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Wstęp

Neophilologica Sandeciensia, zainicjowana w 2006 roku jako czasopismo naukowe o tematyce filologicznej, w tym roku ukazuje się już po raz dziesiąty. Czasopismo, jako organ wydawniczy Instytutu Języków Obcych Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej w Nowym Sączu, koncentruje się na prezentacji dorobku naukowego i wszechstronnych zainteresowań pracowników Instytutu. Podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych, obecny tom zawiera artykuły dotyczące rozmaitych dziedzin filologii – literatury, glottodydaktyki, językoznawstwa oraz kulturoznawstwa.

Interdyscyplinarny charakter publikacji otwiera ją na szeroką grupę odbiorców: naukowców, pasjonatów zagadnień filologicznych, a także studentów, dla których może stanowić inspirację oraz okazję do poszerzenia wiedzy.

Sposób ujęcia tematów podejmowanych przez autorów jest często nowatorski, a przeprowadzone analizy wykraczają poza ramy jednej dziedziny filologicznej, dotykając związków pomiędzy historią i kulturą, literaturą i filmem, językiem i kulturą. Zważywszy na dobry warsztat naukowy autorów i ich nieszablonowe podejście do omawianych tematów, zaprezentowane artykuły z pewnością przyczynią się do debaty dotyczącej zagadnień współczesnej filologii.

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THE POST-APOCALYPTIC WASTELAND OF *TRUE DETECTIVE* AS A REFLECTION OF WILLIAM FAULKNER'S FICTION

Introduction

Among many recent quality TV shows the first season of *True Detective* holds a special position – making use of the musty detective show convention it functions as an autonomous, truly original work touching upon a number of philosophical, political and social issues of the modern world. The show, created and written by Nic Pizzolatto and directed by Cary Fukunaga, premiered on January 12, 2014. It was undoubtedly inspired by a pulp-fiction magazine devoted to crime and criminals, originally issued as *True Detective Mysteries*, launched in 1924, and then renamed as *True Detective* in October 1939[1].

The show features a pair of detectives, Martin Hart and Rust Cohle, investigating a series of homicide cases directed against women and children in Louisiana in the 1990s. The investigation is given up due to a violent conflict and other exterior circumstances, and then resumed ten years later. Because the crimes are ritualistic in nature, spirituality and religion are at the core of the story. However, as we delve deeper into the dark and ominous world of the show's Louisiana, it gradually becomes clear that the religious institutions, which were supposed to be the haven of morality for the underprivileged, are, in fact, tainted with the corruption and perversion that sprawls over the whole region. The theme of depravity and roots of evil permeate the story, vividly reflected not only in the plot details but also in the dreary landscapes and their broken, crippled, traumatised inhabitants. Yet the show is not only about a sad, dystopian post-collapse America; it is, at the same time, a powerful comment on the unflinching belief in integrity and desperate search for the truth and justice in the face of gravest dangers, as a means of saving one's humanity in an inhuman world.

The setting of *True Detective* is not at all accidental; the story is very much a story of the region. Thus, the American South is the key protagonist of the show: the land defined by its history which makes its present impossible. This is the starting point for my analysis of *True Detective* as a story indebted to William Faulkner's fiction. His stamp on the plot, construction of the protagonists, themes, and images is indubitable.

1. Landscapes and nature

There are few authors whose works were as totally devoted to and immersed in the South as those of Faulkner. His fiction endlessly explores the peculiar nature of the region, with its history, the legacy of slavery, racism, incest and corruption. On the other hand, he shows human potential for greatness and heroism; his characters like the Bundrens in *As I Lay Dying* sacrifice a lot to a hopeless endeavour in order to save their dignity. But the characters' fate is always inextricably connected with the South that defines them. Faulkner's South is the „little patch up there in Mississippi" where he came from and at the same time it is a microcosm that constitutes a part of America (Simpson, 1991, p. 245-246). Yoknapatawpha County, with the town of Jefferson as its seat, is the

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[1] *True Detective* (magazine). Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/True_Detective_(magazine) (access: 10.10.2016).

mythological region of the Deep South that Faulkner's greatest novels are set in: a county based on Lafayette County, Mississippi.

It is the world of the countryside; its inhabitants spend their lives on little farms, in villages and small towns, among provincial communities. Such landscapes serve as the background for the stories intertwining within the framework of the Yoknapatawpha cycle. However, nature plays an important part in this world, as well. It performs a variety of functions, e.g. it reflects man's moods and states (Brooks, 1991, p. 30). In *As I Lay Dying* Addie Bundren's sense of loneliness and repulsion is mirrored in the landscape: „I would lie by him in the dark, hearing the dark land talking of God's love and His beauty and His sin; hearing the dark voicelessness in which the words are the deeds" (Faulkner, 1946, p. 464). In *Light in August* the country road and the approaching wagon reflect Lena Grove's fatigue and sense of confusion, the wagon described as „a shabby bead upon the mild red string of road", moving so slowly that „in the watching of it the eye loses it as sight and sense drowsily merge and blend, like the road itself, with all the peaceful and monotonous changes between darkness and day" (Faulkner, 1972, p. 6). In the story of the „Old Man" the breaking of the levee and the flood, which transforms the landscape is paralleled with the woman giving birth to a child, thus the power of nature and the power of female sexuality made manifest (Richardson, 1967, p. 96).

Faulkner uses nature not only to reflect the protagonists' moods but also to emphasize the contrast between civilisation and wilderness. Man is at war with nature, trying to subject it to his own will. Nature, in contrast, violently opposes human intervention and the encroachment on its rights. In *As I Lay Dying* the flooding river impedes the Bundrens' mission to bury their mother and wife in Jefferson, and is a severe test for Addie's sons who struggle with the river to save the coffin and, at the same time, sacrifice what they love most. In „Old Man" man's confrontation with nature is presented most vividly: the convict is struggling for his own survival and trying to rescue the woman as they are at the mercy of the flooded Mississippi River. The frail, solitary man is set against the malevolent and destructive power of the river (Hamblin, 2003, p. 159).

There are many parallels between Faulkner's portrayal of nature and the way it is presented in the *True Detective* series. The setting of the latter is the intrastate region of Acadiana, consisting of the southeastern parishes of Louisiana. The landscape is dominated by a network of bayous: oxbow lakes or backwater, stagnant or moving slowly in changing directions. Omnipresent oil pipelines and refineries spread all over the region, „carving up this coast like a jigsaw", according to Cohle (*True Detective*). This is unsteady ground, falling victim to natural catastrophes, like Andrew and Katrina hurricanes and Louisiana floods. Ramshackle households, dilapidated shops and institutions, ruined churches and schools are the only outposts of civilisation in this desolate land. These places of passive existence resemble distant islands, kept separate from each other by their own evil mysteries, indifference and loneliness (Mikołejko, 2014). Their inhabitants are broken or corrupt people who have given up their struggle for humanity and conformed to the degenerate world.

Photo 1. The landscape in *True Detective*.
Source: https://lastprintissue.wordpress.com/tag/true-detective/ (access: 25.11.2016).

As in Faulkner's novels, two antagonistic orders exist in the show; the Louisiana wilderness and its civilisation. Man-made refineries and pipelines have irreversibly ruined the landscape of Acadiana (whose name significantly is derived from the ancient Greek idyllic land). The paradise-like land has been spoilt and polluted. Yet, nature seems to have the upper hand in this confrontation, with ubiquitous weeds growing on the bygone relics of human civilisation: deserted buildings and freeways and the post-hurricane waste are gradually reclaimed by wilderness. The hiding place of murderer Reggie Ladoux is located in the middle of jungle-like undergrowth, which creates the impression that wilderness tries to stifle the man-made world. As in Faulkner's fiction, the natural order of nature competes with the perverted, unnatural order of civilisation.

2. Corruption

The landscape also reflects the problems that the inhabitants of this post-collapse world are facing: the refineries and pipelines dividing the land reflect the isolation of men, hostility and suspicion inherent in their nature, and the impossibility of communication. There are no communities to fall back on; hidden traumas and fears define the people's solitary existence. What is more, the post-industrial landscape portrays the grim victory of corporate consumerism over individualism: this, eventually, turns out to be the answer to the riddle the detectives are trying to solve. The cases of missing women and children are not investigated due to lack of evidence, which is a common practice of the institutions which should protect citizens. In fact, they only protect their wealthy all-controlling sponsors.

The idea of corruption is superbly illustrated by the opening scene in the series: a shot of the tree where Dora Lang's body was found. Initially it functions as an ominous reminder of the complexity of the case. Yet the same shot is repeated at the end of the season, once the truth has been revealed; then it acquires an additional meaning. It symbolises the pervasive influence of the Tuttle family in Louisiana: under the facade of sending impoverished children to church-run schools most horrible crimes are concealed.

Family ties are so deeply rooted in the region that any attempt at disclosing the truth is immediately thwarted. The tree sprawling over the crime-scene represents the Tuttle family tree looming over the community, a reminder of their hidden power, perversity and its impunity (Milazzo, 2014).

Photo 2. The tree where Dora Lang's body was found.
Source: http://sequart.org/magazine/50503/true-detective-explores-the-roots-and-branches-of-southern-gothic/ (access: 25.11.2016).

The themes of corruption and perversity are at the core of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha novels. In *Absalom! Absalom!* Thomas Sutpen represents the new spirit of the South – he is a selfish man, racially obsessed with the idea of material possessions. He amasses a great fortune at the cost of his relatives and, despite his dreams of setting up a dynasty, meets his downfall and dies in disgrace. The end of the Sutpen family has its roots in the past: slavery, incest, lust and hypocrisy cause Sutpen to reject his son, which triggers a series of tragic events. The knowledge of their ancestor's dreadful past and a repressed sense of guilt haunts the family and makes it impossible for them to escape their legacy. „No man is himself, he is the sum of his past" (Faulkner, 1995, p.89). This is one of the key motifs in Faulkner's works: the past determining the present; the „fatality of *was*" (Simpson, 1991, p. 247). The past affects the fate of Joe Christmas and Hightower in *Light in August*. It intrudes on the minds of the characters in *The Sound and the Fury* and becomes a burden for the aristocratic family in *Sartoris*. Faulkner's characters are obsessed with Southern history and this becomes an obstacle for their successful present.

These themes find their vivid reflection in the series. The grand Southern aristocracy also degenerates here: it turns out that the wealthy, respectable Tuttle family make use of their position and power to conceal a network of ghastly crimes under a facade of state institutions, which were supposed to help the underprivileged. The Wellspring schools, sponsored by the Tuttles, seem to be a chance for impoverished children, yet in fact turn out to be an arena for child abuse and perversion, which is thoroughly camouflaged by the all-powerful family with its representatives in church, state institutions and social organisations. As in Faulkner's world, the roots for the corruption lie in the (Southern) past; it is implied that the ritual killings are deeply entrenched in the Tuttle family. Its patriarch, Sam Tuttle, reportedly had a number of illegitimate children, stemming from relationships with various women; sexual promiscuity, perversity and an inclination for evil are thus inherited by his descendants. There is no escaping from the legacy of the past. However, whereas the old South in Faulkner's novels meets its downfall (Sutpen's tragic end in *Absalom! Absalom!*, disintegration of the

family in *The Sound and the Fury*, decay of the aristocratic family in *Sartoris*), the power of the Tuttle clan is not diminished by the capturing of the murderer. He is only a minor branch in the family tree ominously looming over Louisiana (Milazzo). Although light wins over darkness, the detectives' success is only partial. The evil influence is still at work, wrecking the potential for the transformation of the land. The past continues to affect the present. It is a sad comment on corruption and depravity inherent in Southern identity and in the world depicted by the series.

3. Women

Apart from a portrayal of the spirit of the South with its fatality and repression, Faulkner's novels and the *True Detective* series display another similarity: their relation to women. Faulkner's way of presenting women has been subject to a heated debate; on the one hand, scholars have emphasized his patronising attitude towards women and, on the other hand, the strength and endurance of Faulkner's female characters. The allegation of misogyny, levelled for the first time in the 1940s, is difficult to refute in the context of his novels (Fowler, Abadie, 1986, p. VIII). Many of his female characters seem to be intellectually weaker than his male characters. They do not seem to understand the gravity and complexity of their own situation, as is the case with the simple-minded Lena Grove who tirelessly pursues the father of her baby, not realizing the futility of the endeavour. The unnamed woman in „Old Man" is passive and wholly subject to the convict's will. However, both women symbolize the eternal power of life: pregnancy and then giving birth to a child exposes their sexuality, which intimidates Byron Bunch and repulses the convict. The latter uses offensive words when referring to the pregnant woman, thus expressing his contempt for the opposite sex. His perception of women is clearly misogynistic. Yet, he risks his life to save the woman. „Saint-like" Lena Grove represents the life-bringing virtues of womanhood that Faulkner was fascinated by, but at the same time she is despised by some as the epitome of immorality, sinfulness and a threat to the social order (Chakovsky, 1986, p. 62).

This duality in the perception of women is also noticeable in *True Detective*. One end of the spectrum shows the one-dimensional character of Maggie – a typical decent and caring mother and wife. She represents the sacred dimension of womanhood. The other end of the spectrum presents immoral, dehumanised prostitutes, perceived in an object-like way, and Martin's unscrupulous lover, symbolising the dark aspect of female sexuality. A woman's role and significance in the show is reduced to these two dimensions. There are no well-rounded female characters; the saintly and sinful character types are dull and predictable. Worse still, they are defined solely through the prism of their sexuality and object-like status. All the detectives and police officers in the show are male, which is not in accordance with the statistics gathered by A. Chandler: „In 1995 in the US, approximately 9% of police officers were female. By 2012, when the latter portion of the show is set, 15% of police officers were female". Such a simplistic portrayal of women triggered a wave of criticism; the director and screenwriter were accused of misogyny, which they tried to refute by explaining that the story is seen from the point of view of the two detectives who do not hold a favourable view of women (Marty Hart is a hardline misogynist) (Chandler, 2014). Nevertheless, such an explanation does not account for the reality presented in the show.

Faulkner's female characters are also strong and enduring; A. Bundren exerts a powerful influence over her family even after her death, making them embark on the preposterous journey to bury her body. In flashbacks, which feature in the story, Addie's fierce energy and determination are revealed: she resents mere words, craving for the direct expression of deeds (Brooks, 1991, p. 153). It is her insistence on this impractical mission that keeps her family together and makes them complete the ordeal. She is one of Faulkner's 'masculinised women': strong-willed, self-confident, enforcing her own rules and expecting obedience. J. Burden is another such character; an elderly spinster who succumbs to an outbreak of belated passion is uncompromising and unabashed in her pursuit of sexual fulfilment. C. Rittenmayer from „Old Man", resolutely renouncing her predictable life and embracing unknown fate, also belongs to the same category. These characters testify to Faulkner's ambiguous perception of women, consisting of both respect and admiration on the one hand and distrust and scorn on the other hand.

Unfortunately, *True Detective* lacks this complexity in the portrayal of women. Even the seemingly strong and confident female characters are not independent but presented from a male point of view and are inferior to men. Maggie, Marty's wife, is objectified and stereotypical. Even though she seduces Rust when she wants to hurt her husband after realising his infidelity, she accepts the full blame, as if she was the only culprit. She also has little agency: as men quarrel about her she is not given a chance to speak for herself (Chandler, 2014). Other women in the show are marginalised and reduced to playing the role of pawns in this manmade world; thus, they are denied the power, strength and ambiguity, which they are invested with in Faulkner's novels.

