motivated to help each other. Secondly, because of the *promotive interaction* students actively help each other. They support each other, divide resources among each other and try to positively stimulate peers to make an effort to learn. *Individual and group accountability* means that each member of the group must contribute to the achievement of goals. Last but not least, *development of teamwork skills* is vital in that not only do students need to learn academic skills but also how to function in a group as well as its part. Finally, *group processing* deals with students learning how to assess productivity of their group (Smith, 1996). “They need to describe what member actions are helpful and unhelpful, and to make decisions about what to continue or change” (Barkley et al. 2005: 10). All in all, *promotive interaction* and *individual accountability* are highly articulated in collaborative learning. Slavin explains that “it is not enough to simply tell students to work together; they must have a reason to take one another’s achievement seriously” (Slavin, 1996: 21).

4.2 Teacher’s and learner’s roles in the light of collaborative classroom

While providing opportunities for collaborative learning, teachers must accept the fact that their role changes. They are no longer the authority in the classroom but they become guides and mediators. Many critics argue that collaborative learning equals escaping responsibility as teachers avoid teaching. However, it is not true. What comes within their duties is planning the lesson precisely to provide effectiveness, stating the objectives as well as making decisions concerning the size of the group, how to group students, their roles, resources needed for the lesson and general organization of the classroom.

Secondly, teachers must clearly explain the instructions and the way in which collaboration is achieved. They try to motivate their students while monitoring their work. Students must remember that each of them contributes to the group success. When the help is required, the teacher should intervene. In cases of conflicts, the teacher should familiarize members of the group with social skills, such as appropriate verbal or nonverbal forms of communication, tone of voice, interaction, or body language. Finally, when the goals and success are achieved, the teacher assesses the quality and quantity of students’ achievement (Jolliffe, 2007).

In collaborative environment, not only teachers but also students acquire new roles and responsibilities. Those responsibilities differ from what they were accustomed to in traditional classroom. MacGregor (1990) tries to describe those changes. He states that in a traditional classroom students depend on the teacher who is the main source of knowledge. As a result, students’ expectations of preparation for the class are low. It is the teacher who provides all the necessary information while learners listen and absorb it. What is more, in traditional classroom students are more competitive and prefer to learn independently. They can be described as passive listeners, observers, and note takers. As students work independently, they are

responsible for their learning only and they do not have to take care of other learners. In addition to this, their presence in the classroom is *private* as it is the teacher who controls and leads the lesson. Hence, the risk of being intimidated and unwillingly involved in an activity is low. In traditional classroom, it is the student who decides if they want to participate in an activity and express their opinion or remain silent.

In collaborative classroom, on the other hand, learners are active problem solvers and contributors who collaborate with their fellow members rather than compete. Moreover, they see their fellow members as additional source of knowledge apart from the teacher. They approve of learning interdependently. Seeing other members as additional source of knowledge refers directly to the concept of More Knowledgeable Other discussed earlier. It emphasizes the fact that in collaborative classroom students' prior knowledge is combined with the knowledge of their peers. As students are involved in an active learning process the expectations of preparation for class shift from low to high. Not only the learner but also the teacher has to be well prepared for the lesson. The teacher must be aware that in the course of active collaboration some problems and questions may arise, and it will be the teacher's responsibility to answer them. As students are actively involved in the learning process and they collaborate with their peers, their presence in the classroom becomes *public*. They cannot work in isolation. Instead they have to interact and hence their attendance is dictated by the group's needs and the roles previously assigned by the teacher.

4.3 Group roles

At the very beginning, students may feel confused since the use of collaborative technique might be new for them. They do not know what they have to do when working together. It is advisable that teachers assign different group roles. Students who have a particular role are more likely to be actively involved in a group work as they have a specific purpose for it. Moreover, such division of roles stimulates interdependence, enhances teamwork, and makes students responsible for their own learning or actions (Johnson et al. 1987).

Roles which can be assigned are different. They depend on the type of assignment, the level of difficulty, age, social skills among learners, etc. In her book, Barkley (2005) refers to Millis and Cottell (1998) who propose six roles that are common and provide effectiveness when practising collaborative learning (see Table 1). Millis and Cottell (1998) recognize such roles as: the role of the facilitator, recorder, reporter, timekeeper, folder monitor and wildcard. They believe that each of those roles is typical when forming a group. As it can be seen from Table 1, each role is briefly characterized. What is more, Millis and Cottell suggest that the roles should not be fixed but they should be changed from time to time. The reason for that is simple. Students usually choose the easiest roles in order to avoid responsibility. Millis and Cottell (1998) instruct that the constantly changing assignment of roles creates opportunities in which students can practice different roles (Millis et al. 1998).

| Six common group roles | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Facilitator | Moderates all team discussions, keeping the group on task for each assignment and ensuring that everybody assumes their share of the work. Facilitators strive to make sure all group members have the opportunity to learn, to participate, and to earn the respect of the other group members. |
| Recorder | Records any assigned team activities. Recorders take notes summarizing discussion, keep all necessary records (including data sheets such as attendance and homework check-offs), and complete worksheets or written assignments for submission to the instructor. |
| Reporter | Serves as group spokesperson and orally summarizes the group's activities or conclusions. Reporters also assist the recorder with the preparation of reports and worksheets. |
| Timekeeper | Keeps the group aware of time constraints, works with the facilitator to keep the group on task, and can also assume the role of any missing group member. The timekeeper is also responsible for any set-up and for ensuring that the team's work area is in good condition when the session ends. |
| Folder Monitor | If the instructor has created group work folders, the monitor picks up the team folder, distributes all material other than data sheets, and returns all papers, assignments, or notes to team members. Folder monitors ensure that all relevant class materials are in the folder at the end of the class session. |
| Wildcard | Assumes the role of any missing member or fills in however they are needed. |

Table 1. Six common group roles (Barkley et al. 2005: 52 after Millis et al. 1998).

