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The Secret of Meaning Meaning in Contemporary Media and under Dictatorship

edited by
Marek Ostrowski
Anita Filipczak-Białkowska



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Introduction

This volume gathers together a series of articles by widely appreciated researchers who accepted the challenge to tackle issues associated with meaning in various areas of human activity. They cover a broad thematic scope: from philosophical reflection on the meaning of the activities of individuals within the existential approach, all the way to the influence of purpose on communicative activities in various areas (politics, business, arts), which modifies the notion of meaning. Individual researchers decided on the objects of their studies and the methods they applied. As a result, their studies cover a wide range of issues and various perceptions of different phenomena. Some of the authors discussed phenomena which are currently developing, while others discussed selected problems from the historical perspective.

The collected articles are divided into four sections. The theoretical and methodological section opens with a text by Aleksy Awdiejew, which is devoted to the theory of meaning formulated in reference to human communicative activities. Using numerous examples, Grażyna Habrajska discusses the procedure, based on the methodology of communicational grammar, of complementing communicative meanings to which perfective predicates refer. Jan Pleszczyński focusses on the phenomenon of the “rationmorphism of meaning” and concludes that in modern communication meanings are increasingly determined by technorationmorphism, which is devoid of culturally conditioned axiology. Jakub Z. Lichański considers whether a speaker violates a stabilised reference, the tools of rhetoric can be useful in the process of seeking meaning. Marek Ostrowski discusses the difficulties in seeking the meaning of multi-code communications, while perceiving meaning itself as the result of the combining and layering of semiospheres.

The second thematic section consists of studies on the practices of social communication. Zbigniew and Szymon Nęckis assume that a situation can be understood by different people in different ways, which is why they present different reactions and engage in different activities in the practice of business communication. The problem of understanding communication is also discussed

by Elżbieta Laskowska, who analyses the essence of the fairness of understanding. The article by Wiesław Czechowski is devoted to a communication-based analysis of the 'bez sensu' [pointless, meaningless] phraseme, Anita Filipczak-Białkowska reflects on whether the phenomenon of a standard interpretation exists, and Anna Barańska-Szmitko seeks an answer to the question of what the image-related significance of the application of gesticulation has for the communication of one's image. Rafał Leśniczak presented his conclusions from an analysis of the curricula of journalism and social communication majors at selected Polish universities. The section of the collection devoted to communication practices concludes with an important text by Mariusz Wszolek, which constitutes a counterbalance to the previous discussions. According to this researcher, the outcomes of a creative process, including of communication, are always unpredictable from the point of view of the consequences of activities and project achievements, which is why one must abandon them and focus on efficiency. Instead he proposes the concept of high-efficiency communication.

The third section consists of a series of articles devoted to notions related to art. Mariusz Bartosiak indicates the dissonance between the notion of meaning perceived as a subjective phenomenon and the notion of reference which must be understood as a specific verifiable reference to discursive objectivised knowledge. He also emphasises the importance of active participation in the culture (broadly understood). The difference between the subjective sense of meaning and meaning as an objective category also resonates in Włodzimierz Adamiak's article. His intention is to establish the value of participation in art activities. Zofia Władyka-Łuczak discusses the process of seeking the hidden content enclosed in works of art. Finally, Krzysztof Ozga's text describes the specifics of the ASMR method, which is a kind of a therapeutic influence through sounds.

The historically perceived phenomenon of dictatorship discussed within the contexts of media studies and communication studies was the focus of the authors of the texts collected in the fourth section. In its cultural policy towards its own citizens, dictatorship exerts influence on individuals and their socio-cultural conformity. Therefore, a major issue in this field is the context of the historical and cultural policies of dictatorships: in the Polish People's Republic (PRL), the DDR, the Third Reich, and the USSR, to name the major ones. The first two texts of this section focus on the area of literature: Marek Rajch analyses the works of Henryk Sienkiewicz, a Nobel Prize laureate, whose works were verified by the DDR's censorship, while Andrzej Wicher studies the possible sources of inspiration for Orwell's concept of Newspeak presented in *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel*. The next text is an article by Dorota Suska, which analyses the style of Polish samizdat press pieces in the late-1970s, which provide a textual record of the independent discourse of that period. Marek Ostrowski discusses the principles of the PRL's

cultural policy towards the DDR, Anita Grzegorzewska's text addresses the topic of good manners in the PRL based on the examples of the children's and young adult press of the time, while Krzysztof Grzegorzewski studies the phenomenon of anti-alcohol propaganda in *Polska Kronika Filmowa* (Polish Film Chronicle) films produced by WFDiF. In an extremely engaging article, Jakub Z. Lichański focusses on *The City of Man* initiative, while Rafał Leśniczak discusses the political discourse of Chancellor Angela Merkel. Finally, Rafał Siekiera focusses on the problem of socialist propaganda in the Polish sports press of 1950–1959.

We believe that our readers will find these articles interesting, that they will help them to reflect on the discussed phenomena, and inspire them to personally grasp the cores of the issues.