4. The main characters

It is the two men, the eponymous true detectives, that are central to the world of the story and endowed with a wealth of meaning, echoing Faulkner's preoccupations. Rust and Marty are totally devoted to the task of finding out the truth behind the seemingly unconnected murders. They are the only people who question and challenge the established order in Acadiana. The region seems to be immersed in lethargy, with its passive inhabitants turning a blind eye to the ever-present corruption and social evils. This is the land beyond good and evil – the distinction between these two has been blurred throughout the decades of overwhelming injustice, cruelty and people's indifference. The people of this land accept the perversity that has always been a part of their world. The two detectives, however, are presented as outsiders, although it is only Rust who is a newcomer. He is also the introspective and reflective type, seeing and understanding more than the materialist and down-to-earth Marty. Undoubtedly they complement each other and might be even seen as two halves of one character; initially hostile to one another and struggling for dominance only to become reconciled in the end (Mikołejko, 2014, p. 5).

Yet they obsessively search for the truth, which leads to their estrangement: Rust is suspended by his superiors, having ignored hints that their investigation is uncalled for and continues the inquiry on his own. This also means inflicting justice by himself. Martin quits the police department soon after Rust's suspension but decides to join the latter in a renewed attempt at capturing the murderer. It all shows that the detectives are very much concerned about the truth and display a sense of integrity. Even though they are disillusioned men, having seen a lot of cruelty and corruption in their lives, they do not become indifferent to evil. They aren't morally impeccable, either; Martin is the selfish

macho type whose marriage falls apart after a series of affairs he has with other women. Rust, having experienced the death of his daughter and the breakup of his own marriage, is harsh and repels other people, living in a world of his own illusions and reflections. Towards the end of the show they are both sad, broken men who have failed in their lives in many ways. Nevertheless, there is heroism in their desperate struggle to salvage the remains of a moral and just world. With the knowledge that the murderer they are pursuing is only a tiny fragment of the Southern web of perversity and wrongdoing, they risk everything to capture and stop him. That is why the show finishes with a glimmer of hope in the face of the depravity and atrocity that we have witnessed.

This ultimate victory, though partial, which takes place despite the protagonists' limitations, is also reminiscent of Faulkner's characters declaring their humanity in the face of defeat. A similar conflict between man's curse and need for moral integrity forms the dramatic pattern of Faulkner's work (Howe, 1991, p. 153). His characters struggle with a burden that restrains their freedom and brings their downfall, as hamartia does in a Greek tragedy. Joe Christmas is struggling with his ambiguous identity; Quentin Compson cannot cope with the weight of family relations; the Reverend Hightower confuses illusion and reality. They all fall victim of the curse, which puts an inevitable stamp on their lives. Still, they redeem themselves through a gesture which, if it does not diminish their defeat, declares their humanity in defeat (Ibidem, p. 150). Harry Willbourne, the protagonist of *The Wild Palms* chooses to spend his life in jail; the convict in *The Old Man* saves the life of an unknown woman and her baby; Hightower decides to help Christmas, the runaway prisoner; Cash Bundren, although seemingly indifferent to his mother's death, makes a coffin for her, crafting it with exquisite care. Despite the curse hanging over them and their realisation of failure, they are capable of acknowledging their humanity. Faulkner's moralist stance also manifests itself in his morally pure characters, like Dilsey of *The Sound and the Fury* or Byron Bunch in *Light in August*. They are the mainstay of Christian virtues and optimism, regardless of society's indifference or cruelty towards them (Ibidem, p. 149). They are not broken by their poverty nor by the adversities of fate – retaining their inherent integrity.

The hostile world of Yoknapatawpha and Louisiana, as it is depicted in the show, brings about the protagonists' estrangement. They are outcasts and strangers, functioning beyond the social framework. Nearly all characters in *Light in August* are exiles, alienated from the community; the same can be said about the central characters in *The Wild Palms* and *The Old Man*. Thomas Sutpen, despite amassing a considerable fortune, is distrusted by the traditional Southern society due to his disregard of accepted values. Similarly, the two detectives in Fukunaga's series do not belong to the local community. Their incessant search for the truth and irreverent exploration of Southern mysteries and traditions isolates them. The people whom Martin and Rust interrogate are unwilling to reveal the truth behind the facts, dropping hints inadvertently. This status of pariahs makes the process of investigation difficult for the detectives but, conversely, the detachment enables Rust to gain insight into the nature of the crimes and look beyond the surface.

Finally, man in Faulkner's and Fukunaga's worlds respectively is not only deprived of a lasting bond with society but, consequently, struggling with basic communication failure. This motif is best exemplified in *The Sound and the Fury* with its multiple narrators who are not able to communicate their experience: Benjy lacks the language to express the intended meaning; Quentin' obsession with the past makes it impossible for him to

live in the present and Jason is too preoccupied with himself to develop a relationship with anyone else. Joe Christmas fails to reveal the tension connected with his identity; A. Bundren does not divulge her bitter disappointment with her own life – these repressed feelings trigger the characters' isolation and deepen their frustration.

A similar sense of communication breakdown can be felt in the relations between the two detectives. They come from two different worlds and represent two opposite orders. Marty embodies the pre-collapse vision of America, a world governed by rules, faith in community and decency. He symbolises civilisation with its predictable domesticity. Rust, on the other hand, stands for the chaos and corruption of post-collapse America (Laurent, 2014). Having experienced a family trauma, his life is marked by scepticism, distrust of man and institutions, and anarchist tendencies. He is bitterly disillusioned with the world, having nothing to lose – yet, continues the investigation, motivated by his primal morality. The worldviews of the two men are in conflict, which is reflected in their initially hostile, competitive relationship. Marty perceives Rust as a mentally unstable troublemaker who takes unnecessary risks and acts in unpredictable ways. Rust, conversely, sees through Marty's hypocrisy and denounces him as a cowardly conformist. Their mutual animosity erupts in the fierce fight they have following Marty's wife's betrayal. This marks the end of their collaboration and contacts. However, they reunite and resume the investigation ten years later. Once again the contrasting worldviews make it difficult for them to communicate but this time they manage to put the barriers aside and overcome darkness together (Laurent, 2014).

Conclusion

On the whole, the world of Louisiana as presented in the series resembles Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha in a number of ways. It's a dystopian land of human frailty and desolation coupled with a sense of defeat overwhelmed by the demons of the past. The inhabitants of this world have already given up any attempt at changing their present; they have accepted the imminent failure inherent in their world. Only some are capable of breaking the spell and saving the remnants of their humanity. The fact that *True Detective* is so dedicated to Faulkner's fiction with regards to the portrayal of the American South might prove that the writer's vision of the region continues to exert a lasting influence in the 21st century. His descriptions of Southern traumas and closed communities cherishing a sense of dignity and grief for the lost Southern grandeur managed to capture the essence of the region. That is why it is probably impossible to escape Faulkner's influence when referring to this setting. It might also be, however, that Fukunaga's series illustrates the universal Global South phenomenon. In its basic sense the term is limited to the geographical divide between the North, consisting of richer and developed countries, and the South as represented by developing Third World countries. In its broader, more flexible sense it refers to the universal condition of 'southernness' characterised by a repressed history of exploitation and violence, continuing struggles with poverty and poor access to educational resources (Duck, 2015). The residents of these so called 'southern regions' lag behind the prosperous, affluent enterprising Northerners. Fukunaga's show offers a good illustration of this phenomenon, magnifying the constitutive parts of southernness and the mechanisms governing it. That is, however, an area for further research.

Summary

The paper focuses on the first season of *True Detective*, the crime drama television series directed by Cary Fukunaga, released in 2014. The aim of the paper is to place the series in the context of Southern Gothic literature, with a particular emphasis on William Faulkner's novels, to which *True Detective* is clearly indebted. The peculiar world of the drama is dissected, with its constituent parts identified and analysed. Then an attempt is made to trace the connections between the microcosm of the series and Faulkner's fiction. The desolate landscape of the series' Louisiana, with its monotony and decay, vaguely refers to Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County, the land of human frailty and depravity. There are more parallels, though: the inhabitants of the world of the drama, the corrupt, cruel Southerners, struggling with a repressed sense of guilt, women in *True Detective*, who are marginalised and reduced to sexual objects, and, finally, the drama's pair of main protagonists voice Faulkner's preoccupations as well.

Streszczenie

Artykuł koncentruje się na pierwszym sezonie amerykańskiego kryminalnego serialu telewizyjnego *Detektyw*, wyreżyserowanego przez Cary'ego Fukunagę i wyemitowanego w 2014 roku. Celem artykułu jest umieszczenie serialu w kontekście literatury południowego gotyku, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem powieści Williama Faulknera, do którego niewątpliwie *Detektyw* nawiązuje. Omówione są związki pomiędzy światem przedstawionym w serialu a prozą Faulknera. Opustoszałe i monotonne krajobrazy Luizjany są bliskie hrabstwu Yoknapatawpha, fikcyjnej krainie, w której osadzona jest akcja powieści Faulknera. Podobieństw jest więcej: obraz mieszkańców amerykańskiego Południa, sposób przedstawienia kobiet oraz głównych bohaterów serialu w dużej mierze pokrywa się z wizją świata przedstawioną przez Faulknera.

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CONSTRUCTIVISM –
AN ALTERNATIVE TO A TEACHER-CENTERED CLASSROOM

Introduction

The learning process has been explored by various scientists and psychologists for many years. They have been trying to find and establish the most successful method where learners would not be neglected and have their academic progress impeded. What is more, they try 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 have created a learning theory, which is both a response to approaches such as behaviorism and an alternative to traditional classroom 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 a teacher-centered approach where students are passive and controlled by the only source of knowledge that is 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 process.

In addition to this, the previous learning theories suggest that the input equals the output. Teachers provide their students with some input (i.e. information, knowledge) and require them to produce the same output (i.e. to memorize and reproduce it). Modern learning theories emphasize that each learner is unique and cannot be expected to produce exactly the same output.

1. What is constructivism?

Constructivism is the philosophy that sees individuals as active constructors of their knowledge and criticizes the fact that knowledge simply exists in the external world. The 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 a theory of learning also known as epistemology according to which human knowledge and meaning is constructed from our experiences (Piaget, 1974). This fact is the direct opposition to the traditional teaching practice where learners are rather passive and depend on the omniscient teacher who is the main source of knowledge (Vygotsky, 1987).

The term constructivism started to be used in psychological terminology at the very beginning of the second half of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, Mahoney (2005) emphasizes the fact that some of the basic ideas typical of constructivism can be found much earlier. He states that in the Western tradition constructivism has a history of three hundred years and in the Eastern tradition it is even two thousand years. A lot of historical figures, he claims, such as Heraclitus, Lao Tzu, Giambattista Vico or Immanuel Kant are the first constructivist-style thinkers (Pritchard, Woollard, 2010). The development of constructivism in the twentieth century is influenced mainly by such historical figures as Jean Piaget, Lev Vygotsky and many others. The main idea of constructivism, which is

the construction of the world and knowledge by individuals rather than existence of it in the external world, can be found in their philosophies.

1.1. Constructivism or constructionism

Analyzing the concept of constructivism, one must make an important distinction as there exist two similar terms: *social constructivism* and *social constructionism*. Those two sociological terms are very closely connected. Both of them focus on a similar problem, namely on the process of the development of social phenomena in social contexts and on the fact that the construction of artifacts by people is a joint effort (Boghossian, 2001). However, one should be aware of the crucial difference that exists. *Social constructionism* focuses on the artifacts that are created within a group through social interactions, whereas in *social constructivism* the emphasis is put on individuals' learning that occurs because of their interactions in a group (Glassersfeld, 1995). What is more, *social constructivism* indicates that individuals are able to make meaning of knowledge within a social context (Ibidem).

1.2. Cognitive and social constructivism

Since the distinction between constructivism and constructionism has been made, it would be worth considering two existing subtypes of constructivism. Some psychologists make a distinction between cognitive constructivism and social constructivism attributing the role of a cognitive constructivist to Piaget and social constructionist to Vygotsky. Wink and Putney (2002) compare those two trends taking into consideration different aspects such as knowledge, the process of learning, motivation, and the duty of the teacher. They point out that in cognitive constructivism knowledge is constructed independently in the social world while in social constructivism it is a mutual construction that involves others. When it comes to the process of learning, cognitive constructivism views learning as an active construction of knowledge and a reconstruction of the preexisting one. It occurs when interacting with others and with the environment. In social constructivism, the learning process is described as a collaborative construction of knowledge and principles that are socially and culturally defined. It occurs when one collaborates with others in a social or cultural background. Another aspect that Wink and Putney take into account when comparing cognitive and social constructivism is motivation. In cognitive constructivism, learners are motivated by the fact that there is the element of competence involved in the process of interacting with others. In addition to this, their motivation is generated by the fact that their main aim is self-development. In social constructivism, the source of motivation is not only self-development but also collective development because of collaboration. The last aspect is the role of the teacher who is described as a facilitator and guide in cognitive constructivism whereas in social constructivism as a mediator, mentor, and activator.

Cognitive constructivism is mainly related to the work of a famous Swiss psychologist and philosopher Jean Piaget, who was the greatest pioneer and proponent of the constructivist theory and who stated some of its formal principles. He defined the process in which knowledge is incorporated within the learners. According to Piaget (1950), individuals can design new knowledge from their experiences in two possible ways. Those ways are *assimilation* and *accommodation*.

In the process of *assimilation* the new experience is integrated into the existing framework but it does not alert it. It usually takes place in particular circumstances, namely when individuals' internal representations of the world are in agreement with their experiences. In this case, information about the world is not important for individuals when they do not understand input from others (Piaget, 1950). On the other hand, when individuals' internal representations and individuals' experiences contradict each other, individuals can adjust their impression or idea of the experiences in order to harmonize it with their internal representations (Piaget, 1955).

During the second process, called *accommodation*, individuals reformulate and modify their mental idea and impression of the external world, again to harmonize it with new experiences. Piaget stated that failure is extremely crucial in the process of accommodation as it leads to learning. In other words, when individuals assume that there is only one way in which the world functions it leads to a failure as it goes against our assumptions and expectations. However, we may learn from this failure if we accommodate new experiences as well as reformulate and modify the assumptions of the world (Piaget, 1950).

Another vital thing is that Piaget, as a cognitive constructivist, emphasizes self-development and the process of constructing knowledge individually while Vygotsky, as a social constructivist, tries to show that knowledge is constructed with others, mutually. What is more, Vygotsky (1987) states that the process of learning is a collaborative construction through which people can achieve both collective and individual development.

Piaget fails to acknowledge the significance of the social context typical of children's cognitive activity. He believes that there are four main development stages such as *sensi-motor stage, pre-operational stage, concrete operations stage,* and *formal operations stage* and all children develop according to them. Vygotsky, on the other hand, does not recognize such set stages at all and focuses on social interaction, which has a great influence on the development of cognition. In the process of making meaning and creating knowledge it is society that plays an important role (Wertsch, 1988). Vygotsky states that „learning is a necessary and universal aspect of the process of developing culturally organized, specifically human psychological function" (1978, p. 90). What he means is that usually it is the social learning, which comes before development. It was contrary to Piaget's view that learning occurs only after the development (Vygotsky, 1978).