4.6 Homogeneity or heterogeneity?

When dealing with collaborative groups teachers often have to face a very difficult task. They have to decide whether those groups should be homogeneous or perhaps heterogeneous. It is difficult to decide which of those two is more beneficial. Johnson et al. (1987) states that heterogeneous groups are proved to be much better especially for promoting learning. Diversity of abilities, cultures, levels, learning styles and genders in such groups create opportunities in which students have to work with people whose ideas and experiences differ from their own. What is more, such a mixture helps to eliminate barriers and overcome various prejudices. In addition to this, Aronson et al. (1978) points out that there is “some evidence that diverse groups are more productive and better suited for multidimensional tasks” (Barkley et al. 2005: 45 after Aronson et al. 1978).

On the other hand, heterogeneity has its disadvantages as well. One of them is the problem of diversity of opinions and attitudes. Some members may find it inconvenient and feel anxious because of the possible arguments resulting from such a mixture. Moreover, when teachers use ability grouping to create heterogeneous groups, students that are more knowledgeable may monopolize the group so that the

weaker ones will not have opportunity to participate or communicate with others during collaborative learning tasks. In contrast, homogeneous grouping may turn out to have some positive aspects. Firstly, according to Brookfield et al. (1999) students working with others who have similar interests and characteristics may feel more secure and confident. The pleasure of working with others increases when students are able to work with somebody who is similar. However, homogeneous groups do not provide opportunities in which students can explore and experience great diversity and interactions (Johnson et al. 1987).

5. Conclusion

Having its roots in social constructivism, collaborative learning emphasizes the importance of learning in a group and the role of the social context. In addition to this, it is about creating knowledge by both the teacher and students while working together. Knowledge does not simply exist and waits to be discovered, but it is a social product created by knowledgeable peers. It can be described as something that is constructed by people in the process of communication and negotiation. When interacting with each other, students are actively involved in the process of learning and learn better than in isolation.

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CORNISH - WILL THE REVIVED LANGUAGE BECOME A COMMUNITY SPEECH?

Abstract

Cornwall, situated in the westernmost part of the south-west peninsula of Great Britain is a unique part of England. Once an independent country, with its Celtic ethnic and cultural identity and its own language, Cornwall became part of England in the Middle Ages and the Cornish adopted English culture. The language shift from Cornish to English continued for several centuries until, in the 18th century, the native tongue became extinct. However, in modern times, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, attempts to revive the native language began.

The paper discusses the history of the Cornish language, reasons for its decline, the revival movement and the current language situation. It also analyses the development of the sense of ethnic identity, the fight of the Cornish to be seen as a distinct minority group and the official recognition of their national language.

Streszczenie

Kornwalia, położona w południowo-zachodniej części Wielkiej Brytanii, jest specyficzną częścią Anglii. Kiedyś niezależny kraj, z własnym językiem i kulturą, już w średniowieczu Kornwalia została przyłączona do Anglii, a Kornwalijscy przyjęli tradycje i kulturę angielską. Przez wieki język kornwalijski był stopniowo wypierany przez angielski, aż w XVIII wieku stał się językiem wymarłym. W czasach współczesnych, na przełomie XIX i XX, wieku zaczęto podejmować pierwsze próby odtworzenia języka.

Artykuł omawia proces odtwarzania języka, popularyzowania go i podejmowane współcześnie próby uczynienia go językiem powszechnie używanym. Wspomina też walkę Kornwalijszczyków o uznanie ich za mniejszość narodową, a ich języka za język narodowy.

Introduction

Is it possible to revive the language that has almost become extinct? There are countries where even national languages are slowly disappearing even though efforts are made to promote their usage. Cornish seems to be the exception from this general rule. The language, which stopped to be the community speech in the early 18th century, is slowly coming back. It is unusual because it is not the national language of a state, but the regional language of a relatively small area.

Cornwall, the county occupying the extreme south west of the United Kingdom, is a very unique part of England. At present it has the status of a ceremonial county and has its own local authority – the Cornwall Council¹⁷. Although English language

¹⁷ The Council does not govern the Isles of Scilly, which have their own authority – The Council of the Isles of Scilly.

and culture entered the country in medieval times, the region has always kept its distinct cultural identity.

Cornwall is officially recognised as one of the six Celtic Nations¹⁸. It has its own language, Cornish, which is one of Brythonic Celtic languages, most closely related to Welsh and Breton¹⁹. The language is officially recognised as a minority language, protected under the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*²⁰. Although the last speaker of Cornish died in 1777²¹, the language continued to be used for specific purposes²² even in the early 20th century. However, it stopped to be a living everyday speech. As, with the loss of the language, there was some resistance to accept Cornwall as a Celtic nation, revival movements started. Their leaders planned to restore the language, collect literature in Cornish and initiate learning Cornish. Thanks to the efforts of generations of revivalists, the number of people who consider themselves Cornish has been slowly growing²³ and every year there are more and more people who are able to use the language effectively. Thus, the language revival strengthened their sense of national identity. Cornish people, who see themselves as a nation, formed their self-rule movement²⁴ which campaigns for the Cornish Assembly²⁵.