Aleksy Awdiejew*

In search of linguistic meaning

First of all, I wish to state that I am not a philosopher by trade, which is very unfortunate as I have come to the conclusion that in order to offer a solution to every major problem in any area of science eventually one needs to utilise the tools of philosophy. For example, in our particular study devoted to natural communication, we came to a point when we needed to define the notion of **meaning**, i.e., from our point of view, the notion of **content** which, being the basic purpose of communication, is conveyed through formal means, i.e. linguistic texts. Those in turn, despite not being meaning themselves, conventionally **indicate** content. Within traditional linguistics the problem has not been noticed or stated, or it was replaced by the commonplace understanding of the specific nature of the content being conveyed, e.g.: I will tell you what she told me, she told me (S). In that approach, the content (S) being conveyed becomes a banal reality experienced multiple times and which does not require one to transition to a higher level of reflection. However, as I shall try to indicate, the notion of meaning as the content conveyed in communication from one person to another and maintained in their memory, forced us while constructing the theory of communicational grammar to engage in more in-depth philosophical and methodological considerations, which I intend to discuss in this article.

As we propose our working hypothesis regarding the theory of meaning we are aware of the methodological difficulties related to the extremely complex process of communication which we have always perceived as something natural, obvious and simple. As Donald Davidson aptly noted: “a theory is true if its empirical implications are true” and “we can test a theory by testing the veracity of its implications.”¹ In expanding those thoughts, one could say that the formulation of a theory must be both top-down (formulation of hypothesis) and bottom-

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1 D. Davidson, *Eseje o prawdzie, języku i umyśle*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1992, p. 119 [unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

up (testing individual communicational facts). If when interpreting those two research directions a significant coherence emerges, one could talk about a good direction of verifiability of a proposed theory. The notion of meaning is broad and multi-faceted, which is why one cannot offer its universal and exhaustive definition. One can only empirically link meaning with two other universal though not completely defined phenomena: **awareness** and **understanding**. Those two natural phenomena occur at the fringes of the so-called **philosophical subject**, i.e. a thinking and speaking human, which enables one to hypothesise that meaning is an anthropomorphic phenomenon or, in other words, it cannot exist outside of human awareness and understanding. The link between understanding and meaning seems to remain beyond any doubt and therefore one can easily state that if a person does not understand something, that “thing” has for them no meaning. Fortunately a person does not exist on their own and among their communicational community there can always be someone who understood that “thing” and is able to explain it to the person and lead them to a state of understanding. Within the phenomenological tradition it is assumed that it is a person’s intentional opening to the world that makes the world, once understood, appear as something meaningful, i.e. something which may have its causes and effects. Humans being constantly immersed in the world learn from the moment they are born the “furnishing” of the world by realising and understanding its organisation. To realise **something** means, first of all, to identify that **something** within an endless series of realities, and, secondly, to define the **utility** of that **something**, i.e. its empirical meaning. According to David Chalmers², that moment of realisation occurs at the level of **meta-awareness**, i.e. the intentionally realised awareness, since regular awareness, referred to some by **consciousness**, is non-reflexive and non-analytical in nature, and its purpose is only to maintain an instinctive (innate) monitoring of the surroundings without pausing on details or isolating (analysing) fragments of the surroundings. The very fact of isolating a fragment of reality and realising it enables one to assume that an area of meaning always has some limits, as it would be impossible for us to grasp and understand too big a fragment of reality, as to understand something one needs to define its organisation and limits. It is exactly through realising the entire limited area of meaning that one can **remember** it as a compact area of **meaning**, i.e. place it first in operating memory, and only then, if required, store it in various sections of permanent memory. A memorised meaning can be associated with a unit of **knowledge**, while the entire set of stored units of meaning can be presented as knowledge on the world of a subject. For many years studies have been conducted to define the limits of memorised units, i.e.

2 D.J. Chalmers, *Świadomy umysł. W poszukiwaniu teorii fundamentalnej*, trans. M. Miłkowski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2010.

fragments of reality. Those are usually presented as scripts and patterns related to the hierarchic and thematic organisation of memory.³ The presence of such units in human memory and awareness indicates a **modular** nature of the entire process of memorising and understanding. In any instance one never grasps the entire reality, rather tries to fit to it a related module which enables one to manipulate the elements of meaning within its limits. In that case the result of understanding can be reduced to realising a presented script or a pattern stored previously in memory with a possible creative modification to its form to a new unexpected state of things.

At the meta-awareness level, humans as if isolate themselves from the sensory reception of the world, become air-tight mental beings and are capable of triggering their memory, knowledge and imagination to, based on those experiences and the available area of knowledge, build in a creative manner new subjective and previously unknown imagined meanings. That empirical fact enables them to conclude that meaning can emerge outside the entire process of communication, as unrevealed subjective content which can be revealed and verbalised at any moment if such a need arises. At this point I wish to stress that the description of extra-linguistic meanings, despite being much needed and inspiring, exceeds our competences. Therefore, we limit the entire immeasurable area of meaning to more empirically perceptible **linguistic meaning**, and that is the notion we wish to discuss. We wish to produce an empirical definition of linguistic meaning, which, according to us, is possible within the process of a careful and detailed analysis of actual human communicational activities. Linguistic meanings forms through the **verbalisation** of a speaker's starting area of meaning, and it is conveyed through reception, interpretation and understanding to the awareness of another party to communication. A difficult question arises: can one say anything one thinks? That explicit postulate by John Searle seems risky to us. Verbalisation is easier in the case of knowledge referred to by Gilbert Ryle as **declarative** knowledge⁴, i.e. *knowledge what*, mainly related to the description (report) of an observed reality, while **procedural** knowledge (*knowledge how*), which covers habits, skills and other dynamic performative or cognitive activities, not only causes difficulties for their verbalisation but sometimes even prevents the process altogether. Based on that assumption, we shall limit ourselves to studying the meaning which forms through the process of verbalising declarative knowledge, which we associate with linguistic meaning.