2. Vygotskian theory

Since Lev Vygotsky had a great impact on education and emphasized the importance of learning in a group, it is important to take his theory into account as well. Vygotsky (1896-1934) was a Russian developmental psychologist. His work contributed to the thorough research in the field of developmental cognition (particularly in the field of what is known as social development theory). He was also one of the critics of Piaget's theory. Vygotsky's theory of development became popular some years after he died. In his 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 emphasized that children's development does not take place in isolation. The process of learning

occurs when a 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 their knowledge, is a guide in the learning process. Moreover, not only did Vygotsky speak about the influence of social influence on individual's development but also about cultural and historical influences (Daniels, 2001).

According to Vygotsky (1978), child's cultural development has its functions that occur twice. Firstly, each function appears on the social level, which is known as *interpsychological* level as it happens between people. Secondly, on the individual level which is called *intrapsychological*, since it occurs inside the child. „This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57).

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

In his theory, Vygotsky (1978) stressed that new ways of thinking and doing are best adopted by children when they interact with people who are more competent and more able than they are. He saw 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). The principle of MKO is not complex. MKO i.e. More Knowledgeable Other indicates the presence of two people, one of whom is better than the learner. Better means that their ability level is higher when considering a particular exercise or concept. In many cases it is either a teacher or an adult who plays the role of MKO. However, there are some instances when 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) functions as a metaphor, which helps to understand the way in which social and participatory learning occurs. Moreover, Daniels (2001) states that „through acting on things in the world they [humans] engage with the meanings that those things assumed within social activity. Humans both shape those meanings and are shaped by them. This process takes place within the ZPD" (Daniels, 2001, p. 56). In general, the 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 the ZPD, we achieve the underlining framework for 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 help of others (Vygotsky, 1978). 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" (Ibidem, p. 209).

Currently beyond reach

Zone of proximal
development
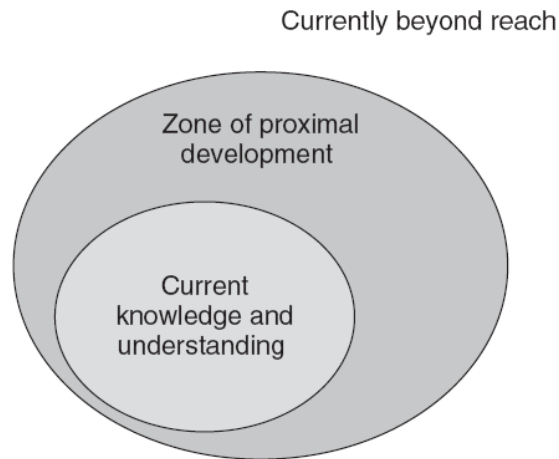
Current
knowledge and
understanding

Figure 1. Zone of Proximal Development.
Source: *Constructivism and social learning* (p. 10) A. Pritchard, J. Woollard, 2010, New York: Routledge.

Both MKO and the ZPD emphasize an interaction among learners and the fact that we learn from and with the help of others.

3. Constructivist learning theory in the light of other learning trends

As previously mentioned, the formation of constructivism was influenced by an attempt to cater for all learners and to create an alternative to a teacher-centered classroom. As it can be seen from Table 1, constructivism can be best understood in relation to other learning theories such as behaviourism or the social learning theory. The learning theories presented in Table 1 refer mainly to children and their development.

The first learning theory, behaviourism, describes development as discipline. This theory emphasizes the influence of environment, which is believed to affect human beings. Generally speaking, behaviourists are not interested in what happens inside us. Environmental influences that are external are more important in the process of shaping individual's behaviour, who is a passive receiver of those influences, than internal mechanisms (Watson, 1924). This fact is contrary to the view that individuals are active in constructing their learning, typical for social constructivism. Finally, yet importantly, development is promoted through the interaction with peers and adults.

Another learning theory, the social learning theory, states that development consists of natural stages. The social learning theory overcame behaviourism, namely it proved that individuals could learn by observing other people (Bandura, 1977). This model sees an individual as playing a more active part in the process of learning from their environment. It also articulates the fact that role models play an important role in one's development. As we can see from Table 1, similarly to behaviourism, environment is a crucial aspect in the social learning theory. What influences development is the process of observing other people. Moreover, interactions with peers and adults can promote development as it was in behaviourism. Furthermore, the social learning theory highlights active participation of individuals in the process of constructing their learning, for instance, by taking part in a group work.

The next learning theory, cognitive constructivism, emphasises development as an experience. Individuals are seen as independent agents of their own learning (Crain, 2000). According to Piaget's theory, there are four stages of development and all children are

believed to develop according to them. It highlights the fact that children have to construct their impression and idea of the world for their own sake. Beside the fact that environment is a vital aspect in this theory, it is also important that development is affected both by innate factors and by the experience of consequences of behaviour. Again, as it can be seen from Table 1, interacting with peers promotes development and individuals are active in the process of constructing learning. Following this further, during childhood development takes place in a predetermined way progressing through fixed stages proposed by Piaget.

The last learning theory presented in Table 1 and represented mainly by Vygotsky is social constructivism. As it can be seen from Table 1, in social constructivism the significance of environment is emphasized again. Social constructivism, similarly to Piaget's theory, draws attention to individuals' active participation in their own development. In addition to this, it stresses the fact that other people and the culture individuals grow up in play an important role in the process of supporting development. Social constructivism contradicts the social learning theory, since it claims that it is the social interaction rather than social observation, which is fundamental to the learning and development(Vygotsky, 1978). As Table 1 presents, in social constructivism development is affected by observing other people. Interacting with others promotes development and individuals are active in the process of constructing their learning.

Table 1
Social Constructivism in the light of other learning theories

	Behaviourism	Social Learning Theory	Cognitive Constructivism	Social Constructivism
The environment is crucial.	√	√	√	√
Innate factors drive development.			√	
Development is affected by observing other people.		√		√
Development can be promoted by interacting with peers.	√	√	√	
Development can be promoted by interacting with adults.	√	√		√
Individuals are active in constructing their learning.		√	√	√
Development during childhood is a predetermined sequence.			√	

Source: *Constructivism of Piaget and* Vygotsky, J. Oates, K. Sheehy, C. Wood, 2005. Retrieved from: http://openlearn.open.ac.uk/course/ view.php?id=3048 (access: 01.11.2016).

4. The analysis of constructivist learning

Since constructivism has a significant impact on today's education, it is useful to consider several aspects that are central to this theory. Those aspects are *the nature of the learner*, *the role of the instructor*, *the nature of the learning process*, and *the nature of the task*.

4.1. The nature of the learner

In the light of social constructivism, each learner is perceived as a unique individual who has individual needs and backgrounds. Not only is he complex but also multidimensional. Being unique and having complex nature at the same time is a crucial component of the learning process as it provides variety of experiences and prior knowledge which is then shared among members of a group. Likewise, the background and culture of learners is an important factor as well. Those factors affect learners' idea of the truth (Wertsch, 1997).

The fact that the learner belongs to a specific culture influences their learning. Such particular membership leads to the situation in which logic, language and mathematical systems are obtained and learned during learner's life. As it can be predicted, social interactions with more knowledgeable people or adults are emphasized here. According to Wertsch (1997), without such interactions it is not possible for learners to apprehend and understand social meaning of historical developments or symbol systems and use them. What is more, thinking abilities of children are improved when they have opportunity to collaborate with other children, adults or the external world. Accordingly, background and culture play an important role in the process of learning as they influence and modify what the learner knows, learns, and creates throughout the learning process (Wretsch, 1997).

Another aspect emphasized in constructivist learning refers to one's responsibility for learning. Von Glasersfeld (1990) argues that it should be something intrinsic to the learner. According to him, the learner should actively take part in the learning process as opposed to the former educational ways of thinking, where the active role was ascribed to the teacher, and where the learners were passive. Von Glasersfeld (1990) articulates that learners are not like a mirror that reflects everything, but they are actively involved in the process of constructing their own meaning and knowledge.

The level and source of motivation for learning is another important aspect of the nature of the learner. As Von Glasersfeld (1990) believes, the motivation for learning and its maintenance is greatly influenced by the confidence of the learners in their ability for learning. According to Prawat and Floden (1994), such strengths as confidence, sense of capability to achieve particular destination and deal with new difficulties are even stronger and more effective than external motivation. They are the result of the earlier experience when learners have to deal with their problems. This fact corresponds to the Zone of Proximal Development. Vygotsky (1978) states that learners should be challenged with a task, an exercise or a situation which is slightly above their level of development. When they solve the problem, they gain success and their level of confidence is improved. As a result, completion of such a challenging task leads to better motivation.

4.2. The role of the instructor

When analyzing constructivist learning and the nature of the learner, it is obvious that we should consider the role of the teacher as well. In the light of social constructivism the teachers' role changes. There is a shift from the traditional learning fashion where teachers are instructors. Now, the teacher's responsibility is to conform to a different kind of role and to a different set of rules. They start to act as facilitators. Teachers no longer give all the information to the learners but rather try to motivate and help them make the meaning on their own and explore knowledge.

Learners discover rules and improve their knowledge through collaboration with others and with the teacher if there is a need. Moreover, the learners' role changes, being previously passive now they become active in the process of learning (Gamoran, Secada, Marrett, 1998). In response to this, teachers have to demonstrate a different set of skills. While the role of the traditional teacher is to tell, lecture, give a monologue and answers according to curriculum, the facilitator usually asks, provides support from the back of the classroom and takes part in constant conversations with their learners (Rhodes, Bellamy, 1999).

Not all teachers are ready to accept the fact that learners become more active and teachers have to become more passive. It is easier for a teacher to control the learning process by simply giving all the necessary information to students and require them to memorize it than to let students be creative and face an inconvenient situation where we cannot deal with a particular problem or question.

4.3. The nature of the learning process

Constructivist learning sees learning as an active, social process. Firstly, individuals construct their knowledge in a social context. Then, it is adapted. Moreover, social constructivists believe that the process of sharing ideas and viewpoints makes learners construct understanding when working together and not alone (Greeno, Collins, Resnick, 1996). This fact clearly emphasizes the social nature of constructivist learning process. What is more, Brown (2008) explains that by promoting discovery-based techniques, such as guesswork or intuitive thinking, teachers help their learners improve abilities to discover information, rules, and concepts on their own and for themselves. Following this further, learners have to work actively with those rules, concepts, and information in order to learn them. This fact stresses the active nature of constructivist learning process.

Through the interactions with each other and with the environment that are extremely crucial in constructivist learning theory, we create meanings and knowledge. In addition to this, McMahon (1997) accepts the idea of learning as a social process and he agrees that one can talk about meaningful and effective learning when it takes place among individuals who are involved in social activities. Moreover, he argues that the process of learning is not a passive one that simply occurs in our minds and is easily influenced by external factors.

One of the vital aspects of the learning process is the dynamic interaction between the task, the instructor, and the learner. Holt and Willard-Holt (2000) believe that teachers as well as learners take part in the learning process to the same degree. Not only do the students learn from each other in the process of interaction but also from the teacher. This leads us to the fact that the learning experience should be seen as both subjective and objective. It „requires that the instructor's culture, values, and background become an essential part of the interplay between learners and tasks in the shaping of meaning.

Learners compare their version of the truth with that of the instructor and fellow learners in order to get to a new, socially tested version of truth" (Alao, Kobiowu, Adebowale, 2010, p. 57). The result of this is a situation in which a task or a problem is a sphere of mutual interaction (McMahon, 1997). „This creates a dynamic interaction between task, instructor, and learner. This entails that learners and instructors should develop an awareness of each other's viewpoints and then look to their own beliefs, standards, and values, thus being both subjective and objective at the same time" (Alao, Kobiowu, Adebowale, 2010, p. 57).

4.4. The nature of the task

When analyzing constructivist learning, one cannot ignore the nature of the task. There are some principles that one has to take into account when designing a task. Firstly, as Mager (1998) states, teachers have to design such a task that will answer the learners' question „What's in it [task] for me?". What he means by that is the fact that students expect activities that reflect their interests and desires. When the task has those elements it results in the students being actively involved in the learning process which is the key feature of constructivist learning. Following this further, Gagnon (2006) believes that in order to actively involve learners in the learning process and direct their concentration on the learning task, teachers have to construct their task so that it would be demanding and ambitious enough. What is more, learners construct and improve their knowledge usually in the classroom environment and then they have to apply that knowledge to the real world situations and challenges. For that reason Gagnon (2006) suggests that tasks should be authentic, and supply various representations of reality. In addition to this, learning tasks should concentrate on knowledge construction rather than reproduction (Jonassen, 1994). Learners use their pre-existing knowledge and experiences, and on that basis, they construct the meaning for themselves. Teachers should not provide them with ready information to be memorized and then reproduced. Moreover, knowledge construction should be gained through collaborative work and social interaction.

5. Social competence

What is emphasized throughout the theory of social constructivism is the fact that the process of learning occurs in the social context and on a social level. Moreover, this theory states, that in order to effectively collaborate with other members of a group and improve our knowledge one has to be aware that social skills are extremely important. Thus, it is wise to analyze the concept of social competence.

Waters and Sroufe (1983) believe that in order to gain satisfying educational results one has to be socially competent. It means that one has to be capable of utilizing environmental and personal resources. So what is social competence?

Social competence can be defined as a set of various skills and behaviours such as social, emotional, and cognitive ones. Such a set is required in order to effectively adapt to society (Waters & Sroufe, 1983). Semrud-Clikeman in her book *Social Competence in Children*, defines social competence as „an ability to take another's perspective concerning a situation and to learn from past experience and apply that learning to the ever-changing social landscape" (Semrud-Clikeman, 2007, p. 1). What describes individual's competence to deal with the social challenges is the skill to address them properly and flexibly. What is more, one should consider social competence as a kind of a basis on which not only

possibilities for future communication with others are based but also individuals' knowledge of their own behaviour (Semrud-Clikmen, 2007).

Social competence is a complex phenomenon and it is connected to other concepts such as social/interpersonal communication and social skills. All of these affect collaboration among members of a group. Social skills can be defined as any types of skill that promote interaction with other people. In addition to this, Spitzberg (2003) believes social skills are „repeatable and goal-directed" (Semrud-Clikmen, 2007, p. 2). While being involved in social interaction where we communicate with others using verbal and nonverbal language, one can achieve particular aims. „Social competence requires correct perception of the social interaction. This perception also encompasses motivation and knowledge on how to perform the skill. Without appropriate perception the motivation and ability to do the skill will not result in socially appropriate actions. Similarly without motivation, the skill will not be performed" (Ibidem).

What is important in the future improvement of social behaviour is social experience that is based on parent-child and peer connection. The relationship between a mother and her child influences the child's development and improves their idea of the world. The child realizes that the world can be reliable and the things happening in this world can be sometimes easy to predict. However, the child can sometimes experience the cruelty of the surrounding environment. All those experiences, either positive or negative, motivate the child to explore the world in search for new experiences and interactions (Spitzberg, 2003). According to Dodge (1986), the child who wants to explore the world and interact with it brings their pre-existing knowledge, experiences, and temperament to that world. What happens next is the situation in which the environment modifies this temperament and experiences; it tries to shape them and adjust to them. Therefore, it is not only the environment that influences humans but also humans influencing it. In addition to this, Dodge sees „social competence as an interaction between the environment and a set of biologically determined abilities. These biologically determined abilities may partially account for social difficulties frequently experienced by children with developmental disorders" (Semrud-Clikmen, 2007, p. 2).