Cornish – from the Celtic invasion to the end of Middle Ages

The Celtic history of Cornwall started in the Iron Age, when Great Britain was invaded by Celtic tribes. Britons, speaking the Insular Celtic language known as Common Brythonic, occupied the area of present-day England. After the arrival of Anglo-Saxons, they retreated to Wales and Cornwall or emigrated to Brittany. In AD 577 the victory of the Saxons, at the Battle of Deorham (Dyrham), separated Cornwall from Wales. With time, Celtic population split into distinct groups and separate tongues: Welsh, Cornish and Breton started to develop. The period between the 6th and the 9th centuries, with subsequent defeats and victories in their fights against the Anglo-Saxons, is the time of the formation of Cornish identity (Mac Kinnon, 2000: 11).

In the 9th century, after a long struggle for dominance in the area, Cornwall fell under the control of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex. The country started to be administered by Anglo-Saxons, but its culture was not anglicised and its people still

¹⁸ Several organisations, including the Celtic League and the International Celtic Congress, recognise six Celtic nations: Cornwall, Brittany, Ireland, The Isle of Man, Scotland and Wales. The Welsh government and the Isle of Man government recognise two more Celtic nations: Asturias and Galicia (The Celtic League website).

¹⁹ P-Celtic (Brythonic) language group includes Cornish, Breton and Welsh; Q-Celtic (Goidelic) group – Irish, Manx and Scottish Gaelic.

²⁰ *The European Treaty*, adopted in 1992, was ratified by the United Kingdom in 2001.

²¹ The last reputed speaker was Dolly Pentreath, who died in 1777. However, some scholars give examples of Cornish speakers living later (Mac Kinnon, 2000: 14).

²² There are reports of Cornish used at sea (Mac Kinnon, 2000: 3).

²³ In 2001 - 7% identified themselves as Cornish, in 2009 the group rose to 44% (*BBC News*, 7. 03. 2011).

²⁴ Two parties: Mebyon Kernow and Cornish National Party campaign for it.

²⁵ Wales and Northern Ireland have their National Assemblies, composed of elected representatives of the nations, which have the power to legislate in some areas which are not reserved to the UK Parliament.

spoke the Cornish language. Not much is known about the language of that period, but there are records of Cornish glosses used in a Latin manuscript²⁶ from the 9th century.

English expansion into Cornwall started in the 11th century. After the Norman conquest, Cornwall was absorbed by the Kingdom of England. Nevertheless, it was still regarded as a separate province with its own status and title, under the English crown²⁷. Although, with time, Cornish landowning class was replaced with the English one, the Cornish language survived, particularly in central and western Cornwall. In 1336 Cornwall became a separate province, administered as a palatinate, known as the Duchy of Cornwall. The monarch's eldest son,²⁸ who was given the title of the Duke of Cornwall, became its sovereign.

During that time Cornwall had well-developed economy, based on fishing and tin and copper production. The duchy managed to maintain its autonomy connected with its main product – tin. It had its Stannary institutions²⁹, which controlled the tin industry. Political independence of the area during that period ensured the integrity of the Cornish language. Although Anglo-Norman French³⁰ was the language of the court, Cornish was still the native tongue of the whole population and all social classes. The language was not only used for economic and social purposes, but also Cornish-language literature started to flourish. It was the period when the cycle of mystery plays was written³¹ and performed in open-air amphitheatres³². Other forms of literature were also popular. Some survived to our times, like a religious poem written in Cornish - *The Passion of our Lord*. Later, monks wrote miracle plays in Cornish. *The life of St Meriadoc* (1504) was one of such compositions, written in the language described as Middle Cornish.

Although in eastern Cornwall a slow language shift from Cornish to English was observed, still scholars estimated that in 1300 the Cornish language was used by 38 000 people, 73% of the total population³³ (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 215). Trade and cultural contacts with Brittany, a continental Celtic nation, helped to maintain, or even strengthen the language. However, when in the 1340s Black Death reached Cornwall, there were areas that lost half of their population. As a result decline of the Cornish language began. Between the mid 14th and mid 16th centuries the number of Cornish speakers stayed at the level of 33 000, while the population of Cornwall as a whole increased (Mills, 2010: 195).

²⁶ Cornish glosses are in *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, the work of a Roman philosopher Boethius (480-524/526) (Simms-Williams, 2005: 77-86).

²⁷ Cornwall had its own parliament and Cornish customary law.

²⁸ In 1336 Edward, the Black Prince, became the first Duke of Cornwall. Since 1421 the title has been given to the monarch's eldest son.

²⁹ In 1305 *Stannary Charter* established Stannary towns, with monopoly on tin mining, Stannary Parliament and Stannary Courts which were legislative and legal institutions for tin miners and tin mining interests.

³⁰ Anglo-Norman French was used until the 15th century.

