University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz
Akademia Nauk Stosowanych w Nowym Sączu

Journeys through Cultures and Languages

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Nowy Sącz 2022

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ISBN 978-83-67661-00-3

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Foreword

The following book is a collection of student papers presented during the 5th International Student Conference *Journeys through Cultures and Languages* organized by the Student Research Society *The Linguist* operating since 2012 in the Institute of Foreign Languages of State University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz, Poland. This publication may be regarded as a celebration of the 10th anniversary of the existence of our student society. In the course of time the society has managed to establish many international relations, one of which, however, is particularly durable and cherished. Ventspils University of Applied Sciences, Latvia, with two of its prominent professors: Ieva Vizule, MA and Guntars Dreijers, PhD, have cooperated since the very dawn of the organisation and participated in many of our scientific and cultural projects. It is an honour to say that also this year's conference was co-hosted, and the conference standards and publication were closely monitored by them.

No initiative in our context could ever be complete without Students. It is them whom we motivate, and it is them who inspire us. It is them who begin many of their journeys, some of which have already begun with this project. Languages give a window of multi-level opportunity; they are varied channels for discovering and constructing one's own world perspective and who we are. Languages help to travel not only through countries in a strictly literal sense, but also – through the more intangible cultural heritage of humanity.

The Authors in this book are multilingual speakers themselves and take their readers on a journey to understanding the meaning and ambiguity, the value of endangered languages and intentional multilingualism as well as different notation of the same musical overtones. Finally, the paper on different (frequently prejudiced) perceptions of other cultures is an outcome of a collaborative Polish-Turkish project by the members of *The Linguist* society. We hope that this book will be an inspiration for the readers and future projects.

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AMBIGUITIES IN GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984* AND UNDERSTANDING THEIR MEANING

Abstract

This research is focused on the use of language ambiguities in one of the most politically influential books of the last century – George Orwell's novel *1984*. The author's use of language has been greatly influenced by the historical and personal context, as him living in such a politically unstable climate, when freedom of speech was limited and many political decisions unjust, meant that Orwell had to find creative ways to express himself and make his voice heard, such as resorting to the deliberate use of ambiguities in his language. The goal of this research was to analyze how the historical and personal context of the author's life could have influenced Orwell's choice of language in the book, focusing on different types of ambiguities, and how these language choices have served the author's intentions. The aims of the research included the study of the relevant context and theoretical language materials, the identification of various types of ambiguities in the books and the semantic and pragmatic analysis of the obtained examples in each specific context. The study also examines the relevance of Orwell's ideas and language tools in the light of current political events.

Key words: language ambiguity, George Orwell, dystopian social science fiction.

Kopsavilkums

Šis pētījums ir vērsts uz valodas ambigvitāšu lietojumu vienā no politiski ietekmīgākajām pagājušā gadsimta grāmatām – Džordža Orvela romānu *1984*. Vēsturiskais un personiskais konteksts ir ļoti ietekmējis autora valodas lietojumu, jo dzīvošana politiski nestabilā laikā, kad runas brīvība bija ierobežota un daudzi politiski lēmumi – netaisnīgi, nozīmēja, ka Orvelam bija jāatrod radoši veidi, kā izteikties un padarīt savu balsi sadzirdētu, piemēram, ķeroties pie tīša ambigvitāšu lietojuma savā valodā. Šī iemesla dēļ pētījuma mērķis bija noskaidrot, kā vēsturiskais un autora personīgais konteksts varētu būt ietekmējuši Orvela valodas izvēli grāmatā, fokusā izvirzot dažāda veida ambigvitātes, un kā šīs valodas izvēles ir kalpojušas autora iecerētā mērķa sasniegšanai. Pētījuma mērķi ietvēra attiecīgo kontekstu un teorētisko valodas materiālu izpēti, dažāda veida ambigvitāšu identificēšanu grāmatā un iegūto piemēru semantiskās un pragmatiskās analīzes veikšanu salīdzinot ar attiecīgajiem kontekstiem. Pētījumā arī aplūkota Orvelas ideju un valodas rīku nozīmība pašreizējo politisko notikumu gaismā.

Atslēgas vārdi: valodasambigvitāte, Džordžs Orvels, distopiskā sociālā zinātniskā fantastika.

Introduction

Complete understanding of written and spoken texts in any language, even the mother tongue, requires more than just vocabulary and grammar knowledge, as a text is created by a unique person for a specific audience within a specific culture.

The author – text sender – has some intention in mind when creating a text and chooses language tools – linguistic and stylistic – to achieve it. When reading for pleasure, typically we do not pay sufficient or any attenetion to such choices; however, doing a research enables us to become more observant by intentionally paying attention to words, collocations and other language elements, or by raising questions and looking into possibly different interpretations of a text.

The sizeable polysemy of nearly any word in the English language adds to the complexity and may lead to misinterpretations. The present article focuses on one particular cause for misinterpretations – different types of ambiguities.

Linguistic ambiguity is a quality of a spoken or written word which makes it open to more than one interpretation. It is rendered as a problematic issue since it hinders precise language processing. Ambiguity leads to a confusion of ideas in the reader's mind when they struggle to decide on the precise meaning intended behind an utterance. In some instances, ambiguity can be intentional – when the addresser consciously uses some indirect or ambiguous words to express illocutionary forces to the addressee in the specific context. Arguably, this might be the exact case in George Orwell's dystopian fiction novel *1984*. Therefore, I argue that the historical contexts – his personal and that of the world – have heavily influenced the author's use of language, as living in such politically dicey times, where free speech was limited and many political decisions unjust, meant Orwell had to find creative ways to make his voice heard, such as resorting to intentional ambiguity in his language.

The solution here is to raise our awareness – ability to understand what ambiguity is, learn to identify and understand different types of ambiguities and the role they play as literary devices capable of opening doors to deeper, implied meanings that we as readers must draw for ourselves. This is why the goal of the present paper is to inform the reader of such element of the English language as ambiguity, provide examples as well as insight in the process of interpreting and understanding it.

The related objectives are studying the relevant contexts of the time when the novel was written, as well as theoretical materials on semantics, pragmatics, and ambiguity types, reading the novel and extracting examples of language ambiguities, classifying and analyzing them, and lastly, attempting to present the relevance of Orwellian ideas and language tools in the light of the current political events.

The research methods include content analysis of articles, interviews, video essays on the author, the book and historical period, sources of topical political discourse, extracted ambiguity examples and theoretical materials on linguistics.

The paper first, briefly looks into theory on pragmatics, semantics and types of language ambiguities, then analyzes examples extracted from the novel *1984* with the help of contexts regarding the author, the historical period in which the novel was written and other forces that have influenced the creation of *1984* and the language used in it.

1. Semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning of words and phrases in the text

In linguistics, semantics, also called semiotics, semology, or semasiology, is the philosophical and scientific study of meaning in a language (Britannica, no date). Furthermore, it is the study of word meaning and sentence meaning taken out of the context of use, which then leads the interpreter to arrive at micro meanings of words or sentences. Another definition, offered by the Cambridge Dictionary goes as following: “Semantics is the branch of linguistics concerned with meaning. The two main areas are logical semantics, concerned with matters such as sense and reference and presupposition and implication, and lexical semantics, concerned with the analysis of word meanings and relations between them.” The focus of this research paper is put particularly on the lexical semantics – analyzing words, phrases and sentences first without and then within a context.

Pragmatics is a complex theoretical construct for which several definitions have been proposed, the most common one being that pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics concerned with the use of language in social contexts and the ways people produce and comprehend meanings through language (Nordquist, 2019). Others include the study of the speaker’s meaning in relation to the use of language, the relationship between signs and their users, the ability to use language and other expressive means (like gestures, body movements, facial expressions) to convey communicative meanings in a context, the ability to manage conversations, discourse analysis (Bosco, Tirassa, Gabbatore, 2018). Pragmatics is then the study of how both literal and nonliteral aspects of communicated linguistic meaning are determined by principles that refer to the physical or social context (broadly construed) in which language is used. Among these aspects are conversational and conventional implicatures, metaphors and other tropes and speech acts (Britannica, no date). More generally, it is the study of the relations between languages and their users and can be defined as a contrasting concept to semantics (Ibidem).

The difference between semantics and pragmatics is that semantics refers to the specific meaning of language, while pragmatics involves all the social cues that accompany language (Nordquist, 2019). In other words, to be able to fully understand the meaning of an utterance, its both semantic and pragmatic meaning need to be considered, which is dealt with in the current paper when looking at ambiguous utterances, with the focus on pragmatics as the study of how context contributes to the meaning of a word or a phrase. The study attempts to evaluate how language within a literary work is used in social interactions between characters, as well as the relationship between the interpreter and the interpreted.

2. Ambiguity and its types

A subsector of semantics this work focuses on is ambiguity – in language, a quality that makes speech or written text open to multiple interpretations (Wigmore, no date). The Oxford Dictionary describes ambiguity as “word or statement that can be understood in more than one way”, Merriam-Webster dictionary defines it as “a word or expression that can be understood in two or more possible ways.” In a broader context, ambiguity refers to the quality of anything – imagery, action, morale, etc., being open to multiple interpretations – in literature it may occur with a character, word or phrase, plot point, image, trope, or situation that can be understood in two or more possible ways. It allows room for doubt and complexity, as well as moments of double entendre and humour, but ambiguousness also may make the meaning of something difficult or impossible to appropriately recognize without some additional information. Therefore, for a literary author and their reader, ambiguity can be both a liability and an asset. Or, as E. Bowditch puts it: “Ambiguity is not simply an incidental or marginal feature of literary texts, but relates in basic ways to the reader’s experience of literature” (Bowditch, 2013).

There are several different types of ambiguities as well as different ways to interpret their classification. The most commonly known categorization, on the basis of which this research paper has been created, distinguishes among lexical, structural, referential, pragmatic, and scope ambiguity (TVLC, 2013). Dr. Timothy Kazuo Steains of Matrix Education offers an alternative method of ambiguity categorization – he differentiates among syntactic ambiguity – ambiguous statements that may have multiple meanings due to the punctuation of the sentence; semantic ambiguity – ambiguous statements that could have multiple meanings due to the choice of words, narrative ambiguity – ambiguity surrounding the plot or characters and their motives, as well as conceptual ambiguity – ambiguity about the concepts, themes, or ideas in the text (Steains, 2018). However, it can be seen that in some cases of this classification simply another concept has been used to denote the same or similar linguistic phenomenon (e.g. structural and syntactic ambiguity; lexical and semantic ambiguity). Narrative ambiguity and conceptual ambiguity, on the other hand, are entirely new concepts.

The particular classification approach used for this research paper has been chosen as it best caters to the specific cases of ambiguity which can be found, discerned, and analyzed in the novel *1984*. The research specifically focuses on four types of ambiguity – lexical, structural, referential and pragmatic ambiguity.

2.1. Lexical ambiguity

Lexical ambiguity occurs at the level of lexical items of a language. It is the potential for multiple interpretations of a spoken or written word that makes it difficult or impossible to understand without some additional information (TVLC, 2013). Ambiguous words can arise from different parts of speech, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, or a combination of them.

Typically, two types of lexical ambiguity are distinguished – homonymy and polysemy. Homonymy refers to words which have become much alike in spelling and pronunciation, but denote two different things and have unrelated senses, whereas polysemes are lexical items that have acquired different, but related senses (Ibidem).

The context in which an ambiguous word is used often makes it evident which of the meanings is intended. An example is the word “bat”, which can be meant as a piece of sports equipment, such as a baseball bat, or a small, flying, nocturnal animal. Depending on the context, it will most likely be easy to recognize which of the meanings is meant in the given case. A metaphor is actually also a type of ambiguity – that is, when two things are said to be alike which have different properties. But unlike typical ambiguity, where ambiguity arises unintentionally, metaphors are produced with the intention that the extended range be recognised. A metaphor makes us attend to some likeness between two or more things (Jiles, Kess, Uda, no date).

2.2. Referential ambiguity

Referential ambiguity arises when a word, most commonly a pronoun, can refer to more than one entity in a sentence which makes the reader or listener unable to select a unique referent for a linguistic expression out of multiple candidates. Therefore, the interpretation of sentences also depends on the referential properties of the words and constructions contained in them (TVLC, 2013). An example – in the sentence "John met his mother", it is unclear, whether John met his own mother or somebody else's.

2.3. Pragmatic ambiguity

Pragmatics as a whole is concerned with the study of communication by a speaker (or writer) and interpretation by a listener (or reader). This study involves the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how context influences what is said.

Pragmatics lends its name to pragmatic ambiguity, which is concerned with the study of communication by a speaker (or writer) and interpretation by a listener (or reader). It involves the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how context influences what is said. Pragmatic ambiguity is therefore defined as ambiguity resulting from a particular communication which is intended by the speaker and/or hearer for a particular communicative purpose (Ibidem).

Use of a pragmatic ambiguity in a controversial situation plays a role of causing a disagreement between the speaker and the hearer on what the situation is. The statement is not specific enough and more information is needed to clarify it to not cause confusion in a communicative situation. An example of pragmatic ambiguity would be the question "Can you pass the salt?" It can be interpreted in different ways. Do you have the physical ability to pass the salt? Or will you pass the salt (intention)? Or "please give me the salt"? (Wilkinson, 2017).

3. George Orwell's *1984* and its relevant contexts

3.1. The author and his personal contexts

George Orwell was a novelist, essayist and critic, a man of humble beginnings, a man who witnessed first-hand some of the most horrific armed hostilities in history, a man of strong opinions who was not afraid to address some of the major political movements of his times, and at last, a man who died of cruel disease, lonely and relatively poor, leaving behind only his creative legacy which would live on for decades after his death.

Some chapters of Orwell's life have had particular influence on his world views and political stance, his style of writing, language use and overall the themes he chose to portray in *1984*. These first-hand experiences give an important and undiluted perspective on George Orwell's thought process as a political satirist. For that reason, those chapters specifically have been selected for exploration in this segment.

3.2. "Lower-upper middle-class" background

George Orwell, originally named Eric Arthur Blair, was born in India and moved to England in early childhood. His father being a minor British official in the Indian civil service, and his mother – the daughter of an unsuccessful teak merchant, George Orwell was brought up in, what he described as "an atmosphere of impoverished snobbery" (Woodcock, 2020). His parents were never rich, yet desperately strived for social status, thus having the attitudes of "landless gentry", as Orwell himself has later recalled. He despised this pretentious behavior and from early on, unlike his parents, recognized that the family was, in fact, poor.

3.3. Boarding school snobbery

Through the social connections of his uncle, Orwell gained a scholarship to St Cyprian's, a prestigious school in Eastbourne. Orwell hated the school, and many years later wrote an essay about his time there called *Such, Such Were the Joys* (Orwell, 1952) in which he described the school as "an expensive and snobbish school which was in process of becoming more snobbish, and, I imagine, more expensive" (Brooke, 2020). During his time there, the boy soon recognised that he was from a poorer home, getting his first real taste of the English class system, which would later become a prevalent theme in *1984.* At St Cyprian's he also felt oppressed and outraged by the dictatorial control that the school exercised over the students' lives (Sparknotes, no date).

3.4. Work in Burma

After failing to land a spot in Cambridge University, at only 19 years old Orwell decided to give up schooling and join the Indian Imperial Police in Burma to keep himself afloat. There Orwell was one of the officers tasked with managing a city where nationalism was rapidly escalating. As Orwell grew to realize, how much against their will the Burmese were ruled by the British, his position made him very uncomfortable, as he was "hated by a large number of people" (Eilers, 2016). His essay *Shooting an Elephant* (Orwell, 1936) captures Orwell's discomfort, and ultimately disgust, at being part of the British colonial system (Eilers, 2016). His experiences in the country left Orwell with a sense of hatred towards authority and imperialism and he unexpectedly resigned from his position, returning back to England. Orwell experienced for himself the feeling of being in a position of power and having the ability to influence the common people – this experience would later prove to be useful in writing in *1984*, as Orwell had gained a deeper understanding of the representatives of the ruling side, their aims, and methods of subjugating the people.

3.5. A struggling writer's life in poverty

After his leave from the police, Orwell decided to dedicate himself to becoming a writer. Driven by guilt about his past actions in Burma, Orwell thought he could expiate some of his guilt by immersing himself in the life of the poor and outcast people of Europe. He went to live in cheap lodging houses among labourers and beggars in London, then later spent a period in the slums of Paris, working as a dishwasher. While living in these working-class areas Orwell became a fierce opponent of colonialism and unchecked capitalism. These experiences provided Orwell with an insight of life in poverty and a new perspective, as he now had gotten a taste of both roles of in class system – he had been the ruler and the ruled.

3.6. The Spanish Civil War

In his recount of his experiences from the Spanish Civil War, the book *Homage to Catalonia* (Orwell, 1938) Orwell explains that he came to Spain "with the notion of writing newspaper articles, but joined the militia almost immediately, because at that time and in that atmosphere it seemed the only conceivable thing to do". After his arrival in Barcelona, Orwell, seeing what was happening around him, fully realized that Fascism represents a serious threat, and that he had the opportunity to fight against this ideology. This chapter of his life is particularly significant, as the author himelf has said, the "experiences in Spain marked the crucial turning-point in his political beliefs" (Meyers, 1997). It also gave him a great insight on what it is like to live in a community ruled by injustice, providing the author with yet another important theme in the novel – a society dominated by inequality, where some have many privileges, while others have to be content with very little and submit to the authority.

3.7. BBC work and propaganda experience

When the Second World War came, Orwell was rejected for military service, and his contribution to the war effort became his service to the BBC, where he worked as a talks producer (Reidy, no date). Orwell hated this job though, as he thought it to be essentially a propagandist's role: the author noted in his diary that: "One rapidly becomes propaganda-minded and develops a cunning one did not previously have. I am regularly alleging in all my newsletters that the Japanese are plotting to attack Russia. I don't believe this to be so, but the calculation is:

"If the Japanese do attack Russia, we can say 'I told you so'.

"If the Russians attack first, we can, having built up the picture of a Japanese plot beforehand, pretend that it was the Japanese who started it.

"If no war breaks out after all, we can claim that it is because the Japanese are too frightened of Russia" (Reidy, no date).

This concept may sound eerily similar to what the Ministry of Truth in the world of 1984 practices in their information provision to the general public, and that is because the inspiration was taken directly from Orwell's own work experience in the BBC – most likely, it is what even the profession choice for Winston's character in 1984 is based on it. In fact, the whole texture of the Ministry of Truth appears to be based on Orwell's time at the BBC (BBC, 2019). The job also shaped the author's views on propaganda, leading to him becoming a strong advocate for truthful speech – when invited to give a BBC broadcast, Orwell's reply was: 'I will do the talk if I can be reasonably frank. I am not going to say anything I regard as untruthful' (Seaton, no date).

3.8. The success of *Animal Farm*

Orwell's first big hit was *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 1945), published in 1945, a book in which the author uses humorous satire to comment on the Soviet Union and the misuse of power in their communistic society, by making the setting on a farm and the characters – animals. When *Animal Farm* came out, it was a huge success, making the author famous and, for the first time in his life, prosperous. Now Orwell had not only experienced both ends of the power spectrum, but also both ends of the financial one. He had been a poor man, and now he was a rich man – yet another life circumstance that gave Orwell a personal understanding of one of the main themes in *1984* – money.

To summarize, the impact of Orwell's personal life contexts: past career and social status experiences, political and military events in the world, war atrocities, the ever-so-growing power of political parties and the spread of their propaganda, combined with a desire for freedom of speech and thought in an oppressive system, were the aspects that lead to the creation of the contemporary literary masterpiece that is *1984*.

This knowledge of the author's background plays a major role in helping the reader understand the book and the language choices Orwell has made in it.

4. Historical contexts, main themes and relevance of the book

One of the most powerful books ever written, *1984*, offers many meaningful themes related to government and the governed in a totalitarian society. To understand this important work of literature, first the key themes and their importance throughout the times have to be discovered.

4.1. Dangers of Totalitarianism

The main purpose of *1984* is to warn readers of the dangers of totalitarianism and serve as a cautionary tale for the tenuousness of freedom. The focus in conveying the extreme level of control and power possible under a truly totalitarian regime. It explores how such a governmental system would impact society and the people who live in it. While in the book the government represents communism in particular, it can be applied to any totalitarian or authoritarian approach to government (White, no date).

4.2. Propaganda – a device for mind control

In *1984*, the propaganda is a symbol of information control, as well as, ironically, the Ministry of Truth's blatant disregard for the truth, symbolizing control over how reality is perceived. As the source of all information, the Ministry can present whatever it wants as fact, even if it is completely false and due to the lack of any other sources, the government can not be fact-checked. By correcting past information to reflect what the government wants it to say, propaganda is being used to rewrite history into a false narrative, ultimately leading the citizens to believe any concepts presented to them by the government to be true (Ibidem).

4.3. Opression of free thought and speech

George Orwell predicts a future where basic human rights, such as individual freedom of speech and thought do not exist anymore, one of his most profound insights being the role that language plays in shaping thoughts and opinions. Due to living in the confines of such a repressive society, the citizens' experiences have become so limited that they lack the perspective and the language to differentiate between major concepts – "If there's no word for freedom, how do you describe it?" (BBC, 2019). There is a complex and interdependent relationship between language, thought and culture. Thought comes first and language comes after, but what if the language system has become so severely oppressed that it lacks any words complex enough to encourage any nuanced or critical thought? (Tavlin, 2015). The citizens of Oceania, therefore, have not only been stripped of their right to freely express subjective opinions, but also the capability to formulate any.

4.4. Physical Control and surveillance

Mind control through propaganda and language is apparently not enough for complete submission to the will of the state. The control is maintained through a system called "Big Brother" which constantly watches everything and instills fear in everyone. The ever-present telescreens act as both information conveyor and surveillance device and saturate public and private spaces with cameras and microphones monitored by the government, stripping the citizens of any privacy and generating a constant state of fear and wariness (Leetaru, 2019). This is a statement on the risks that technology can pose when put in the wrong hands (White, no date).