To begin with, we need to establish two basic analytical principles. First of all, we assume (though not everyone accepts it) that the basic purpose of linguistic

3 Cf. R.C. Schank, *Explanation Patterns. Understanding Mechanically and Creatively*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., New Jersey 1986.

4 G. Ryle, *The concept of mind*, Barnes and Noble, New York 1949.

communication is to **convey meaning** (S) which had been understood (realised) by at least one speaker and conveyed via a means of communication (language) to at least one recipient. As a result of that act of communication, meaning (S) becomes a shared area of understanding of those parties to the communication. At that point, to simplify the description, we shall not discuss whether such conveying of meaning is possible or whether the meaning (S) new for the recipient is identical to the sender's area of meaning. That minor issue has been the subject of many post-modern philosophical debates, and since we did not find in them any unequivocal conclusions, we shall save the time for, it would seem, more interesting matters. Therefore, we shall adopt an empirical definition of meaning (S):

- 1) meaning is that which forms in the mind of a sender as a defined organised mental area (S), which the sender can maintain in their operating memory and, if necessary, verbalise (linguisticise) it within the framework of the language used by them to convey it to any recipient within the same language. Within that approach we understand language as a system of **communicational habits** adopted through continued practice, i.e. habits of conveying content using conventional physically recognisable by recipients formal means (be it acoustic, graphic or gesture-based);
- 2) meaning is that which forms in the mind of a recipient through the **interpretation** and **understanding** of the sender's formal linguistic message (a communication) and, if needed, it is stored in the recipient's memory within specific limits.

Normally in analyses one associates the area of meaning with a **cognitive configuration**, which constitutes a sender's starting point for generating (verbalising) utterances within a language. A major methodological difficulty arises, which prohibits one from associating cognitive configuration with a specific utterance. First of all, cognitive configuration (S) may, for various reasons, be implicit while existing in the memory of a potential sender as a specific image or mental pattern which is an understood meaning (thought) for them. Secondly, any formal expression indicating a specific meaning may be paraphrased multiple times and each of those paraphrases indicates, to a different degree, the same or similar area of meaning, i.e. it cannot be associated with it. In traditional linguistics, people often erroneously associate a text with a meaning. We treat text as the result of the verbalisation of a sender's communicated intention, therefore we have no guarantee that the intention will be fulfilled in a manner which is perfect and adequate. One often searches for better words and edits texts in such a way for the composed text to be closer to that of which they had been thinking. Then, the resulting text must be interpreted and understood by a recipient. Without that the configuration of meaning which a text indicates will not emerge in the mind (awareness and memory) of the recipient. If due to various reasons an

interpretation of a text is not possible, it will not fulfil its proper function and the meaning which it indicated will not be conveyed.

For a long time now, since the emergence of the theory of generative grammar in the 1960s, there have emerged voices indicating the need to define and formally discuss the **semantic representation** which would exist as a record of meaning, a special kind of formula or an imitation of the meaning indicated by a text. However, the efforts of many researchers who intended to define the modes of creating such formulas proved futile. The biggest difficulty was to invent a special formal meta-language which would be capable of precisely presenting all the meaning values conveyed within a natural language, as there is no logical language which is capable of that. What researchers are left with is to utilise the units of the natural languages they have at their disposal, which, as we know, are inaccurate and ambiguous, and which treacherously change their meanings depending on the context. In our communicational analysis, we were forced to create something which could be termed a **transcription of meaning**. Similarly to a phonetic transcription (the record of the sounds of a language using a specialised alphabet), it does not present the configuration of meaning directly, but it describes it in a manner which is as close to the configuration as possible. The purpose of communicational analysis is exactly that: to provide such a transcription. We shall explain the whole procedure of developing it using the example of the analysis of a collection of paraphrases. We conducted a communicational experiment to explain how a recipient conveys the meaning they had understood by freely creating paraphrases of the meaning. A short text of recollections of Mikhail Zoshchenko, an outstanding Russian satirist, was read once to a large group of university students who after listening to it were asked to write a summary of the text. The group of language users was not homogeneous. It consisted of students of various years having various linguistic experience; there were also foreign students. We acquired hundreds of various paraphrases regarding the same events. That enabled us to better define the entire complex mechanism of natural paraphrasing. The analysis of the considerable material indicated that the act of indicating meaning using paraphrases is creative and approximative in nature; within communication there is much tolerance regarding the precision of those indications, resulting from the extensive interpretative opportunities of recipients. In this article, we shall discuss only one event from the entire text to illustrate the mechanism.

Text fragment (EP2)

Pewnego dnia w Leningradzie (MZ) został zatrzymany na ulicy przez nieznanego mu człowieka, który zaczął zarzucać mu, że w swoich opowiadaniach zniekształca rzeczywistość i przedstawia w krzywym zwierciadle ludzi radzieckich. [One day in Leningrad (MZ) was stopped in the street by a man he didn't know, who started

reproaching him for distorting the reality in his short stories and presenting a false image of the Soviet people].

For ease of analysis, we presented the entire meaning indicated by the texts in the form of a transcription, which enables one to segment it into individual components which facilitate comparing the resulting variants.