³¹ Traditional Cornish literature from that period was used to reconstruct the language during its revival in the early 20th century (Hut, 2001:4).

³² Those amphitheatres - „playing-places” or „rounds” in Cornish still exist.

³³ Using various sources, a Cornish scholar George estimated the number of Cornish speakers from the 11th century to the early 13th. There were between 15 000 to 20 000 speakers in the 11th century. In 1300 the number rose to 38 000 (Mills, 2010: 195).

The decline of the language

When the Tudor House started to rule England, political and economic situation resulted in changes in Cornwall, which threatened the stability of the Cornish language. After Henry VII (1457-1509)³⁴ had removed Cornish autonomy, Cornish people rose twice. The first rising, Cornish tin-miners' rebellion of 1497, took place when the monarch confiscated the *Stannary Charter* and suspended the Stannary government and courts. The same year there was another uprising, against additional taxation for a war with Scotland. Both risings were quickly suppressed and many male members of the Cornish speaking population were imprisoned and executed.

The monarch's son and successor, Henry VIII (1491-1547)³⁵, began English Reformation which also had consequences for the Cornish language. When monasteries in Cornwall were dissolved, which took place between 1538 and 1541, monastic colleges³⁶, the main source of Cornish literature, were destroyed and Cornwall lost important centres of Cornish culture, its "link to Cornwall's Celtic past" (Mills, 2010: 198).

Additionally, English replaced Latin as the language of the church. The *Act of Uniformity* (1549) imposed the use of Protestant *Book of Common Prayer* in English, which led to another rising, the Prayer-Book Rebellion of 1549. As Cornish language was not recognised, there was no official translation of liturgy or scripture. That is why, when they were forced to obligatory use of the English-language prayer-book and to sermons in English,³⁷ Cornish people rose. The 1549 revolt, which cost the lives of over half of Cornwall's men, started the process of the extinction of the Cornish language (Hut, 2001:4-5).

In 1559 Elizabeth I introduced the new *Act of Uniformity*, which allowed sermons in the Cornish language in places where English was not understood. However, as Mac Kinnon notices, it did not give "a literary and religious base for the language" (2005: 218) as there was no Cornish *Bible* and no prayer-book in Cornish. That is why, although the total population in Cornwall increased, the number of Cornish speakers was slowly decreasing and in some areas Cornish stopped to be the community language. What is more, without the Cornish *Bible* there was no standard language, so in later times it started to develop in different ways.

However, Cornwall still had trading links with Brittany. That is why the Cornish language was used in trade, mainly tin trade and remained strong among fishing communities in western Cornwall (Mac Kinnon, 2000: 3).

The 17th century brought unrest in Cornwall³⁸ and demographic decline of the Cornish-language community. The Cornish language, which had been commonly used in church services, in the second half of the century disappeared from church, as there were not enough speakers to make it appropriate for religious use³⁹. By mid-century the number of Cornish speakers dropped to 14 000 and at the end of the century only 5

³⁴ Henry VII was the king of England and the lord of Ireland from 1485 to 1509.

³⁵ Henry VIII was the king of England and the lord, later king of Ireland from 1509 to 1547.

³⁶ There were two monastic colleges – Glasney and Crantock (Mills, 2010: 197).

³⁷ People were used to liturgy in Latin.

³⁸ During the Civil War there were military activities also in Cornwall.

³⁹ The last places where Cornish was used in church services were: Landewednack (until 1667) and Towednack (until 1678) (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 218).

000 people spoke the language (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 218). The language was still commonly used among fishing communities. There was also a small community of educated tradesmen, clergy, gentry and professionals interested in the Cornish language, who wrote letters and literary works in Cornish. Many texts written in the language, known as late Cornish, derive from that period.

At that time Cornwall was one of the most industrialized areas of Britain, with metal industries important commercially since Middle Ages. That is why Cornish terminology of metal mining was commonly used, not only by speakers of Cornish but all people working in those industries (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 220).

By 1700, the year when Edward Lhuyd (1666-1709)⁴⁰, a Welsh philologist visited Cornwall, Cornish language was spoken only in a few remote places of western Cornwall. In 1707 Lhuyd published *Arecheologia Brittanica*, in which he provided the review of the language, pronunciation and Cornish literature. More information about the last vernacular phase of Cornish language, its last traditional writers⁴¹ and its last everyday users appeared in 1790, in William Pryce's (1735-1790)⁴² *Archeologia Cornu-Britannica*.

Economic changes in the late 18th century made Cornwall bilingual. Industrialisation caused that English was used as the language in commerce and it became the language of education. It was the language of the rich and the ruling class. Cornish, spoken in remote rural areas, started to be regarded as the language of the poor and illiterate people. During that period the process of emigration started. Cornish people, most of them speakers of Cornish, went to mining areas of North and South America, Asia, Australia or Africa. However, even though the majority of the population used English, the knowledge of Cornish remained in family tradition. It was used while reciting the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer* and for counting⁴³ (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 220).

When Cornish language community almost disappeared in the 18th century, Cornish language did not cease. Cornish words and phrases were passed orally. Moreover, people continued to use the language as a literary medium. There were biblical translations, technical writing, letters, poetry, historical books and transcription of traditional oral literature written in Cornish.