4.5. Class struggle and balance of power

In *1984*, society is made up of three distinct social classes: the elite Inner Party, the industrious Outer Party, and vast numbers of uneducated proles (Leetaru, 2019). Those who are in the ruling class enjoy the spoils of wealth, illustrating how totalitarianism leads to financial benefit and status to those who are in power. On the other hand, the people referred to as proles live in extreme poverty, with no way out. Through this, Orwell wants readers to realize that totalitarianism is designed to create a society of downtrodden citizens over whom the elite exert total control (White, no date).

4.6. The everlasting relevance

1984 was published on June 8, 1949 and was almost universally recognised as a masterpiece, even by such prominent individuals as Winston Churchill. The British literary critic V. S. Pritchett, reviewing the novel for the New Statesman stated: "I do not think I have ever read a novel more frightening and depressing; and yet, such are the originality, the suspense, the speed of writing and withering indignation that it is impossible to put the book down" (UC Press, no date). Though, while receiving critical acclaim, the book also sparked lots of controversy and has repeatedly been banned and challenged in the past for its social and political themes and explicit content. Time magazine's review of the novel noted, "any reader in 1949 can uneasily see his own shattered features in Winston Smith, can scent in the world of *1984* a stench that is already familiar" (Schwarz, 2017).

There is so much in the book that different aspects of it come to the surface at different periods in history, thus continually creating sudden spikes in sales of the book throughout the years. When it first came out, *1984* to the general public was seen as a study of totalitarianism and as a critique of Stalinism, consequently leading to the book being banned in the Soviet Union up until the year 1987 (Gilbody-Dickerson, 2022). As the Soviet Union began to weaken in the 1980s and became less relevant, people became far more interested in the technology the book spoke about, and with more and more technologies emerging in the real world, the public was fascinated with 1984, seeing it as a warning against computer databases and closed circuit TV cameras. Interestingly, on the eve of the actual year 1984, a CNN report looked at how Americans felt about government surveillance. A poll found 84% of Americans believed the US government "may use television to document compromising activities" (Schwarz, 2017). Now, with what has happened recently, is that people are going to the book for what it says about truth, flagrant lies and the nature of exerting power by distorting reality (BBC, 2019). In 2017 the sales of *1984* soared, reaching a 9500% increase, after Kellyanne Conway, adviser to the then-

-president, Donald Trump, used the phrase “alternative facts” in an interview in reference to White House press secretary’s comments about the previous week’s inauguration attracting “the largest audience ever” (The Guardian, 2017). This made people on social media immediately draw comparisons to the concepts of newspeak and doublethink in *1984*.

This suggests that times have changed, but the things that worried George Orwell have not changed at all. For a book to have these multiple meanings which make it seem relevant at different times in history for different reasons, is remarkable. The more time passes, the more we can see the themes of *1984* coming to life, which is perhaps not something the author would have expected, and definitely not something he would have wished for. Knowing Orwell’s personal contexts and broader historical contexts is the key to understanding the main themes and the author’s intentional use of linguistic ambiguities in the book.

5. Orwell’s originally coined words and their meaning

Before presenting detailed analysis of the selected examples, it is important to note that George Orwell considered language to be a powerful tool. One of the messages he wanted to send in *1984* was that thought and language are inextricably linked and interact in a variety of ways. Language, according to Orwell, is the basis of human thought because it structures and shapes the way we think and the way we see the world. It can also limit the ideas that we are capable of formulating and expressing. For this exact reason, totalitarian regimes can use language to confine and restrict specific concepts. As Orwell himself said in his essay *Politics and the English language* (Orwell, 1946), “But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought.”

To illustrate this idea, for his dystopian world of Oceania in *1984*, George Orwell created a fictional language called Newspeak. In the novel, Newspeak has been constructed by the Party to meet the ideological requirements of Ingsoc, the ruling system. Newspeak is a controlled language of simplified grammar and restricted vocabulary designed to limit the individual's ability to think and articulate "subversive" concepts such as personal identity, self-expression and free will. Such concepts are criminalized as “thoughtcrime” (also a word of Newspeak) since they contradict the prevailing Ingsoc orthodoxy. Newspeak heavily revolves around another concept made up by Orwell for the book’s fictional world – doublespeak, which is the use of euphemistic or ambiguous language in order to disguise what one is actually saying (Grammarist, 2022). Therefore, Newspeak inherently contains built-in ambiguity.

The idea behind Newspeak is to remove all shades of meaning from language, leaving simple dichotomies (pleasure and pain, happiness and sadness) which reinforce the total dominance of the State. In addition, words with opposite meanings are removed as redundant, so “bad” becomes “ungood.” Words with similar meanings are also removed, so “best” becomes “doubleplusgood”. In this manner, as many words as possible are removed from the language (Rorueso, 2010).

Newspeak is made up of three vocabularies. The A vocabulary consists of words needed for everyday life and words that already exist but have been stripped of all shades of meaning. The B vocabulary consists of words that have been deliberately constructed for political purposes and are a kind of verbal shorthand; all are compound words, such as goodthink. Lastly, the C vocabulary consists entirely of scientific and technical words (Cliffsnotes, no date).

Some of the Newspeak words, originally coined by Orwell, have even found their way into our common vocabulary and dictionaries. Well known examples include:

- Doublethink – a simultaneous belief in two contradictory ideas (Merriam-Webster Dictionary); which explicitly admits its ambiguous nature;
- Thoughtcrime – an instance of unorthodox or controversial thinking, considered as a criminal offence or as socially unacceptable (Oxford Languages);
- Bellyfeel – a blind, enthusiastic acceptance of an idea (Translation Directory);
- Duckspeak – thoughtless or formulaic speech (Your Dictionary);
- Oldspeak – normal English usage as opposed to technical or propagandist language (Oxford Languages);
- Unperson – an individual who usually for political or ideological reasons is removed completely from recognition or consideration (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

This explains the uniqueness of Newspeak and the huge attention paid to it since the book was published; however, it was not chosen as the focus of the current research, since the book offers many other ambiguities worth discussing.

6. Ambiguity example analysis

Now that linguistic theory behind ambiguity as well as contexts from the author's life that have influenced the creation of *1984* have been looked at, a sufficient knowledge base has been formed to attempt the analysis of individual ambiguity examples extracted from the book, to understand the multiple meanings and potential intentions behind them.

6.1. Lexical ambiguity

In the novel there are many instances of lexical ambiguities, but most of them are very easy to solve, since the author himself admittedly was trying to avoid lexical amiguities. A total of 65 examples were extracted from the book in this process of research and 3 of the most interesting cases were analyzed in-depth in the research paper.

Example 1: Lawn

There would be mention of the bishops in their ***lawn*** *sleeves, the judges in their ermine robes, the pillory, the stocks, the treadmill, the cat-o΄-nine tails, the Lord Mayor's Banquet, and the practice of kissing the Pope's toe* (Orwell, 1949, p. 93).

This is a particularly interesting case of lexical ambiguity, as most likely, a majority of people are familiar with only one meaning of the word "lawn" – an area of grassland – which makes the word seem very straight-forward and unambiguous. And yet, upon reading the full sentence from the book, it becomes clear that this could not possibly be the intended meaning here and the word "lawn" must also have other definitions. For this purpose, the help of two reliable internet dictionaries is sought to look at definitions provided in them.

The only definition for the word "lawn" offered by Cambridge Dictionary is:

an area of grass, especially near to a house or in a park, that is cut regularly to keep it short,

while Merriam-Webster Dictionary gives two definitions:

1. ground (as around a house or in a garden or park) that is covered with grass and is kept mowed;
2. fine sheer linen or cotton fabric of plain weave that is thinner than cambric.

Ultimately, Merriam-Webster delivers the definition of "lawn" which fits in the context – the "lawn sleeves" the bishops are wearing are made of a fine, sheer fabric and not of grassland.

Orwell's distaste for the higher ranking and ruling classes of society can clearly be seen here, as in the sentence he goes on to list in a contemptuous manner the phenomena and traditions characteristic of the representatives of this order, using linguistic means to indirectly express his disapproval of these fancy practices.

Either way, a curious revelation of this particular lexeme analysis is that a reputable language source such as Cambridge Dictionary has failed to recognize the word "lawn" as ambiguous.

Example 2: Instrument

The ***instrument*** *(the telescreen, it was called) could be dimmed, but there was no way of shutting it off completely* (Orwell, 1949, p. 4).

Probably the most commonly known and used meaning of the word "instrument" is referring to a piece of musical equipment, but in this instance, just the sentence alone rules out the possibility of this meaning, since it is stated that the "instrument" is a name given to a telescreen, therefore – certainly not a musical kind of instrument. Relevant meanings extracted from the dictionaries include:

Cambridge Dictionary:

1. a tool or other device, especially one without electrical power, used for performing a particular piece of work;
2. a way of achieving or causing something;

Merriam-Webster Dictionary:

1. a measuring device for determining the present value of a quantity under observation;
2. a means whereby something is achieved, performed, or furthered;
3. a device used in the performance of a task.

The interesting thing about this case of lexical ambiguity is that all the provided definitions are appropriate for the context of the sentence. The "instrument" in question, a telescreen, is a device placed in every citizen's home and workplace by the Party to observe and listen, often without the knowledge of the person being observed (Study.com, 2015), therefore it is a device used for performing a particular task – observing.

As for "a measuring device for determining the present value of a quantity under observation", the government of Oceania clearly does not even view their citizens as people: the Party indoctrinates and brainwashes the masses into full obedience to their leaders through the use of propaganda, fear, isolation and extreme surveillance. The telescreen serves as a means of keeping track of how well the indoctrination is working in practice – the daily lives of Oceania's citizens. Therefore, the people can be thought of as "the quantity", but the Party's agenda – as "the present value".

Finally, the telescreen can also be viewed as a means of achieving something. In this case – a tool for achieving full control over people's lives. The Party aims to be able to make society conform to whatever governmental beliefs necessary, and for this, the telescreen is a key instrument, as it not only watches, but also constantly feeds people propagandistic information:

Day and night the telescreens bruised your ears with statistics proving that people today had more food, more clothes, better houses, better recreations–that they lived longer, worked shorter hours, were bigger, healthier, stronger, happier, more intelligent, better educated, than the people of fifty years ago (Orwell, 2021, p. 79).

Everything considered, while the presumable function of this "instrument" in this sentence is intended to be a tool for performing a specific task, the ambiguous word choice is most likely an intentional decision from the author, as it so seamlessly encompasses the whole essence of the telescreen, as well as the intentions and goals behind it. Orwell was a master of language through the scope of politics, and injecting subtle elements which add multiple layers to his writing is a popular tool employed by the author, one which many readers may never even consciously notice.

6.2. Referential ambiguity

Referential ambiguity occurs as a result of the presence of a pronouns and is surprisingly common not only in this book, but in the English language in general. 11 examples of referential ambiguity were extracted during the book analysis, but were admittedly relatively similar.

Example 3: He was dreaming of <u>his</u> mother
(Orwell, 1946, p. 37)

The word *his* is referentially ambiguous because it can be referring to Winston's own mother or anybody elses – whose mother is he dreaming of? In the absence of a broader context, there would be no way of knowing.

In *1984* the sentence is directly followed by "He must, he thought, have been ten or eleven years old when his mother had disappeared", which, interestingly, does not help the case at all, as this sentence is inherently referentially ambiguous as well. Once again, it is unclear, who the pronoun *he* is referring to – Winston himself or someone else.

The chapter continues with Winston reminiscing about his childhood, yet the reminiscence is not necessarily accompanied by a pleasant feeling of nostalgia. We further learn that Winston is being haunted by guilt for having been selfish and cruel as a child, which, he unfoundedly believes, led to his mother's disapearance. The source of Winston's shame is the fact that while his mother always showed emotion, particularly love, Winston failed to do the same in return, due to him, at such a young age, not knowing better. While not much is known about the author's relationship with his own mother, Orwell has voiced the fact that he has never been particularly close with his parents in general, which opens up the possibility that Winston's, the main character's complicated relationship with his mother may have been inspired by Orwell's own family relationship experiences.

As his own mother (or rather, the memories of her) is such a significant part of Winston's life, having contributed to his fear, anger and guilt produced fragile mental state, it becomes clear that in this case, in the sentence "Winston was dreaming of his mother", the posessive pronoun *his* is referential to Winston himself.

Example 4: It was a good job it was not a real pistol <u>he</u> was holding, Winston thought (Orwell, 1949, p. 30)

In this sentence, it is unclear, whether Winston himself is not holding a real pistol and is feeling glad about that, or is it somebody else.

In the book, Winston is paying a visit to his neighbours', the Parsons' apartment and gets attacked by their young children, who, from an early age, have been indoctrinated with the concept of thought crime and are now in a seemingly playful, yet eerily realistic manner terrorizing Winston and accusing him of being a traitor, a spy and a thought criminal. One of the children, a boy, is holding a toy gun, which he is pointing at Winston while tormenting him. Winston is deeply disturbed by the experience and the viciousness of such small children and is then thinking to himself, that thankfully, the gun held by the boy is not a real one, which also answers our referential ambiguity question – in this case, the "he" the sentence refers to is the little boy and not Winston himself.

Since the cause of referential ambiguity is simply the presence of a pronoun in a sentence, for a writer it is relatively difficult to avoid the occurrence of such a language phenomenon. The only way to truly understand who the pronoun is referring to is to look deeper into the context of the particular sentence.

6.3. Pragmatic ambiguity

As previously discussed, pragmatic ambiguity arises when a statement is not specific, and the immediate context does not provide a clarification for it, opening up the opportunity for individual interpretation. A total of 19 interesting examples of pragmatic ambiguity were extracted from the novel.

Example 5: We shall meet in the place where there is no darkness (Orwell, 1949, p. 32)

Being one of the most famous and frequently quoted phrases from the book, "We shall meet in the place where there is no darkness" carries a certain inherent mysticism and inscrutability, making the reader wonder what exactly the author has meant by it. Two possible intended meanings become apparent: a **promise**, where "the place where there is no darkness" symbolizes spiritual and/or physical liberation, a place where the real world worries, power and evil cease to exist, possibly the afterlife. It could also be interpreted as a **threat**, coming from someone with the intention to terrorize and intimidate the addressee.

As for the context from the book, this phrase emerges from Winston's memory of a dream he has had many years ago.

Years ago–how long was it? Seven years it must be–he had dreamed that he was walking through a pitch-dark room. And someone sitting to one side of him had said as he passed: 'We shall meet in the place where there is no darkness.' It was said very quietly, almost casually–a statement, not a command (Orwell, 1949, p. 27).

Only now, years later, Winston is starting to realize the significance of this dream. He is certain that the person who spoke to him in the dream is O'Brien – a man he feels a connection with, a shared internal resistance against The Party's rule. The larger excerpt from the book reveals that the phrase was *said very quietly, almost casually–a statement, not a command*. The mellow manner in which the phrase is said, combined with Winston's undying hope for an ally, someone who shares the same feelings as him, makes "The place where there is no darkness" a place inside Winston's mind where he can dream safely, where Big Brother can't access his thoughts, where there are no shadows for the government to hide and watch him. Through the character of Winston, the author also indirectly reveals his own inner world to the reader, vicariously expressing Orwell's longing for such freedom, peace and bliss.

Consequently, looking at the context, the reader can learn that the phrase serves as a promise for freedom and not a threat.

Example 6: "BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU"
(Orwell, 1949, p. 3)

"Big brother is watching you" is a slogan plastered all over the fictional world of Oceania in form of posters and TV screen projections to spread propaganda of their authoritative ruler, the Big Brother. The phrase can be interpreted as **a promise to protect**, as to say that the citizens shall not be concerned; their almighty ruler will always be there to watch over and protect them from all dangers. Another way to look at it would be as **a warning** – do not do anything foolish, because Big Brother is watching and he *will* catch you misbehaving. Similarly, it can be **a threat**, once again letting the citizens know that all misconduct will be observed, but this time, the element of threat implies that these actions will be followed by serious consequences.

The phrase pops up many times in the book and is an integral part of the totalitarian system the government exercises over their country, symbolizing dictatorial power peeping into people's lives. Posters with this phrase warn the people that the government wants complete obedience and devotion to the laws and rules. Even after having read only the first few chapters of the book, it becomes clear that the Party does not come in peace – they do not wish to protect their citizens or reinforce their wellbeing. They wish to control. Although officially no laws exist in Oceania, the unspoken, and sometimes even consciously unperceived, but well-known truth, is that the people must live by extremely strict rules and their every action is closely observed (hence the Big Brother "watching") and analyzed, and any disobedience can lead to severe punishments such as imprisonment, torture, physical labor or "vaporization" (when a person is secretly murdered and erased from society, history and existence).

Knowing all this, the conclusion is that "Big Brother is watching you" is a threat disguised in plain sight –the line conveys an idea of propaganda, meaning citizens have to follow what a dictatorial government wants them to do, and if they do not, Big Brother will know, as it spies on them all the time, and punishments will be enforced (Literary Devices, 2017). It has been widely speculated that the character of Big Brother, described in the book as "a man of about forty-five, with a heavy black moustache and ruggedly handsome features" (page 3), has been based on the Soviet leader Josef Stalin, though, in his article for *Business Insider*, David M. Lubin claims that the more likely inspiration would have been the hero of British Victorian imperialism, Field Marshal Herbert Horatio Kitchener. The article includes a picture of a poster where Kitchener is jabbing his finger at the viewer and pinning him with a severe gaze, while beckoning him to fulfill his duty as a citizen and join the military. The man had been Orwell's childhood icon, but by the time he was an adult, the author no longer embraced the chauvinistic militarism that had stirred him in his youth. In effect, he turned this patriotic poster he had been exposed to throughout his life on its head, making it serve in his novel not as a symbol of heroic national resolve but rather of insidious government intrusion into the lives of its citizens (Lubin, 2016). Thus, "Big Brother is watching you" was born.

7. Relevance of ideas used by George Orwell 1984 in the context of today's political events

At present, looking at the current political and military events in the world in connection with the Russian invasion of Ukraine, many similarities with the topics described in the book can be seen.

Journalist Matt Taibbi claimed in his recent article (*Orwell was right*, 2022) for *Scheer Post* that Orwell's predictions regarding doublespeak are fully coming true, as Russia is becoming increasingly desperate to deny its criminal actions and feed its civilian population the false narrative of events, even going as far as passing a law that imposes a 15-year prison sentence for anyone spreading "fake news" about the invasion. Furthermore, the way president Vladimir Putin talks about the war in Ukraine shows a continuous pattern of using words to express exactly the opposite of what they normally mean: he labels acts of war "peacekeeping duties," claims to be engaging in "denazification" of Ukraine while seeking to overthrow or even kill Ukraine's Jewish president (Satta, 2022), and so on, thus creating the perfect real life example of Orwell's doublespeak. Putin's brazen manipulation of language has drawn the attention of many: Kira Rudik, a member of the Ukrainian Parliament, recently said of Putin in a *CNN* interview:

"When he says, 'I want peace,' this means, 'I'm gathering my troops to kill you.' If he says, 'It's not my troops,' he means 'It's my troops and I'm gathering them.' And if he says, 'OK, I'm retreating,' this means 'I'm regrouping and gathering more troops to kill you" (CNN, 2022).

This closely resembles another set of claims: "War is peace. Freedom is slavery. Ignorance is strength,"- the words etched onto the side of the building for the "Ministry of Truth" in *1984*. The astonishing similarities have not gone unnoticed among the citizens of Russia, as Russian business daily newspaper *Vedomosti* reports an increase in sales of *1984* in the country (Grishkin, 2022). The increase in demand for this book may be due to the wider context of the "special military operation" in Ukraine (Ibidem*)*. But no form of anti-war activism in Russia goes unpunished: in the city of Ivanovo, an activist who was giving away free copies of Orwell's *1984* was arrested and charged with "discrediting Russian Army Forces" (Burris, 2022).

Meanwhile, a close ally to Russia – Belarus, which has become notorious itself in the last couple of years for exercising an authoritarian rule over its citizens with the president Lukashenko even often being referred to by media outlets as "Europe's last dictator", has just banned *1984* in their country as of May 2022 (Pavlenko, 2022). According to independent

Belarusian media outlets, Belarusian publishers have been instructed to withdraw the book from their shelves and from sale (Ibidem). The irony here is immense and honestly, terrifying. One could say that if a country bans *1984*, that is how you know the book is definitely about them.

Unfortunately, what Orwell once wrote about in his dystopia, has now become the reality of everyday life for people in some parts of the world – doublespeak rethorics, oppression of speech by threats and arrests, literature banned for criticizing the country's political ideals, and power-hungry leaders willing to go to any lengths necessary to pursue their rulership. What comes next? One can only anxiously wonder.

Conclusions

The focus of this research was identifying language ambiguities in George Orwell's dystopian social science fiction novel *1984* and attempting to understand their meaning through an in-depth analysis of these examples, the book, the author himself, and the surrounding contexts.

It can be concluded that the thesis statement put forward – the historical contexts – his personal and that in the world – have heavily influenced the author's use of language, as living in such politically dicey times, where free speech was limited and many political decisions unjust, meant Orwell had to find creative ways to make his voice heard, such as resorting to intentional ambiguity in his language – has been proven right, as the deeper analysis of the author's personal beliefs, ideas, language and writing habits have been greatly influenced by the political and social climates of the time he was living in, as many first-hand experiences have left a deep impact on George Orwell, creating the desire to speak freely and thruthfully, yet the system of the time has forbidden it. The analysis of individual ambiguity examples has lead to believe that this ambiguous language has been used intentionally by the author in *1984* and the most likely force of influence for these language choices has been the tense and oppressive system the author was living in at the time.

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LINGUISTIC GLOBALIZATION AND VULNERABILITY OF LEMKO LANGUAGE[1]

Abstract

It is challenging to define the exact number of minority languages around the world, just as it is difficult to measure the depth of the cultural enrichment that they bring to the society. In this paper the greatest attention is paid to minority languages and their correlation with dynamic globalization and spread of English as global language. The article is mostly focused on Lemko language, one of the legally recognized minority languages in Poland. It focuses on its vulnerability to external linguistic influences including the impact of English on Lemko language. The article also aims to highlight that every language offers an invaluable and unique way of perceiving the world. Due to dynamic globalization, minority languages are constantly threatened with marginalization and extinction. The paper addresses the question of whether English is a threat to minority languages and presents aspects of multilingualism in relation to minority languages and their impact on cultural heritage in the world. The goal of this paper is to raise awareness of the severity of the problem, and discuss possible solutions to revitalize and protect minority languages in order to preserve the linguistic diversity and pass it on to the future generations.