Transcription of meaning indicated by the text: PEWNEGO DNIA [one day] > W LENINGRADZIE [in Leningrad] > NA ULICY [in the street] > ZATRZYMAĆ [to stop] (someone: CZŁOWIEK [a man], someone: MZ); NIE ZNAĆ [not to know] (someone: MZ, someone: CZŁOWIEKA [a man]); & ZARZUCAĆ [to reproach] (someone: CZŁOWIEK [a man]); someone: MZ, something: W OPOWIADANIACH [in short stories] > ZNIEKSZTALCAĆ [to distort] (someone: MZ, something: RZECZYWISTOŚĆ [the reality]) & W KRZYMYM ZWIERCIADLE [a false image] > PRZEDSTAWIAĆ [to present] (someone: MZ, someone: LUDZI RADZIECKICH [Soviet people]).

The PEWNEGO DNIA [one day] time indicator and the W LENINGRADZIE, NA ULICY [in Leningrad, in the street] place indicators were also fulfilled by their functionally related variants (communicational equivalents), e.g.: “pewnego razu, któregoś dnia” [one time, some day], and other synthetic structures, such as: “idąc ulicą [while walking down the street]; podczas przechadzki [during a stroll]; podczas wędrówki [during a walk]; przechadzając się ulicami Leningradu, spacerował sobie MZ po ulicach Leningradu [while strolling the streets of Leningrad, MZ was walking the streets of Leningrad]; podczas spaceru po Leningradzie [while strolling down Leningrad]; ulicą przechadzał się satyryk MZ [MZ, the satirist, was walking down a street]” etc.

The structure ZATRZYMAĆ [to stop] (someone: CZŁOWIEK [a man], someone: MZ) was fulfilled by such communicational equivalents (CE) as: “zaczepia go na ulicy przechodzień [a passer-by engaged him in the street]; zaatakował go przechodzień [a passer-by attacked him]; spotkał człowieka [he met a person]” etc. More variants applied to the component NIE ZNAĆ [do not know] (someone: MZ, someone: CZŁOWIEKA [a man]). It generated the following types of communicational equivalents: “pewien przechodzień, przez jednego z przechodniów [some passer-by, by one passer-by]; przez przypadkowego przechodnia [by a random passer-by]; przez pewnego człowieka [by someone]; przez obcego mu człowieka [by a person unknown to him]; przez przechodnia, nieznanego [by a passer-by, a stranger]; przez obcego mężczyznę [by a man unknown to him]” etc. Some texts included additional attributes of the passer-by which appeared through the creativity founded in stereotypical knowledge: “zwolennik komuny [a proponent of communism]; radziecki osobnik, przedstawiciel władzy, jeden z tych krytyków [a Soviet individual, a representative of the authorities, one of those critics]; funkcjonariusze [officers]” etc.

Some of the texts developed by the study subjects included possible **extensions of the meaning** of the composition in the form of variants: “zaczepia go na ulicy przechodzień, który chce z nim o tym porozmawiać [he was engaged in the street by a passer-by who wanted to talk to him about it]; Pisarz Michał Zoszczenko ... spacerował po mieście, przechadzał się po Leningradzie [writer Mikhail Zoshchenko... was strolling the city, strolling down Leningrad]” etc.

The structure ZARZUCAĆ [to reproach] (someone: CZŁOWIEK [a man]; someone: MZ, something: W OPOWIADANIACH [in short stories] > ZNIEKSZTALCAĆ [to distort] (someone: MZ, something: RZECZYWISTOŚĆ [the reality]) & W KRZYMYM ZWIERCIADLE [a false image] > PRZEDSTAWIAĆ [to present] (someone: MZ, someone: LUDZI RADZIECKICH [Soviet people]) was presented in various ways in the texts of the paraphrases. Even the main predicate was expressed through communicational equivalents, e.g.: “oskarżył go, że... [he accused him that]; został poddany krytyce, ponieważ... [he was subjected to criticism that]; wytknął mu, że... [he point out to him that]; został obrzucony krytyką za [he was heavily criticised for]; usłyszał od niego skargi na temat [he heard complaints from him regarding]; zaczął atakować go za [he started attacking him for],” etc. The most variants of communicational equivalents could be found in the descriptions of the content of the very criticism (probably because the original text utilised the metaphor “przedstawić coś w krzywy zwierciadło” [present a false image of something]), e.g.: actions “na szkodę obywateli przez swoją twórczość literacką [to the detriment of the citizens through his literary output]; przedstawianie fałszywych informacji [presenting false information]; że w swoich tekstach negatywnie, zbyt prześmiewczo opisuje różne zdarzenia [that in his texts he described various events negatively, with excessive mocking]; kłamstwa pisane w jego dziełach [the lies written in his works]; przedstawia obraz rosyjskiego społeczeństwa w tak prześmiewczy sposób [he presented the image of the Russian society in such a mocking manner]; przedstawia zmyśloną rzeczywistość [he presented a fabricated reality]; w negatywnym świecie ukazuje ludzi radzieckich [he presented the Soviet people in a negative light]; ukazywanie komuny w krzywym zwierciadle [he presented a false image of communism]; zmienia rzeczywistość [he changed the reality]; wyśmiewanie się z innych [he mocked others]; fałszywe i zniekształcone ukazywanie ludności radzieckiej [false and distorted the presentation of the Soviet peoples]; oczernianie radzieckiego społeczeństwa [besmirching the Soviet society]; źle ocenia ludzi radzieckich i wyolbrzymia rzeczywistość [he wrongly evaluated the Soviet people and exaggerated the reality],” etc.