Another important aspect of social competence and social interactions is the context in which they take place. According to Spitzberg (2003), context comprises of several facets. Among them appear such elements as time, relationships, culture, and situations. Time refers to the sequential way of learning things. Culture consists of traditions, opinions, and values. Those elements create a structure of the ways in which humans acquire certain behaviours and transfer them to the future generations. For instance, in one culture the focus may be put on learning things in isolation while in other cultures the impact may be put on learning things in a joint manner (Spitzberg, 2003). When it comes to the next facet of social competence, namely relationships, one is aware of the fact that they are different. Relationships between a mother and a child, a sister and a brother or two friends are completely different social interactions and they demand different set of social skills. The last facet of social competence is the situation in which interaction between two or more people occurs. Situations vary from formal to informal and, similarly to the previous facet, they require different set of social skills and behaviours. Some situations may require one to be flexible, assertive, submissive or perhaps open-minded (Semrud-Clikmen, 2007).

All in all, according to Garfield, Peterson and Perry (2001), it seems that the most significant element of social competence is the ability to use language and communicate with others. Understanding „the world from another's point of view is dependent on both language acquisition and a child's growing social understanding that is developed through conversation and interaction with others" (Semrud-Clikmen, 2007, p. 6). Furthermore, he believes that one cannot separate language and social skills, as they are mutually needed in the process of developing social competence.

6. Constructivism-based teaching methods

In spite of the fact that there are many learning methods that have their roots in constructivism, they share some common features. Most of those methods promote effective learning that is achieved by hands-on experience, group work, interaction with others and various discoveries. What is more, as stated previously, those methods will require active involvement of students in the learning process (Greeno, Collins and Resnick, 1996). The learning process itself focuses on the idea of improving and absorbing new information based on the previous experience and knowledge.

Among the methods that have their origins in constructivism appear *collaborative* and *cooperative learning*, *reciprocal learning*, *inquiry-based learning* and *problem-based 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, Cross, Major, 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, Dale and Squire (1992) state, 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, Dale, Squire 1992). If they cannot achieve them then the task and learners' work is meaningless.

The next method to be analyzed is called reciprocal learning. The word *reciprocal*, meaning mutual or exchanged, draws one's attention to the fact that members of a group take turns to interact with each other in a joint manner (Allen, 2003). Silver et al. (2007) suggests that in reciprocal learning the interaction can be referred to as a dialogue that takes place between the teacher and the learner or just between learners themselves. In reciprocal learning situation every learner is obliged to control the dialogue and involve in it. The process of structuring the dialogue is based on the application of so called the *Fabulous Four* rule that refers to such four elements as to predict, question, clarify, and summarize (Oczkus, 2003). As Allen (2003) states, reciprocal learning involves collaboration and communication among learners that leads to a situation in which learning experience and knowledge are shared. Because of the collaborative structure of knowledge and meaning that occurs between teachers and students, more effective acquisition of knowledge is achieved.

Reciprocal learning has its roots in Vygotsky's ideology in which the key role is attributed to the social interaction and dialogue. Those two elements have a significant influence on the improvement of knowledge and understanding. What is more, the idea of scaffolding, the key concept in Vygotsky's theory of Zone of Proximal Development, is present here as well. Allen (2003) explains that scaffolding is provided first by the teacher who presents exemplary procedures to be practiced by the learners. Secondly, after the teacher's presentation, students try to repeat those procedures with their peers. This stage is supported with the teacher's comment or response to students' work. Thirdly, complete authority is in students' hands.

The second method worth considering is called inquiry-based learning which represents a student-centered approach. The word *inquiry* by definition means a process in which individuals search for truth, information, or understanding by asking questions. According to Bruner (1961), questioning in order to find answers and improve one's knowledge is something natural for human beings. He states that this process of questioning starts in early childhood and continues throughout one's life. At the very beginning, it involves our senses such as hearing, seeing, smelling, touching, or tasting that individuals use in order to experience the real world. Then, it is continued by asking questions about the world that surrounds us. Bruner emphasizes the fact that this quest for knowledge deriving from students' own interests, experiences, and curiosity actively engages them in the learning process and improves it. Similarly to the previous method, inquiry-based learning has its roots in constructivism. Firstly, by the fact that the process of building knowledge involves stages and scaffolding and secondly, by the fact that learning is more effective when it involves working in groups and interacting with others (Banchi et al., 2008). In addition to this, the role of the teacher is limited just to guide their students who are responsible for their own learning. It is the learner who decides what problem should be dealt with and what kind of methods or procedures should be applied to effectively

accomplish the quest. All in all, inquiry-based learning can be said to be a response to traditional learning where students are not required or encouraged to ask many questions but to passively listen to what is said and memorize it (Bruner, 1961).

The last method to be discussed and that derives from constructivism is called problem-based learning. Similarly to the previous two methods it is a student-centered approach based on constructivism. Amador (2006) describes problem-based learning as a method by the use of which learners acquire information dealing with complex, elaborate, and realistic problems. While involved in collaborative groups, learners analyze their already existing knowledge, what they should know, and knowledge that will be required to solve the problem. In problem-based learning, the role of the teacher is to facilitate learning and guide learners. The teacher's duty is to offer their students a proper scaffolding by giving them useful resources, helping them lead discussions and assessing them. The presence of scaffolding shows direct link to constructivism and articulates the fact that knowledge is built gradually (Hmelo-Silver, Barrows, 2006). In addition to this, another aspect of constructivist learning theory is present here, namely the fact that learners are actively involved in the process of constructing the knowledge that takes place in a social context (Schmidt, 1993). When it comes to the role of the learners, they are motivated by the teachers to control the group and the process of learning.

Taking everything into consideration, as Schmidt (1993) suggests, the development of student-centered approaches was influenced by insufficient effectiveness of traditional approaches and the realization that individuals learn best when actively involved in the learning process. In contrast to traditional learning methods, student-centered techniques abandon the idea of learners being passive in constructing their knowledge and the idea of teacher who is the only source of knowledge.

Summary

The system of education has undergone many changes that influenced learning methods and approaches. The roles of teachers and learners have been changing throughout that time and new opportunities have appeared. One of the alternatives to a teacher-centered classroom, which sees its learners as active constructors of their knowledge, is called constructivism. The article presents theoretical background of constructivism and provides a distinction between constructivism and constructionism followed by a demonstration of two subcategories of constructivism, social and cognitive constructivism, with two important historical figures connected with them, namely Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky. One of the key concepts in the theory of constructivism is social competence, which makes it a further point of discussion. This is followed by a presentation of some exemplary methods based on constructivism such as *reciprocal learning*, *inquiry-based learning* and *problem-based learning*.

Streszczenie

System edukacji uległ wielu zmianom, które wpłynęły na metody i podejścia do nauczania. Role nauczycieli oraz uczniów zmieniały się przez cały ten czas. Pojawiały się także nowe możliwości. Jedną z alternatyw dla klasy, której centrum stanowi nauczyciel, jest konstruktywizm. W świetle konstruktywizmu uczniowie są aktywnymi „konstruktorami" swojej wiedzy. W artykule przedstawiono teoretyczny kontekst konstruktywizmu oraz różnicę pomiędzy konstruktywizmem a konstrukcjonizmem. Przedstawiono również dwie podkategorie konstruktywizmu: konstruktywizm społeczny i poznawczy, uwzględniając dwie postacie historyczne związane z nimi. Są to Jean Piaget oraz Lev Vygotsky. Jednym z kluczowych pojęć w teorii konstruktywistycznej jest kompetencja społeczna, która

stanowi dalszy punkt dyskusji. W końcowej części artykułu opisano niektóre przykładowe metody nauczania bazujące na konstruktywizmie takie jak: nauczanie oparte na wzajemnym uczeniu się, nauczanie oparte na odkrywaniu przez dociekanie oraz nauczanie oparte na rozwiązywaniu problemów.

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IMPOLITENESS IN COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present the phenomenon of impoliteness in computer mediated communication (CMC), that is the type of interaction which has recently grown in popularity across various age groups. Numerous studies devoted to the influence of the Internet on interpersonal relationships suggest that this medium facilitates communication and strengthens bonds with others despite the lack of such non-linguistic signals as facial expressions, gestures, body language or the tone of voice, which significantly contribute to a conversation in face-to-face communication. CMC developed its own communication strategies that either allow to maintain harmony of the interaction or deliberately disrupt it.

Politeness constitutes a vital element of human communication. As Brown and Levinson (1987) stated, each instance of interaction may become violent, an unwelcome circumstance which can be avoided when the potentially aggressive participants remain polite to each other. Thus impoliteness is often considered as the disruptive opposite of politeness, or its „evil twin" (Bousfield, 2008), though such understanding of the phenomenon is a rather simplified. So far, a number of models depicting politeness have been discussed; for instance, Lakoff (1977, 1989); Fraser and Nolan (1981); Leech (1983, 2005); Brown and Levinson (1987), Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) or Terkourafi (2015a). Discussions of impoliteness include, for example, Culpeper (1996, 2003); Bousfield and Locher (2008); Bousfield (2008); Limberg (2009) or Terkourafi (2015b). Technological development, though, gave rise to new means of communication involving both polite and impolite expression.

The analysis of communicative strategies and acts of impoliteness in CMC reveals that they are largely motivated by anonymity. As opposed to face-to-face communication (cf. Laskowski, 2010), anonymous participants in CMC are sure they will not be identified, which makes them abandon their self-control, which would be enforced on them in the physical presence of other participants[1]. In CMC linguistic behaviour often turns more extreme leading to interesting instances of impoliteness.

The type of CMC that has become the focus of the present study is the asynchronic communication found in social networking and discussion boards. The questions that the paper attempts to answer include the following:

1. Which impoliteness strategies are used?
2. What linguistic forms express sarcasm, as opposed to the forms used in face-to-face communication?

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[1] This phenomenon was labelled the *observer effect*, in which the act of observing influences the phenomenon being observed. As Labov (1972, p. 209) remarked, linguistic analysis should focus on the language used by those speakers that are not directly observed, though – paradoxically – such data can be obtained only through systematic observation.

2. Selected theories of (im)politeness
2.1. Conversational implicature

The interpretation of an utterance is rarely limited to understanding the literal meanings of words. Apart from blunt orders, such as „Stop!" or „Go away", interlocutors' messages, whether polite or not, frequently convey meanings incompatible with their literal denotation. For this reason the concept of implicature and Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) became the basis of numerous theories of politeness.

The CP assumes that the participants of a conversation expect that each will make a „conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange" (Grice 1975). The CP, complemented by conversational maxims, partly accounts for conversational implicatures. The listeners assume that a speaker is being cooperative, which allows them to make conversational implicatures about what is said. The linguistic behaviour of the participants is, therefore, purposeful and their common task is cooperation. Violating the CP and, in particular, the four maxims of conversation, may lead to distorted or ineffective communication. The maxims state the following (Grice, 1975, p. 45-46):

Maxim of Quality
Supermaxim:
Try to make your contribution one that is true
Submaxims:
1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
Maxim of Quantity
1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
Maxim of Relevance
Be Relevant
Maxim of Manner
Supermaxim:
Be perspicacious
Submaxims:
1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

Grice was aware of the fact that interlocutors rarely obey the maxims and that when they violate them, they do this on purpose, in order to achieve a particular communicative effect. Assuming that in circumstances when the participants normally cooperate with each other and obey the CP, violation of one or more maxims leads to implicature: the listener deduces that the speaker wanted to indirectly convey an additional meaning, other than the literal one.

Grice did not include politeness as a separate maxim because he understood it as a aesthetic, moral and social element of a conversation. The fact that the CP failed to encompass such a significant part of communication became one of the objections against the model. Another weakness of the CP was the ambiguity involved in the expression *conversational cooperation*. One interpretation could suggest that impoliteness is one of the most vivid signs of the lack of cooperation, yet on the other hand, impoliteness could be the signal of close cooperation between the speaker and the listener. In order to offend the listener the speaker has to ensure that the message is interpreted as it was intended. However, despite criticism, the CP has become an inspiration for many researchers involved in the discussion of politeness and the lack of it.

2.2. Robyn Lakoff's Politeness Principle
Lakoff (1973) formulated one of the first models of politeness, called Politeness Principle. The model was designed to complement the CP, as it accounted for the reduction of tensions in interaction. She proposed three maxims:
1. Don't impose or distance.
2. Give option or deference.
3. Make audience feel good or camaraderie.

Since it is hard to obey all the maxims of politeness simultaneously, in a typical conversation they remain in conflict and interlocutors need to find balance between them so that their contributions were interpreted as polite. Lakoff (1989, p. 297) admitted that the politeness principle is more important than being clear, as it is more vital to avoid offending the interlocutor than maintain clarity. Therefore, if participants violate conversational maxims, they do so to be polite.

The Politeness Principle has certain weaknesses. First of all, they are based on Grice's CP that focuses on maxim violations and their consequences, namely implicatures, yet implicatures do not have to be polite. Moreover, politeness can be expressed in clear and unambiguous utterances, not only in messages that are implied.

2.3. Leech's Politeness Principle
The model proposed by Geoffrey Leech (1983), the Politeness Principle (PP), was also based on Grice's conversational maxims. Its aim was to account for the phenomenon not included in the CP, namely the fact that interlocutors „are often so indirect in conveying what they mean" (Leech, 1983, p. 80)[2]. The PP consists of three maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. Similarly to Lakoff's view, Leech's model assumes that speakers can violate Grice's maxims to remain polite, because the Politeness Principle takes precedence over the CP. However, this assumption is contradicted by the fact that interlocutors do not have to be polite in order to obey the CP (cf. Dynel, 2009).

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[2] Leech did not acknowledge implicatures which are an indirect way of expressing meaning and that the CP does account for.

2.4. Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson's model of politeness

Many models of politeness, as well as impoliteness, incorporates the concept of face. The idea was first used by Goffman (1967) who defined it as „the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself" (p. 5) on the basis of contacts with other people. Face is, therefore, a self-image that consists of socially acceptable features, which a person takes care of and shares with others. During a conversation, interlocutors try to protect both their own face and the other's.

Brown and Levinson (1987) modified the concept of face by dividing it into two distinct types: the positive and negative. They defined the former as „the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others executors"; or „the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants". Negative face indicated „the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others"; or „the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. the freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Brown, Levinson, 1987, p. 61-62).

During a conversation, the interlocutor tries to create a positive image of self and, at the same time, save his or her face, as well as the other's. It may happen, however, that a statement uttered by one of them expresses some requirements to the other person or otherwise violates their autonomy, thus challenging their face wants. Such an utterance is referred to as a face-threatening act (FTA).

Brown and Levinson's model depicts politeness as a universal set of rules governing human communication. Politeness has priority over the effectiveness of the conversation, since its main role is to save the interlocutor's face by means of various patterns of behaviour, such as showing solidarity, restraining one's behaviour or avoiding assuming a firm position. Politeness is, therefore, a kind of behaviour that aims at mitigating the effects of a potential FTAs. The greater the threat to the interlocutor's face, the more polite should the speaker be, using one of the following superstrategies.