Key words: Lemko language, minority language, endangered language.

Streszczenie

Dokładne zdefiniowanie liczby języków występujących na świecie jest niemal niemożliwe, podobnie jak niemożliwe jest określenie bogactwa kulturowego, które zapewniają ludzkości. W związku z tym artykuł głównie koncentruje się na wpływie globalizacji na języki mniejszościowe. Ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem wpływu języka angielskiego na język łemkowski, jednego z prawnie uznanych języków mniejszościowych w Polsce. Celem artykułu jest też podkreślenie, że każdy język oferuje niepowtarzalny sposób postrzegania świata. Ze względu na dynamiczną globalizację języki mniejszościowe są ciągle zagrożone marginalizacją lub wymarciem. Artykuł również skłania do refleksji czy język angielski stanowi zagrożenie dla języków mniejszościowych oraz opisuje zjawisko wielojęzyczności w oparciu o języki mniejszościowe. Celem artykułu jest także zwrócenie uwagi na powagę problemu zanikania języków i zaprezentowanie sposobów ich rewitalizacji, by zachować różnorodność lingwistyczną świata i przekazać ją przyszłym pokoleniom.

Słowa kluczowe: język łemkowski, język mniejszości, język zagrożony.

[1] This article is based on my unpublished Bachelor's thesis entitled *Impact of English on minority languages* presented at the Institute of Foreign Languages of University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz and parts of my work have been used in this article.

Introduction

The issue of preserving minority languages is extremely important and necessary for the continuation of human cultural heritage, since maintaining languages guarantees preservation of the distinct identity of minority groups. Although by definition, minority means 'less numerous', in reality minority languages are widely spread and reflect the true face of local indigenous cultures. Therefore, they play an important role in communication – they are crucial and indispensable in regional transmission of information and in manifestation of local cultural heritage.

Cultural anthropologists and linguists are attempting to raise global awareness of the necessity to protect minority languages all around the world. According to Guo (2019), minority languages are a treasure that belongs to everyone, so everyone should appreciate and protect them: it is not only the responsibility of the affected ethnic group but the duty of all people and loss of language can be compared to the loss of natural biodiversity, like plants or animals (Guo, 2019). Together with disappearance of minority languages, unique perspectives of the world vanish, too (Majidi, 2013). For example, the extinction of China's Manchu language rendered all the remaining documents completely incomprehensible. Knowledge accumulated by Manchu speakers about astronomy, science, religion, custom etc., has – for this reason – been lost (Guo, 2019).

The following article concerns the problem of extinction of minority languages and ways of their preservation on the example of the Lemko language. It discusses the results of the survey that was designed to address the status of Lemko minority language and its susceptibility to English influence.

1. Minority languages

Minority languages perform a relatively marginal function in societies. They are not present in business, economy, technology or international communication, they are used only in domesticity or regional public domains (Pandharipande, 2002). Minority languages do not compose one, particular group of languages, they are diverse, multicultural, many-hued (Altenhofen et al., 2020). They belong to different language families, are widely geographically distributed, use various alphabets and express distinct culture and ways of communication in a society.

Minority languages are part of the world's cultural legacy, which includes oral traditions, rituals, memories and knowledge about the nature and the universe. They are important because "Intangible heritage is what we value and what we wish to safeguard and pass on to future generations" (Deacon et al., 2004, p. 1). Thus, minority languages are a vehicle of human's intangible heritage (Fernandes del Pozo, 2017[2]).

Minority languages may be seen as indispensable in order to fully convey certain meaning of words, because some words and phrases are simply untranslatable from the original into the official language. For example, in Eskimo languages there are different types of snow which have separate names (e.g., *aput* for "snow on the ground" and *qana* for "falling snow") (Carstensen at al., 2016, p. 2), and in the Evenki language there are expressions referring to the reindeer of different age and gender (e.g., *avlakan* refers to "a one-year-old male reindeer", *ektana* means "a two years old male reindeer" and *sachari*

[2] Cited from https://termcoord.eu/2017/05/untangling-language-intangible-cultural-heritage-and-rights/ (date of access: 17.06.2022).

– "a one-year-old female reindeer") (Barry et al., 2013, p. 547). These words have been used by Evenki for ages, and are inseparably connected with their life, duties and nature. Evenki, who live on the Russian territory, humorously claim that it is not possible to herd reindeer in their official, Russian, language and claim that "it must be done in Evenki" (Ibidem, p. 547) and they would have to create new Russian words to reflect all the meanings of their ethnic language

Minority languages can be also discussed under the notion of individual and societal bilingualism or multilingualism. In order to educate, participate in public life or communicate with the rest of the society, speakers of a minority language are forced to learn the official language of their country of residence (Majidi, 2013). This is the reason why "It is increasingly unlikely to find monolingual speakers of a minority language" (Altenhofen et al., 2020, p. 895).

2. Linguistic extinction

According to *the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, 4% of languages all over the world have disappeared since 1950, and around 30% is in danger of disappearing (Pasikowska-Schnass, 2016, p. 2). If the language is used in different areas of life, in a variety of contexts and by speakers of all ages, there is no danger that it will disappear. However, the threat of extinction increases when a language becomes limited to specific domains and age groups (Ibidem).

Five categories of endangered languages are identified in *the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger:*

1. V*ulnerable* category comprises languages which are still spoken by both children and elderly, but only at home or in a different domain.
2. *Severely endangered* language is still used by older generation, their children can understand it, but their grandchildren do not.
3. *Definitely endangered* language is not used as a mother tongue.
4. If language is spoken very rarely, only by older generation, and in a limited way, *the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* defines it as *critically endangered*.
5. *Extinct language* is determined when there is no speaker left (Ibidem, p. 6).

Linguistic extinction is mainly caused by a decreasing number of its speakers because of aging process or mass disappearance of an entire linguistic community. Many indigenous languages in Australia became extinct because of European diseases introduced by the invaders. For example, the Tasmanian language is extinct because all its speakers died (Majidi, 2013) and the eruption of Indonesia's Sumabwa volcano in 1815 killed all the Tamboran speakers (Guo, 2019).

Globalization relates to urbanization and its expansion over the indigenous tribes' homelands. In Brazil, since the urbanization process has intensified in various parts of the country, Brazil's minority languages have lost their speakers and become recognized as endangered (Majidi, 2013).

Another factor that puts language at risk of extinction is its low transmission between generations. Several ethnic groups do not have a written language and their representatives are illiterate, which significantly reduces the way the language may be passed on to the descendants (Guo, 2019).

Religious or economic situation as well may contribute to the language extinction. For example, some time ago in Greece, the Macedonian language was prohibited; similarly in Turkey – the use of Kurdish language was once illegal (Ibidem).

3. Preservation of minority languages

Majidi (2013) relates language durability to its use and emphasises that "To keep native languages alive, it is not enough to value them: it is essential to use them" (Majidi 2013, p. 37). Nevertheless, what is also important is people's attitudes and individual decisions to use language and pass it to the next generation. Speakers must be involved in intersocial relations and support and disseminate minority language. Keeping written and audio-visual records of minority languages may also contribute to their transition to future generations (Ibidem).

The attitude of the authorities plays an important role. The European Union helps to preserve minority languages by linguistic policy started in 1980s (Pasikowska-Schnass, 2016). Their action may be seen in educational programmes, multilinguistic projects, and in institutional support. For example, in 1992 European Union adopted *The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages*, to protect the disappearing tongues. The goal of the 2003 action plan *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity* was to underline the importance of promoting language acquisition at a young age, integrating it with lifelong learning (Ibidem). In Poland, Article 35 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Poland*, guarantees Polish citizens of ethnic or national minorities the freedom to keep and develop their own indigenous languages, maintain own customs and culture. Moreover, they are allowed to create educational and religious institutions to preserve their cultural identity as well as in order to enable other citizens to participate in events connected with their culture. The *1991 Educational System Act* provides educational rights for Polish pupils to maintain their national, ethnic, and religious identity. In 2000 Poland signed the Convention for the Protection of National Minorities according to which any actions directed against assimilation of minorities have been prohibited (http://citeseerx.ist.psu. edu /viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.616.3581&rep=rep1&type=pdf, date of access: 17.06.2022).

According to the Council decision of 2005, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh are now recognized as regional languages in the United Kingdom (Ibidem). *Act on Minorities* of 2005 obliged to support and promote minority languages through media, publication of books, education, local administration, and cultural life (Ibidem). Due to such initiatives some endangered minority languages were saved, for example, the Saami language in Northern Europe, which was recognized as official in Norway in 1988, in Sweden in 2000 and in 2003 in Finland. Thanks to the official status, the Saami language may be used in municipalities, nursery schools, in official documents and children learn Saami at primary schools. In Sweden, Upsala University has courses in Saami language for both native speakers and foreigners (Barry et al., 2013).

In Poland, there are several national minority languages including Armenian, Lithuanian, German, Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Czech, Hebrew, Slovak and Yiddish. There are a few ethnic minority languages, such as Rusyn (called Lemko), Tatar, Romani and Karaim. There is also a regional language of Kashubian and a Silesian variety which is officially recognized as a dialect, however, there have been some efforts to grant it a status of a regional language, similarly to Kashubian. All of them can be found in the *Act of 6 January 2005 on National and Ethnic Minorities and on the Regional Languages* and they are regulated by that law.

4. The Lemko language

The Lemko language, which is my mother tongue, is one of the ethnic minority languages in Poland. According to the categories of endangered languages, the Lemko language would be identified as *vulnerable* because it is still spoken by people of all age groups, but they use it only regionally or at home – in the private domain.

4.1. History of Lemko language

The Lemko language is one of Carpatho-Rusyns languages spoken in Poland. Today, its users are found in particular parts of the globe, mainly in Europe (Slovakia, Serbia, Poland, Ukraine, Croatia, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania) and North America (USA, Canada) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rusyns#cite_note-71, date of access: 10.12. 2021). Carpatho-Rusyns language it is an East Slavic language, spoken by Rusyns inhabiting on the southern and northern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains.

Figure 1 presents a map of Carpathian Rus, where Rusyns are considered to have settled in the 14th and 15th centuries (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carpathian_Ruthenia, date of access: 17.06.2022). Lemko people originally inhabited a mountainous region in the southern Poland called by them *Lemkovyna (Лемковина)*[3].

Figure 1. The map of Carpathian Rus.
Source: https://www.reddit.com/r/europe/comments/p9elup/map_of_carpathian_rus_the_rusyn_homeland/, date of access: 01.09.2022).

[3] *Lemko Region, Lemko Land, Lemkovyna, Lemkivshchyna* are synonyms and refer to the mother land of Lemko people. In Poland it is part of Carpathian mountains covered the area between the rivers Poprad and Osława.

The Lemko group have never had their own independent country. For years, their homeland belonged to different countries and was significantly influenced by them. The borders changed many times due to political changes and wars. Carpatho-Rusyns homeland was located for two centuries in Poland and Hungarian Kingdoms, in the 18th century it became Galicia – a part of Austro-Hungarian Empire; after WWI it was a part of Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union and Poland; after 1989 Carpatho-Rusyns lived mostly in some region of Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland, smaller numbers inhabited parts of Hungary, Czech Republic, Croatia, Romania (Mercedes Sowko, 2006). Attempts at standardization of Carpatho-Rusyns languages were undertaken, but they were not successful because of its many variants, such as *the Rusyn language (русиньскый язык (rusîn'skyj jazyk)), Rusnak language (руснацькый язык (rusnackyj jazyk)), Lemko language (лемківскій язык (lemkivskij jazyk)* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rusyns#cite_note-71, date of access: 10.12.2021). Each of them is based on Cyrillic alphabet.

The dispersion of Lemko language was significant and determined by the political and economic factors. In the late 19th century a massive emigration took place from the mother Lemko Land to the North America. Between 1899 and 1931 Ellis Island recorded 268,669 Rusyn immigrants. Today, it is considered that ca. 625,000 descendants of them are living in the USA (Ibidem). It is estimated that around 130,000 – 140,000 Lemkos lived in Poland before 1939. After 1945 some Lemkos were resettled to the Soviet Union (90,000) (Ibidem). In 1947 the *Operation Vistula* forced resettlement of 35,000 of Lemko population from Lemko Land to newly acquired, western lands after World War II. Therefore, today the largest population of Lemko speakers is noticed in the western part of Poland (Lower Silesian – 46,9%, Lubusz – 14,9%) (Gudaszewski, 2015), they continue to cultivate Lemko traditions living in a diaspora. After 1956 some Lemko families returned to their homelands (Lesser Poland – 21,4%). According to *The National Census of population and housing in 2011* in Poland only ca. 6300 people (60% of the entire population) declared to speak Lemko language (Ibidem).

4.2. The Lemko language as a minority in Poland

The Lemkos were officially recognized as an ethnic minority group in Poland under the *Act of Polish Parliament of 06 January 2005* and their language was listed as a protected language by the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Another aspect that helped to preserve the Lemko language after World War II was religion. Lemkos are Orthodox believers and Greek Catholics, which differentiates them from the ethnic Poles, who are Catholics, and the Lemko traditional language is still used during the services (https://www.gov.pl/web/mniejszosci-narodowe-i-etniczne/lemkowie, date of access: 17.06.2022).

In the case of the Lemko language, the measures that have been undertaken so far to protect and cultivate the Lemko minority language include a faculty of Russian philology with Lemko-Rusyn language at the Pedagogical University of Kraków, which was launched in 2001 (https://www.lem.fm/15-years-ago-rusyn-lemko-philology-was-founded/, date of access: 17.06.2022) and closed in 2017 (https://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm9.nsf/ biuletyn. xsp?documentId=08B29BA8C818ADB7C1258623003AD9D8, date of access: 17.06.2022), which means that it can no longer be cultivated at the university level. In Lemkowyna, some places have double names: in Polish and Lemko. There are two publications in

Lemko language: bimonthly *Бесіда* and annual *Лемківскій Річник.* The Lemko language may be heard in the media: the internet radio of the LEM.FM and Radio LEMKO (http://www.jezyki-mniejszosci.pl/jm/jezyki, date of access: 17.06.2022). Since 1991, Lemko pupils can officially learn the Lemko language at schools. Since 2013 they may choose it as a supplementary subject on their *Matura* exam (https://www.lem.fm/matura-z-jezyka-lemkowskiego-znowu-napisana/, date of access: 17.06.2022). In 2013 the popular novel *The Little Prince* was translated into Lemko *Малий Прінц*.

Despite all these efforts, the present research reveals that the Lemko language may still be recognized as endangered as its lexical resources are inadequate and insufficient to communicate the needs of the contemporary Lemko society. As a result, in many contexts, the Lemko speakers use the majority language and tend to supplement the non-existent lexical spheres borrowings from other languages, including English.

5. The survey

In order to find out about the domains in which the Lemko language is used, its speakers' proficiency in using it and their ways of maintaining the language, a survey was conducted among the native Lemko people. Some questions were designed to explore respondents' preferred form of spoken and written communication in Lemko language. The survey also consisted of questions connected with susceptibility of language to the globalization and ways of its preservation. To better investigate the possible impact of English on Lemko language, the questionnaire also addressed that issue. The survey was piloted on the 20th of April 2022 and then conducted on-line via google forms in April 2022.

The survey was returned by 30, randomly chosen, native Lemko people living in Poland, representing different age groups and various educational backgrounds. 60% of the respondents were female, and 40% were male. The respondents' age range was between 9 and 60 years. 50% of interviewees stated to have accomplished secondary education, 40% – higher education, and the primary education was held by 10%.

5.1. Influence of English on Lemko

The respondents were asked to evaluate whether their native Lemko language includes many English borrowings. According to the study, only 7% of the respondents claimed that Lemko language contained a large number of English loanwords. 37% considered Lemko language to have adopted several borrowings from English. Nearly the same number of respondents (33%) declared that there are few English borrowings in Lemko and 23% stated that only very few words had been borrowed (Figure 2).

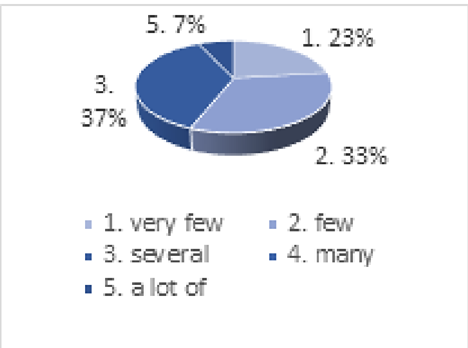

Figure 2. Opinions related to number of borrowings from English into Lemko language.
Source: own study.

In terms of the frequency of using 10 randomly chosen loanwords from English, such as: *Instagram, weekend, pendrive, eyeliner, budget, Facebook, link, muffin, newsletter, and Skype*, the one that was identified as the most frequently used by the respondents was *weekend* – 70% of the respondents declared to use it very often. Slightly more than half of 53% used the word *Facebook* very often. The word *newsletter* was the least popular among the respondents – 43% declared to use it very rarely (Figure 3).

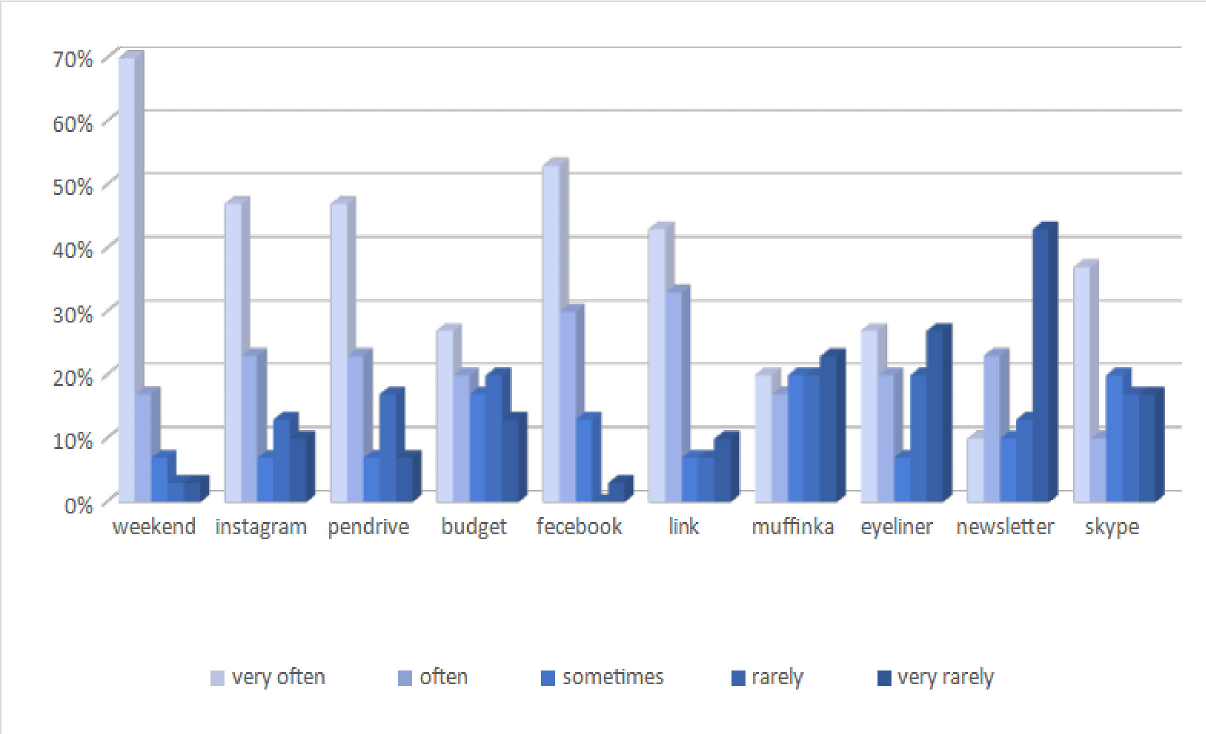

Figure 3. Frequency of using the chosen loanwords from English in Lemko language.
Source: own study.

The respondents were also asked to provide more examples of words borrowed from English into Lemko language which were used by them on a daily basis. A number of respondents (47%) returned the word *OK* as the most popular English borrowing in Lemko. Some other words provided were: *make-up (11%), sorry (11%), smartphone (5%), finish (5%), basement (5%), e-mail (5%), jeans (11%, messenger (11%), fast food (5%), yeah (11%) and taxi (5%)*. Those answers confirm that English influences are observable within the Lemko language, which may be subjectively perceived as either contamination or evolution, which was especially visible in the responses to the successive question.

In order to find out how English borrowing is perceived by Lemko speakers, the respondents were asked to express their opinion on whether or not the Lemko language should create its own equivalents for the borrowed words. Figure 4 shows that it was a controversial question. 40% of the respondents answered that they wished to create equivalents in Lemko language, however, 23% of them reacted strongly against such a suggestion, the further 20% were neutral, and 17% expressed lack of knowledge in this respect (Figure 4).

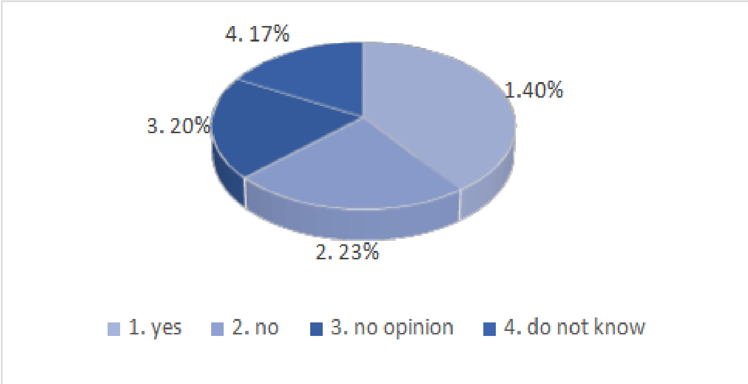

Figure 4. Respondents' opinion on creating equivalents for borrowed words from English into Lemko language.
Source: own study.