Some respondents, probably under the influence of stereotypes, misunderstood the object of criticism of the satirist. That would be the conclusion from such paraphrases as: he presented “władze radzieckie w krzywym zwierciadle”

[a false image of the Soviet authorities]; “zniekształcenie rzeczywistości i władz radzieckich” [distortion of the reality and Soviet authorities], or even: “w złym zwierciadle przedstawia żołnierzy radzieckich” [he presented a bad image of Soviet soldiers]; “nieprawdziwe przedstawianie radzieckich żołnierzy” [false presentation of Soviet soldiers], etc.

Some variants could be printed in the student humour column, e.g.: “zostaje zatrzymany w Leningradzie pod zarzutem zniekształcenia rzeczywistości” [he was arrested in Leningrad and charged with distortion of reality], etc.

What conclusions could be drawn from the analysis of the mechanisms of paraphrasing? First of all, considering the extension opportunities for supplementing and modifying meaning within the process of interpretation, one could suggest a **temporary** indication of meaning using verbal references. A sender is not terribly careful about precision when verbalising their message expecting the recipient to be able to reproduce in their imagination the original configuration of meaning. Secondly, the limits of interchangeability of the components when paraphrasing indicate a real **structure (configuration)** in a recipient’s awareness of the meaning being conveyed. Further research must be conducted in order to define those components, yet even now, based on communicational intuition, one could conclude that at the centre of the basic communication of meaning there lies a system of relations which correspond in language to the predicate-argument system, while the remaining external components, adjacent to the system, include time, space, duration and multiplicity indicators. The basic communication of meaning indicates an identifiable (through longer communicational practice) by the recipient **state of things**, or situation, which for them becomes meaningful even without the modifications introduced by the indicators. The basic meaning of the kind:

SZIEDZIEĆ [to sit] (SOMEONE, ON SOMETHING)

is generally understood without any additional modifications which would surely enrich a message and require more interpretative effort. The pattern of communication of meaning we assumed in our model of communicational grammar, is as follows:

A(t), A(loc), A(dur), A(freq) [P(a,b,c...)],

where A(t) is the time indicator, A(loc) – place indicator, A(dur) – duration indicator, A(freq) – multiplicity indicator, could be considered as the basic virtual model of the **ideational** (presented) **meaning** to which, through communication analysis, one could reduce the content of any verbal communication (every paraphrase). Very often the limits of the formal organisation of a verbal communication (a text) do not correspond to the limits which we defined in our model. That is

why communicational analysis requires one to **standardise** the organisation of a communicated meaning, which through such standardisation assumes the appropriate standard form. A presented and understood state of things often cannot be reduced to the basic form which would formally encompass a single predicate-argument system. It is very often the case that to understand a communication one needs to extend the area of meaning considerably and present it as a course of a **scenario**. If you consider the message:

Janek przeprosił Marysię [Janek apologised to Marysia],

its understanding results in the extension of meaning to the form of a possible script:

(t-3) SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (someone: JANEK, someone: MARYSIA); (t-2) ZROZUMIEĆ [to understand] {someone: JANEK, something: SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (someone: JANEK, someone: MARYSIA)}; (t-1) PRZEPROSIC [to apologise] {someone: JANEK, someone: MARYSIA, for something: SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (someone: JANEK, someone: MARYSIA)}; (to) { WYBACZAĆ [to forgive] (someone; MARYSIA, someone: JANEK, something: SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (someone: JANEK, someone: MARYSIA))}.

Clearly, there is no obvious relationship between the term (meaningful lexeme) and the structure of meaning to which it indicates; that may be the basic system (predicate-argument) or various kinds of scenarios.

One's presentation of the area of meaning as a virtual structure to which a paraphrase indicates changes the perception of the process of translation from one language to another. It becomes clear that a translator first interprets and **understands** the source paraphrase (pf₁) building in their awareness a configuration of meaning (S) to which the paraphrase indicates, and then treats that configuration as the source component for the appropriate paraphrase (pf₂) in the target language. Firstly, they utilise their linguistic competences in the source language to properly interpret and understand the meaning (S) to which the source paraphrase (pf₁) indicates, and then, based on that understanding, uses their linguistic competences in the target language to, by using the understanding (S), produce such a textual paraphrase in a new language which, according to them, indicates the closest configuration of meaning which they understood in the source language. In other words, a translator does not translate one text into another, but rather creates a paraphrase in the target language which indicates the same (or similar) meaning present in the translator's memory upon interpreting and understanding the source paraphrase. Therefore, all the discussions regarding the problem of untranslatability could be reduced to a few important processes of natural communication: firstly, to the problem of interpretation and the degree of

a translator's understanding of the source paraphrase, and, secondly, to their skills in the target language and their ability to produce the appropriate paraphrase in it based on the previously understood configuration (S). The notion of presented (ideational) meaning, which presents a selected fragment of reality, entails the problem of establishing the veracity of judgements. The problem itself is not the focus of this article, therefore, the only thing we can conclude is the assumption that the veracity of every judgements is **independent** of the understanding of its meaning. In other words, not everything that one understood immediately becomes true though the fact of realising the meaning of a message in one's awareness is the basic condition for establishing whether a judgement being conveyed is true or not. One can understand and store in their memory both true and false judgements. Only upon understanding an utterance, does one categorise judgements in that respect.