The language revival

The language survived thanks to Cornish language studies, which began in the 19th century. The early revivalists could still find people who understood Cornish and used it in their youth. During that period Cornish scholarship developed, first with publications of texts and dictionaries. John Hobson Mathews (1858-1914)⁴⁴ recorded

⁴⁰ Edward Lhuyd was the Welsh language speaker, antiquary, philologist and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. He did research in six Celtic countries.

⁴¹ He wrote about Thomas Tonkin (1678-1742), William Gwavas (1676-1741) and John Keigwin (1641-1716), Cornish writers who wrote their works in Cornish (*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, vol. 61).

⁴² William Pryce was a Cornish antiquary and writer.

⁴³ Mac Kinnon informs that this type of Cornish was used in places like Mousehole, Newlyn and St Ives even in the 20th century (2005: 220).

⁴⁴ Mathews was a historian and archivist. He was born in Cornwall but lived and worked in Wales. As he learnt Welsh and Cornish, his work included collecting texts in Welsh and Cornish.

John Davey - the last person with sufficient knowledge of Cornish to be able to speak. In 1869 Jacob George (1761-1842)⁴⁵ collected Cornish words used in Mousehole and Newlyn and published them in *Memoranda of Old Cornish Words*. Collections and meanings of Cornish words were published by R.S. Charnock (in 1870), John Bannister (1871). M.A. Courtney and T Quiller Couch (1880), Frederick Jago (1882, 1887)⁴⁶. In 1890 Lach-Szyrma (1841-1915)⁴⁷, in *The last lost languages of Europe*, not only wrote about the language, but also included some elementary lessons of Cornish. Cornish religious texts, plays and folk tales were collected and published by Edwin Norris, Davies Gilbert, Robert Hunt and William Botterell⁴⁸ (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 220-222).

Soon, Cornish scholars undertook a difficult task of restoring the language. In 1904 Henry Jenner (1848-1934)⁴⁹, who took his Bardic name of Gwas Myghal⁵⁰, published *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*, which became the basis for the language revival and learning. His initiative stimulated artistic production in Cornish. In 1907 Jenner announced a “Cornish Gorsedd Ceremony”, with competitions for writers, poets and other artists. This way of promoting Cornish literature, poetry and music has been organised annually since 1928, becoming an extremely important institution in Cornish cultural life. During the ceremony fluent Cornish speakers are acknowledged and given the names of “language bards”.

The early phase of the revival movement is also associated with Luis Charles Richard Duncombe-Jewell (1866-1947)⁵¹, who founded the “Celtic Cornish Society,” first and although short-living⁵², very influential organisation. Soon other organisations promoting Cornish language and culture appeared: “Old Cornwall Society” (1920) and a youth movement - “Land and Language” (1934?). They published journals - *Old Cornwall* and *Kernow [Cornwall]*, with Cornish language literature, stories, articles, poetry, classical texts and articles on language revival.

Another important leader of the Cornish revival, Arthur Saxon Dennett Smith (1883-1950)⁵³, who took the name of Caradar, focused on promoting Cornish language learning. In 1931 he published *Lessons in Spoken Cornish*, which helped early revivalists to acquire the language. Then, in 1939 he prepared another course-book -

⁴⁵ George was a Methodist class leader of Mousehole. He made a collection of Cornish words that survived in the area.

⁴⁶ In 1882 he published *Ancient Language and Dialect of Cornwall*, in 1887 – *English-Cornish Dictionary* (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 222).

⁴⁷ Lach-Szyrma was a historian and writer, particularly interested in the history of Cornwall.

⁴⁸ In 1859 Norris published *Ordinaria* as *The Ancient Cornish Drama*. In 1860 he collected the Cornish *Creed*. Gilbert published his version of John Keigwin's *Pascan agan Arluth* in 1826 and translation of Jordan's *Gwreans an Bys* in 1828. Hunt and Botterell published collections of folk tales in 1865, 1870, 1873, 1880 (Mac Kinnon 2005: 220-222).

⁴⁹ Jenner was a scholar of Celtic languages, Cornish cultural activist and initiator of the Cornish language revival.

⁵⁰ Bardic names are awarded for work for Cornish culture. Jenner got his name in 1903 in Brittany. In 1928 he became the first Cornish Grand Bard, with the right to give the name of a Bard.

⁵¹ Duncombe-Jewell was a historian, poet and writer and one of the leaders of the Cornish Literary Movement.

⁵² The society operated for only 3 years but this initiative was followed by other organisations.

⁵³ Smith was a Welshman, who who became a Cornish Bard. He was a writer and linguist.

*Cornish Simplified*⁵⁴. By 1939, the outbreak of the Second World War, there were two more course-books⁵⁵ and Cornish classes in Cornwall and in London.

In 1928 “Gorsedh Kernow”⁵⁶ [“Cornish Gorsedd”] was established⁵⁷, where people speaking Cornish could meet. Although in 1930s not many people were able to speak the language⁵⁸, Cornish started to be used in public ceremonies and for church services. During the “Gorsedd” meetings people had speeches in Cornish and those fluent in the language started to be awarded bardships and given bardic names. In 1933 church services in Cornish began. Also Cornish literature started to develop. Plays and poetry written in Cornish, mainly by Robert Morton Nance (1873-1959)⁵⁹ and Peggy Pollard (1903-1996)⁶⁰, familiarized people with spoken Cornish. The revived Cornish started to be broadcast in 1935. The first broadcast was of choral music in Cornish and, as it was well received, a series followed, in which choirs, singing in Cornish, took part (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 223-226).