The tendency to borrow some words from English may be seen in four names of Lemko organisations which were used in the survey: *Lemko Tower*, *Make Life Lemko*, *Lemko Archive*, *Lemkoland*. Each of them consists of an English word although all of them were created for the sake of Lemko language and have been operating mainly in it. The respondents were asked if they recognized the organizations mentioned above and know the meaning of their names. As Figure 5 shows every respondent knew the music group *Lemko Tower* but for 13% of them its meaning was unclear. 80% of respondents ware familiar with the name of the *Lemkoland* publisher, out of which 27% did not know the meaning of the English term *land*. The name of the blog *Make Life Lemko* was less known to the respondents: 40% of them recognized it and knew its meaning, and 23% recognized it but did not know the meaning of the English words. The least popular among respondents was the name *Lemko Archive*: the majority of 57% were unacquainted with it, while 33% of respondents claimed to know this name of organisation and its meaning. Those data demonstrate that some respondents had difficulty understanding the English words used in the names of popular Lemko organizations.

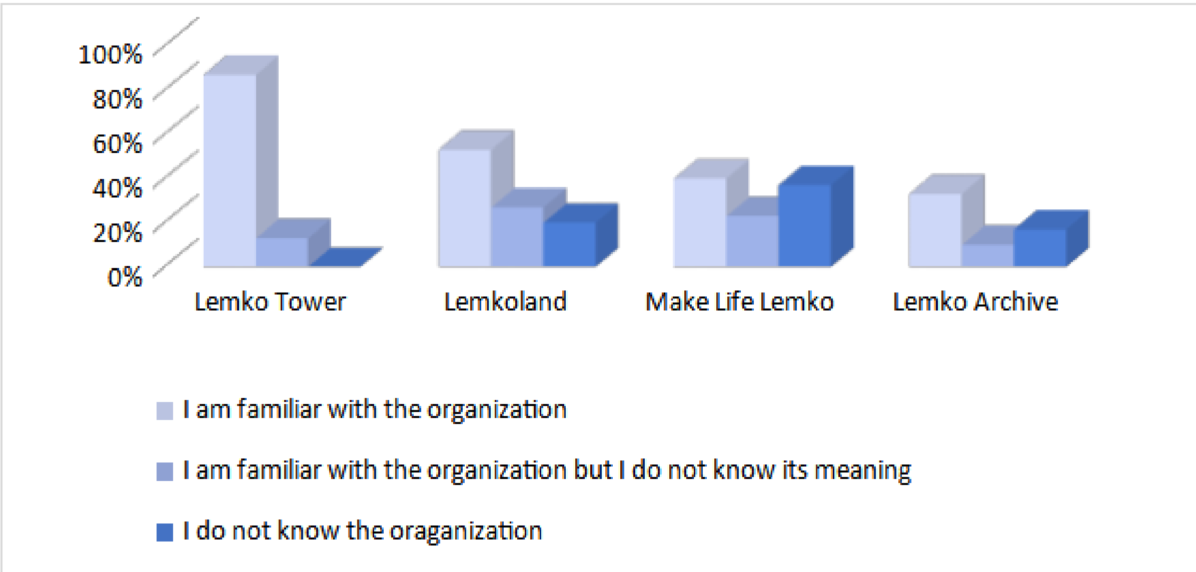

Figure 5. Respondents' familiarity with the names of given organizations and their meaning.
Source: own study.

As Lemko language is an East-Slavic language, its new words are the most often borrowed from other East-Slavic languages or from Polish. Table 1 shows that English also, to a certain extent, impacts Lemko language. This is best illustrated by new words adopted into the Lemko language, such as модерный [modernyj], линк [link], сайт [sajt], інтервю [interwju], дігіталный [digitalnyj] which were borrowed directly from English, notably those vocabulary items may be associated with the global development. It can also be observed that some variants of words adapted from English into Lemko are not used in the Polish language. This shows that the Lemko language is susceptible to the influence of English as a global language and evolves with its own equivalents.

Table 1
Respondent's preferences for using different variants of words in Lemko language

Preference for a word based on Polish or Lemko language	Preference for an English word	Hard to decide on words preference	No preferences for words
мотузок [motuzok] 7%	линк [link] 87%	3%	3%
новочесный [nowoczesnyj] 90%	Модерный [modernyj] 7%	0%	3%
вывяд [wywiad] 74%	інтервю [interwju] 20%	3%	3%
сторона інтернетова [storona internetowa] 84%	сайт [sajt] 13%	0%	3%
цифровый [cyfrowyj] 87%	дігіталный [digitalnyj] 7%	3%	3%

Source: own study.

5.2. Lemko language and its scope of use

Referring to the conducted survey it may be concluded that the long-term effects caused by globalization affect the language and raise many concerns. Use of the Cyrillic alphabet seems to be in the greatest danger. The vast majority of respondents claimed not to be using Cyrillic alphabet in written communication. Only 10% of them claimed to write messages in Lemko alphabet. The remaining 90% of the respondents communicated without the use of Lemko alphabet, they admitted to be writing messages using the Latin alphabet but phonetically imitating Lemko words. They simplified the language by converting individual letters from Cyrillic into Latin alphabet. Attrition at the level of writing in the Lemko mother tongue is already observable. Therefore, there is a risk that indigenous alphabet may be forgotten.

What is more, the findings suggest that the younger generation is, the less Lemko language is used to communicate with each other. Another worrisome and concerning factor is the domain of Lemko language use. It is mainly used at home or locally in places connected with Lemko culture. In public places it is unlikely to be heard. Its speakers mainly communicate in Polish. This may be caused by unwillingness to attract attention of others or by an experience of not being fully understood by the rest.

Conclusion

Although there are many assets that come with globalization, it is globalisation and the development of media that seem to be impoverishing linguistic diversity and homogenizing the world. Nevertheless, many measures have been undertaken in order to record the heritage of minorities, increase people's general awareness of language extinction threat and preserve a number of minority languages. It has become a well-known fact that any language without conscious efforts to maintain it will gradually disappear in as few as three generations (Fang, 2017). Therefore, it is extremely important to maintain an endangered language in today's dynamic world.

According to Fang (2017), the best way of maintaining a minority language would be to approve of bilingualism in a given country. Special governmental policies should treat all national languages equal and recognize values they add to societies. All minorities should be encouraged to learn and develop their mother tongues. Bilingualism in the multi linguistic countries should be supported rather than discriminated or assimilated (Ibidem).

The Lemko language may be recognized as endangered as its lexical resources are inadequate and insufficient to communicative needs of contemporary Lemko's life, which is fundamentally different from the traditional one. However, its speakers in a practical way use their native language supplementing the non-existent lexical spheres usually with borrowings from other languages, especially English.

Awareness of existence of Lemko language and other minority languages in Poland is still negligible. Their occurrence is not widespread throughout the country and concerns only a minor number of people. Therefore, the authorities' goal should be to focus on dissemination of the country's linguistic richness. Education of residents about the multi--ethnic societies should be conducted to eliminate discrimination and marginalization of minority languages.

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INTENTIONAL BILINGUALISM IN THE POLISH CONTEXT[1]

Abstract

This article presents the ways of implementing Intentional Bilingualism in the Polish context. It deals with language acquisition – the innate ability of children to acquire languages. The five stages of language acquisition according to Stephen Krashen are discussed and attention is paid to the interaction of two languages with each other and the impact of bilingualism on cognitive functions. It then continues with the definition of Intentional Bilingualism and aspects and strategies for introducing Intentional Bilingualism. The article also discusses controversial issues related to Intentional Bilingualism, such as speech delay and language non-differentiation. The last section is devoted to the study of Intentional Bilingualism in the Polish context. It presents the context of Intentional Bilingualism in Poland – experiences, problems and insights by parents who decided to introduce it in the upbringing of their children.

Key words: intentional bilingualism, intended bilingualism, multilingualism.

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia zagadnienie dwujęzyczności zamierzonej wśród Polaków. Opisano tu proces nabywania języków, a w szczególności – wrodzoną umiejętność dzieci do nabywania języków. Omówiono pięć etapów przyswajania języków według Stephena Krashena i zwrócono uwagę na oddziaływanie dwóch języków na siebie oraz wpływ dwujęzyczności na funkcje poznawcze. Następnie przedstawiono definicję dwujęzyczności zamierzonej. Szczegółowo omówiono aspekty i strategie umożliwiające wprowadzenie dwujęzyczności zamierzonej wraz z ich zaletami i wadami. Ostatnia część artykułu skupia się na badaniu dwujęzyczności zamierzonej w polskim kontekście i przedstawia sytuację dwujęzyczności zamierzonej w Polsce: opisuje doświadczenia, problemy i spostrzeżenia rodziców, którzy zdecydowali się ją wprowadzić.

Słowa kluczowe: dwujęzyczność zamierzona, dwujęzyczność zamierzona, wielojęzyczność.

Introduction

Knowledge of at least two language systems has become crucial in the 21st century. As a result, people have started to struggle with learning languages regardless of their age. For an adult, it may be challenging to memorize a large number of new rules and vocabulary or to start using a foreign language for communication. On the other hand, it is known that children are able to naturally possess any language they are exposed to from birth. It can save their time and effort in the future, as they seem to acquire a foreign language effortlessly during their childhood. This work addresses the idea of devoting intentional

[1] This article is based on my unpublished Bachelor's thesis entitled *Intentional Bilingualism in the Polish Context* presented at the Institute of Foreign Languages of University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz and parts of my work have been used in this article.

efforts to raising bilingual children in monolingual communities. The issue is important to analyse for several reasons. Firstly, it concerns the relatively new tendency in upbringing in the Polish context. Secondly, it raises further questions, such as the scope of the phenomenon, its quality and consequences for the families and children themselves.

1. Children's brain capacity for languages

Intentional Bilingualism exploits the fact that infants do not have to be taught a language because they acquire it as any other skill and human brain is constructed in such a way that it enables infants to acquire any language they have contact with. According to Chomsky, "children must have an **inborn faculty for language acquisition**. According to this theory, the process is **biologically determined** – the human species has evolved a brain whose neural circuits contain linguistic information at birth" (https://www.montsaye.northants.sch.uk/assets/Uploads/English-Language-Summer-Work-2.pdf, date of access: 15.01.2022). This means that children can acquire a language they hear and their brain is able to decipher and organize the information that it is exposed to. This facility is known as the **Language Acquisition Device (LAD)** (Ibidem).

The facility of LAD is active during the so called *critical period* (CP) which is defined as a time frame within which acquiring language skills to the native extent is possible (Bialystok, 2001). Johnson and Newport (1989) conducted a study on a group of 46 Koreans and Chinese who arrived to the USA 3 to 29 years old. They were shown a set of English sentences which were either grammatically correct or not. The analysis of results showed clear and strong advantage of early-comers over the latecomers. Hence, they concluded that CP does affect L2 acquisition (Thu, 2009).

2. Second Language Acquisition

There are 6,909 different languages spoken in the world (https://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/how-many-languages-are-there-world, date of access: 15.01.2022). Those languages are spoken as mother tongues and as second and foreign languages as in the modern world pure monolingualism is rather a relic of the past. For example, in Europe, almost all primary and secondary schools offer compulsory foreign language (FL) learning, among which the most studied languages are English, Spanish, French and German (https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticexplained/index.php?title=Foreign_language_learning_statistics, date of access: 15.01.2022). The product of another language (L2) learning, after acquiring the first language (L1) is often bilingualism and multilingualism, which refer to the ability to "function in more than one language" (https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1789/Bilingualism-Second-Language-Learning-English-Second-Language.html, date of access: 15.01.2022). Someone might argue that formal instruction usually offers the knowledge of language rules rather than the real-life practice. Yet, nowadays there are many opportunities, like student exchange programs, summer camps and tourism, which help learners practice their learnt skills in a naturalistic environment.

Apart from formal instruction, there are many contexts in which a child is exposed to more than one language from the early childhood. These languages frequently become children's second languages (L2). For example, children who have bilingual parents are often raised bilingual, as well as children whose parents decided to emigrate, e.g., Polish families abroad whose children speak Polish at home and majority language outside home.

A relatively new phenomenon is intentional bilingualism, which takes place in a context in which children are being spoken to in a foreign language and which is not the "natural" language for parents/caretakers in order for the children to acquire it. As a result, a child acquires two language systems: the native language (L1) – the language of personal, social and cultural identity (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_language, date of access: 15.03.2022) – and a second language (L2/FL) which is a language different from the native one that a child is exposed to (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_language, date of access: 15.03.2022).

2.1. Krashen's hypotheses

Four decades ago, Stephen Krashen (1982) put forth a set of 5 hypotheses of acquiring a second language that lay the basis for the modern understanding of SLA: acquisition and learning, the natural order, the monitor, the input and the affective filter hypotheses (Krashen, 1982).

2.1.1. Acquisition and Learning

In the first of his hypotheses, Krashen (1982) drew a clear distinction between acquisition and learning. In the light of this typology, acquisition is a process of developing a second language competence in a subconscious manner, whereas language learning involves conscious attention to the rules in order to construct an act of communication. This type of language development is called *explicit learning* (Krashen, 1982, p. 10) and involves learning through formal instruction and cautious attention to the instructional material. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is hence possible during the critical period. All language rules operate at a subconscious level and language production occurs without focused attention to the grammar of the language. Language acquisition is thus described as *implicit, informal* and *natural:* "Other ways of describing acquisition include implicit learning, informal learning, and natural learning. In non-technical language, acquisition is "picking-up" a language" (Ibidem, p. 10).

2.1.2. The natural order hypothesis

The natural order hypothesis says that different grammatical rules tend to be acquired in a given order regardless of the first language of a person. Dulay and Burt (1974, 1975) conducted a study which showed that children acquiring English as their second language (L2) show tendency to acquire particular morphemes in a fixed order. Researchers considered a set of 14 morphemes originally analysed by Brown (1973) concerning first language (L1) acquisition. It turned out that for English as a second language (L2), the average order of grammatical morphemes was following: children naturally pick up progressive –ing morpheme first, then plural –s, the verb to be, auxiliaries, articles, irregular and regular past, third person singular and possessive –s at the end (Krashen, 1982). According to this hypothesis, the order of acquired structures remains unchanged despite explicit instruction being given, i.e., *explicit learning* does not have impact on the natural order language of acquisition (https://parentingpatch.com/natural-order-hypothesis-definition-criticism/, date of access: 14.01.2022).

2.1.3. The monitor hypothesis

The monitor hypothesis assumes the existence of an ability (which Krashen calls *a monitor*) to self-correct one's performance either before or after having produced an utterance. According to Krashen, in order for *the monitor* to work successfully, three conditions are required: time, knowledge of rules and focus on the form. The monitor hypothesis assumes that first an acquirer has to know what the rule is. Secondly, they should focus on correct language production and pay attention to structure of one's performance. The last important condition is time, which must be sufficient to rethink one's message and to allow for self-correction (Ibidem).

2.1.4. The input hypothesis

The input hypothesis focuses on comprehensible input and underlines its importance in the process of moving through the sequence of acquired skills described in the natural order hypothesis. Comprehensible input "is input that contains a structure that is 'a little beyond' the current understanding – with understanding defined as understanding of meaning rather than understanding of form – of the language learner" (Ibidem). SL progress is then dependent on exposure to language, rather than on explicit instructions.

2.1.5. The affective filter hypothesis

The affective filter hypothesis explains the relationship between affective filters such as motivation, self-confidence or anxiety and the process of acquiring a language, and it also partially explains how it is possible for some acquirers to reach fluency which is nearly native-like (Krashen, Terrel, 1998). These variables have implications for acquirers' success or failure. Those with high motivation, showing self-confidence tend to be better at SLA because, for example, introverts with low motivation and fear of trying to use second language (L2) may experience mental block which results in preventing them from comprehensible input (Ibidem). Individual variation, however, does not unable anyone to acquire certain language skills. It is about the extent and obtaining more or less of them. Crucial aspects in this context are motivation, time devoted to expanding language skills and attitude decide to what level the target language will be acquired (Ibidem).

2.2. Stages of second language acquisition

Krashen (1984) presented language acquisition as consisting of five stages: preproduction, early production, speech emergence, intermediate fluency and advanced fluency.

The first stage – preproduction – is also named *the silent period* and it lasts between three to six months of exposure to a language and involves the knowledge of up to 500 words receptively, which means that a learner recognizes the meaning of words but is not able to use them for practical purposes. Speaking can occur as repeating of what someone else has said rather than producing one's own utterances. This period is easy to determine among children, for example, having moved abroad children may not speak for several months before they start to communicate (source). With reference to the Input Hypothesis, during *the silent period* learners gain language skills by listening (Krashen, 1984, p. 72).

Once an acquirer has possessed a sufficient repository of vocabulary, which is around 1000, they start to produce their own sentences. However, this period requires a sufficient amount of SL exposure, i.e., having heard enough phrases and having had enough contact with the target language (Leyba, 1984, p. 121). An acquirer must feel comfortable with their knowledge they possessed so far in order to start speaking. Then the ability to speak, also known as a *communicative competence*, starts to expand. What is of great importance at this stage is to focus on creating favourable conditions that encourage speaking, rather than forcing to produce speech (Ibidem, p. 121).

After around 1-to-3-year exposure to a language, an acquirer makes attempts to express their thoughts in it (Krashen, 1984). At this stage speech production consists of simple questions and words, limited up to 3000, and frequent grammatical errors (Ibidem).

The fourth stage of the process is also called *intermediate fluency*. During this period, more complex structures start to emerge, and the lexical competence increases to 6000 (Ibidem). As a result, a person can express their opinions more accurately and with fewer mistakes than in the previous stage of development. The final stage is *advanced fluency* which involves the native-like competence in SL (after a period between 5 to 10 years of language exposure) (Ibidem).

3. Issues in early multilingualism

3.1. Cross-language transfer in the process of Second Language Acquisition

A person's first language (L1) always exerts certain impact on the second language (L2) performance. This L1 influence on L2 is generally known under the name of *cross--language interaction* or *language transfer* (Krashen, Terrell, 1998). Transfer may be either positive or negative and may affect all language areas to varying degrees (Ibidem).

Using L1 structures to express thoughts in a second language may result in making errors, which is natural, especially when a speaker does not know the structure in the target language and makes attempts to transfer structures to produce an utterance in the target language: "an acquirer will substitute some first language rule for a rule of the second language if the acquirer needs the rule to express himself but has not yet acquired it" (Ibidem, p. 41). This type of transfer is referred to as *negative transfer* or *interference* (Ibidem).

At an early stage of the second language learning, apart from the vivid transfer phenomena, a learner may exhibit reliance on fixed expressions, which Krashen and Terrel (1998) describe as *routines and patterns*: "Routines and patterns are sentences that are memorized wholes or partially memorized wholes" (Ibidem, p. 43). They work as a way of expression at the early stages of language development, when an acquirer does not possess enough stock of words to produce their own, full sentences. However, on the other hand, they may hamper communication when the context changes and the structures are not appropriate or do not transmit the meaning in an accurate way.

3.2. Structural Sensitivity Theory

Structural Sensitivity Theory states that "children with regular exposure to more than one language may have "greater readiness to reorganize linguistic input and impute linguistics structure" (Kuo, Anderson, 2012, p. 457). This is because of the fact that bilingual children, who have contact with two different languages have to pay attention to the structure of a language. Thus, they are superior to monolinguals in differentiating L1 and L2 features (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5180605/, date of access: 14.02.2022).

Bilingual children possess two phonological systems which interact with each other. In an integrative literature review, Medeiros, Santos, Varela, Rocha, Messias, Azoni (2020) stated, that bilinguals were better in phoneme identification, phoneme exclusion and categorization of a sound. Studies also imply that age may predict language skills as well as phonological awareness connected with reading development because bilinguals exposed to early reading cultivate it by phonology (https://www.scielo.br/j/rcefac/a/tThWmSSJC qfPvjGfYGM8WPw/?lang=en&format=pdf, date of access: 09.02.2022).

Marinova-Todd, Zhao and Bernhardt (2010) conducted a study on three groups of children aged 4 to 5. They were English monolinguals, Mandarin monolinguals and Mandarin-English bilinguals. Bilingual children showed greater phonological awareness in both English and Mandarin: "Observed bilingual advantage cannot be explained by any unique linguistic characteristics of Mandarin or Chinese and thus is more likely to be ascribed to bilingualism *per se*" (Marinova-Tod, Zhao, Bernhardt, 2010).

3.3. Influence of early bilingualism on cognitive skills

Early exposure to more than one language is reported to facilitate the development of cognitive skills: "In a meta-analysis investigating the relationship between bilingualism and cognition, Adesope et al. (2010) reported a moderate of 63 studies positive overall effect of bilingualism on a number of cognitive measures such as abstract and symbolic representation, attentional control, and problem solving, with the greatest advantages for early bilinguals" (Serratrice, 2013, pp. 99-100).

There have been many studies on the early bilingualism and its effect on cognitive skills in the course of which it was shown that bilinguals show great advantage (Ibidem). Serratrice (2013) described the study by Zelazo, Reznick and Pinon (1995) in which children were exposed to second language from infancy performed better than their monolingual peers at resolving perceptual conflicts. Chinese-English bilinguals and English monolinguals were given two tasks: *the moving word task* and *dimensional change card sort (DCCS).* In the former, children were shown two pictures and had to name one of them. The person conducting the study printed the word which was uttered by a child and put it below the appropriate picture. The procedure was repeated twice – in the second round the heading was placed below the incorrect picture and in the final round it was again below the correct one (Serratrice, 2013). Whether a child performed that task successfully or not, depended on their ability to name given picture correctly regardless of the heading changed. It was connected with the ability to understand the symbolic meaning too (Ibidem). In the *DCCS* task, children received cards and had to sort them into two groups according to shape. When they finished, cards were mixed and this time children were asked to group them basing on colour. Children needed to adapt their thinking to the changed rules (Ibidem). Bilinguals performed better than their monolingual peers using cognitive flexibility which allowed them to focus on the new feature, e.g., colour or shape:

> Importantly, the bilingual children's performance in these two tasks shows that their superior cognitive flexibility relies both on perseverance in the use of an association – when it is symbolic and therefore stable (moving word task) – and in the ability to switch when the association is contingent on the current rule of the game (DCCS task) (Ibidem, p. 101).