In terms of ideational (presentational) meaning, one must consider its original form related to the use of language in the original pragmatic situation, when language users apply the language to describe real elements they observed together. That situation of language use was defined by Bronisław Malinowski in his studies of indigenous languages.⁵ That communication consists of the words of a language, which frame the joint efforts of the speakers, only indicating the observed elements of reality without triggering the meanings of words from their memory. One could refer to a variant of ideational meaning which could be called **indexing meaning**. In every natural language that type of communication emerges when a category of the **observer** is added to the area of meaning. When understanding such an utterance as:

Popatrz, kto idzie!, [Look who's coming!]

the transcription of meaning is added by the component of the observer (sender):

WIDZIEĆ [to see *imperf.*] (someone: NADAWCA [a sender], something: IŚĆ [to go] (someone: ZNANY [known]) & CHCIEĆ [to want to] (someone: NADAWCA [a sender], something: ZOBACZYĆ [to see *perf.*] (someone: ODBIORCA [a recipient], something: IŚĆ [to go] (someone: ZNANY [known])).

Apart from the descriptive (ideational) meaning, natural communication offers another type of meaning, i.e. the **interactive** meaning, which in our grammar is analysed at the appropriate level, i.e. **interactive level**. There one analyses utterance

⁵ B. Malinowski, "Etnograficzna teoria języka i pewne wnioski praktyczne", [in:] *ibidem*, *Ogrody koralowe i ich magia*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1987.

which, to use John Austin's theory⁶, could be referred to as **speech acts**, i.e. such linguistic actions which "change the world", or rather the relations between a sender and the recipient. I offered a detailed discussion of the categorisation and the conditions for applying specific speech acts and other types of interactive operators in my monograph *Gramatyka interakcji werbalnej*⁷; in this article, I shall limit myself to providing a summary of how in communicational grammar the structure of the interactive meaning is understood.

Interactive meaning forms in direct linguistic contact between a sender and a recipient, and it has three basic stages of its existence. The first one is the sender's application of a speech act, where the communicational purpose is to change the existing situation S₁ to a new situation S₂. At that stage, the recipient, who is usually expected to be the executor of the change, identifies the sender's **intention**, i.e. defines the ideational meaning of the S₁ situation and the target S₂ situation. In literature, that type of understanding is referred to as a **propositional condition**. In the second stage, the recipient defines the **conditions for success** of their actions and makes an executive decision. The third stage is the actual act of **performing an action** suggested in the sender's intention, i.e. the emergence of the S₂ situation. For example, the following speech act:

Podaj mi szklankę! [Pass the glass!],

where the interactive function of an action is being fulfilled, induces the recipient to fulfil the sender's intention, which includes the desired change of the S₁ situation: NIE MIEĆ [not to have] (something: NADAWCA [a sender], something: SZKLANKI [a glass]) to situation S₂: MIEĆ [to have] (someone: NADAWCA [a sender], something: SZKLANKĘ [a glass]). Next, the recipient understands that they are expected to be executor of the action PASS (someone: ODBIORCA [a recipient], something: SZKLANKĘ [a glass], someone: NADAWCY [a sender]). At the same time, it defines the conditions for success: the ability to reach a glass and passing it to the sender. Finally, there occurs the actual physical act of passing the glass, which leads to the emergence of S₂ situation and the fulfilment of the sender's communicational objective.

Clearly, the fact of understanding of the interactive meaning of this speech act and the recipient's readiness to accept it are motivated by the heuristic rule accepted by the communicational community: *execute the order, directive, request, proposal, etc.*, which constitutes a part of the social contract. Such rules fulfil the basic rule

6 J.L. Austin, *Mówienie i poznawanie. Rozprawy i wykłady filozoficzne*, trans. B. Chwedeńczuk, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1993.

7 A. Awdiejew, *Gramatyka interakcji werbalnej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Krakow 2004.

of cooperation and integration of a communicational community without which it would not be able to survive.

One also refers to the interactive meaning all kinds of **qualifying meanings**, which are of a subjective evaluation nature. In the case of an evaluating speech act, e.g.:

Marysia jest wspaniałą kobietą [Marysia is a wonderful woman],

a recipient will always add to the area of understanding the meaning: **the sender thinks that** Marysia is a wonderful woman and the sender has the intention to inform the recipient about that. In that situation, there occurs a change of the S1 situation: the recipient did not know that the sender had such an opinion of Marysia, to the S2 situation: the recipient knows that the sender has such an opinion about Marysia. As per the definition of the success rate of speech acts, there occurs a **modification of the relationship** between the sender and recipient.

Finally, the above-discussed varieties of meaning one could also add a generalised **discursive meaning**. The understanding and the definition of the meaning, which depends on the kind of communicational contact, is related to that which discourse researchers called **rules** in that sense that every discourse has specific individual self-organisation rules, without considering which communication within its framework would have been impossible. In the model of our grammar we apply the traditional division into basic discourses: colloquial, official, journalistic, academic, and artistic, with their various varieties, i.e. sub-discourses.⁸ The self-organisation rules of those discourses are completely subordinate to that which we call **communicational objectives**. In the case of colloquial discourse, the communicational objective is the need to organise human cooperation, as first defined by Malinowski; in the case of academic discourse: to seek and discover truth (whatever one understands by that); in the case of journalistic discourse: to convince recipients to assume the proposed evaluative attitude; in the case of official discourse: to establish the correlation between the accepted legal norms and human conduct; and, finally, in the case of artistic discourse: to enable recipients to experience beauty. Those superordinate objectives introduce for individual discourses traditionally defined rules of their creation and understanding. Those general assumptions of communicational grammar require further detailed study; at this point, the goal is to emphasise the impact of the pre-established rules of how individual discourses are understood. I chose for a communicational analysis a fragment of a poem by Joanna Ślósarska *Próśba do kogokolwiek*. Poetry, being a sub-discourse of the artistic discourse, has a special nature. It can convey a major