1. **Bald-on record**, when the FTA is uttered directly; in other words, the speaker does nothing to reduce the threat to the listener's face. This superstrategy is applied in circumstances when the threat is, in fact, small (for instance, when addressing a guest: *Come in, do sit down*), or when the speaker has a stronger status than the listener (for example, when a parent tells the child: *Stop complaining*) (Brown, Levinson, 1987, p. 69).
2. **Positive politeness**, when the act threatening the listener's positive face is mitigated by, for example, attending to his or her needs, emphasizing his or her belonging to the group or seeking agreement (Ibidem, p. 129).
3. **Negative politeness** when the act threatening the listener's negative face is mitigated by interacting with the listener in a non-imposing way, such as apologising, being indirect, using hedges or questions (Ibidem, p. 129-211).
4. **Off-record**, relates to the circumstance when the FTA has the form of an indirect illocutionary speech act (cf. Austin's Speech Act Theory, 1962) that can elicit a number of interpretations, thanks to which the speaker can withdraw his or her words when the listener feels offended. This superstrategy involves implicature, that is, hints, allusions, presuppositions, understatements, tautologies, contradictions, irony metaphors or rhetorical questions (Ibidem, p. 211-227).

The weakness of the model is the assumption that it is supposed to be universal, though in reality it proves Anglo centric. Research into linguistic politeness in languages other than English (such as Polish by Ożóg, 1990, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1991; Anusiewicz, Marcjanik, 1992; Marcjanik, 1997; Chinese by Gu (1992); Norwegian by Horbowicz, 2011) revealed the influence of culture on politeness.

2.5. Impoliteness: Jonathan Culpeper's model

The theories of politeness described above assume that interlocutors typically resort to a number of linguistic strategies to maintain harmony and balance in social relations, while impoliteness is treated as a marginal phenomenon. For example, Lakoff (1989: 103) stated that rude behaviour merely „does not utilise politeness strategies where they would be expected, in such a way that the utterance can only almost plausibly be interpreted as intentionally and negatively confrontational". On the other hand, Leech (1983: 104-105) postulated that indirectness increased the impoliteness of impolite beliefs, but gave no evidence to prove this conclusion. Yet quite frequently, interlocutors deliberately apply linguistic devices which strengthen FTAs or directly attack the listener's face.

This idea became the basis of Culpeper's definition of impoliteness (1996, 2003, 2005): a deliberately conflicting, aggressive and non-cooperative communication in which interlocutors apply communicative strategies aiming at attacking someone's face in order to cause social conflict and disharmony (Culpeper et al., 2003, p. 1546). This view was supported by Locher and Bousfield (2008, p. 3), who stated that „impoliteness is behaviour that is face-aggravating in a particular context". For this reason impoliteness cannot be considered a simple opposite of politeness. As Cashman (2006) remarked, impoliteness is not a mere failed politeness, but a deliberate act, instrumental and functional one. Moreover, for an impolite speech act to take effect, the speaker's intention has to be appropriately interpreted by the listener.

Since Culpeper (1996) decided that impoliteness is to a large extent the parasite of politeness, he based his model of impoliteness on Brown and Levinson's theory. The communicative superstrategies that Culpeper proposed in 1996 (p. 356-357) and slightly revised in 2005, allowing the speaker to offend the listener, are the opposites of the politeness superstrategies.

1. **Bald on record impoliteness**, where the FTA is performed in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way in circumstances where face is not irrelevant or minimized.
2. **Positive impoliteness**, involving the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants, such as:
   - Ignore, snub the other – fail to acknowledge the other's presence.
   - Exclude the other from an activity.
   - Disassociate from the other – for example, deny association or common ground with the other; avoid sitting together.
   - Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic.
   - Use inappropriate identity markers – for example, use title and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.
   - Use obscure or secretive language – for example, mystify the other with jargon, or use a code known to others in the group, but not the target.

- Seek disagreement – select a sensitive topic.
- Make the other feel uncomfortable – for example, do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk.
- Use taboo words – swear, or use abusive or profane language.
- Call the other names – use derogatory nominations.

3. **Negative impoliteness**, which uses strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants, such as:
   - Frighten – instil a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur.
   - Condescend, scorn or ridicule – emphasize your relative power.
   - Be contemptuous.
   - Do not treat the other seriously.
   - Belittle the other (e.g. use diminutives).
   - Invade the other's space – literally (e.g. position yourself closer to the other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship).
   - Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect – personalize, use the pronouns „I" and „you".
   - Put the other's indebtedness on record.
   - Violate the structure of conversation – interrupt.

4. **Off-record impoliteness**, where the FTA is performed by means of implicature but in such a way that one attributable intention clearly outweighs any others.

5. **Withhold politeness**, indicating the absence of politeness where it would be expected. For example, failing to thank somebody for a present may be interpreted as deliberate impoliteness.

6. **Impoliteness meta-strategy: sarcasm or mock politeness**. This superstrategy involves the FTA performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realisations. Sarcasm is defined here in a similar way as irony in Leech's theory (1983: 82), that is, if the listener is to be offended, let it happen in a way that does not overtly violate the Politeness Principle, but instead let the insulting utterance take an indirect form of an implicature. This strategy is opposite to Brown and Levinson's off record politeness (Culpeper, 1996, p. 356).

The strength of Culpeper's model is the fact that it applies to real-life situations in various types of discourse. For instance, to conflicting and impolite utterances of American soldiers (Culpeper, 1996), arguments over parking sites (Culpeper, 2003), impolite interactions of bilingual, Anglo-Spanish children (Cashman, 2006), or scripts for docusoaps (Bousfield, 2008). For this reason Culpeper's model can be a useful tool in the analysis of the language of CMC.

3. Impoliteness in CMC: the analysis

Expressing politeness and impoliteness in CMC has attracted a growing interest on the part of language researchers. Obeying the CP in teenagers' text messages was studied by Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska (2004). The application of the impoliteness theory in CMC was addressed by, for example, Szpunar (2006), Graham (2007), Johnson et al. (2008), Hardaker (2010, though trolling not always implies impoliteness), Locher, (2010) or Bou-Franch et al. (2012). It appeared, though, that theories of (im)politeness may require some degree of modification to adequately depict the phenomenon in this type of communication (cf. Hardaker, 2010).

The material collected for the present study includes a corpus involving a small (about 50 specimen) of threads found on a number of Polish and English social networks and discussion boards, with interactions carried out in Polish and English. The threads involved embedded posts, which in total gave about 80 posts. This is an introductory study designed to pilot a bigger project devoted to impoliteness in the Internet, based on more diverse corpus, which is still under compilation. The present study, though, revealed certain tendencies that indicate the direction that the forthcoming study is to take.

Positive impoliteness is represented by 37 posts found mainly in discussion boards that allow to participate without previous registration. Thus anonymity encourages the users to the strong expression of their beliefs. The corpus involves the following strategies.
1. Lack of interest in the interlocutor's opinion, such as:

    User A: *interesuje mnie to jak liście na brzozie* [this interests me as much as leaves on a birch]
    User B: *zeszłorocznej* [last year's one]
    User C: *żelaznej* [iron]

    The example was found in a Polish discussion board and was related to current political events, which typically evoke strong feelings and clashes between interlocutors.

2. Seeking disagreement by means of an expression *ass pain* which was borrowed by Polish: *ból dupy*.

    The expression can be seen as a multi-functional strategy: it cuts any conversation short, expresses no interest in the interlocutor's opinions, may evoke an aggressive reaction and stoke the existing conflict.

3. Inappropriate address forms, as in the Polish data, using the form *pan/pani* [Mr/Mrs/Ms] or a title before a surname of the person that is directly referred to, which is impolite (see Marcjanik 2008):

    Panie Hartman, nie BREDŹ pan [Mr Hartman, stop talking NONSENSE – the capitalization as in the original post]
    Wstyd doktorze Duda [Shame, PhD Duda]

Another example involves addressing a stranger with the first name:
Krycha, zbłaźniłaś się [Krycha, you made a fool of yourself]

In the English data, the interlocutor was addressed with an insulting form: *Ms Asspain.*

4. Insults and swearing that took the following forms (recorded with original spelling preserved; categories are based on Culpeper 2011):
   a) Personalized insults, such as these in the Polish data:
   (Ty) sługusie Rydzyka / mocherze / lewaku / oszuście / trollu / lemingu / wszawa mordo / obszczymurku / słoiku warszawski / gimbusie (most of these carry such strong cultural associations that the author decided to leave them untranslated)
   In the English data:
   liberal pantywaists / you lazy hack

   b) Personalized negative statements
   Polish data: *ty jesteś psycholem / on@nistą / idiotą / POpaprańcem / burakiem / brzydka / beznadziejny / zacofany*

   English data: *you are such a good little useful idiot*

   c) Personalized negative references to third parties
   Polish data: *popaprańcy / te słoiki chciwe / durne / gimbaza / te górale / bufony warszawskie / lewaki*
   English data: none found.

Personalized insults typically contain nouns with negative connotations. The Polish examples did not involve any adjectives.

Negative impoliteness is exemplified by 8 posts, expressed by the following strategies:
1. Patronize and belittle the interlocutor, such as:
Polish data:
User A: *Prośba o pomoc. Muszę do wypracowania przetłumaczyć z angielskiego na polski całą listę przymiotników opisujących ludzkie cechy z kilkoma mam problem – w jaki sposób ująć je najzgrabniej, najlepiej jednym słowem? (...) Problem mam z: popular – popularny? Humorous – z poczuciem humoru? Moody – humorzasty (...)?*
   [I need help. As an assignment I have to translate from English into Polish a whole list of adjectives describing people's character I have problems with some – how to render them nicely, best in one word? (...) I have problems with popular – popularny? Humorous – z poczuciem humoru? Moody – humorzasty (...)?]
User B: *www.pons.eu*

Other Polish examples: *biedny, prymitywny dzieciaku / naucz się pisać, dziecko* [poor, primitive kid / learn to write, child]

English data: *Go back to school / that's exactly how I would have answered when I was your age / calm down / how did you get to be an engineer?*

2. Personalized questions with negative connotations:
    Polish data: *nie potrafisz czytać ze zrozumieniem?* [can't you understand what you read?]

    English data: none found.

In face-to-face communication, negative impoliteness involves addressing the other using pronouns *I / you* in circumstances when the listener's status is higher than the speaker's or when the listener is a stranger. In CMC such difference in social distance typically does not have to cause conflict, since these interactions are marked by indirect language and users are considered equal by default.

Sarcasm was found mainly in interactions in which the users either had registered accounts or who signed their accounts with real names. Here anonymity was either minimal or non-existent, which discouraged blatant impoliteness. Sarcasm and irony, on the other hand, becomes a much safer strategy when the user wishes to offend the interlocutor with a minimal damage to the user's own face. 35 utterances of this type were collected, which could be classified into the following groups, depending on the form they take.

1. Atypical spelling and punctuation.
    a) Using quotation marks, as in:
    To tytuł w poważnym tygodniku? Brzmi jak komentarz kretyna gdzieś w internecie cieszącego się z tego że dobili „ruska".
    [This is a title in a quality paper? Sounds like an idiot's comment somewhere in the Internet, rejoicing that a „russki" was finished off]

    b) Using only lower case letters to convey the meaning of a monotonous, bored utterance, especially when the post is a comment to an emotional, capitalized contribution, as in:
    Polish data:
    User A: *a poza tym nie każdy podobno może pisać ze znakami. Ty możesz.* [besides they say not everyone can write with punctuation (sic!). You can.]

    User B: *moznapisacipostrozytnorzymskiemubezznakowprzystankowychczytejbzdury zwanejodstepamimiedzyliteramijakaztowygodaczytaccostakiegowykrzyknik*
    [youcanwriteinancientromanwithoutpunctuationoranystupidthingcalledspaces betweenlettershowconvenientreadingthisexclamationmark]

    English data:
    User A: *MONCTON! Opal! You are going to get your winter snow!*
    User B: *planted tomatoes this morning*

    c) Deliberate spelling mistakes, for instance:
    Polish data: *Kochana Pani Krystyno to był najwyższy czas żeby* w z i ą ś ć *się za nieuków i pokazać kto ma rację.*
    [Dear Krystyna, it's high time *to crack down* [misspelt] the dunces and show them who's right]

    POkraka

d) In the Polish data, acronyms, especially those borrowed from English Internet slang, such as *LOL:*
Chciałoby się rzec FROM POLAND WITH LOL [On would like to say, FROM POLAND WITH LOL]
BIN – Bezprawie i Niesprawiedliwość [Lawlessness and Injustice]

2. Textual or graphic representation of a non-linguistic expression, such as sound or visual one, for instance:
   User A: *Czy stawka 30 zł na 1800 zzs jest ok?*
   User B: *<grabs popcorn>*
   User C: *zapowiada się gala boksu*
   User A: *Spodziewałem się tego, ale zawsze warto zapytać.*
   User D: **facepalm**

   [User A: Is the rate of 30 zł for 1800 characters without spaces ok?]
   [User B: <grabs popcorn>]
   [User C: a fight night is afoot]
   [User A: I'm expecting this but it's always worth asking.]
   [User D: *facepalm*]

3. In Polish data, dialect stylization to emphasize the user's low opinion about the interlocutor, for example:
   Pińcet złoty na bachora dadzom, całe pińcet! Oj! Oj!
   Ale jag to, pszeciesz muslimy to fanatyki co sie wysadzajo!!!

4. In English data, deadpan remark, as in:
   [an RPG discussion board] User A: **frustrated* I need your help w/ a title, please!*
   User B: *Drake of Destiny*
                  Dare Drake
                  Dragolicious
                  Draconian Imperial
                  Poor Sod
                  Preying Dragon
   That's a few... hard to know really what you're going for...

Conclusions

       The examples above reveal interesting tendencies in the choice of strategies designed to offend other interlocutors in CMC. The most frequent one is the strategy allowing the user to attack the positive face of the other, which emphasizes the lack of acceptance for the opponent. Achieving this goal seems easier than undermining a sense of integrity of the interlocutor. Sarcasm belongs to a more refined means of expressing impoliteness, as it requires the user to possess a large degree of creativity. However, if one takes into account the fact that an impolite utterance is effective only when the receiver correctly interprets it, sarcasm may prove a less convenient strategy in comparison to positive impoliteness: the receiver may fail to recognize the irony, which is a frequent case in discussion boards, for instance:

User A: *Wrzucanie turków jako społeczeństwa do jednego wora z isis jest co najmniej niesmaczne.*

User B: *Czytaj ze zrozumieniem.* [...] *Cała wypowiedź X to jeden wielki sarkazm. Jak można tego nie rozumieć?*

User C: *Cholera, jak czytelniej jeszcze można zaznaczyć sarkazm? Kursywą pisać?*

[User A: Painting the turks as a society with the same brush as the isis is distastefu, to say the least.]

[User B: Read and understand. [...] The whole X's statement is one big sarcazm. How come you don't get it?]

[User C: Blimey, how else can you more clearly mark sarcasm? By writing in italics?]

Sarcasm in face-to-face communication uses different tools than in CMC. In the former case, it may be signalled by the tone of voice, flat intonation, by gestures or facial expressions. In CMC users can resort to other means which, in fact, do not limit

Them in any way. They can pointedly annotate the text with *</ sarcasm>*, or *#sarcasm*; alternatively they can use more subtle markers, as in the examples above. On the other hand, the distinction between sarcasm and positive impoliteness may not be clear-cut. Spelling mistakes and lack of punctuation not necessarily indicate deliberate contempt for the interlocutor, but rather carelessness in the form of the language used and this does not mean impoliteness.

Impoliteness has been thoroughly researched, yet a lot remains to be analysed in the language of CMC. The author plans to focus more extensively on cultural influences on impolite linguistic forms and how they relate to the existing models of impoliteness.