Another area which seems to be enhanced through early bilingualism is *metalinguistic awareness* which “enables children to consciously reflect on the nature of language” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metalinguistic_awareness, date of access: 14.01.2022). It means that bilinguals are able to better understand structures and features of a language. Word awareness, for example, means that they understand the relationship between words and their meaning. To assess this aspect, children may be asked to count words in a sentence and to describe what meaning a word carries (Bhatia, Ritchie, 2013).

Galambos and Hakuta conducted research in the area of syntactic awareness. Both bilinguals and monolinguals were asked to correct the structure of sentences and to paraphrase it. The study showed that bilingual children were better than their monolingual peers and pointed out that language proficiency has an impact of the child’s development (Ibidem, pp. 624-633).

Metalinguistic awareness is sometimes linked to understanding sarcasm or irony, i.e., it requires the language user to go beyond language’s verbal meaning indicating awareness of other, more figurative, layers of language structure. Enhanced metalinguistic awareness helps early bilinguals to comprehend words’ function superior to monolinguals (Ibidem, p. 62).

4. Intentional Bilingualism

Bilingualism generally refers to the ability to speak two languages, as a result of foreign language instruction or natural acquisition. In the past, the term *artificial* was used in place of *intentional* (Hurajova, 2020). However, it was perceived as carrying a negative meaning, suggesting non-natural situation.

Intentional Bilingualism is a more specific case as it refers to the situation when a person is spoken to in two different languages purposely to acquire and use both of them. It occurs when parents speak two different languages (including a foreign language) in order for their child or children to be able to use more than one language:

> Intentional Bilingualism occurs in a situation when two languages are not acquired naturally but when the situation is imitated by one or both parents who speak to their child in a language that is not their mother tongue [...]. The term ‘intentional’ was firstly introduced by a Slovak linguist Jozef Štefánik to replace the old term ‘artificial’ (Ibidem).

4.1. Contexts of Intentional Bilingualism

In order to acquire two different language systems, a child has to be exposed to them (Serratrice, 2013). There are many ways to expose children to different languages, such as language immersion programmes, reading books in different languages, watching cartoons in the target language. This subchapter focuses on most popular methods that have so far been implemented by parents who decided to raise their children bilingually. These methods include One Parent One Language (OPOL), Time and Place (T&P) and Minority Language at Home (MLAH).

4.2. One parent one language (OPOL)

One parent one language (OPOL) method was firstly mentioned by Ronjat's (1913) (https://mizukirigoni.weebly.com/uploads/1/6/8/0/16808902/mmrigoni_one_parent_one_language.pdf, date of access: 14.02.2022) in a case study of a child raised bilingually by German-speaking mother and French-speaking father. OPOL puts great focus on providing children with casual conversations with parents using different languages with each parent. Ronjat argued that this method was an effective one as it provided input in two separate languages without much interference between them (Ibidem).

Dopke (1998) stated that there are three primary benefits for implementing the OPOL method. To start with, it provides a wide range of interaction in both languages. Hence, a child experiences the most varied linguistic features and lexical structures. Secondly, the input is adjusted to child's current level (using both simple to complex structures) and lets a child develop their language skills step by step. Lastly, OPOL enables parents to track and detect the level of proficiency in both majority and minority language by observing such things as supplementing words from one language to another (Ibidem). A major downside of OPOL approach, as stated by Dopke (1992), concerns unbalanced language exposure, the lack of consistency in implementing OPOL or lack of parent-child interaction. In her qualitative research investigating six German-English families living in Australia Dopke found out that even when parents were consistent in providing sufficient input in German their child did not acquire the ability to respond in a minority language. It was because parents did not insist on children to use German in responses. Another factor which may have contributed to the failure of OPOL is that within this approach, parent-child interaction focused more on controlling rather than on conversation with the child.

Dopke's (1992) findings were confirmed by Takeuchi (2006) who studied cases of children raised bilingually in Australia. With the aim to maintain Japanese language, mothers implemented OPOL method and insisted on their children to respond in a minority language. That which influenced a child's level of actively used Japanese (Ibidem).

4.3. Minority language at home (MLAH)

Minority language at home (MLAH) means that both parents speak to their child in one language that is different from the language used in an environment outside home, e.g., kindergarten, school and other public areas. This approach was described by Francois Grosjean (2009) who stated that MLAH gives clear advantage in the amount of minority language's input comparing to OPOL method, as each language can be prescribed to different place and contexts. In addition, it may be less confusing for a child because one language is spoken at home and the other outside (https://www.francoisgrosjean.ch/for_parents_en.html, date of access: 15.02.2022).

Even though this method may provide more input in the minority language, still there might be some challenges connected with it. If a child knows only a minority language from infancy, they may have problems in understanding peers when they go to school. To avoid this situation, it is advised to expose a child to a contact with their peer groups before they reach the school age (https://bilingualkidspot.com/2017/01/04/minority-language-home-method-mlah-bilingual-kids, date of access: 14.02.2022).

4.4. Time and place (T&P)

Time and place method (T&P) is a method based on the assumption that time devoted to a specific language as well as location where it is spoken are well designed. The method is about choosing when and where to speak to a child in either minority or majority language, e.g., one language may be implemented in the morning and another in the evening, one during the weekdays and the other during weekend. Some families decide to switch between languages on a daily or weekly basis (https://www.puravidamoms.com/time-and-place-bilingualism-method/#what-is-time-and-place-bilingualism, date of access: 15.03.2022). In terms of *place* a parent can decide to speak one language when they are alone and another when with friends or family. This approach enables non-fluent parents, i.e., parents whose foreign language is not at the proficiency or advanced level, to introduce L2 to their children without speaking a minority language all the time, as well as start to use second language later than from infancy (https://bilingualkidspot.com/2017/08/21/time-and-place-language-strategy-raising-bilingual-kids/, date of access: 14.02.2022).

5. Issues in Intentional Bilingualism

There is a range of issues in intentional bilingual upbringing that need to be addressed. Bilingual children display a measure of code-mixing, their linguistic achievements in dominant language tend to be lower in comparison to monolingual peers, and there is an impact in cognitive and social dimension.

5.1. Code-mixing

The debate on whether benefits outweigh drawbacks of intentional bilingualism has been going on for some time already, and is still up-to-date. In the past, it was noted that bilingual children mix elements from acquired languages and, hence, there were claims to abandon the idea of early bilingualism until children go past that stage when they are unable to differentiate between their two languages (https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-child-language/article/abs/language-differentiation-in-early-bilingual-development/6A3ADCA6AC5F3C3DED3AD8A7F2379E57, date of access: 15.02.2022). It often occurs when a bilingual or multilingual speaker does not know the target vocabulary or structure and supplements them with those from the other language. This regularly takes place in a bilingual child's production and that is why, in the past, the stage of code-mixing was perceived as evidence against early bilingualism. For example, Volterra and Taeschner (1978) believed that second language acquisition at early childhood will cause these two language systems to overlap, resulting in one language system consisting of elements of both languages (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/ PMC 5021218/, date of access: 15.03.2022). However, this early inability to distinguish between languages, which is caused by initial reliance on phonetics and phonotactics, seems to disappear by the age of 5, by which age children are able to discriminate between native or non-native languages (Serratrice, 2013). What is more, Lew-Williams, one of researchers studying language processing in bilinguals concluded that the ability to see differences between languages can be observed before the second year of life: "By 20 months, bilingual babies already know something about the differences between words in their two languages" (https://www.princeton.edu/news/2017/08/07/bilingual-babies-listen-languages-and-dont-get-confused, date of access: 16.02.2022). In order to investigate children's controlling language, researchers showed sets of familiar objects on photographs to a group of 24 French-English bilinguals and a control group of 24 adults. Participants heard commands either in one or mixed language: "Look! Find the dog" or "Look! Find the *chien*" (*chien* means *dog* in French). Then researchers measured how long infants and adults looked at particular photos after having heard a sentence. They also measured pupil dilation, as it shows how brain is working to assess cognitive effort. The results showed, that both adults' and children's pupils dilated when they heard the language change. The pupils' dilation, however, did not take place when the change was made from non-dominant to dominant language (Ibidem). This suggests that the ability to discriminate between languages starts begins in infancy. The code-mixing counterargument was then refuted as an unnecessary worry and, nowadays, is not perceived as a drawback but as a natural stage in multilingual development (Ibidem).

5.2. Speech disorders

It has been observed that speech sound development in bilinguals is slower than in monolinguals. Dodd, So and Wei (1996) in their study of 16 Cantonese-English speaking children found out, that bilinguals' skills were not as advanced as their monolingual peers. Despite that fact, their abilities were still within normal limits which means that bilingualism did not cause speech sound disorders (Goldstein, Gildersleeve-Neumann, 2015). The initial struggle or colloquial "lagging behind" of multilingual children was sometimes the reason for evaluating migrant children as less intelligent than their monolingual peers.

5.3. Socio-cognitive development

Socio-cognitive development of multilingual children is connected with how the knowledge of two languages affects the processing of words and thoughts. Studies show that bilingual children are more sensitive when they cannot understand people speaking to them in a foreign language. According to Goetz (2003), they are better at understanding that others may have false beliefs i.e., they seem to comprehend other perspectives earlier than their monolingual peers thanks to knowing more than one word naming a particular concept (https://www.child-encyclopedia.com/second-language/according-experts/second-languagebilingualism-early-age-emphasis-its-impact-early, date of access: 16.02.2022).

Ben-Zeev (1997) stated that advanced socio-cognitive development may be because bilinguals have to control linguistic interference in order to produce utterance in one of them or because bilingualism makes them pay constant attention to the context and ambiguity of sentences. Hence, it is easier for them to communicate effectively (Ibidem).

5.4. Social dimension

Bilingualism is thought to affect society in a positive way. It improves tolerance, empathy and widens individual perspectives. Intentional bilingualism is a compelling field to study, also (and perhaps primarily) in reference to my native – Polish context.

According to Peal and Lambert (1962) "experience with two language systems seems to have left him [or her] with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, a more diversified set of mental abilities" (Peal, Lambert, 1962; https://www.cambridge.org/elt/blog/2021/04/01/society-needs-bilingual-speakers/, date of access: 16.02.2022). More than 50 years after Peal and Lambert (1962) made that claim, Athanasopoulos (2015) suggested that bilingualism is important in framing perception, i.e. the fact that a person has access to a different perspective on the world: "By having another language, you have an alternative vision of the world. You can listen to music from only one speaker, or you can listen in stereo... It's the same with language." This stands for bilinguals' ability to experience much more because language is not any boundary for them (Ibidem). In a study by Athanasopoulos it was shown that two language systems enable people to perceive things differently because another language gives them an additional point of view. The participants in the study were shown videos with people performing actions like walking, running, or driving. They had to decide which video was showing action with a particular purpose (for example whether they just went down the road or towards a car or entrance to a building). 40% of Germans matched ambiguous scenes with purpose-oriented actions, which suggested that German-speaking people tended to focus on results rather than on actions. Bilinguals, however, switched their point of view according to the language they were actually using to think. Thus, 15 German-English bilinguals were as focused on goals as German monolinguals whereas those who were tested in the United Kingdom focused on the action per se (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273286375_Two_Languages_Two_Minds, date of access: 15.03.2022).

Last but not least, it should be emphasised that bilingualism affects not only an individual, but also the whole society. Languages enable people to communicate and influence the way they perceive the world.

6. Intentional Bilingualism in the Polish context

6.1. Study description

In order to investigate Intentional Bilingualism (IB) in the Polish context, an online, anonymous questionnaire was designed and carried out. It addressed such issues as strategies used by Polish bilingual families, problems and challenges faced while implementing Intentional Bilingualism and, in the final evaluation, there were questions about observations and general view on it. Hence, this chapter presents the issue of Intentional Bilingualism in the Polish context.

6.2. Participants

50 Polish parents, 98% of whom were women, who were implementing IB at home, took part in the study. 98% of participants declared to have 1-3 children and one parent had 4 of them. 80% of the respondents had children aged 0-7 and 20% had children above 8 years old. 100% participants declared that they spoke English with their children. 84% of them declared to speak English at the advanced level and 16% at the intermediate level. 30% of the respondents also knew other foreign languages, such as German (20%), Spanish (16%), French (10%), Italian (16%), Russian (2%), Slovakian (6%), Chinese (2%), Esperanto (2%), Hebrew (2%), Swedish (2%), Portuguese and Bulgarian (2%).

The majority of the respondents learnt foreign languages in the course of formal education: 38% of the respondents had studied foreign languages or taken language courses. 32% of the participants knew the foreign language as a result of residence abroad and 26% of them had learnt languages by self-study. The remaining 28% claimed to have lived or worked abroad.

6.3. Study results

The participants declared to communicate with their children in the following foreign languages: English (96%), German (6%), Spanish (2%), French (4%), Russian (2%), Hebrew (2%), Swedish (2%), Portuguese (2%). Parents claimed to have introduced communication in English as a foreign language either "from birth" with or when a child went to a nursery, i.e. around the first year of life. Only three of them claimed to have started later when children were aged 2, 4 and 6 respectively. This shows parental awareness of the crucial time for acquisition falling on the first years of life.

36% of respondents still continued bilingual communication at the time of the survey, 44% of the respondents claimed to regularly communicate in two languages and 16% did it rarely. None of the respondents wished to stop implementing Intentional Bilingualism.

The respondents described their children's levels of FL proficiency as beginner (20%), intermediate (14%), advanced (18%) and proficient (22%).

6.3.1. Reasons for implementing Intentional Bilingualism

The reasons why respondents decided to use foreign language at home was that they wanted their children to acquire more than one language without the effort of formal school education. The participants considered bilingualism as an advantage because of the fact that knowledge of more than one language is a fundamental skill in today's world in education, business and travelling. There were also parents who put emphasis on the accent acquisition. 12% of them, due to living or having family abroad, claimed that they wanted to pass the culture of foreign country with the second language. Table 1 below presents some of the answers explaining reasons for choosing Intentional Bilingualism.

Table 1
Reasons for choosing Intentional Bilingualism

Ease of language acquisition	*From my observations, boys do not really want to learn different subjects at school, I decided that at least English will be easier for them, and then I will not be annoyed. Moreover, motherhood is more interesting because it is my additional goal and I have to learn all the time vocabulary such as construction site, activities on the playground and the whole "children's vocabulary" is an additional attraction for me.*
A second language used in family	*I grew up in Canada, so English and French are used every day. Swedish because my father is Swedish and we prefer to speak Swedish together in the family.*
Travelling	*I really like the English language and thanks to it I have been able to travel the world and work abroad without any problems. I would like my child to have it just as easy or even easier when it comes to the language.*

Source: own study.

6.3.2 Strategies

Among the most popular strategies by means of which Intentional Bilingualism can be implemented are One Parent One Language, Minority Language at Home and Time and Place Method. The results of the study showed that One Parent One Language and Time and Place methods were the most popular methods among their bilingual families.

The **One Parent One Language Method** (OPOL), was always applied by 20% of the respondents, frequently used by 30% of the respondents and another 30% used it casually. The remaining 20% used it sporadically or never.

Minority Language at Home (MLAH) was never used by 36% of the interviewees, 20% declared to use it rarely, 22% sometimes, 16% usually and only 6% always followed this method.

Time and Place method (T&P) was never applied by 24% of respondents, it was rarely used by 14% of them and casually used by 42%, whereas for 12% of the respondents it was the method that was always applied.

6.3.3. Issues in Intentional Bilingualism

The potential problems that Intentional Bilingualism is said to contribute to are stuttering, code-mixing, language confusion and speech delay. The results of the survey showed that all of those problems were reported by the participants to varying degrees. Around 10% of the interviewees claimed to notice in their children's communication, difficulties in differentiating between languages and 12% claimed to experience some speech delays. Mixing languages was observed by 72% of the respondents, while one language preference was experienced by 48% of them.

The respondents did not perceive mixing languages or preference for a particular language as a reason for concern, but rather as an inherent part of bilingual upbringing. They reported that children's tendency to use mixed utterances was seen as a natural stage of bilingual growth in which children supplied words that were available to them at a given time (in one language or another). For example, one child was observed to have a preference for a German 'good night' phrase 'Gute Nacht' over Polish 'dobranoc'. About 10% of the respondents reported instances of communicating exclusively in English with Polish monolingual grandparents.

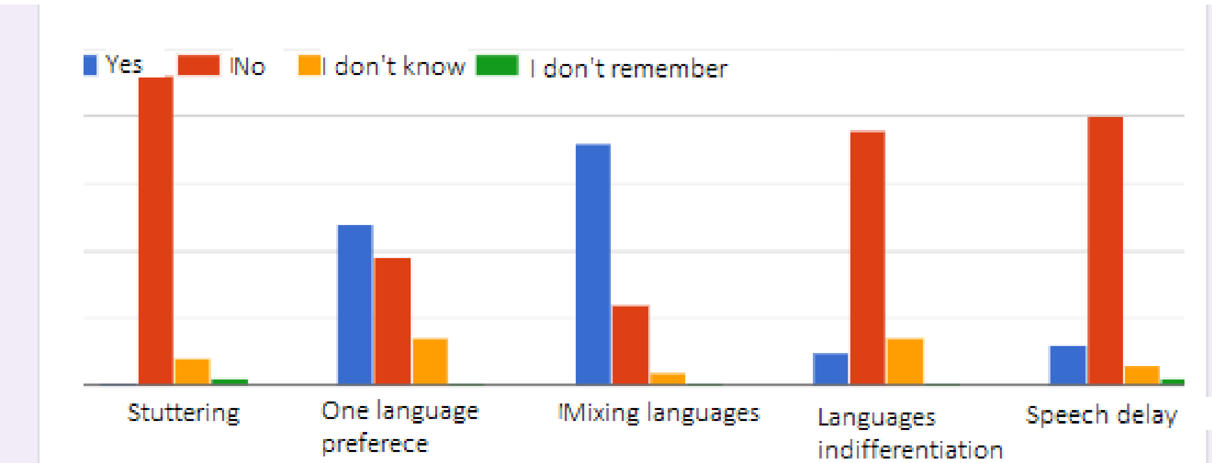

Figure 1. Problems induced by Intentional Bilingualism.
Source: own study.

4% of the respondents reported to have increased the amount of second language's input, which resulted in greater balance between languages. One respondent mentioned that their 7-year-old son did not mix languages at all, while for their 3-year-old sibling it was an issue. That observation corresponds with the finding that initial inability to differentiate between languages is overcome after around the age of 5.

In terms of language preferences, 70% of the respondents claimed not to have observed any major reluctance towards speaking a foreign language by their children and nearly 90% reported not to have observed any resentment to communicating in their native Polish language. This suggests that early Intentional Bilingualism is accepted as a natural state of matters by the majority of children. The instances of children's lack of willingness to communicate in apparently concerned situations in which English as a non-dominant language required much greater interpreting effort on the part of the children: children were reported to stop speaking it and did not want to read books or watch cartoons in a foreign language. One girl was reported to speak English as a foreign language only in situations in which she felt confident and knew that she would be understood.

6.3.4 Interlingual influence

It came as a surprise that 58% of participants claimed that they had not noticed any influence of foreign language on native language competence. That result stands in opposition to the majority of claims reporting code-switching. However, it may suggest a degree of tolerance on the part of parents towards their children's biligual development.

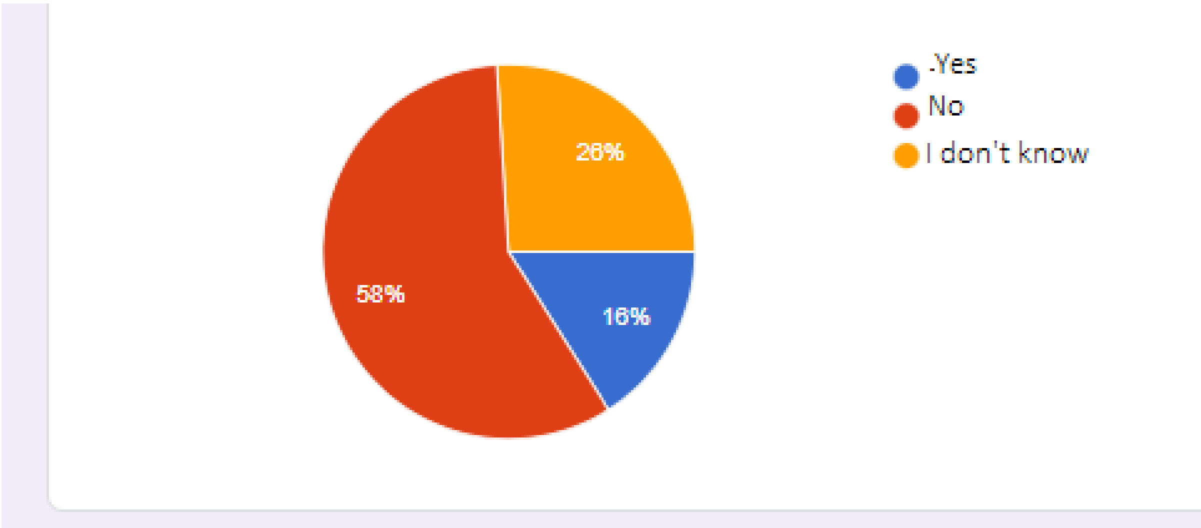

Figure 2. Influence of foreign language on native language's competences.
Source: own study.

Parents who reported interlingual influence mentioned that their children possessed a narrower range of L1 vocabulary comparing to their monolingual peers although generally, they seemed to have had a wider total range of L1 and FL vocabulary and showed easiness in learning new words. There was one entry mentioning calques from foreign to native language.

As for the observation of the influence of native tongue on the foreign language, the majority of 70.8% claimed not to have noticed any influence, 14.6% of participants claimed to have made such an observation and 14.6% could not recall any particular instances (Figure 3).