⁸ A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie do gramatyki komunikacyjnej*, Vol. 2, Oficyna Wydawnicza Leksem, Łask 2006.

area of an intended meaning through a fairly limited set of formal means. The aim of a communicational analysis is to detect the entire meaning as a **complement** to the original conveyed meaning. As I have already mentioned, the communicational objective of artistic discourse is to enable recipients to experience the beauty component, the meaning of which should be detected and described by the analysis. Ślósarska's poem is a kind of prayer, i.e. an appeal to a higher power which can change and improve her life. Please consider a short fragment of this excellent poem:

*zamknij przede mną drzwi
za którymi ludzie o duszach lokajów
ucztując
zmieniają w kamień chleb*
[close for me the door
behind which people with servile souls
while feasting
change bread into stone]

When referring it to the current situation of the Polish society, the mind of a keen recipient bursts with a whole panorama of meanings, which, based on the interpretative tradition, triggers the recipient's imagination and helps them discover various interesting mutually related areas of meaning. That could serve as the topic of an entire article or even a book. To simplify the matter, allow me to indicate that the author continued the theme of revolutionary changes which she described in the previous fragment of the poem. She metaphorically ("close for me the door") distanced herself from the community of people "with servile souls", who were the consumers of victory though being far from true humanity. She implicitly expressed her bitterness towards people who were shallow, superficial, who "change bread into stone". The metaphor of changing bread into stone is a negative reversed symbol of creativeness, which for the author is the highest purpose of one's life – to do something meaningful for people. Based on the analysis, one can define three components of meaning:

IDEATIONAL MEANING: the image of a feast with people of non-refined needs,

INTERACTIVE MEANING (EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE): solidarity with the author in her rejection of the shallow world of consumption,

AESTHETIC MEANING (AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE): acceptance of the metaphor of the rejection of the shallow world. The acceptance of the negative metaphor of wasting creative powers.

In communicational grammar, we have done little in terms of analysing poetic texts. Much better analyses of poetic meaning can be found in the publications by skilled literary scholars. Our goal is only to introduce order to the communicational processes so distant from one another.

In our search of the various kinds of linguistic meaning we are only left with the description of its major manifestation, which Jan Pleszczyński, a media and communication researcher, called **rationmorphism** (Pleszczyński 2013)⁹. It refers to the observable human skill of deductive argumentation. In my opinion, that wonderful phenomenon deserves an in-depth study, yet it is so universal that it is considered as something common and trivial. In simple terms, it could be presented as a mental process which based on an assumed **general rule** and a related **particular judgement** enables one to automatically draw conclusions in the form of a **deduction**. Already Aristotle discussed syllogisms as the areas of organised meaning (*All men are mortal, Socrates is human, ergo Socrates is mortal*). Clearly, the judgement “All men are mortal” exists in the syllogism as the general rule, the judgement “Socrates is a man” is a particular judgements, and “Socrates is mortal” is a deduction. The problem is that in a text, argumentative series in the analytical form are almost non-existent, they are not entirely realised by speakers, and if one starts analysing them, especially in colloquial discourse, one notices that despite this human rationmorphism works fine, it is often based on doubtful general rules. Those often include fallacious convictions, prejudice or even superstitions held by a communicational community. An analysis of argumentation in colloquial discourse enables one to quickly detect such logical anomalies. When one hears such utterances as: *Moja babcia ma dobry wzrok, bo je dużo marchewki* [My grandma has good vision because she eats a lot of carrots] or *Lech Poznań wygra, bo ma nowego trenera* [Lech Poznań wins because it has a new coach], which in this kind of argumentation are often viewed as justified, one does not immediately realise that the argument is based on rather dubious general rules: *Kto je dużo marchewki zawsze ma dobry wzrok* [Who eats many carrots always has good vision] or *Drużyna, która ma nowego trenera, zawsze wygrywa* [A team which has a new coach always wins]. I do not wish to take part in the long-running philosophical dispute whether rationmorphism ensured humanity’s survival, though that wonderful property of the human mind to process an old meaning into a new one surely deserves attention and further study. The era of artificial intelligence is upon us, which, as Yuval Harari prophesies ominously, may soon exceed the intelligence of some representatives of the homo sapiens.

⁹ J. Pleszczyński, *Epistemologia komunikacji medialnej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2013.

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Aleksy Awdiejew

W poszukiwaniu sensu językowego

Streszczenie

Przedmiotem artykułu jest ustalenie związku między sensem zawartym w wypowiedzi a jej formalnym ukształtowaniem. Autor sytuuje swe rozważania na gruncie badań komunikacji naturalnej. Pojęcie sensu jest tu utożsamiane z tym, co w gramatyce komunikacyjnej nazywa się konfiguracją kognitywną. Konfiguracja kognitywna wyrażana jest za pomocą tekstów, ale teksty tylko w sposób umowny wskazują na sens, jaki zamierza przekazać nadawca. Autor zwraca uwagę na mechanikę przejawiania się sensu w procesie parafrazowania wypowiedzi i jej konsekwencje dla praktyki przekładu tekstu na języki obce. Przywołuje pojęcie sensu

dyskursywnego, zakładając, że każdy dyskurs posiada określone własne reguły samoorganizacji, bez uwzględnienia których komunikowanie się w jego obrębie byłoby niemożliwe.

Słowa kluczowe: sens, konfiguracja kognitywna, dyskurs, parafrazowanie, przekład językowy.