Summary

The paper presents linguistic impoliteness in computer mediated communication (CMC), which has become one of the most common forms of interaction. The model of impoliteness on which the analysis of this type of communication was based involves the ideas developed by Culpeper (1996), which – in turn – were built on the models describing the opposite phenomenon, namely, linguistic politeness. The analysis concerns conversational strategies found in utterances published on chosen social networks and discussion boards.

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest nieuprzejmości językowej w komunikacji pośredniczonej komputerowo (ang. *CMC*), jednej z bardziej rozpowszechnionych form interakcji. Model nieuprzejmości, na którym oparto analizę komunikacji tego typu, oparto na modelu Culpepera (1996), nawiązującym do wcześniejszych modeli zjawiska przeciwnego, tj. uprzejmości. Następnie wypowiedzi opublikowane na wybranych portalach społecznościowych i forach dyskusyjnych zostały omówione pod kątem strategii konwersacyjnych obranych przez internautów.

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ROSYJSKIE MARKI –
NAZWISKA JAKO ŹRÓDŁO WIEDZY O HISTORII I KULTURZE ROSJI

Wstęp

Jednym ze sposobów tworzenia nazw marek jest wykorzystanie w procesie brandnamingu nazwisk, które są charakterystyczne dla danego kraju. Tego rodzaju marki i „odpowiednia strategia marketingowa może być znakomitą formą promocji danego kraju" (Mróz-Gorgoń, 2013, s. 329). Nazwisko, stosowane w nazwie marki, może być realne lub wymyślone, ale powinno brzmieć podobnie jak typowo polskie, rosyjskie czy niemieckie nazwisko. Przy wyborze nazwy marki należy bowiem uwzględniać kilka faktów, m.in.: nazwa powinna być łatwa do wypowiedzenia w dowolnym języku, być krótka, być źródłem informacji o danym kraju i jego kulturze.

I. Titow (Титов, 2008, s. 16) zauważył, że „nadając swojemu biznesowi imię własne, biznesmen tym samym jednocześnie dawał gwarancje, że ponosi odpowiedzialność za swoje wyroby. Nazwisko było swego rodzaju znakiem jakości (…), patentem receptury lub technologii. Właśnie dlatego 46 ze 100 najdroższych marek, istniejących do dziś, to nazwiska ich założycieli, którzy sformułowali wartości i misję swych firm" (tłum. – G.Z.).

Podobny pogląd przedstawia O. Rjabowa: „Imię od razu tworzy swoistą aureolę emocjonalną. Z punktu widzenia psychologii reklamy związek „bezimiennego" produktu z osobą producenta (nawet wymyśloną) wygrywa w oczach konsumenta. Bazą takiej „personalizacji" jest większe zaufanie do konkretnego przedsiębiorcy i sympatia emocjonalna do „żywego" logo, produktu, etykietki. Wykorzystanie nazwiska podkreśla brak anonimowości biznesu, a także wywołuje przekonanie o dobrej reputacji firmy, jej niezawodności, i to, że biznesmen nie boi się osobiście podpisywać się pod swoim biznesem i brać za niego odpowiedzialność (Рябова, 2005).

Do Rosji moda na stosowanie nazwisk w brandnamingu trafiła z Europy Zachodniej jeszcze w czasach carskich, ale tendencja ta rozwinęła się w latach 90. XX wieku, w czasach transformacji gospodarki i budowania podstaw rynku. Popularne na świecie marki-nazwiska jak Porsche, Hilton, Philips, Cadbury i in. wywołują jednoznaczne skojarzenia w świadomości konsumentów. To samo było celem rosyjskich przedsiębiorców.

Analizując rosyjskie marki-nazwiska, możemy wyróżnić następujące grupy:
1. marki z nazwiskami prawdziwych rosyjskich biznesmenów – założycieli firm;
2. marki z nazwiskami rosyjskich bohaterów narodowych i polityków;
3. marki z wymyślonymi rosyjskimi nazwiskami;
4. rosyjskie marki z nazwiskami „udającymi" nazwiska zagranicznych biznesmenów.

1. Marki z nazwiskami rosyjskich biznesmenów

W grupie prawdziwych nazwisk-marek można wyróżnić te, które znane były już w czasach carskich oraz te, które powstały w latach 90. XX wieku, kiedy dokonała się transformacja gospodarki.

1.1. Biznesmeni z czasów Rosji carskiej

Z czasów przedrewolucyjnych i jedną z pierwszych tego rodzaju marek był Dom Handlowy Braci **Jelisiejewów**. W 1812 roku do Moskwy trafił chłop pańszczyźniany spod Jarosławla, niedaleko Moskwy – Piotr, syn Jelisieja, który potem przyjął nazwisko Jelisiejew (w tamtych czasach chłopi nie mieli nazwisk). Jak głosi legenda rodzinna, w wigilię Bożego Narodzenia w 1812 roku wydawał przyjęcie hrabia Szeremietiew. Goście zachwycili się świeżymi poziomkami, a hrabia wezwał do siebie Piotra i powiedział, że może sobie zażyczyć, czego chce. Piotr poprosił o wolność i tak się stało, a nawet dostał jeszcze 100 rubli. Mając taki kapitał, Piotr w stolicy – Petersburgu – zaczął handel importowanymi pomarańczami, a potem winami, we własnym kiosku na głównej ulicy – Newskim prospekcie, zaś w 1823 roku otworzył własny sklep na jednej z wysp Petersburga – Wasiliewskiej – i wstąpił do gildii kupieckiej. Zaczął handel winami europejskimi, jednak w 1825 roku zmarł. Jego żona, Maria Gawriłowna, synowie, Grigorij, Stiepan i Siergiej kontynuowali dzieło Piotra. Na czele rodu stanął syn Piotra – Siergiej Pietrowicz. W 1843 roku, mając zaoszczędzone 8 mln rubli założyli Dom Handlowy „Bracia Jelisiejew". Firma ta była znana w całej Europie. Bracia Jelisiejew, a zwłaszcza Grigorij, handlowali z Anglią, Francją, Niemcami, Włochami i Hiszpanią. Kupowali całe statki towarów – kawę, herbatę, owoce, a nawet hawańskie cygara. Firma posiadała własne statki, magazyny za granicą, kupowała wina we Francji i sprzedawała je w Londynie, Nowym Jorku i Rosji. Siergiej Pietrowicz zmarł w 1858 roku, zostawiając majątek w wysokości 1 mln rubli w srebrze. Ponieważ Siergiej nie miał dzieci, biznesem zajęli się jego bracia – Grigorij Pietrowicz i Stiepan Pietrowicz.

W 1864 roku w Petersburgu powstał pierwszy w Rosji bank komercyjny w formie spółki akcyjnej. Grigorij był jednym z jego założycieli, 18 lat był członkiem zarządu, a od 1875 do 1882 prezesem zarządu banku. Za działalność charytatywną Grigorij i Stipena Pietrowicze otrzymali ordery.

Stiepan zmarł w 1879 roku. Jego miejsce w biznesie rodzinnym zajął syn – Piotr Stiepanowicz, pracując razem z wujkiem – Grigorijem Piotrowiczem, a po jego śmierci – synem Grigorija – Grigorijem Grigoriewiczem. W 1913 roku z rąk Mikołaja II rodzina Jelisiejewów otrzymała tytuł szlachecki.

W 1914 roku firma posiadała w Petersburgu już 5 sklepów, kilkadziesiąt magazynów, produkowała alkohole i słodycze, miała sklepy gastronomiczne w Moskwie i Kijowie. Najsłynniejszy sklep na Newskim prospekcie w Petersburgu istnieje do dziś.

Niestety, na ród Jelisiejewów spadła tragedia. Grigorij Grigoriewicz zakochał się w kobiecie o 20 lat młodszej. Żona, nie mogąc znieść tego, zmarła wkrótce. Synowie nie uznali macochy, wyprowadzili się z domu, w którym została ich siostra Masza. Bracia postanowili odebrać ojcu Maszę i tak zrobili. Grigorij rozpaczał, rozpił się i przestał zajmować się biznesem. W 1917 roku wybuchła rewolucja i w 1918 roku władza bolszewicka odebrała Jelisiejewom firmę – sklepy, domy handlowe. Grigorij wyjechał do Francji, gdzie zmarł w 1949 roku (Краско, 2010).

Historia rodzinnego biznesu Jelisiejewów to znakomity materiał dydaktyczny, który można wykorzystać na zajęciach z Historii i Kultury Rosji, opisując ciekawe czasy narodzin handlu w Rosji carskiej, rozkwitu Imperium i upadku po rewolucji 1917 roku. Jelisiejew to marka-nazwisko kojarzona z luksusowymi towarami za życia właścicieli firmy, a nawet w czasach sowieckich. Takie skojarzenia wywołuje do dziś.

Wódka **„Smirnoff"** obecnie jest jedną z najbardziej rozpoznawalnych marek. W Rosji carskiej Piotr Smirnow był prawdziwym „królem wódki", a podatek, który płacił równał się połowie budżetu wojska rosyjskiego. Markę stworzył w Moskwie w 1860 roku Piotr Smirnow. Założył gorzelnię, która zaopatrywała m.in. carski dwór. Moskiewski sklep Smirnowa był swego rodzaju świątynią wódki, szykowny i elegancki jak komnaty pałacowe. W 1898 roku firma przeszła na synów: Piotra Piotrowicza, Mikołaja i Włodzimierza. Do rewolucji październikowej był to już największy na świecie producent czystej wódki i marka o globalnym zasięgu. Władza radziecka skonfiskowała jednak majątek rodziny Smirnowów, a oni sami uciekli z Rosji. W 1920 roku Włodzimierz Smirnow, syn Piotra Piotrowicza, otworzył zakład gorzelniczy w Stambule, w 1924 roku zaczęła działać destylarnia we Lwowie i wówczas na butelkach pojawiła się europejska nazwa „Smirnoff", pod którą wódka dziś jest znana. W 1925 roku otwarto destylarnię w Paryżu. W 1933 roku Włodzimierz Smirnow sprzedał markę i wódczany biznes. Znaczną część produkcji przeniesiono do USA, a nowym właścicielem został Rudolph Kannet, wcześniej dystrybutor Smirnoffa. W 1938 roku marka znów zmieniła właściciela – została nim amerykańska firma „Heublein", dystrybutor alkoholi. „Heublein" był właścicielem „Smirnoffa" aż do 1982 roku, kiedy za 1,4 mld dolarów firmę przejęła grupa „R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company", w 1987 roku marka „Smirnoff" została odsprzedana grupie „Grand Metropolitan", która od 1997 roku po fuzji z „Guinnessem" działa jako „Diageo".

Od 1991 roku na rynku rosyjskim dostępna jest wódka „Smirnoff" (Смирнов), którą wprowadził spadkobierca rodziny – Borys Smirnow, a obecnie jest ona produkowana i sprzedawana jako joint-venture z „Diageo". Wódka „Smirnoff" występuje w wielu wersjach, najbardziej znana jest z czerwoną etykietą – „Smirnoff Red Label" lub „Smirnoff Classic" czy „Smirnoff 21", w zależności od kraju występuje w wersjach 37,5% lub 40%. Jest także granatowa wersja eksportowa „Smirnoff 57" o mocy 50%[1].

Z marek noszących nazwiska założycieli firm sprzed rewolucji w 1917 roku należy wspomnieć firmę **„Einem"**, od 1922 roku – Zakład Cukierniczy „Krasnyj oktjabr", czyli „Czerwony Październik". Założycielem firmy był Rosjanin niemieckiego pochodzenia – Theodor von Einem, który w 1851 otworzył w Moskwie zakład cukierniczy, a potem fabrykę, która wytwarzała 20 rodzajów wyrobów. W 1913 roku firma otrzymała tytuł „Dostawca Dworu Jego Cesarskiej Wysokości". Obecnie „Czerwony Październik" wchodzi w skład holdingu „Objedinionnye konditery", czyli „Zjednoczeni cukiernicy".

Znakomitym przykładem rozwoju przedsiębiorczości i historii biznesu w Rosji jest firma **Abrikosowów**. W 1804 roku do Moskwy, uzyskawszy wolność, przyjechał w poszukiwaniu lepszego życia chłop z wioski Troicka w Guberni Penzenskiej, Stiepan Nikołajew (1737-1812), który nosił przezwisko Abrikosow, gdyż robił świetne wyroby z moreli (ros. *abrikos – morela*). W 1811 roku jego przezwisko stało się nazwiskiem. Rodzina założyła w Moskwie cukiernię. Jego syn, Iwan, został przyjęty do gildii kupieckiej i wraz z bratem prowadził fabrykę słodyczy. Syn Iwana – Aleksy – rozwijał rodzinny

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[1] http://spirits.com.pl/smirnoff/ (dostęp: 20.10.2016).

biznes, jako pierwszy w Rosji zastosował konserwowanie owoców. W latach 1880-1890 rodzina Abrikosowów kontrolowała połowę sprzedaży wyrobów cukierniczych w Rosji. Troszczyła się o pracowników, miała mieszkania, własny szpital, a nawet świątynię. W 1899 roku fabryka otrzymała tytuł „Dostawca na dwór Jego Cesarskiej Wysokości”.

W 1918 roku fabryka została znacjonalizowana i otrzymała nazwę „Państwowa Fabryka Cukiernicza nr 2”, a w 1922 roku otrzymała nazwę od nazwiska bolszewika Babajewa (uczestnik 3 rewolucji w Rosji, Rosjanin azerbejdżańskiego pochodzenia). Od lat 90. XX wieku nosi nazwę Koncern **„Babajewski”**. Po raz drugi w historii tego zakładu nazwisko stało się nazwą marki. Nikt z rodu Abrikosowów nie pracuje w firmie rodowej[2]. Obecnie wchodzi ona w skład holdingu „Zjednoczeni cukiernicy”.

W Rosji przedrewolucyjnej znaną i cenioną marką zegarków była firma **„Paweł Bure”**. Założyciel firmy, Karol Bure, był Rosjaninem niemieckiego pochodzenia. W 1815 roku z Tallinna (wówczas Rewel) do Sankt Petersburga przeprowadził się właściciel niedużego zakładu produkującego zegarki Karol Bure wraz z 5-letnim synem Pawłem. Początkowo firma znajdowała się tylko w Sankt Petersburgu, ale w 1874 roku Paweł Pawłowicz, wnuk Karola, zakupił fabrykę zegarków w szwajcarskim Le-Locle[3]. W 1888 roku Paweł Pawłowicz zachorował i sprzedał rodzinny biznes Francuzowi P. Girardowi i Szwajcarowi J.-G. Pfundowi. Nowi właściciele założyli Dom Handlowy „Paweł Bure”, sklep w Moskwie i filię w Kijowie. Nowi właściciele skorzystali na popularności nazwiska założyciela firmy. Ze względu na olbrzymie cła postanowili produkować mechanizmy w Szwajcarii, a w Rosji składać zegarki. Firma produkowała nie tylko zegarki dla bogatych ludzi za kilkadziesiąt tysięcy rubli, ale i dla prostych, w cenie 2 rubli. Firma dostarczała zegarki na dwór cesarski w Petersburgu. Szacuje się, że 80% wszystkich zegarków na dworze było właśnie od „Bure”, a w ciągu 30 lat przed rewolucją 1917 roku na dwór zakupiono aż 15 tys. zegarków. Nosił je nie tylko car Mikołaj II, ale dawał jako prezenty w uznaniu zasług. Zresztą, w rzeczach znalezionych po egzekucji Mikołaja II znaleziono 2 złote zegarki „Bure”. Zegarki „Bure” nosił potem także Lenin i Stalin. Po rewolucji 1917 roku firma działała w Szwajcarii pod nazwą „Paul Buhre”, jednak nie cieszyła się popularnością, gdyż na Zachodzie były inne, sławniejsze marki zegarków (Хохрев, 2009, s. 80-83).