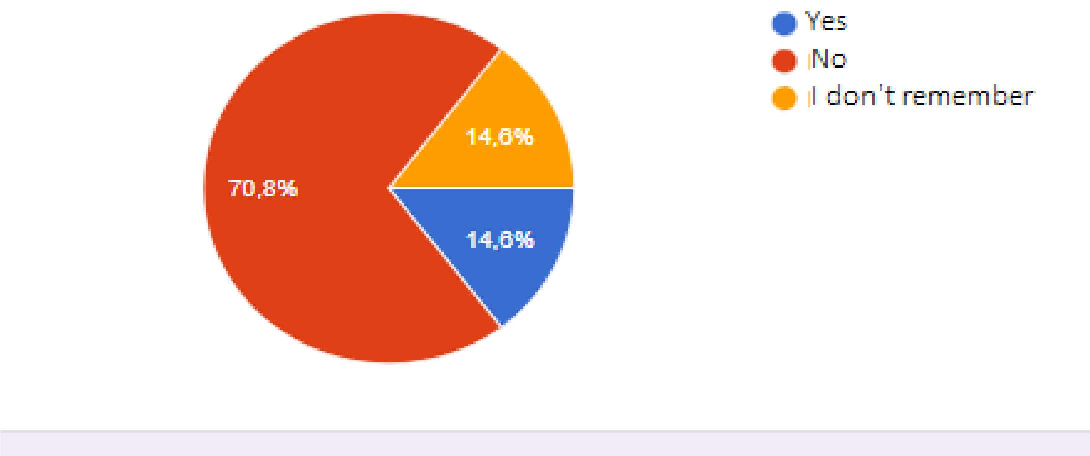

Figure 3. Influence of native language on foreign language competence.
Source: own study.

One of the participants claimed that their children avoided using foreign language among Polish-speaking groups of people. One of the respondents mentioned that it was easier for their child to remember words which were similar in both languages, e.g., English *banana* and Polish *banan*.

6.3.5 Impact of bilingualism on education

As for the impact of intentional bilingualism on education, Figure 4 shows that 34% of respondents noticed a positive impact, 44% expressed some hesitation, 18% did not see any influence and 4% claimed to have seen both positive and negative influence. The positive outcomes included faster and easier learning, as well as superior attention skills and memory.

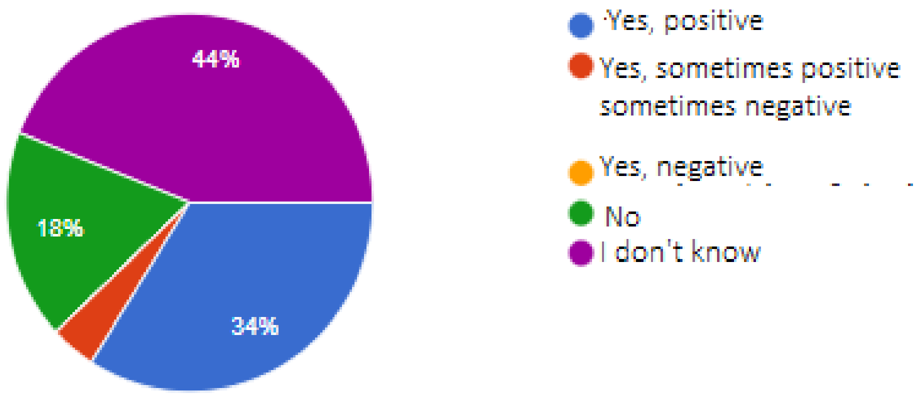

Figure 4. Impact of bilingualism on education.
Source: own study.

6.3.6 Communication with Polish-speaking family and peers

64% respondents claimed that they had not noticed any influence of bilingualism on communication with family. 34% claimed that they had experienced some impact on communication with family and the remaining 2% was uncertain. Those 34% of the participants who observed impact of IB on communication, pointed out problems in communication with grandparents who did not understand the foreign language, for example, children were reported to answer in the foreign language for questions in Polish. On the other hand, there were also cases in which grandparents started to learn simple phrases in their grandchildren's foreign language to better communicate with them.

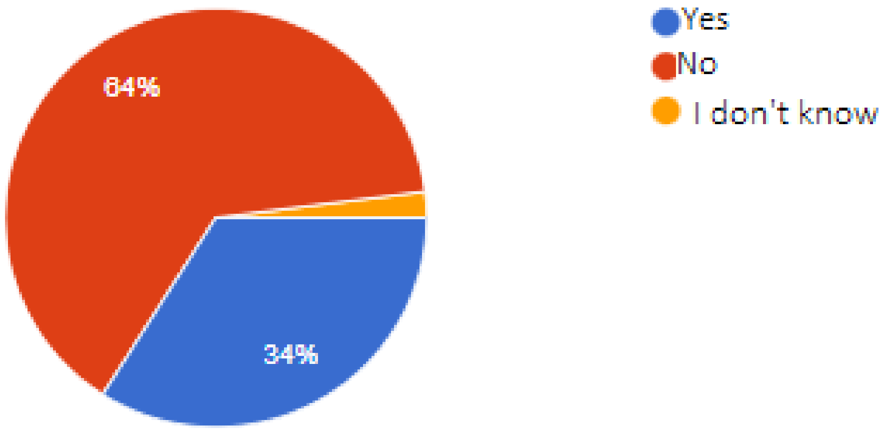

Figure 5. Influence of bilingualism on communication with family.
Source: own study.

Regarding communication with peers, 83,3% of the respondents did not experience any influence on communication with Polish native speakers and 14,6% noticed impact of bilingualism on communication with Polish friends. The remaining 2,1% was indecisive.

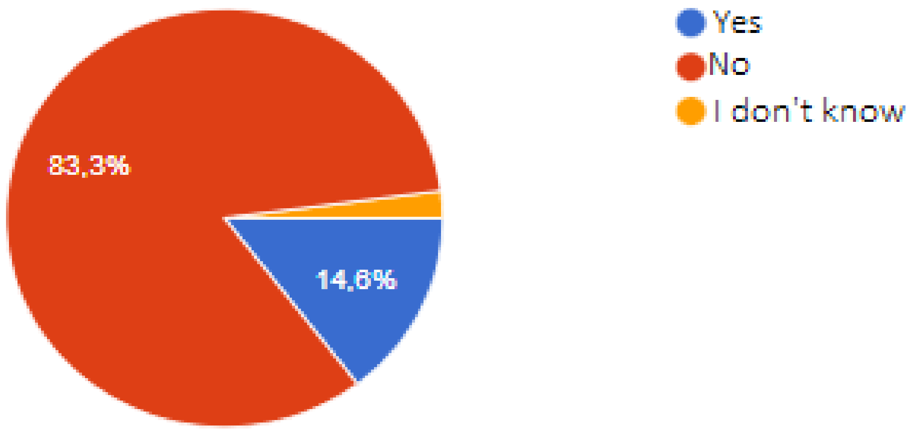

Figure 6. Influence of bilingualism on communication with peers.
Source: own study.

According to the respondents, children had a tendency to feel ashamed of speaking an additional language at the beginning of school. Some believed that bilingualism was the reason why children failed to have friends in kindergarten. Other comments suggested that even if a child used a foreign language while being on the playground with other Polish speaking children, they ignored their English and it was not an obstacle for them.

3.3.7 Reactions towards intentional bilingualism

As for reactions by external observers, 30% of the respondents experienced neutral attitudes, 40% met with rather positive reactions and another 30% – only the positive ones.

One of the respondents added that those who showed more distanced reactions were concerned about possible future problems with communication in school or expressed the belief that in Poland they should use the Polish language only. Thus, one parent, who wanted to avoid negative attitude of strangers towards their children's bilingualism, decided to use foreign language only at home.

3.3.8 Challenges connected with Intentional Bilingualism

Nearly 90% of participants showed that the greatest concerns were connected with parents' lack of confidence and consistency. The majority of respondents claimed that apart from providing sufficient amount of input in the foreign language, their knowledge of vocabulary was sometimes a problem. It turned out that even a degree in an English faculty was insufficient for catering for all the communicative needs with their children: about 20% of the respondents did not know how to play with children because they did not know adequate foreign language phrases.

What is more, one parent was concerned about passing wrong accent or not being fluent enough to provide sufficient amount of vocabulary for children. Communication in the foreign language was also a problem in stressful and emotional situations. Children's increasing needs to discover the world around them were also challenging, e.g., some parents reported insufficient vocabulary, e.g. for *fotosynteza (photosynthesis)* in English or for explaining how machines work.

Parents exhibited some concerns about the lack of additional school activities or lessons in English as a foreign language and they were concerned whether they, as the only users of IB, could maintain adequate input for further foreign language development.

Lastly, speech therapists often claimed that bilingualism may harm or delay speech development and many voices criticised the idea of IB. Polish monolingual schools may also be a problem for bilingual families as bilingual children may feel different and forced to use one particular language.

6.3.9 Parents' observations

Parents were also asked to describe any funny moments and observations they had made regarding Intentional Bilingualism. A common feature of all answers was code-mixing. Children not only used two languages in one sentence in order to supply words they did not remember, but also mixed some structures, such as adding '-s' inflection to make Polish words plural or '-ing' inflection to Polish verbs in order to describe what were they doing.

One parent observed that children at the age of 3 were able not only to understand, but also to create jokes and laugh at them. Table 2 contains some examples of utterances created by bilingual children, which show switching between Polish and English language.

Table 2
Bilingual children's utterances

Examples of bilingual children's utterances
Mamusiu, tam jest heghegog (Mommy, there is a hedgehog)
Zadzwoń do Danki (Call Danka) [a mother said to daddy] *Donkey robi iaaa'* (Donkey goes hee-haw) [a child's answer]
Kroing (cutting) [a combination of the Polish word *kroić* with English 'ing' inflection]
Stepowałem [from English word *to step,* a child created a new Polish word for *wejść w coś/ step into*]
Jeden *miś,* ale dwa *misies* [creating Polish plurals by adding English 's' inflection]
A child's joke based on pronunciation: *batman – buttman – bedman – badman*

Source: own study.

Another interesting observation that parents made was that children tended to correct either parents' or teachers' mistakes. For example, during a family play, a child's dad said "a table" and the child corrected him that he should have used "the table" explaining why "the" was more appropriate. What is more, one child refused to talk to their English teacher claiming that the teacher did not speak English well enough. Children were reported to translate their mother's utterances for father and father's utterances for mother as if they did not understand each other, all that despite the fact that earlier children had heard their parents speaking to each other in both languages. One respondent stated that Polish educational system does not fulfil children's needs when it comes to language learning and if it was possible, they would discharge children from English lessons at school.

6.3.10. Parents' perspective on Intentional Bilingualism

The respondents were asked to rate on a scale the extent to which they felt it was worth implementing Intentional Bilingualism. 90% of the respondents felt obliged to implement Intentional Bilingualism to enable their children to acquire a foreign language because of children's brain capacity.

Parents consistently claimed that Intentional Bilingualism saved children's time in the future because they already knew a foreign language which is taught at school. It gave them a wider range of possibilities in the future in terms of education, work or getting to know different cultures. Parents wanted their children to have superior creativity and enhanced problem-solving skills. Only two answers revealed concerns regarding whether someone who does not feel fluent in foreign languages should implement Intentional Bilingualism due to the fact that they may not be able to provide enough input for language acquisition. Other doubts concerned refraining from implementing Intentional Bilingualism until a child started to speak their mother tongue.

Conclusions

As a relatively new phenomenon in Poland, Intentional Bilingualism may cause some controversies. Parents may have concerns whether their knowledge of the foreign language they want to introduce as a second language is enough. They may also hesitate and struggle speaking a foreign language, especially when they are among other people outside home.

Intentional Bilingualism carries many advantages, ranging from the ability to communicate in foreign contexts, knowing an additional language system itself to enhanced cognitive skills and metalinguistic awareness. However, parents may also feel overwhelmed and concerned about their children's mother tongue, particularly when being discouraged or criticised by others.

In my study on Intentional Bilingualism in the Polish context it turned out that Intentional Bilingualism is becoming an increasingly popular phenomenon in Poland and that parents do see its relevance and positive impact on children's future and skills. The respondents' answers confirmed that Intentional Bilingualism had impact on various areas of children's development, such as creativity and problem solving. Final evaluation revealed that none of the participants regretted their choice to have implemented Intentional Bilingualism. What is more, the majority of them claimed that it was a good decision to raise children bilingually and that they would still continue their journey through it.

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TRANSLATION OF MUSIC THEORY TERMS FROM LATVIAN INTO ENGLISH IN SOLFEGGIO TEACHING MATERIALS FOR PRIMARY MUSIC SCHOOLS

Abstract

Just as words and concepts are not always directly transferable from one language to another, music theory terms do not always have exact equivalents in the target language, which is necessary for quality communication. This can be explained by a number of challenges – the lack of specialized dictionaries and comprehensive glossaries, the insufficient number of qualified translators and the lack of academic research in the field. Music theory is based on terms acquired in the first years of music education, therefore this paper analyses solfeggio teaching materials for primary schools, identifying problematic instances, extracting terms and offering possible solutions, thus contributing to the quality of future translations related to music theory and raising this issue at national level, which is particularly important as Latvia has gained its global recognition in the field of music education.

Key words: music theory, music terminology, solfeggio, translation, term extraction.

Anotācija

Tāpat kā vārdi un jēdzieni ne vienmēr ir tieši pārceļami no vienas valodas citā, arī mūzikas teorijas terminiem ne vienmēr atrodami precīzi ekvivalenti mērķvalodā, kas nepieciešami, lai nodrošinātu kvalitatīvu komunikāciju. Tam par iemeslu ir vairāki izaicinājumi – specializētu vārdnīcu un visaptverošu glosāriju trūkums, nepietiekams skaits kvalificētu tulkotāju un akadēmisku pētījumu trūkums šajā jomā. Mūzikas valodas pamatā ir termini, kas apgūstami pirmajos mūzikas mācības gados, tādēļ šajā darbā analizēti solfedžo mācību materiāli sākumskolai, identificējot problemātiskos gadījumus, ekscerpējot terminus un piedāvājot iespējamos risinājumus un tādējādi sniedzot ieguldījumu turpmāko ar mūzikas teoriju saistīto tulkojumu kvalitātē un aktualizējot šo jautājumu valsts līmenī, kas ir īpaši nozīmīgi, jo mūzikas izglītības jomā Latvija ir ieguvusi plašu atpazīstamību pasaulē.

Atslēgas vārdi: mūzikas teorija, mūzikas terminoloģija, solfedžo, tulkošana, terminu ieguve.

Introduction

Music theory terminology is complex and abundant both in Latvian and English; however, due to significant differences of the music theory systems in both countries, we often face a lack of equivalents. Since Latvia is globally recognized for its high-level achievements in the field of music education, there is an increasing need for translation of teaching materials from Latvian into English. However, there are several challenges – lack of specialized dictionaries or comprehensive glossaries, insufficient number of qualified LSP translators, and absence of academic studies in the field of music theory translation. Therefore, based on solfeggio teaching materials for primary music schools

– a textbook, a workbook, a music-book and online videos “RADOT mūziku” by Sintija Kārkliņa (author) and Elīna Selga (co-author and editor), the **aim** of this paper is to identify and analyze problematic terms in the field of music theory for primary music schools and offer possible LV-EN equivalents, thus supporting the work of translators and interpreters and improving the overall quality of translations.

The **objectives** of the paper are defined as follows:

1. To study music theory materials for primary music schools
2. To extract and analyze music theory terms that lack equivalents or are problematic.
3. To discuss and interpret the differences within the systems of music theory.

Two types of **methods** have been used:

I Data collection methods – identification and excerption of terms from music theory materials for primary schools.

II Data processing methods – descriptive and contrastive analyses.

The need for qualitative terminology is characteristic to all specializations. Also, Eugene Wüster, the forefather of Terminology noticed that terminology was the essential tool in improving communication (Kingscott, 1998).

1. National context: music terminology in Latvia

Lynne Bowker describes terminology as the discipline concerned with the collection, processing, description, and presentation of terms, which are lexical items belonging to a specialized subject field (Kockaert, Steurs, 2015).

However, Jūlija Jonāne is convinced that language is a living, ever-changing organism, in which foreign words are rapidly entering and the number of archaisms is growing as a result of globalization. Thus, the aspect of the term in musicology has always been and will continue to be topical (Jonāne, 2013).

As regards music terminology, music terms are available in general bilingual dictionaries and online sources, for example, letonika.lv; however, significant monolingual resources are also “Mūzikas leksikons” by Ludvigs Kārkliņš (2006) and a more recent dictionary “Mūzikas terminu vārdenīte” by Jānis Torgāns (2010). Torgāns is an Editorial Board member and consultant of Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music (JVLAM), and he has made a substantial contribution to music terminology. Not only has he dedicated several of his publications to the field of study, such as “Valodas lietojuma stāvoklis un problēmas mūzikas apritē mūsdienās” (The condition and problems of language use in music today), included in the sixth issue of the Collection of Articles by JVLAM (Mūzikas akadēmijas raksti, 2009), but also, he has been elaborating work on rendering personal names of significant musical personalities. The data base is publicly available on the website of music magazine “Mūzikas Saule”, under the section “Pareizrakstība”. Torgāns believes that general laws and norms of language apply in the field of music. However, music terminology is one of a few specific issues that neither philologists nor musicologists have tackled so far in Latvia, and it has largely remained in the background (Torgāns, 2009).

Among other musicologists interested in music terminology, one should also mention Dr. art. Zane Prēdele, theatre scholar, music and theatre critic and journalist Dr. art. Lauma Mellēna-Bartkeviča, and music historian, professor at JVLAM, musicologist Dr. art. Lolita Fūrmane; however, terminology is not their main academic focus.

Fūrmane teaches music terminology to the students of Historical Musicology. Moreover, in the new Master's program, it is planned to focus more on this area. Ilze Cepurniece, the Head of the Department of Musicology and Head of the Historical Musicology Class, holds a view that terminology is not seen in black and white (right/wrong) nowadays. She stresses that the meanings of terms and approaches to their interpretation are changing all the time; each term is derived from its context and from the paradigm course taken. It is clear that the work on music terminology in Latvian will not be the academic focus of musicologists in the near future.

Despite the above activities in the field of music terminology, there is an insufficient number of publications and specialized literature, which is a serious challenge for musicologists. This view is also shared by the producer and program manager of Latvian Radio 3 *Klasika* Ilze Medne, who faces the musical terminology challenges in her daily work.

2. International context: notation around the world

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote, "Music is the universal language of mankind". In most ways, it truly is, but from the language aspect, music does not always begin with Do-Re-Mi as Maria from "The Sound of Music" taught us.

According to Juris Baldunčiks (2020), terms are coined in the process of communication between professionals, in the broader sense of the word, in languages of special use to enable communication between the actors involved (scientists, professionals, experts), by assigning specific designations to all things and phenomena that come up. Historically, languages of special use began to emerge with the development of the division of labor. It is also true with music-related terminology.

Music-related terminology is based on notation, whereas modern Western musical notation is built on principles developed by a Benedictine monk and Italian music theorist and pedagogue Guido D'Arezzo around 1000 AD. His innovation was later developed adding time signatures, note durations, bars etc. However, this classification (using syllables to denote musical tones in a scale) is used in Arabic, Bulgarian, Flemish, French, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Mongolian, Persian, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Baltic (also Latvian) notation (Grier, 2021, Liebestod, 2018; Floros, 2021).

Letter notation used in the US and the UK is based on the ideas of Boethius, a Roman senator, consul, *magister officiorum*, and philosopher of the early 6th century. Letter notation is also used in Germany, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia or Sweden; however, the note B (or Ti) is called H, while B flat is called B. Moreover, in Portugal the note B can also be called Si, which can be confused with the note C (Ibidem).

If the focus is shifted outside Europe and Americas, a whole new musical universe unfolds:

- Sanskrit names (Indian music) Sa–Re–Ga–Ma–Pa–Dha–Ni
- Japanese: イ (i) ロ (ro) ハ (ha) ニ (ni) ホ (ho) ヘ (he) ト (to)
- Korean: Ga, Na, Da, Ra, Ma, Ba, Sa
- Arabic: dāl, rā', mīm, fā', ṣād, lām, tā'
- Chinese: 上 (siong or shang4), 尺 (cei or chi3), 工 (gong), 凡 (huan or fan2), 六 (liuo or liu4), 五 (ngou or wu3), 乙 (yik or yi3)

- Byzantine: ni (eta), pa (alpha), vu' (beta), ga (gamma), di (delta), ke (epsilon), zo (zeta)
- Latin system: tonic (do), supertonic (re), median (mi), subdominant (fa), dominant (so), submediant (la), and leading tone (ti) (Beast, 2018).

Moreover, relative solmization (movable do) is also applied in several countries (especially in Hungary and Spain, Italy, the USA, Canada, and Japan). It is a system which uses syllables to denote function, rather than pitch, and hand signs. Although the ideas that served as a basis for relative solmization were developed already in the 19th century, it was only in the mid-20th century when Zoltán Kodály (Hungary) and his disciples developed these ideas into a system and called it the Kodály Concept (Westley, 2010).

It becomes clear that translations must be precisely targeted towards a specific market and/or users, and that music is not a universal language at all when it comes to notation.

3. Terminological differences within the systems of music theory in Latvia and the USA

This part will outline the historical background of the different musical systems from a perspective of notation and discuss instances of terminological differences within the systems of music theory in Latvia and the USA, analyzing the terms extracted from a textbook, a workbook, and a music-book “RADOT mūziku” written by Sintija Kārkliņa and Elīna Selga (co-author and/or editor) for primary music school (grades 1-3) (Kārkliņa, 2020).

To understand the nuances of terminology better, it is important to determine the type of equivalence. There are some source language units that have permanent equivalents in target language (in other words, one-to-one (1:1) correspondence between such units and their equivalents). This type of correspondence is mostly found with words of specific character, whose meaning is independent of the contextual situation (Roseni, 2014). It is quite widespread within the material analyzed for the purpose of this study and does not present almost any challenge to an experienced translator. Therefore, the focus is on the source language units with several equivalents each. It is defined as one-to-many (1:n) correspondence between source and target language units, which is characteristic to most regular equivalents. The existence of several non-permanent (or variable) equivalents to a source language unit implies the necessity of selecting one of them in each case, considering how the unit is used in source text, and the points of difference between the semantics of its equivalents in target language (Ibidem).