After the war Cornish language movement progressed slowly but steadily. More Cornish-language newspapers and periodicals were established⁶¹. Music, which had become a way of introducing Cornish-language use in 1930s, continued to play an important part in the language revival. Folk singers and folk groups sang in Cornish, some played and performed Cornish folk dances⁶². As folk music revival stimulated interest in Cornish folk songs, a song collection *Canow Kernow [Songs and Dances from Cornwall]*, published in 1966, became so popular that it was soon reprinted and followed by further collections of Cornish music and dance.

Folk songs and other types of traditional music⁶³ became an introduction to the language, as they encouraged many Cornish people to start learning their native tongue. As a result, in 1970s the knowledge of Cornish started to spread from a small circle of people involved in the language revival into a wider Cornish society. Different types of events in Cornish started to be organised. In 1975 language weekends started, which soon expanded into language holiday camps. Also language walks, during which people could learn more about Cornwall and practise speaking the language, became a popular leisure activity.

Public worship became another important field for the use of Cornish. Decision about services in Cornish was taken in the early 1930s and annual services started in

⁵⁴ The book is still used in Cornwall (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 224).

⁵⁵ They were :W.D. Watson's *First Steps in Cornish* (1931) and Edwin Chirgwin's *Say it in Cornish* (1937) .

⁵⁶ There are two ways of spelling the word. Some scholars spell the word - “Gorseth”.

⁵⁷ It is a non-political organisation, set up by Henry Jenner, to promote the language revival.

⁵⁸ Mac Kinnon informs about 12 Cornish speakers, including Nance's daughter, who was brought up to speak Cornish, becoming the first 20th century Cornish native speaker (2005: 225).

⁵⁹ Nance was a leading authority on Cornish language, author of many books, including Cornish dictionary.

⁶⁰ Pollard was a scholar of sanscrit, member of the Cornish Gorsedd , poet and writer in Cornish.

⁶¹ In 1952 „New Cornwall” appeared (with articles in English and some contributions in Cornish), then „An Lef Kernewek” (1952), „An Gannas” [„The Ambassador”] (1976).

⁶² There were many groups and singers. Folk singer Brenda Wootton, who sang Gendall's compositions in Cornish, folk group Bucca, which sang in Cornish and danced Cam Kernewek [Cornish step] were popular in Cornwall and internationally.

⁶³ Choral singing, once popular in Cornwall, renewed the interest in Cornish language singing and now many choirs include songs in Cornish.

1933, although liturgy, scripture, hymns and psalms were translated a little later, in 1935. Soon other publications of religious texts followed⁶⁴. *St. Mark's Gospel* was published in 1960⁶⁵, another collection of hymns in 1962, *Book of Common Prayer* in 1980, then other gospels, *New Testament* (2002) and finally *The Bible* (2011)⁶⁶. The number of services in Cornish also increased. Now there are eleven services annually (including Christmas and harvest services).

In the post war period publication of Cornish language materials started to grow. Newspapers and periodicals for different age and interest groups and new textbooks started to appear. In 1970s, when a group of young families decided to use Cornish at home, “Dalleth”[“Beginning”], an organisation supporting bilingualism at home was founded (in 1979) (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 227). In 1967 “Cornish Gorsedd” and the federation of “Old Cornwall” societies founded “Cornish Language Board” which was to continue the work of the language promotion. The Board started to provide information about Cornish, published scientific and educational materials, organised the language teaching and was responsible for conducting examinations (Cornish Language Board website).

All those actions helped in language revival. More and more people became interested in their native tongue. They started to learn Cornish, read and spoke it during Cornish events. Eventually, the number of people who could communicate in Cornish increased. In 1980s there were 23 learners' classes of Cornish⁶⁷, so the speaking community grew to about a hundred (Mac Kinnon, 2005: 220- 228).

It was difficult to estimate the number of Cornish speakers in the second half of the 20th century, as researchers adopted different criteria. Most specialists in the Cornish language accepted the criterion used by Mac Kinnon. He counted those who had “the ability to hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics” (2005: 227), so could pass the language exam organised by the “Language Board” and become “language bards”, admitted to the “Cornish Gorsedd”. In 1967 – 20 people were successful during the examination, in 1981 - 93 and nine of them passed with the highest grade (Mac Kinnon 2005: 228).

Language debate

However, with the growth of the language movements and the increase in the number of people interested in learning the Cornish language, problems began, as differences among scholars resulted in the development of three varieties of Cornish. The associations of the three language varieties opened courses, organised events and began campaigns promoting “their Cornish”.

The variety known as “Unified Cornish” was developed by a team of linguists under the supervision of Robert Nance during the 1930s. Its grammar and spelling were based on Middle Cornish, the language used in the years 1200-1600, when

⁶⁴ Translations published before 2008 used two types of Cornish: “Common Cornish Revised” and “Unified Cornish”.

⁶⁵ In 1936 Smith published his version of *St Mark's Gospel*, which was revised by Ernst George Retallack Hooper in 1960.

⁶⁶ Nicholas William translated the *Bible* (the first full translation into Cornish) and it took him 13 years (*BBC News*, 3.10. 2011).