Na całym świecie znane są **„jajka Fabergé”** – to synonim luksusu, prestiżu i blasku Imperium Rosyjskiego. Peter Carl Fabergé urodził się w 1846 roku w Sankt Petersburgu, ale jego ojciec był z pochodzenia Francuzem, którego rodzina uciekła do Rosji z terenów obecnej Estonii przed prześladowaniami hugenockimi. Ojciec Petera ożenił się z córką duńskiego artysty. Peter już jako młody chłopak zaczął praktykę u ojca, który był złotnikiem. Gdy okazało się, że chłopak jest niesamowicie utalentowany, rodzina wysłała go na praktyki do najlepszych złotników we Francji, Włoszech, Anglii i Niemczech. W 1872 roku wrócił w końcu do Petersburga i zaczął pracować w rodzinnej firmie. Wkrótce został nadwornym jubilerem, a z jego usług korzystały rody królewskie z wielu państw europejskich, m.in. Norwegii, Anglii czy Grecji. **Pierwsze jajko wielkanocne powstało w 1884 roku na zlecenie Aleksandra III**, jako prezent dla żony cesarza, Marii. Po śmierci Aleksandra III jego syn, Mikołaj II, kontynuował tradycję zamawiania jednego jajka na Wielkanoc. W środku jajka zazwyczaj kryła się niespodzianka, która aż do momentu otworzenia podarunku była objęta ścisłą tajemnicą.

[2] www.rp-net.ru/book/OurAutors/Drugie%20avtory/abrikosovyRod.php (dostęp: 20.10.2016).
[3] http://madeinrussia.ru/ru/catalog/2621 (dostęp: 20.10.2016).

Po rewolucji 1917 roku Fabergé wraz z rodziną zmuszony był uciekać z kraju. Jego syn został aresztowany i osadzony w więzieniu, a następnie zmuszony do pracowania dla rewolucjonistów jako ekspert od wyceny zagrabionych drogocenności. Po pewnym czasie udało mu się uciec i osiąść w Finlandii. Żona Petera uciekła inną drogą z drugim synem i dotarła do Szwajcarii, gdzie zamieszkała wraz z mężem.

Po zakończeniu rewolucji Peter nie powrócił do Rosji, zmarł w wieku 74 lat w Lozannie podczas wizyty u swojego syna.

Po rewolucji bolszewickiej marka Fabergé była kilkukrotne sprzedawana. Synowie Petera nie mieli ochoty zajmować się jubilerstwem – za 25 tys. dolarów sprzedali markę i technologię rosyjskiemu emigrantowi, Samowi Rubinowi. Potem firma wielokrotnie zmieniała właścicieli, a obecnie należy do południowoafrykańskiej firmy. W 2007 roku Pallinghurst Resources za namową i pomocą wnuczek Petera – Sary oraz Tatiany – zaczęła produkować jajka. Zatrudniono świetnych projektantów oraz złotników i ruszyła produkcja maleńkich cudeniek. W 1991 roku wykonano Jajko Pokoju dla Gorbaczowa, Gdańsk otrzymał Jajko Bursztynowe. Wiadomo, że tworzone obecnie jajka nie będą tak piękne i cenne jak Jajka Imperialne, ale będą dostępne dla klientów za cenę wahającą się od 8 tys. do 600 tys. dolarów (Kłopocka, 2014).

Dopiero w 2009 roku po długich procesach sądowych udało się reaktywować markę, a w jej działania zaangażowani zostali prawowici spadkobiercy dziedzictwa Fabergé. Znane jest, że Fabryka wyprodukowała 71 jajek, a 52 z nich to tzw. imperatorskie. Ostatnia kolekcja biżuteryjnych dzieł sztuki opuściła pracownię Fabergé w 1917 roku[4].

Bolszewicy nienawidzili jajek, uważając je za symbol marnotrawstwa w czasie, gdy biedni ludzie nie mieli czego jeść. Po tym, jak bolszewicy wykończyli rodzinę cesarską, zabrali się za plądrowanie. W tym czasie kilka jajek zaginęło, a część z nich została skonfiskowana i zamknięta w skarbcu na Kremlu. Nikt o nich nie pamiętał aż do 1927 roku, kiedy to Stalin ruszył na skarbiec, aby znaleźć fundusze na sfinansowanie swoich pomysłów. Na szczęście zdecydował się na potajemne sprzedanie 14 jajek za bardzo śmieszną cenę. W ten sposób, zupełnie niezamierzenie, ocalił małe dzieła sztuki przed ich zniszczeniem – w planach było stopienie wszystkich jajek ze skarbca. Tak więc Józef Stalin ocalił m.in. jedno z najpiękniejszych jajek, w którym był maleńki paw, po zdjęciu ze złotej gałęzi rozkładający bogato zdobiony ogon i chodzący.

Brytyjska rodzina królewska posiada aż trzy jajka, w tym jedno z najpiękniejszych – jajko z bukietem polnych kwiatów. Fabergé nie robił jajek tylko dla rodziny carskiej, ale również dla Aleksandra Kelcha, księżnej Marlborough, rodziny Rotszyldów i Noblów[5].

Najsłynniejsze w XIX wieku w Rosji fortepiany i pianina produkowali **bracia Diederichs**. Historia firmy zaczyna się w 1810 roku, kiedy to Fiodor (Friedrich) Diederichs przeprowadził się z niemieckiego Brunszwiku do Petersburga i założył mały zakład produkujący instrumenty muzyczne. Pierwsze instrumenty były raczej kopiami słynnych wiedeńskich instrumentów, sprzedawanymi 3-8 razy taniej. Firma rozwijała się szybko, podwyższając jakość wyrobów. W 1846 roku Fiodor zmarł i fabrykę przejęła jego żona. Po 20 latach firmę przejął ich syn – Robert, któremu pomagał brat, Andreas. Zaczęła się produkcja nowoczesnych instrumentów oraz modernizacja fabryki. W 1893 roku Robert zmarł i jedynym właścicielem firmy został Andreas. Po kolejnych modernizacjach produkcji i rozwoju biznesu w 1900 roku na wystawie w Paryżu firma otrzymała Grand Prix.

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[4] http://life.forbes.pl/styl-zycia/artykul/Styl/wielki-powrot-jajek-faberge,17133,1# (dostęp: 27.11.2016).
[5] Ibidem.

W 1903 roku Andreas umierł, a właścicielami firmy zostali jego żona Anna i syn Robert. Czasy I wojny światowej i rewolucji 1917 roku to kryzys w firmie i stopniowe zmniejszanie produkcji. W 1918 roku firma została zamknięta[6].

1.2. Biznesmeni końca XX i początku XXI wieku

Po transformacji gospodarki na początku lat 90. XX wieku jako pierwszy z rosyjskich przedsiębiorców w brandnamingu swoje nazwisko wykorzystał Władymir Dowgań. Urodzony w 1964 roku, absolwent Politechniki w Toljatti, pracował w Zakładzie Samochodowym w tym mieście, potem studiował w Państwowej Akademii Sfery Zbytu i Usług, zrobił doktorat z nauk ekonomicznych (jako pierwszy w Rosji obronił pracę na temat franchazingu) i założył firmy „Doka-pizza" oraz „Doka-chleb". W 1995 roku złożył spółkę **„Dowgań"** produkującą wódkę, na etykietce której było zdjęcie zarówno jego, jak i jego dziadka. Firma zajmowała się również produkcją piwa, czekolady i papierosów (tzw. lecznicze papierosy „Dowgań"). W telewizji prowadził „Dowgań-show"[7], a nawet założył partię – Rosyjska Partia Dowgania. Jako pierwszy w Rosji poradzieckiej zajął się franchazingiem, osiągając olbrzymi sukces w biznesie. W 1990 roku wpadł na pomysł produkcji chipsów, gdyż w ówczesnym ZSRR z 160 mln ludności tylko 2 zakłady produkowały taki wyrób. Po wielu próbach jego spółdzielnia „Płanden" (nazwa pochodzi od zdań „План. Делаем миллионы", czyli 'Plan. Robimy miliony'). I rzeczywiście, na tym biznesie zarobił pierwsze miliony. Nadszedł jednak kryzys, stal do produkcji maszyn do pizzy i chleba podrożała 15%, oprocentowanie kredytu wzrosło 240% i zbankrutował. Nie załamało go to, a wręcz przeciwnie. W kraju, w którym w ciągu jednego tylko roku od podrobionej wódki zmarło ponad 40 tys. obywateli, postanowił produkować dobrej jakości wódkę. Po roku produkowania wódki i zaczynając od zera, obrót wyniósł 116 mln dolarów. Otwierał biura w Holandii, Belgii, Wielkiej Brytanii, Niemczech i Francji. Nakręcono o nim film, był znany na całym świecie. Ale znów nadszedł kryzys 1998 roku – w ciągu kilu dni inflacja zwiększyła się 6-krotnie i znów zbankrutował. Ale ponownie podniósł się i założył firmę „Edelstar", która ma stać się marką globalną. Sprzedaje francuskie kosmetyki, włoską biżuterię, towary dla domu, naczynia. Pisze książki, prowadzi seminaria i „Szkołę Zwycięzców Władymira Dowgania"[8].

Wśród nowych rosyjskich marek na uwagę zasługuje także marka **„Dymow"** od nazwiska założyciela fabryki wyrobów wędliniarskich – Wadima Dymowa. Samo nazwisko kojarzy się z dymem, wędzeniem wędlin. Wadim Dymow, urodzony w 1971 roku, absolwent Szkoły Wojskowej im. Suworowa w Ussurijsku i Wydziału Prawa Dalekowschodniego Uniwersytetu Państwowego, w 2001 roku założył w Moskwie fabrykę wędlin. Jest również właścicielem fabryki wyrobów ceramicznych w Suzdalu, sieci księgarni „Republika" i restauracji „Dymow nr 1" w Moskwie. W 2011 roku firma uplasowała się na 7. miejscu w Rosji w gałęzi przetwórstwa mięsa, zajmuje 5,5% rynku kiełbas w Moskwie, 25% w Krasnojarsku, a jego majątek ocenia się na 100 mld dolarów.

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[6] www.blazonguitars.ru/music_instruments/piano/diederichs_freres.shtml (dostęp: 20.10.2016).
[7] www.peoples.ru/undertake/retailing/vladimir_dovgan/ (dostęp: 20.10.2016).
[8] http://constructorus.ru/istorii-uspexa/istoriya-uspexa-vladimira-dovganya.html (dostęp: 27.11.2016).

Kolejna marka-nazwisko to **„A. Korkunow"** – marka czekolad produkowanych przez Andrieja Korkunowa, założona w 1997 roku. A. Korkunow, urodzony w 1962 roku, absolwent Moskiewskiego Instytutu Energetyki, pierwszą firmę – szwalniczą – założył w 1991 roku w Kołomnie. W 1993 roku założył w Moskwie dom handlowy, który zajmował się importem i sprzedażą wyrobów cukierniczych. W 1999 roku rozpoczął produkcję własnych wyrobów cukierniczych w obwodzie moskiewskim – w Odincowskiej Fabryce Cukierniczej. W 2004 roku nagrodzony został w Salonie Czekolady w Paryżu, gdzie zaprezentował cukierki i suknię z czekolady, zaprojektowaną przez I. Czapurina (Корзун, 2007).

Popularna w Rosji obecnie jest także marka **„Tinkoff"**, której nazwa pochodzi od nazwiska Olega Tinkowa, urodzonego w 1967 roku, słynnego przedsiębiorcy, majątek którego ocenia się na 1 mld dolarów. Po ukończeniu szkoły pracował on w kopalni, a potem studiował w Leningradzkim Uniwersytecie Górniczym. W czasie studiów handlował dżinsami, kosmetykami, wódką i kawiorem. Swoje towary sprzedawała na Syberię, a stamtąd sprowadzał japoński sprzęt AGD. Do Polski sprzedawał narzędzia, a sprowadzał meble biurowe. Na III roku porzucił studia i wyjechał na półroczny kurs marketingu do Uniwersytetu Kalifornijskiego w Berkeley. W 1992 roku sprowadzał sprzęt elektroniczny z Singapuru. W 1994 roku, jako właściciel firmy „Petrosib", otworzył pierwszy sklep marki Sony w Petersburgu oraz biuro „Petrosib USA" w San Francisco. Równolegle posiadał firmę ze sprzętem „Technoszok", sieć sklepów muzycznych „Music Szok" – pierwszy sklep z legalnymi płytami CD. Pod marką handlową „Daria" (na cześć córki) sprzedawał słynne rosyjskie pielmieni i włoskie ravioli. W 1998 roku otworzył w Petersburgu restaurację z piwem „Tinkoff". W 2003 roku wybudował pierwszy zakład produkcji piwa, a w 2005 – drugi, które sprzedawał pod marką „Tinkoff". W celach marketingowych stworzył legendę o cudownym odnalezieniu tajemniczej receptury piwa od swojego dalekiego przodka, Porfirja Tińkowa, który w czasach Piotra I był właścicielem browaru. Herb szlachciców Tińkowów stał się logo marki piwa, co miało podkreślać elitarność i przynależność do klasy Premium. W rzeczywistości recepturę kupił od niemieckiej firmy „Weerman".

W 2006 roku założył bank „Tinkoff Bank" i jest właścicielem 52% jego akcji. W 2003 roku kupił drużynę rowerzystów i nazwał ją „Tinkoff". Jego zawodnicy jako jedyni w Rosji występują w UCI World Tour[9].

W biznesie turystycznym słynne jest nazwisko Dawranow, dzięki firmie **„Davranov Travel"**. Witkor Dawranow, urodzony w 1946 roku, absolwent Wydziału Języków Obcych Instytutu Pedagogicznego im. A. Hercena w Petersburgu, przez 7 lat po ukończeniu studiów pracował jako tłumacz, a potem odbywał staż w Uniwersytecie Pensylwania. W 1992 roku został dyrektorem generalnym firmy „Davranov Travel", wybierając w charakterze nazwy własne nazwisko, co było efektem pobytu w USA i zainteresowaniem się modą amerykańską na wykorzystywanie nazwisk w brandnamingu. „Davranov Travel" jest jedną z wiodących firm turystycznych Petersburga i Regionu Północnego-Zachodu Rosji. Specjalizuje się w organizacji wycieczek autobusowych i statkami po mieście oraz okolicach.

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[9] http://tinkov.com/ (dostęp: 27.11.2016).