Translators should find a terminological correspondence and avoid false equivalents. This is also true in the case of music terminology.

In Latvia, **uppercase letters** (C, D, E, F, G, A, B/H) in letter notation refer to major keys, and consequently **lowercase letters** (c, d, e, f, g, a, b/h) are used for minor keys (see Table 1). This is not a common approach in the USA, since only uppercase letters are used. It could be also due to a possible confusion of an indefinite article with the note A (la), thus making it difficult to include the term in a sentence. Therefore, when translating keys from Latvian into English, one should always bear in mind that letter notation is not case-sensitive and adjust translations accordingly. Thus the equivalence can be determined as 1:n.

Table 1
Uppercase and lowercase letters in letter notation

MAJOR		MINOR	
LV	EN	LV	EN
C	C	c	C
D	D	d	D
E	E	e	E
F	F	f	F
G	G	g	G
A	A	a	A
B/H	B	b/h	B

Source: own study.

Scale degrees (LV pakāpes) are the number values assigned to the steps of the musical scale. The concept itself matches both Latvian and English. However, scale degrees are represented with Roman numerals in Latvian – with both Roman and Arabic numerals in English depending on the function. According to the Roman Numeral Analysis in Music (2022), scale degrees (in Arabic numerals) refer to single notes, while Roman numerals refer to chords. Also, online discussions with American musicians and students of music proved this approach.

In Latvia, the approach differs significantly as abbreviations determining both the function of a chord and its inversion represent chords. Another aspect relates to uppercase and lowercase Roman numerals. In Latvian, Roman numerals are note case sensitive. In English, uppercase Roman numerals represent major chords, but lowercase Roman numerals represent minor chords (see Table 2). This can cause another misunderstanding in the case of scale degree 4, since iv in Latvian music theory is a stable abbreviation for *index verticalis* or vertical-shifting counterpoint.

Table 2
Scale degrees for pitches and harmonies

SCALE DEGREES FOR PITCHES		MAJOR SCALE DEGREES FOR HARMONIES	
LV	EN	LV	EN
I	1	I	I
II	2	II	ii
III	3	III	iii
IV	4	IV	IV
V	5	V	V
VI	6	VI	vi
VII	7	VII	vii

Source: own study.

The names of the **chords** as well as their abbreviations differ to a great extent – Americans use the abovementioned Roman numerals to indicate the scale degree of the chord, but Arabic numerals indicate the inversion (Roman Numeral Analysis in Music, 2022). At the same time, Latvians use abbreviation of the names for scale degrees, and the Arabic numeral indicates the inversion. Thus, the American system concentrates on scale degrees (I, IV, V), but the Latvian system – on the function of the scale degree (tonic (T), subdominant (S), dominant (D)).

Abbreviations of triad inversions in the Nashville Number System (used in the USA):

- First inversion – no Arabic numerals
- Second inversion – 6
- Third inversion – 6 4

Abbreviations of triad inversions used in Latvia:

- First inversion – 5
- Second inversion – 6 3
- Third inversion – 6 4

Thus, the equivalents for basic chord abbreviations in English are the following (see Table 3):

Table 3
Abbreviations of triad inversions in Latvian and English

LV	EN		LV	EN		LV	EN
T53	I		S53	IV		D53	V
T63	I6		S63	IV6		D63	V6
T64	I64		S64	IV64		D64	V64

Source: own study.

The above systems are mostly used for theoretical purposes, since jazz chord abbreviations are used both in the USA and Latvia, when it comes to practice and performance. However, as regards equivalence, it is definitely to be valued as 1:n, since the abbreviations of chords would require the same description of function for full equivalence.

The concepts of **stable tones** (LV noturīgās pakāpes) and **tendency tones** (LV nenoturīgās pakāpes) are basic terms in music theory; however, American pedagogy has a different approach.

Following an online questionnaire of American musicians and students on the usage of the terms *stable tone* and *tendency tone*, it was concluded that the notion itself has another meaning. Latvian music theory states that stable tones are scale degrees 1, 3, 5, but tendency tones are scale degrees 2, 4, 6, 7. American music theory recognizes stable tones (1, 3 and 5), but the concept of tendency tones is rarely used, and 90% of the respondents consider only scale degrees 4 and 7 as tendency tones (see Table 4).

Although the equivalence between the above terms may appear to be 1:1, it can be concluded that there are significant conceptual differences and that the equivalence is in fact 1:n. This is also an instance of false equivalence – without any prior knowledge in music theory and with differences between both systems it is almost impossible to find a suitable equivalent, and translator’s notes should offer a clarification. In this case, the author of the materials decided to use the terminology characteristic to the Latvian system in order to familiarize users with the theory used in Latvian and also with the advantages of the Latvian approach.

Table 4
Concept of tendency tones

LV	EN
II	-
IV	4
VI	-
VII	7

Source: own study.

There are also major terminological differences as regards terms related to musical form. According to music theory used in Latvia, a **motive** (LV – *motīvs*) is the smallest part of musical thought (e. g., 1 measure), a **phrase** (LV – *frāze*) is a small musical impulse (e. g., 2 measures), a **sentence** (LV – *teikums*) is understood as half of a musical thought (e. g., 4 measures), but a **period** (LV – *periods*) is defined as a complete musical thought (e. g., 8 measures).

However, in English-speaking countries, it is quite opposite. Although the definitions coincide for the terms *motive* and *phrase*, and motive remains the smallest part of musical thought, a phrase is defined as a small musical fragment, and a period is defined as a pair of two phrases, but a sentence – as a group of phrases (Szulc, 2020). Thus two terms (**period** and **sentence**) are understood in completely opposite ways (see Table 5). In other words, the term *sentence* in English represents the idea behind the term *periods* in Latvian.

This is also an instance of false equivalence, since without any knowledge in music theory and with differences between both systems, it is almost impossible to find a suitable equivalent for the two terms. In this case, the authors of "RADOT mūziku" decided to use the American system and localize the terms because conceptual differences that could influence the use of the materials or cause inconveniences to pedagogues using the material in their lessons were absent.

Table 5
Terms of musical form

LV	EN
Motīvs	Motive
Frāze	Phrase
Teikums	Period
Periods	Sentence

Source: own study.

According to Cambridge learner's dictionary (2009), a **choir** is defined as a group of people who sing together, whereas an **ensemble** is described as a group of people who perform music together. These definitions imply that a choir is made up of singers only, while an ensemble can include both singers and instrumentalists. So far, the interpretation of the concepts in both languages coincides. However, National Encyclopedia (Jaunslaviete, 2021) suggests that a choir is a group of singers in which each part of the voice is performed by at least three members. The minimum number of members in a choir is 12 singers (in a four-part choir). In terms of the number of singers, a choir is similar to a vocal ensemble, but with a relatively smaller number of singers (1-2 singers per voice part).

Regulations of various competitions and festivals in Latvia reveal that another factor distinguishes ensembles from choirs in Latvia – the absence of the conductor. Ensemble performance is not conducted in the classical sense of conducting. Documentation of events organized in the USA shows that there is no minimum number of singers and that even an ensemble of less than 12 singers can have a conductor (see table 6). Although the equivalence between the terms *choir* and *koris*, as well as *ensemble* and *ansamblis* may appear to be 1:1, it can be concluded that there are significant conceptual differences and the equivalence is 1:n.

Table 6
Differences between the concepts of choir and ensemble in Latvian

CHOIR	ENSEMBLE
> 12 singers Conductor	< 12 singers Noconductor

Source: own study.

Since the lack of precise equivalence is a common translation problem, the translator of "RADOT mūziku" faced the same challenge. For the purpose of the present study, two **music related verbs** with equivalence challenges were extracted – *muzicēt,* and *iestudēt*.

According to tezaurs.lv, "muzicēt" means to engage in music, play an instrument, sing, perform/play/sing a piece (nodarboties ar mūziku, spēlējot kādu instrumentu, dziedot; atskaņot skaņdarbu). As regards "iestudēt", it means to prepare, create a performance (sagatavot, izveidot (lugas, muzikāli dramatiska darba) izrādi, sagatavot, izveidot (daiļdarba, skaņdarba, dejas) priekšnesumu). Both verbs lack a precise translation in English (see Table 7); however, partial equivalence (1:n) can be achieved by using descriptive translation and creating quasi terminological inconsistency in the target text.

Table 7
Meaning of the verbs ***muzicēt*** *and* ***iestudēt***

LV	EN
Muzicēt	Perform (not always on stage) Play music (also sing) Sing (also play) Make music (presumption of creation)
Iestudēt	Practice (no element of production) Produce (no element of practicing)

Source: own study.

Conclusions

Following the analysis of solfeggio teaching materials for primary music schools (a textbook, a workbook, a music-book, and online videos by *RADOT mūziku*), problematic terms related to music theory were identified and discussed suggesting the best possible equivalent and identifying its type of equivalence.

It can be concluded that there are significant differences in the methodology of teaching music theory, and music theory terms vary across countries.

The equivalence for most of the music-related terms in the materials used for excerption could be determined as one-to-many (1:n); however, several instances of false equivalence were found, and they could result in faulty translations. Therefore, it is crucial for a translator to have enough information and knowledge about the variations of music methodologies when working on texts that include any (also basic) aspects of music theory.

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POLISH-TURKISH ENCOUNTERS: BREAKING STEREOTYPES

Abstract

The paper discusses the issues of stereotypical and prejudiced perceptions between distant cultures. The article investigates the mutual perceptions and attitudes between the Polish and Turkish students of the Institute of Foreign Languages at the State University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz[1].

Key words: culture clash, overcoming stereotypes, prejudice.

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest tematyce stereotypów i uprzedzeń, szczególnie jaskrawych w przypadku kultur skrajnie różnych. Artykuł stanowi dyskusję na temat polsko-tureckich kontaktów studenckich w kontekście studiów w Instytucie Języków Obcych Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej w Nowym Sączu. Przeprowadzone badania wskazują na szereg pozytywnych efektów będących wynikiem wspólnych, międzynarodowych spotkań i dyskusji oraz ich wpływu na zmianę własnego światopoglądu.

Słowa kluczowe: zderzenie kultur, przełamywanie stereotypów, uprzedzeń.

1. Prejudice

Prejudice is 'an unfair and unreasonable opinion or feeling, especially when formed without enough thought or knowledge' (*Cambridge Online Dictionary*). Attitudes to a particular social or cultural issue within the same group might be either positive or negative due to the fact that one's perspective on a given issue is subjective. Discriminating attitudes often stem from feeling in-group superiority rather than antipathy toward out-groups, and they help to keep the hierarchy in a society (Dovidio, Schellhaas, Pearson 2018). Fishbein, Mahwah (2002) claim that prejudice may be "rooted in the nature of primate and human subsistence groups" (https://journals.lww.com/jrnldbp/Fulltext/2004/08000/Peer_Prejudice_and_Discrimination__The_Origins_of.11.aspx, date of access: 16.06.2022) and it may be learnt as one of the cultural values in the process of maturation,

[1] From October 1, 2022, the State University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz is called the University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz, but due to the time of the authors' research, the name related to the State University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz will be retained in the text.

therefore ingroup culture is a significant factor in the development of prejudice. As Dovidio, Schellhaas, Pearson (2018) claim, the origins of prejudice comprise "individual differences in personality and ideological preferences, socialization experiences relating to exposure to different social norms, and the functional ways that groups relate to one another" (https://oxfordre.com/psychology/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.001.0001/acrefore-9780190236557-e-263?rskey =7CDUXe&result=64, date of access: 16.06.2022). Furthermore, social inclusion and exclusion in one's childhood and continued in adulthood are also considered to be the starting point of prejudice as well (Abrams, Killen, 2014).

According to Dovidio, Schellhaas, Pearson (2018), it is possible that prejudice is formed on the basis of one's beliefs (stereotypes), features of character and social interactions with various groups of people that may cause different responses. Hence, it may be claimed that "Prejudice is an attitude. Stereotype is a belief" (https://practicalpie.com/prejudice-vs-stereotype/, date of access: 16.06.2022). *Cambridge Online Dictionary* defines stereotype as "a set idea that people have about what someone or something is like especially an idea that is wrong". Berting and Villain-Gandossi (1995) divided stereotypes into two categories: stereotypes made by the nation about themselves (internal stereotypes) and those made by others (external stereotypes). Internal and external categories may be further divided into positive and negative. Beliefs without sufficient knowledge or experience may lead to a prejudiced attitude.

2. Stereotypes about Poles

2.1. The Lazy

Reiman (1995) highlighted *laziness* as a leading stereotypical Polish feature. According to Reiman, a variety of jokes used that trait as the main reason for which Poland was invaded and its economy was destroyed. The Hungarians perceived laziness as the main cause of the dramatic situation in Poland during and after World War II.

2.2. Romantics and freedom fighters

The Czechs are said to have two stereotypes about Poles. One is a perception of Poles as hopeless romantics (Hloušková's, 1995). Hloušková's (1995) study resulted in a conclusion that Poles were often viewed by the Czech people as romantic fighters for freedom along the slogan "God, Honour, the Fatherland". Later, a Polish person was associated with the "Solidarity" movement after World War II. Those perceptions triggered the image of Poles as a nation who never left the past behind and who re-live every aspect of their history, and as a consequence, are not capable of progression.

2.3. Thieves and Intolerant Catholics

Hloušková (1995) claims that the Polish are also perceived by the Czech as thieves, frauds, and liars who sell faulty products to honest people. That perception might be rooted in the past high records of reported crimes, which, however, have been on the decrease since 2000 and in 2021 dropped by over 50% (https://www.statista.com/statistics/1120240/poland-recorded-and-detected-crimes/, date of access: 16.06.2022). Poland should not be viewed as an extremely dangerous country; however, crime and terrorism are ubiquitous nowadays, so a measure of precaution is needed everywhere (https://www.staypoland.com/poland/stereotypes-prejudices-of-poland/, date of access: 16.06.2022). The Polish are also viewed as deeply catholic and very orthodox, anti-Semitic, and intolerant (Leszczyński, 2012).

2.4. Heavy drinkers

The Polish have a bad reputation as far as alcohol consumption is concerned, and according to the "WHO Global status report on alcohol and health 2018" by World Health Organization (pp. 341-356), Poland takes the 19th place among other countries, with countries, such as Russia and Slovenia exceeding it. Although alcohol consumption may still be a common pass time, the culture of drinking alcohol has been changing, replacing the traditional vodka with softer drinks like beer, and it must be emphasized that the streets of Poland are not full of drunk people.

2.5. Hard workers

Many nations seem to appreciate the Polish work ethic. The Germans see Poles as hardworking and devoted to their jobs – a lot of them migrate to Germany in search of a better salary (Lempp, 1995). The British, even though they are rather unfriendly towards the Polish people, consider Poles to be skilled builders, hard-working and worthy employees (Tebinka, Sakowicz-Tebinka, 2015). Dolan (2005) presented the Polish workers as reliable and willing to work and set them as an example against the British labour force and benefit claimants. Currently, there are many international corporations in Poland, such as Aon, Brown Brothers Harriman, State Street or UBS, which recruit Polish professionals without them having to seek such career abroad.

3. Stereotypes about Turks

3.1. Arabic-speaking camel-riders

There are many nations in the world and each one of them has its own culture and specific features. Since each culture has very different qualities from another, some of the characteristics, traditions, and dynamics that the cultures have may not be understood or may be misinterpreted by people who have grown up in a different country and in a different culture. Turkish culture might be viewed as one of these misunderstood cultures. Anyone who spends some time in the country knows that Turkish people do not ride camels and do not speak Arabic – these are just common misconceptions and stereotypes. Turkey actually exports cars (Kurtbeyoğlu, 2016) and the Turkish language has little to do with Arabic – it belongs to the Turkic language family within the Altaic language group, while Arabic is Semitic or Afroasiatic, which is much closer to Hebrew https://www.britannica.com/topic/Altaic-languages, date of access: 16.06.2022).

3.2. Conservative

Some people may believe that all Turkish women have to be conservative and wear a hijab. Although it is not false that the majority of Turkey's population is Muslim, everyone has their own belief; namely, not all women wear a hijab, neither are they forced to wear it by the government (Kurtbeyoğlu, 2016). In a similar vein, some people might still believe that in public buildings, wearing a headscarf is banned. This regulation was ended and now it is a matter of personal choice: people can decide for themselves whether to wear it or not (Chatburn, 2014). All in all, there will always be a lot more about a country than one sees and thinks. Turkey is a country with its own language and culture, full of good and bad people just like any other country in the world.

4. Study description

In order to expand horizons in terms of Polish and Turkish cultures as well as in order to get to know one another better, a joint study, which consisted of two surveys, was designed by our Polish-Turkish group aged between 20 and 25.

The purpose of the first survey was to learn about the Polish perceptions of Turkey. This study consisted of 22 questions which aimed to provide information about Polish perceptions of Turkish culture, cuisine, and Muslim religion. The survey was conducted with the participation of 15 Polish fellow students of the Institute of Foreign Languages at the State University of Applied Sciences in Nowy Sącz, Poland. Then, the second survey aimed to find out about the Turkish perceptions of Poland. It concentrated on the perception of Polish attitudes toward Turkish students and addressed the cultural and social issues – their similarities and differences. The survey consisted of 30 questions, 11 of which were multiple-choice questions, 9 were semi-open and 10 were open questions.

Both surveys were posted in MS Teams platform between the 7th April 2022 and the 21st April 2022. After this period, the results were calculated and evaluated by the team of Turkish and Polish students who had participated in the project.

5. Results

5.1. Perception of Turkish students by Polish students

In the light of our questionnaire, we observed the Polish perception of the Turkish students before meeting one another. A great majority of the responses (73%) were neutral, 20% of the respondents expressed rather positive attitudes and the remaining 7% selected the option "rather negative." It is understood that a number of the respondents were naturally "neutral" because they did not know one another and had had no prior contact with the Turkish people. Additionally, the Polish respondents remarked that they viewed everyone as equal regardless of their nationality. In one of the responses, one participant mentioned a negative conception due to a religious stereotype regarding marriages. In substance, many of the participants thought neither positively nor negatively about the Turkish people.

The students were later requested to explain whether their initial perceptions changed after becoming acquainted with the Turkish students. The question helped to assess and contrast students' thoughts before and after the contact situation. It turned out that 40% held a "very positive" attitude, another 40% – "rather positive" and 20% – "neutral" attitude. Those results seem to illustrate how the international student exchanges influence international relations, attitudes toward other, more distant, cultures and perception of distance between them. It needs to be emphasized that the number of "neutral" dropped from 73% to 20%, the number of "rather positive" and "very positive" attitudes rose from 20% to 80% and the number of negative perceptions fell to 0%. This highlights the importance of student international exchanges not only at the micro level of the social time spent together and strengthened relations between the Polish and Turkish students, but also their significance for the macro level of the future relations between the two countries.

5.1.1. Perception of Turkish culture

The questionnaire inquired about the perception of culture-specific customs and traditions. For example, the Turkish marriage custom practised in some parts of the country includes a red ribbon, the symbol of purity, which is tied around the bride's waist by either her brother or a relative. This custom was commented on by 60% of the respondents who pointed out that they might have a similar tradition and they respect it. Some of them expressed an opinion that they find it pleasant, whereas some did not know much about it. Table 1 shows some of the most interesting responses.

Table 1
Comments on the Turkish wedding custom

- *I guess it is a symbol that the women as the wife is under man's control.*
- *I think it's a nice contribution to the tradition, but I've never seen anything like that.*
- *I think it is very similar to our superstitions about weddings, so I think it's a pleasant tradition.*
- *What surprises me is the colour because I was taught that red symbolizes protection from curses.*

One of the questions in the questionnaire included a female head cover that is worn for a religious practice called *Hijab/Turban,* which is still somewhat controversial for some Europeans. It seems that the controversy might also be applicable to the Polish context as 100% of the respondents commented on the question. In their answers, the Polish students predominantly remarked that they were either tolerant, unbothered, or positive towards it and that the decision to wear it is clearly up to the individuals themselves as it is a part of a religious practice. On the other hand, there were also students who were unfamiliar with this practice and found it unusual. Table 2 presents some of the most interesting answers.

Table 2
Comments on Hijab

- *Her body, her choice* 😉
- *I know it is related to Islam. I feel sorry for them. I would never like to wear hijab, just because someone decided that I have to.*
- *It's definitely something a bit strange for us because we live in a different culture but I think it's very important to wear things that represent your beliefs and I respect it.*
- *I accept it because it is someone's faith.*
- *In my opinion it's OK as long as it's not forced by someone else. Faith is one's personal matter and if a female wants to dress in certain way whether it is wearing hijab or not it should be acceptable.*
- *I think it's fashionable (some of our Turkish female friends wear them and they always look amazing).*

Furthermore, the participants were also requested to mark the facts from the Turkish culture that sounded interesting and exceptional to them, which were presented as a multiple selection list. The students from Poland seemed quite intrigued to explore various cultures and, in addition, they showed much interest in some of Turkish national character traits, such as openness and friendliness, hospitality, and generosity.

It was interesting to observe that 46% of the respondents believed that Turkish features did not fit the Polish culture. However, it was found out that some aspects of Turkish culture were actually familiar to the Polish students, for example, taking off shoes upon entering someone's household. Some stated that the Turkish people were more likely to be in touch with outsiders, which appeared to be out of the ordinary for the Polish people who are perceived as less friendly. Table 3 contains some of those answers.

Table 3
Perception of similarities and differences

- *Maybe they* [the Turks] *are not that vulgar as Polish people.*
- *Poles aren't really friendly towards the tourists, they tend to be judgy when you don't know the language.*
- *The ribbon doesn't fit our traditional weddings as we wear a red* [or other colour] *garter under the dress.*
- *We don't really greet each other on the street when we are strangers.*
- *I don't know.*
- *Nothing.*

In terms of perceiving similarities, 66% of the Polish respondents said that Polish and Turkish cultures have several characteristics in common while the remaining 34% were not sure. There were many individual opinions, as shown in Table 4, mentioning generosity and hospitality, being friendly, worship of one God, taking off shoes at home and the tradition of the red ribbon, which is known in both countries, yet it is totally different in terms of its context and meaning.