⁶⁷ 18 of them were in Cornwall, 5 elsewhere.

literature flourished, so most of the Cornish texts that survived to our time were written in those times (Hut, 2001: 6-8).

When, in 1972, research institution - "The Institute for Cornish Studies" was founded, some scholars were not satisfied with the pronunciation and spelling accepted by Nance and criticised "Unified Cornish" as not based on properly used resources and with grammar not sufficiently explained. Kenneth George,⁶⁸ who carried out research on the phonology of the language, suggested language reform. In 1987 he published the results of his work and presented it to the "Language Board", which accepted his proposal on a vote. The language, known as "Common Cornish" was based on medieval sources, just like the "Unified Cornish", but the spelling was more systematic. George applied phonemic orthographic theory, with clear rules, which related spelling to pronunciation. However, the changes were not generally accepted. Many people started learning "Common Cornish" and it was used in publications, but there was a group of scholars who decided to use the "Unified" version and published materials in that version.

Richard Gendall (b.1924)⁶⁹, another outstanding figure in the language movement, reacted to the reform in a different way. He believed that the language should be based on the last available evidence. He returned to Jenner's work⁷⁰ and developed the language from its last known spoken form, used by the 17th and the 18th century speakers and writers. This language was lexically richer than that of medieval texts, but some scholars believed that its forms were corrupt, as they became anglicised. When the results of Gendall's research were published, "Modern Cornish Movement" began. In 1988 its members established a language council, which promoted learning the language, known as "Modern Cornish" or "Revived Late Cornish".

The controversy over the language complicated the situation of the national tongue. Three types of dictionaries, grammar books and course-books of Cornish started to be published. Different Cornish organisations supported different variations of the language and people studying Cornish learnt three different types of the language.⁷¹

Most publications in Cornish and most language resources were in "Common Cornish". The "Gorsedd" first recognised "Unified" alongside "Common Cornish" and only from 1999 has accepted entries to literary competitions in all three varieties. It published *Book of Common Prayers* for Cornwall in all three varieties. "The Language Board" recognised "Unified" and "Common Cornish".

As different varieties of the language coexisted, soon people realised that if the Cornish language progressed in public life there would be a serious problem over the language, mainly with the spelling of place-names or Cornish words and phrases that would appear on posters and notices. It became obvious that linguistic specialists

⁶⁸ George is a British poet and linguist, author of 80 works about Celtic culture. In 1979 he was made Bard of "Cornish Gorsedd".

⁶⁹ Gendall is a British expert on Cornish language, folk musician, poet and writer in Cornish. He is the founder of "Teere ha Tavaz", organisation promoting Cornish language.

⁷⁰ In 1903 Henry Jenner recorded the language that survived in west Cornwall. The *Handbook of the Cornish Language* he published in 1904, is based on his research.

⁷¹ In 1995 a Celtic scholar Nicholas Williams prepared his amended version of „Unified“, so in fact there is one more variation - revised version of the „Unified“ Cornish.

would have to agree on the spelling all the groups would accept. Also if public authorities and services were to use Cornish more extensively, they would have to choose one language form.

In 2000, when the British government signed, and a year later ratified, the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages*, Cornish was excluded from the list of minority languages. The government decided that the Cornish were not a minority⁷² and their language was extinct. The language revived in Cornwall was called artificial⁷³ (Hut, 2001: 8-9).

Cornwall County Council and language organisations protested against it. As they saw the language as a vital part of Cornish heritage they decided to put aside their differences and campaign for it. Scholars and Cornish Members of Parliament joined the group and began the struggle.

The same year Kenneth MacKinnon⁷⁴, a well known British specialist on Celtic languages, conducted research and prepared a report on the Cornish language,⁷⁵ in which he provided information about the historical development and contemporary state of the language, concluding that it was a living language with a growing number of speakers. He advised the government to accept Cornish as a minority language (2000:1-5). In 2002 Advisory Committee of the Council of Europe checked the language situation in Cornwall and prepared a report in which it informed about a growing number of people who consider themselves to be a Cornish minority. As a result, the British government was obliged to recognize the Cornish language and in 2002 Cornwall was granted “minority language” status. The government announced it would consider the needs and wishes of people who wanted to use the Cornish language and those who planned to learn it (Mills, 2010: 202-203). Nick Raynsford (b. 1945),⁷⁶ at that time Minister of State for Local and Regional Government, called it “a positive step in acknowledging the symbolic importance the language has for Cornish identity and heritage”(BBC News, 6.11. 2002).

As an initial step of implementing the new language policy – *The Strategy for the Cornish Language* was adopted by the Cornwall County Council and Cornish language organisations in 2005. Realising the need to agree on one standard written form, in 2005 the Cornwall Council and language organisations established “The Cornish Language Partnership”,⁷⁷ which initiated the process of implementing one Cornish language development strategy. In 2007 MacKinnon, who became a consultant for the language strategy, prepared a memorandum “A single written form for Cornish: accommodating contemporary varieties”, which supported work on one

⁷² It was done for the purposes of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*.

⁷³ It was described as extinct and artificial in UNESCO *Redbook of Endangered Languages*.

⁷⁴ MacKinnon is a research consultant for the language strategy. His study prepared in 2000 led to official recognition of the Cornish language (Mac Kinnon, 2007: 1-2).