Jedną z najpopularniejszych na świecie firm jest **„Laboratorium Kasperskiego"**. Jewgienij Kasperski, urodzony w 1965 roku, to właściciel i szef firmy sprzedającej swoje oprogramowanie antywirusowe w 200 krajach świata. W 1987 roku ukończył Szkołę Wyższą KGB, gdzie studiował informatykę, kryptografię i matematykę. W 1987 roku rozpoczął pracę w instytucie naukowo-badawczym przy Ministerstwie Obrony ZSRR, gdzie zainteresował się wirusami komputerowymi. Następnie pracował w firmie „Kami" i w 1992 roku stworzył system AVP 1.0., który został uznany za najlepszy program antywirusowy w Niemczech. Z początkowego hobby, „leczenia" komputerów przyjaciół i znajomych, pasja przekształciła się w biznes. W 1997 roku wraz z kolegami założył firmę, którą na prośbę żony nazwał „Laboratorium Kasperskiego" (Kaspersky Lab). Jego majątek szacuje się na 1 mld dolarów. Jest podejrzewany o współpracę z rosyjskimi specłużbami, a według amerykańskiego Wired jest 8. najbardziej niebezpieczną osobą na świecie[10].

Na rynku rosyjskim znana jest również marka wódki **„Winogradow"**, pochodząca od nazwiska – Władimira Winogradowa, urodzonego w 1951 roku, absolwenta szkoły wojskowej, który pracował w Armii Rosyjskiej, a w latach 1978-1984 w KGB. W 1992 roku założył jedną z pierwszych w Rosji firm ochroniarskich „Włata". W 1993 roku wybudował zakład produkcji alkoholi. W 1995 roku założył firmę „Stoliczny Trest", której celem było odrodzenie tradycji produkcji rosyjskiej wódki. Firma ta wchodzi w skład „Grupy Winogradow" wraz z agencją ochrony i zakładem produkcji korków do butelek. W 2001 roku rozpoczął produkcję wódek „Winogradow", a następnie w 2003 roku – nalewek „Od Winogradowa". Do produkcji wódki wykorzystuje spirytus z pszenicy uprawianej w ekologicznych gospodarstwach i wodę źródlaną, dzięki czemu otrzymuje mnóstwo nagród konsumentów.

W 1997 roku ukończył Akademię Międzynarodową w San Marino i uzyskał stopień doktora nauk ekonomicznych. Aktywnie wspomaga Cerkiew Prawosławną, bierze udział w działalności charytatywnej i założył schronisko dla dzieci[11].

2. Marki z nazwiskami rosyjskich bohaterów, polityków

Wielu producentów nadaje nazwy markom, wykorzystując nazwiska słynnych osób, nie zawsze za ich zgodą.

Petersburski Zakładu Produkcji Piwa im. Stiepana Razina produkuje piwo pod nazwą **„Stiepan Razin"**. Zakład założony został w 1795 roku za Katarzyny II, a obecnie należy do Heineken (od 2005 roku). W 1914 roku zakład nazywany „Kalinkinski" był liderem w Rosji pod względem produkcji piwa. W 1922 roku władza radziecka nadała mu nazwę im. Stiepana Razina, dońskiego atamana kozackiego z XVII wieku. Zakład zasłynął w czasach 900-dniowej blokady Leningradu, gdyż produkowano w nim celulozę spożywczą, z której wyrabiano chleb – mieszkańcy otrzymywali zaledwie 125 g chleba na dzień[12]. Najsłynniejsza marka piwa tego zakładu to „Stiepan Razin".

Jedna z najsłynniejszych rosyjskich wódek to **„Putinka"**. Oficjalnie nazwa nie ma nic wspólnego z nazwiskiem prezydenta Rosji W. Putina, a oznacza termin z rybołówstwa „putina", czyli 'sezon połowu', dzięki czemu nie było żadnych problemów z rejestracją marki. Autor nazwy, S. Kaufman, wymyślając taką nazwę, z pewnością skorzystał

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[10] https://24smi.org/celebrity/1074-evgenij-kasperskij.html; http://www.seoded.ru/istoriya/biography/kaspersky.html (dostęp: 30.09.2016).

[11] http://persona.rin.ru/view/f//21231/vinogradov-vladimir-nikolaevich; http://schelkovo.tv/sp/sp-77.php (dostęp: 05.09.2016).

[12] http://company.unipack.ru/18716/ (dostęp: 03.09.2016).

z popularności W. Putina[13]. Producentem wódki jest Moskiewski Zakład „Kristałł". Kwestia właściciela marki jest owiana tajemnicą. Wiadomo, że w 2014 roku jej właścicielem została cypryjska firma „Real-Invest" Sp. z o.o., której właścicielem jest miliarder Arkadij Rotenberg. Sam miliarder jednak nie przyznaje się do tego. Rosyjski Urząd ds. Patentów informuje, że właścicielem marki jest firma „Alkomir", która należy do innego miliardera rosyjskiego – Wasilija Anisimowa[14], prezesa Federacji Judo, którego majątek szacuje się na 2 mld dolarów[15]

Z najnowszych marek rosyjskich na uwagę zasługuje marka zegarków, która wykorzystała nazwisko dynastii carskiej – Romanowów. Firma **„Romanoff"** została założona w 1993 roku na bazie Pierwszego Moskiewskiego Zakładu Produkcji Zegarków „Polyot". Firma produkuje zegarki pod nazwami słynnych carów i bohaterów narodowych – „Piotr I", „Katarzyna II", „Hrabia Suworow", „Książę Kutuzow". Największą sławę firmie przyniosły zegarki, które poświęcone są carom z dynastii Romanowów. W 1998 roku została zarejestrowana na terytorium Rosji, Wielkiej Brytanii oraz USA. Od tej chwili wszystkie zegarki produkuje się z logo „Romanoff". Zawierają one importowane części – szwajcarskie i japońskie, hipoalergiczną nierdzewiejącą stal z warstwą złota, kryształki „Swarowskiego", perły oraz skórę naturalną. Części są składane w Moskwie ręcznie. Styl „Romanoff" to połączenie klasyki, luksusu i najnowszych tendencji w produkcji zegarków. Liczne nagrody i rekomendacje Muzeum Kremla Moskiewskiego, Muzeum Rosyjskiego, Państwowego Ermitażu i innych instytucji, wysoka jakość i design, którą symbolizuje złota carska korona, stały się przyczyną sukcesu. Wielu polityków, przedstawicieli świata sztuki i biznesu, nosi zegarki właśnie tej marki[16].

W latach 1994-2001 dwa zakłady – „Rjazański Zakład Produkcji Likierów i Wódek" oraz Kurski Zakład „Kristałł" – produkowały wódkę **„Żyrinowski"**, której nazwa pochodzi od nazwiska kontrowersyjnego założyciela i przywódcy Liberalno-Demokratycznej Partii Rosji, Władymira Żyrinowskiego. Od 1997 roku głównym producentem tej wódki była Spółka z o.o. „OST-Ałko", a oprócz tego produkcją zajmował się zakład „Pskowpiszczeprom" i „Bremen" w Bałaszychie. Wyprodukowano ponad 30 mln butelek. Właścicielem marki jest Dom Handlowy „Żyrinowski"[17].

3. Marki z wymyślonymi rosyjskimi nazwiskami

Kolejną grupą marek, które wykorzystują nazwiska, są marki z wymyślonym, nieprawdziwym nazwiskiem.

Wśród takich marek można wyróżnić Zakład „Krasnyj Vostok", założony w Kazaniu jeszcze w 1867 roku przez pruskiego obywatela jako „Wschodnia Bawaria", a znacjonalizowany w 1922 roku. Zakład produkuje ponad 20 marek piwa, wśród których są te zawierające nazwisko **„Sołodow"** (od ros. *sołod – słód*), które firma wprowadziła na rynek w 2000 roku. Jest to prawdziwe rosyjskie nazwisko z typową końcówką -ow, choć dość rzadkie, ale marka nie jest związana z konkretną osobą je noszącą. W 2001 roku firma w Moskwie wywiesiła billboardy z hasłem „Sołodow, chcę Ciebie", co wzbudziło negatywną reakcję

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[13] http://cyclowiki.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D1%83%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%BA%D0%B0 (dostęp: 15.10.2016).

[14] www.rbc.ru/business/15/03/2016/56e814dd9a7947a33fa6d619 (dostęp: 30.07.2016).

[15] www.rbc.ru/business/15/03/2016/56e814dd9a7947a33fa6d619 (dostęp: 30.07.2016).

[16] www.romanoff.ru/istoriya-kompanii (dostęp: 27.11.2016).

[17] https://otvet.mail.ru/question/183200359 (dostęp: 20.09.2016).

władz. Kazano zamienić formę „chcę" na „czekam na". Niektórym prawdziwym Sołodowom to hasło pochlebiało, innym nie podobało się (Рыбак, Евстигнеева, 2001).

W 1999 roku Zakład „Brawo" w Sankt Petersburgu wyprodukował piwo pod nazwą **„Boczkariow"** (ros. *boczka – beczka*), nazwa którego imituje typowe rosyjskie nazwisko. W 2002 roku marka „Boczkariow" była już jedną z najpopularniejszych rosyjskich marek, a w 2005 znajdowała się na liście 50 najdroższych marek. Obecnie zakład należy do Browaru Heineken, podobnie jak większość współczesnych rosyjskich browarów. Heineken podniósł znacząco cenę piwa i pomimo spotów reklamowych w telewizji, sprzedaż spadła, sklepy nie chcą sprowadzać piwa i los marki wydaje się być przesądzony[18].

4. Marki z obcobrzmiącymi nazwiskami

Jeszcze jedną grupę tworzą marki, które udają obcobrzmiące nazwiska, wymyślone (Маранова, 2016). W ten sposób podkreśla się sympatię do zachodnich wyrobów, ich „wyższą" jakość.

Jako przykład takich marek można przytoczyć firmę obuwniczą **„Carlo Pazolini"**. Jej założycielem jest Ilja Reznik. W 1992 roku inżynier z zakładu samochodów „Moskwicz" zamówił partię obuwia z Włoch. Wymyślił sobie nazwisko włoskie dla marki obuwia i zakupił w 1997 roku dwie fabryki obuwia we wsi Tuczkowo i w mieście Kubinka pod Moskwą. Obecnie większość obuwia powstaje w Chinach. Co ciekawe, sklepy tej firmy istnieją również we Włoszech, np. w Mediolanie.

Kolejna ciekawa nazwa to marka męskiej odzieży **„Fabio Paolini"**, istniejąca od 2000 roku i produkująca klasyczne garnitury oraz koszule. W logo firmy wykorzystano nawet słowo Milano (z wł. Mediolan), co ma wskazywać na włoskie pochodzenie marki. Na stronie firmy nie ma żadnej informacji o tym, gdzie odzież jest szyta – chociaż opis wskazuje, że jest to odzież włoska, wysokiej jakości, to prawdopodobnie powstaje w Chinach[19].

Marka obuwia męskiego i damskiego **„Paolo Conte"**, założona w 2001 roku, posiada szeroką sieć butików w Rosji (w 62 miastach), a także przedstawicielstwa we Włoszech i Chinach[20]. Chociaż nazwisko i imię w zasadzie jest prawdziwe, gdyż Paolo Conte był słynnym włoskim kompozytorem, to jest to marka rosyjska.

Marka odzieży dla businesswoman **„Tom Klaim"** założona została w 1993 roku przez Anatolija Klimina. Firma produkuje kostiumy do pracy w biurze, kreacje na różne okazje i odzież codzienną. Firma posiada sieć sklepów nie tylko w Moskwie, ale i we wszystkich dużych miastach od Kaliningradu po Chabarowsk.

Marka obuwia **„Ralf Ringer"** znana jest na rynku już od 1996 rok, a założył ją Andriej Bierieżnoj. Jak podano na oficjalnej stronie, jest rozpoznawalna wśród 77% mieszkańców Rosji. Firma wybrała popularne zachodnie imię oraz nazwisko oznaczające w tłumaczeniu z niemieckiego „wojownika". Posiada 3 fabryki w Rosji – W Moskwie, Zarajsku i Władymirze, a jej wyroby otrzymały już wiele nagród konsumenckich[21].

Ta grupa marek nie daje nam informacji o historii Rosji, ale jest przykładem na zamiłowania Rosjan do wszystkiego, co zachodnie jako lepsze gatunkowo, co jest cechą narodową zarówno Rosjan, jak i Polaków.

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[18] http://beernews.ru/stati/bochkaryov-istoriya-padeniya.html (dostęp: 30.07.2016).
[19] http://fabiopaoloni.ru/ (dostęp: 30.07.2016).
[20] http://paoloconte.ru/about/ (dostęp: 30.07.2016).
[21] http://ralf.ru/ (dostęp: 30.07.2016).

Podsumowanie

Przedstawione w niniejszym artykule marki, które wykorzystują w nazwie własnej nazwiska znanych Rosjan, zarówno pochodzenia rosyjskiego, jak i obcego, stanowią doskonały przykład historii rozwoju rosyjskiego biznesu. Wielu z założycieli marek osiągnęło sukces, zaczynając „od zera", dzięki swym umiejętnościom, korzystnej polityce państwa, która wspierała biznes w czasach carskich czy po transformacji gospodarki. To przykład historii Rosji carskiej, po rozpadzie ZSRR i czasów współczesnych. To również przykład kultury rosyjskiej, gdzie ceni się pewne wartości, towary, napoje, gdzie od czasów radzieckich synonimem wysokiej jakości jest coś zagranicznego, obcobrzmiącego. Przedstawione w danym artykule materiały mogą przybliżyć tamte studentowi ciekawe czasy i stanowić przykład do dalszego badania losów marek, słynnych postaci z historii i kultury, np. podczas pisania prac dyplomowych.

Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawione marki rosyjskie, które w swych nazwach zawierają nazwiska. Mogą to być: prawdziwe nazwiska (założycieli firm, słynnych bohaterów narodowych, polityków itd.), nieistniejące, ale brzmiące rosyjsko nazwiska, a także „zagraniczne" nazwiska, stworzone w celach marketingowych.

Wykorzystanie nazwiska w nazwie marki, to praktyka znana na świecie od dawna, wystarczy wspomnieć takie marki światowe, jak „Hilton" czy „Porsche". W Rosji ten sposób był popularny przed 1917 rokiem (np. „Jeliseew", „Abrikosow") i stał się popularny w latach 90. XX w. (np. „Dowgań", „Dymow"), wraz z przejściem do gospodarki rynkowej.

Przedstawione życiorysy założycieli firm i marki mogą być wykorzystane na zajęciach z historii i kultury Rosji, gdyż przedstawiają, czasami skomplikowaną, historię przedsiębiorczości, która zawsze była zależna od władzy (np. nacjonalizacja za czasów władzy sowieckiej, prywatyzacja, zmiana nazwy marki i firmy na cześć działacza komunistycznego, emigracja właściciela firmy itp.).

Резюме

В статье представлены российские бренды, которые в своих наименованиях содержат фамилии. Это могут быть: реальные фамилии (учредителей команий, известных национальных героев, политиков и т.д.), несуществующие, но русские по звучанию фамилии, а также «иностранные» фамилии, созданные в меркетинговых целях.

Использование фамилии в наименованиях брендов – практика известна в мире с давних времен, достаточно вспомнить такие мировые бренды, как «Хилтон» или «Порше». В России этот прием был популярен до 1917 года (напр. «Елисеев», «Абрикосов»), и стал возрождаться в 90-ых годах XX в. (напр. «Довгань», «Дымов»), вместе с переходом к рынку.

Представленные биографии учредителей фирм и бренды могут быть использованы на занятиях по истории и кульутре России, так как представляют, порой сложную, историю развития российского предпринимательства, которая всегда зависела от власти (напр. национализация при советской власти, приватизация, изменение наименования бренда и компании в честь коммунистических деятелей, эмиграция владельцев компаний и т.п.).

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