Table 4
Perception of similarities between the Polish and Turkish culture

- *I think that Polish people are also known as quite generous and hospitable and that's what we have in common.*
- *Not wearing shoes inside a home*☺
- *There are a lot of aspects of the culture (like hospitality to guests) that is similar because in both cases we are very friendly and generous when we are having someone in our house. We are also close in the area so it's obvious that some things would be similar.*
- *We have only one God like Turkey people.*
- *In our culture we use ribbon* [a white veil] *in bride's hair to show that she is pure.*

The participants were further asked about aspects of the Turkish culture they would like to import to Poland if they could. This question was responded by half of them, in which they mentioned the tea and coffee culture, hospitality, helpfulness and, one of the comments found Turkish wedding traditions quite amazing and stressed their fascination for henna tattoos.

5.1.2. Perception of Turkish Cuisine

In order to investigate the acquaintance with a range of dishes and desserts representing Turkish basic cuisine, a list of various was presented to the participants in a multiple selection form. The students were asked to pick which of the food items they were familiar with. The overwhelming majority of the respondents (80%) were acquainted with Turkish kebab and Yogurt and 60% knew what Baklava is. The least known food items included Dolma and Künefe (6%) whereas Ayran, Şalgam and Künefe were completely unknown.

5.1.3. Knowledge of Turkish language and people

Although the majority of the respondents (60%) did not know any Turkish words, we cannot say that the knowledge of Turkish expressions was totally non-existent. For example, 26% of the participants knew how to say *hi*, *good morning*, *hello*, *yes-no* and *thank you* in Turkish. Finally, the remaining 14% of the students were not sure.

We also inquired whether they knew any famous Turkish actors or actresses. 80% of the participants did not know any Turkish actors, 14% knew and shared some names from the popular TV series, while the remaining 6% were not sure.

5.1.4. Impressions of Turkish Erasmus+ students

The questionnaire was also intended to investigate the self-perception of prejudice toward the Turkish Erasmus+ students. The survey results showed that the majority of 80% of the Polish students held no particular prejudice towards Turkish Erasmus+ students with the minority of 20% of the participants who were not sure (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Self-evaluation of prejudice by Polish students.

All the participants asserted that having prejudices before knowing someone else is absolutely unjust. The students were rather open-minded with the people whom they had not been familiar with before. The participants were also asked whether their perceptions toward the Turkish students changed in any way. The results presented in Figure 2 above show that 40% of the respondents changed their views/attitudes in a contact situation and 20% remained uncertain. The shortcoming of the questionnaire was a failure to investigate justifications that could have better illustrated the influence of student exchange on evolving perceptions and attitudes.

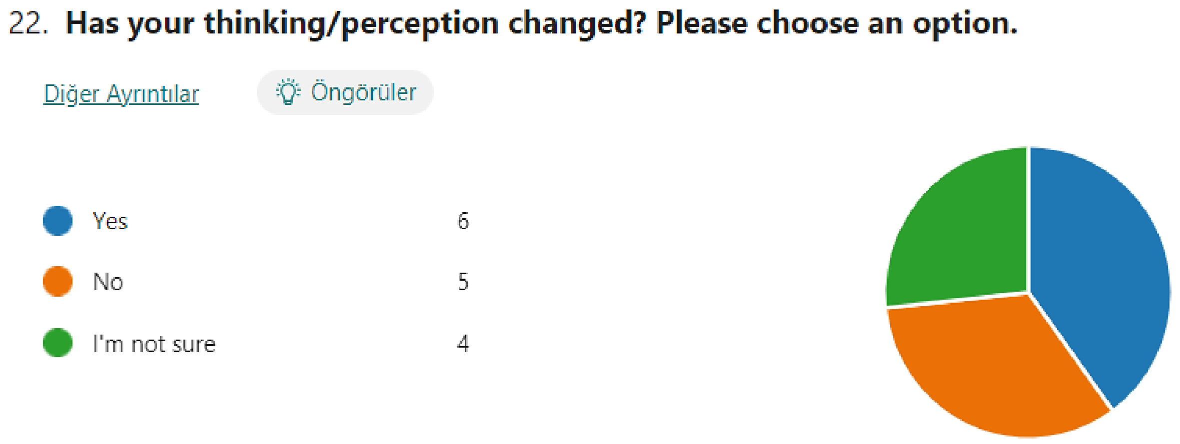


Figure 2. Changes in perception of the Turkish students.

5.2. Turkish Perception of Poland

The study involved Turkish students who were staying at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Nowy Sącz on an Erasmus+ exchange. As a result of administering the survey, six questionnaires were collected. The number of collected questionnaires may not be representative in an objective way, however, a valuable insight into the micro-context of the university was gained.

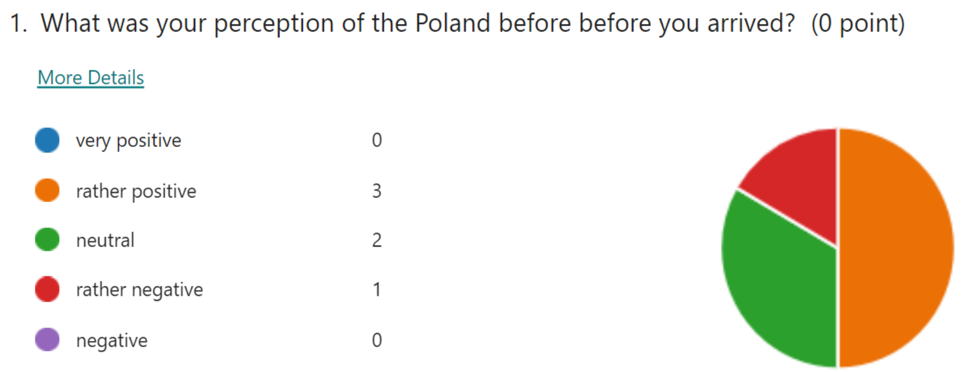


Figure 3. Perception of Poland before arriving in Poland.

The data in Figure 3 show that 50% of respondents had a “rather positive” view of Poland before their arrival, 33% were “neutral” and 17% “rather negative”. 50% justified their “rather positive” answer on the basis of the opinion by their friends who had visited Poland. 17% of those who held rather negative attitudes towards Poland responded that they viewed Poland as a racist and Islamophobic country. 33% who had a neutral opinion justified their choice with no knowledge about Poland before arriving.

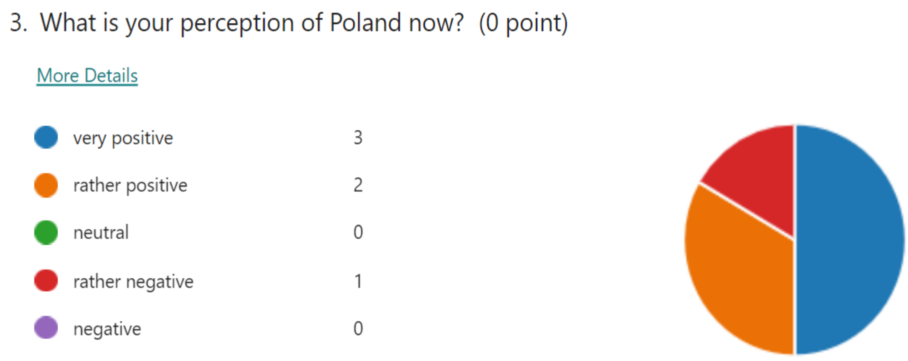


Figure 4. Perception of Poland after arriving in Poland.

It was interesting to notice that the data on perception of Poland after arriving in the country showed that it improved in a contact situation (Figure 4). “Very positive” evaluations by half of the Turkish respondents appeared. 33% of the evaluations remained “rather positive”. One respondent’s opinion (17%) changed the attitude from “neutral” to “rather negative” and another one – the other way round – from negative to positive.

50% of the respondents who reported a very positive attitude claimed that Poles were *very nice* and there was no racism in this country. 33% who described impressions of Poland as “rather positive” stated that they had already had such an opinion about Poland before their arrival and that it had not changed and they felt safe in the country.

The first impressions about Poland and Polish students upon arrival were rather positive. Table 5 shows that Polish students were rather perceived as *shy and cold* by the Turkish students.

Table 5
Opinions about Poles and the Polish students

Opinions about Poles	Impressions about the Polish students
The people in Poland were less friendly compared to Turkey.	*They were nice.*
I believe they are pretty much the same as everyone, but personally I did build nice relations with them so I like them.	*I knew that Poland is a beautiful country that offers plenty of historic, iconic places to visit and experience. As for the students, I expected to be offered more social activities together as our time together is quite little, in fact.*
They are very nice.	*They were a little bit cold and shy.*
They are kind enough for a human and understanding and sympathetic people.	*They are asking me who I am. They do not stay away from foreigners. They sometimes try to learn something about me and my life.*
Super friendly, most of them, supportive and fun.	*At first, it was culture shock, I was stressed.*
I think they're very nice and hospitable.	*I was greeted at the airport by my Polish 'buddy' who introduced me into university life and Polish realia, so I didn't have any culture shock or anything. I was delighted to be here and everybody seemed friendly.*

5.2.1. Perception of Polish culture

The majority of 67% of the Turkish students described Polish cuisine as *very good* with Polish “pierogi” being the top dish to try in Poland. Table 6 also shows a variety of opinions about the Polish culture. The majority of the Turkish students (67%) described it as *interesting and enjoyable.*

Table 6
Opinions about Polish cuisine and culture

Opinions about Polish cuisine	Opinions about Polish culture
I haven't tried, yet but I wonder how that taste like.	*It was nice in general.*
Generally, I like Polish food but I'm a vegetarian and I noticed that Polish people eat quite a lot of meat. On the other hand, there are some really nice vegetarian/vegan restaurants in Sosnowiec and Katowice, but also in other Polish cities that I visited (Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw).	*I do not have much information about the culture but people are helpful enough for a foreigner. They try to solve the problem. Almost everybody is respectful of other people's opinions or beliefs.*
I have not tried a lot of dishes but 'pączki' is my favourite now.	*Quite interesting and enjoyable.*
Very good food, pierogi, but Polish people don't use any spices, luckily, I found a shop with spices from India in Katowice and I buy there.	*Poland is very different from Turkey, I mean, there are many similarities, but some things are surprising, generally people seem to be more relaxed and calmer here.*
I think it was limited. However, the taste of pierogi was good.	*During the Orientation Week we had classes about Polish culture, and I learnt a lot of new things, all very interesting.*
Memorable and finger-licking good!	*I have no idea about Polish culture.*

The Turkish students' positive perceptions of Polish cultural aspects included patience of Poles, history of origins of Poland and Polish cinematography (Table 7). Negative aspects of Polish culture named by Turkish students, were in majority *negative attitudes towards non-natives.*

Table 7
Turkish perception of Polish cultural aspects

Turkish perception of Polish cultural aspects		
Positive perceptions	**Neutral perceptions**	**Negative perceptions**
Traffic culture. Discussion culture. Listening culture.	*I do not know.*	*Their attitudes towards non--natives.*
I study English, but my greatest hobby is films and cinema and I was happy to learn about Polish directors and Polish cinema.	*I have not experienced anything negative.*	*There were some negative incidents with Turkish people in clubs in Katowice, some people had a problem that we are from Turkey, I do not know, maybe they don't like that we are Muslims.*
Their patience. They may wait for anything without any negative expression.	*I feel it would be unfair for me to criticise culture that I am not part of because I don't understand it fully.*	
That Vodka originated in Poland. Malbork Castle and Wieliczka Salt Mine.		

As for religion, the majority of 83% did not know much about Catholicism in Poland but were aware that it is the most common religion there (Table 8).

Table 8
Perception of religion in Poland

Perception of religion in Poland
I know that it is a common religion among Polish people.
I genuinely think that this is a purely personal matter. I do not know much of Catholicism.
I know that Catholic people cannot marry someone who believes in another religion. It is definitely the same in Islam.
People are mostly Catholic if I am not wrong.
I know that Poland is catholic, but my Polish friend told me that it is mostly older people, he said that many young people are not religious or that they even don't like religion because religion imposes too many things on their life and some don't believe in God.
I know that Catholicism is the dominant religion in Poland.

It was interesting to observe that the majority of the Turkish students felt that they had shared a number of common aspects with their Polish environment. The data in Figure 5 show that as many as 67% of the respondents believed that Polish and Turkish culture shares such common features as wedding ceremonies and taking off shoes in house. 17% of the respondents stated that Poland and Turkey do not have any similar cultural aspects and 17% did not have sufficient knowledge about related cultural aspects.

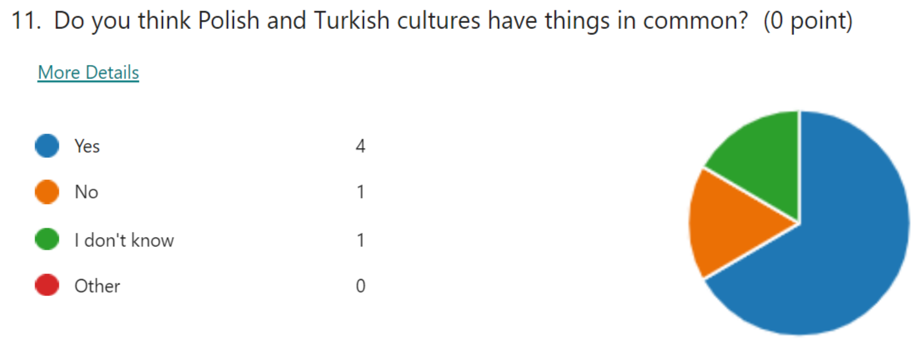


Figure 5. Cultural aspects in common.

Despite perception of similarities, 50% of the students taking part in the study said that also saw differences between the Polish and Turkish cultures, such as differences in cuisine, attitude, and architecture. The other half (50%) of the study participants were not sure if there were any substantial differences.

Some cultural aspects, such as the celebration of one's name day, were new to the Turkish students. 83% of them did not know the tradition and 17% believed that such tradition does not exist in Turkey. On the other hand, taking off shoes when entering someone's house was found out to be the common practice. 83% always took off their shoes indoor and were aware of the fact that it was similar in Polish culture.

There were observations concerning aspects of Polish country and culture that the Turkish students would like to "import" to their country if they only could. Table 9 shows a number of them ranging from certain features of character and the road traffic culture to caring about the environment and the way of partying.

Table 9

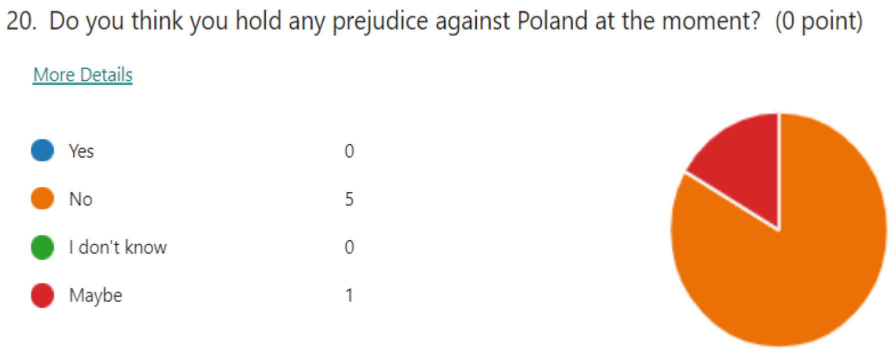
Cultural aspects of Poland to be transferred to Turkey

Which Polish cultural aspects could be transferred to Turkey?
The patience definitely would be the thing I want to transfer to Turkey.
The concept of partying amongst students.
That's a difficult question, many things probably, people are more relaxed here and also people in Poland care about the environment more, they refuse plastic bags in shops, etc.
Completely the traffic culture of Poland.
Poland seems very pro-European and I would love for Turkey to be a part of the UE, too. I don't think this is going to happen though.

5.2.2. Prejudice

The questionnaire touched upon the issue of prejudice before and after the contact situation. Figure 6 shows that the majority of 67% of respondents did not hold any prejudice and 33% of respondents believed that they had held prejudice against Poland in the past. The most common justification among the respondents, who believed that they had held prejudice against Poland in the past, was how Poland is perceived on international arena, i.e., as a country with a negative attitude towards non-natives.

After arrival to Poland, the number of unprejudiced attitudes rose to 83% with 17% who thought that they might still hold some prejudice. One student stated that they were afraid to start conversations in English with Poles. They were aware of their low level of English proficiency and were afraid that they will be misunderstood.



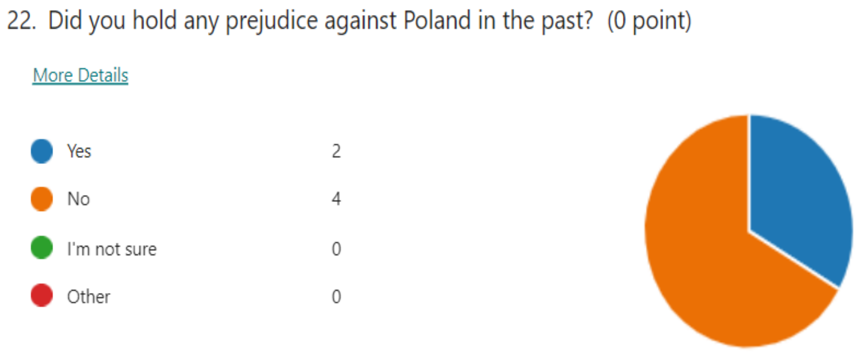


Figure 6. Self-perceptions of present and past prejudice.

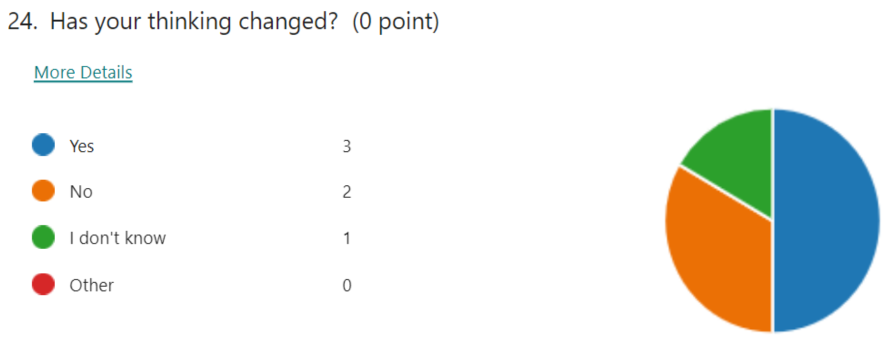


Figure 7. Self-perceptions of changes.

According to Figure 7, 50% of the respondents had changed their opinions about Poland, 33% replied that they had not changed their thinking and 17% did not know. The respondents that had changed their thinking about Poland explained that they had perceived Poland as a country with a negative attitude towards non-natives on international arena, but they did not experience any discriminatory behaviour towards them after arrival.

5.2.3. Polish language and celebrities

The majority of respondents (83%) described the Polish language as *hard to pronounce*. In terms of progression in the Polish language, 50% of respondents declared "average progress" in learning Polish, 33% "rather slow" and 17% "very slow". All the survey participants knew the basic Polish phrases. The phrases which seemed to be best known included Polish expressions for *good morning*, *hello, sorry, cheers, please, good night* and *thank you*.

Table 10
Perception of Polish language

Perception of Polish language
It is hard.
When spoken fast, it sounds as if there is a heated argument between its speakers.
It's very hard to pronounce.
It is so difficult to understand the words that are used. It seems Polish language is not a language to be pronounced as written. Maybe I am wrong about it. I am not sure.
Nice but difficult.
I love the sound of the Polish language, but it's a real challenge for me to master its pronunciation.

Polish celebrities and actors were rather unknown: 33% of the respondents knew some Polish actors or singers (e.g., they knew the Polish actor Marcin Korcz and the singer Quebonafide), 50% had no such knowledge, whereas 17% were not sure.

Conclusions

Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, Ropp, Wright (1997) suggest contact, especially a friendly relation between members of different groups, as a form of prejudice reduction that can alleviate negative attitudes between the groups. The authors describe the study results by Pettigrew (1997) according to which the level of prejudice is lower when there is an out-group friend. That research suggested that friendships result in more positive attitudes toward different people and eventually lead to a decrease in the level of prejudice. In a similar way, online contact and imagined contact, especially between members of various groups, are considered to "promote more positive intergroup attitudes" (https://oxfordre.com/psychology/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.001.0001/acrefore-9780190236557-e-313#acrefore-9780190236557-e-313-div1-3, date of access: 16.06.2022). Turner (2020) claims that imagining some social interactions may enhance positive attitudes and feeling comfortable around different people in specific social situations, while internet-based encounters might raise the level of empathy and trust since people are more self-disclosing without seeing each other face to face.

The majority of the Turkish students came to Poland without any major negative attitudes although they did mention that the Polish people were perceived by some of them as hostile and racist. Their opinion changed after arrival and contact with the Poles thanks to which they ceased to consider Poland as a racist country. The contact situation also helped the Polish students to change their neutral attitudes to the positive ones.

The intercultural contacts between the Turkish and Polish students seem to have resulted in improvement of mutual relations and common understanding. Many Turkish students viewed Poland as a beautiful country with a rich history and culture. Turkish students claimed to feel safe and well in Poland. They got to like Polish cuisine, especially *pierogi* (dumplings) and *pączki* (doughnuts), and they learned some basic Polish terms, such as *dzień dobry* (good morning), *dobry wieczór* (hello at night), *dziękuję* (thank you), *na zdrowie* (cheers) and *jak się masz?* (how are you?). The Polish students also seemed to have overcome the barrier of neutrality and developed Polish-Turkish friendships and deeper understanding of the Turkish culture. From this micro perspective it may be concluded that international student exchanges bring about a positive change in mutual perceptions and should therefore be further nurtured and developed.

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