⁷⁵ *The Independent Academic Study on Cornish* was conducted on behalf of the Government Office of South Wales.

⁷⁶ Raynsford is a Labour Party politician, PM from 1986 to 2015, minister from 1997 to 2005.

⁷⁷ It includes language organisations, local authorities and other organisations promoting Cornish language. In 2015 the UK government announced that it would stop funding the organisation (*The Telegraph*, 4. 03. 2015).

written form of Cornish and suggested what should be taken into account while working on it. As he commended

without a widely accepted Single Written Form there will be no further progress for the language, the respect it has earned will be dissipated, and Cornwall will have lost the opportunity for an authentic and unique social institution and voice which enables it to 'punch above its height' gain further attention to its problems, and assert its distinctiveness in constitution and culture. This is the last chance for the language to be taken seriously by people who matter (2007:2).

After two years of negotiations, in 2008, the Partnership agreed on one written form of Cornish, which became known as “Standard Written Form”.

When the agreement was reached, Cornish became officially accepted by the European Union. In 2009 “Cornish Gorsedd” accepted the form. It started to be used by the Cornwall Council, for education and in public life (*BBC News*, 19. 05. 2008). In 2013 the “Standard Written Form” was reviewed and changes were made to make orthography easier for learners. Now it is used when the language is taught, on road signs and in documents (*BBC*, 23. 09. 2014).

In 2008 a survey on the language revealed that 300 000 people know a few basic words, 3000 can have a simple conversation in Cornish and 2000 are fluent (*WalesOnline*, 16. 01. 2010)⁷⁸. The number of speakers is growing. It means a very big change, as in the study Mac Kinnon prepared in 2000 there were only 300 fluent speakers of Cornish (2000: 19).

The current state of the Cornish language

The language is spoken during cultural events, by members of Cornish organisations and also at home. The meetings of the Cornish Department of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages and of Cornish language movements are held in Cornish. There are 40 organisations promoting the language, such as “Cornish Gorsedd”, which is the chief centre for language revival, the “Cornish Language Fellowship” and the “Cornish Language Board,” independent language examining authority (Hut, 2000: 13).

Written Cornish develops and the number of literary publications and children's publications, with essays, short stories or poems in Cornish, has been growing. Recently also novels in Cornish have been published⁷⁹. Additionally, texts from medieval times, especially drama, have been printed and produced in modern performances. The language is used in pop and rock music. Cornish language column appears in the regional daily paper - *The Western Morning News*, BBC Radio Cornwall has news broadcast and other programmes in Cornish and Cornish television shows lessons in Cornish and bilingual programmes on Cornish culture (*Maga*, 2014).

⁷⁸ Other surveys show different numbers of speakers.

⁷⁹ In 2015 Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was translated by Nicholas Williams and printed in Cornish.

Even films in Cornish are produced, as “Celtic Film and Television Festival” stimulates such productions⁸⁰.

The number of people interested in learning the language has been growing steadily. At present there are 32 classes of Cornish for adults, with over 200 people attending the courses. Cornish is also taught at school: in 12 primary schools - as a curricular or extra-curricular activity and in some secondary schools - as an extra-curricular activity (*BBC* 23.09.2014).

When the language revival started, there were some language learners, but no native speakers. In 1930s the first native speaker was recorded. A daughter of one of the early revivalists, Robert Nance, was the first person brought up in Cornish (MacKinnon,2005: 225). In the *2011 Census* 557 people claimed Cornish to be their mother tongue⁸¹ (*Western Morning News*, 2 02. 2013).

Thanks to the efforts of many people and language organisations, the situation of the Cornish language changed. In 2010 UNESCO announced that the former classification of the language as “extinct” was no longer accurate and now it is classified as “critically endangered” and “in the process of revitalization” (*BBC*, 2.12. 2010).

In 2014 Cornish people were formally declared a national minority (*The Independent* 20. 04. 2014). There are still no laws concerning the Cornish language in education. The language is taught if parents demand it or the school includes it in the curriculum. Usually it is taught as an extra-curricular activity. There are no schools where Cornish would be used as the language of instruction. Efforts are made to change the situation. Cornish organisations and the “Cornish Language Partnership” distributes learning materials and provides training for teachers. There are attempts to spread Cornish in the work sphere in Cornwall, as now only language organisations use it as a working language (Renkó-Michelsén, 2013:192) Thus, still a lot of work needs to be done to make Cornish the community speech of the area.

Conclusions

Language specialists inform that our generation faces massive extinction of languages that exist in the world today. They claim that languages disappear at the rate that has no precedence in human history and predict that by the end of the century more than half of today's languages will disappear (Harrison 2008: 3).

There are many arguments for protecting endangered languages and preventing language deterioration. It seems obvious that in Cornwall many people understand that losing their mother tongue, they would lose an important part of their national identity. As Harrison explains each language contains invaluable wisdom due to observations made by generations of people (2008:18). Thanks to those involved in the language revival movement, Cornish cultural heritage will survive and future generations will have a chance to draw from the “invaluable wisdom” of their predecessors.

⁸⁰ The festival started in Scotland in the late 1970s.

⁸¹ In MacKinnon's report in 2000 - 20 children informed that Cornish was their mother tongue (2000: 19).

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