In search of linguistic meaning

Summary

The aim of the article is to define the relationship between the meaning included in an utterance and its formal shape. The author based his discussion on the study of natural communication. The notion of meaning is in the article associated with that which in communicational grammar is referred to as cognitive configuration. It is expressed through texts, but texts indicate the meaning a sender intends to send in only a conventional manner. The author stressed the mechanism of the emergence of meaning in the process of paraphrasing utterances and its consequences for the practice of translation. He included the notion of discursive meaning assuming that every discourse has specific individual self-organisation rules without considering which communication within it would not be possible.

Keywords: meaning, cognitive configuration, discourse, paraphrasing, translation.

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The category of aspect vs. meaning

The unique category of aspect, inherent only to Slavic languages, is one of the modes which decides about the meaning conveyed. The Slavic aspect has been discussed extensively in linguistics. An enumeration of the studies dealing with this issue would take up too much space in this article. Therefore, I shall not refer earlier studies, especially as the perspective I shall apply will differ from all the previous ones.¹

The major function in indicating meaning is fulfilled by the **perfective** category², which apart from the ideational function of introducing a time-space scenario can also fulfil additional interactive functions. First, I would like to discuss how selected predicates of action operate. Among these, one of the most extensive representation of perfective forms is the predicate NIEŚĆ [to carry *imperf.*] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING). It indicates an action in which someone moves an object with their hands, which can be lifted. That precludes, e.g. non-metaphorical meanings of carrying a car, a wardrobe, a building, etc.. Prefixal³ perfective forms of the predicate mainly form space-time scenarios in which changes of location (Loc) come to the foreground. Changes of location are naturally and necessarily accompanied by a duration in time, while there is a simple relationship between the duration and the spatial dimension.

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1 More about relevant principles of communicational grammar: A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie do gramatyki komunikacyjnej*, Vol. 1, Oficyna Wydawnicza Leksem, Łask 2004; A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie sensu w procesie odbioru komunikatów*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2010.

2 Cf. A. Bogustawski, *Aspekt i negacja*, Katedra Lingwistyki Formalnej UW Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2003 (offers extensive subject literature).

3 R. Przybylska, *Polisemia przymków polskich w świetle semantyki kognitywnej*, Universitas, Krakow 2002.

Prefixes which express perfectivity indicate a change in the location of an object in various directions. The reproduction of a scenario defines the starting and target locations in various ways.

In the most emphatic manner, the meaning of the starting and target locations is defined by the perfective predicate PRZENIEŚĆ [to carry *perf.*] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING/SOMEONE), where the action is accompanied by a spatial change with the specification of both the starting point (LOC₀) and the target point (LOC₊₁). The moving in this case occurs within the horizontal plane and may have a variable direction, e.g. in the sentence:

Jan przeniósł walizki do innego przedziału [Jan carried the suitcases to another compartment]

the following scenario exists:

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (t-2) | (Loco): | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: WALIZKI [suitcases]) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: WALIZKI [suitcases]) |
| (to) | (Loc+1): | POŁOŻYĆ [to lay down] (someone: JANEK, something: WALIZKI [suitcases], somewhere: INNY PRZEDZIAŁ [another compartment]) |

However, if you combine the above example with the *przez* preposition [over], the direction is clearly defined, e.g.:

Piotr przeniósł żonę przez próg mieszkania [Piotr carried his wife over the threshold of the flat]

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loco): | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTR, someone: ŻONĘ [wife], how: NA RĘCE [in arms]) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, someone: ŻONĘ [wife], over something: PRZEZ PRÓG [over the threshold]) |
| (to) | (Loc+1): | POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: PIOTR, someone: ŻONĘ [wife], somewhere: W MIESZKANIU [in the flat]) |

The mode of moving the object W RĘKACH is included in the basic meaning of the NIEŚĆ predicate, which is why it is included in the scenario as a mode of operation (how). The expressed meaning is linked in this case with the standard ritual of getting married, therefore one can talk about an extension of the area of meaning in the process of understanding.

Adam przeniósł wózek z dzieckiem przez tory kolejowe [Adam carried the pram with the child over the train tracks], etc.

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loco): | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ADAM, something: WÓZEK Z DZIECKIEM [pram with a child], how: W RĘCE [in hands]) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: ADAM, something: WÓZEK Z DZIECKIEM [pram with a child], over something: KOLEJOWE > TORY [train tracks]) |
| (to) | (Loc+1): | POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: ADAM, something: WÓZEK Z DZIECKIEM [pram with a child], somewhere: ZA TORAMI [past the train tracks]) |

The PRZENIEŚĆ SIĘ [to move (meaning: relocate)] (SOMEONE, TO SOMEWHERE) predicate indicates the same sense of changing the location from the starting location to the target location:

Jan przeniósł się do Krakowa [Jan moved to Krakow]

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loco): | MIESZKAĆ [to live] [someone: JAN, somewhere: ?] |
| (t-1) | | PRZENOSIĆ SIĘ [to move] (someone: JAN, from somewhere: (?) to somewhere: DO KRAKOWA [to Krakow]) |
| (to) | (Loc+1): | MIESZKAĆ [to live] (someone: JAN, somewhere: W KRAKOWIE [in Krakow]) |

The form PRZENOSIĆ SIĘ [to move] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE) in the scenario indicates a period of moving/relocating. Such forms of secondary imperfective aspect are used in language for indicating transitional fragments, from one state to another. This is why that link in the scenario can be expanded in terms of time in the statement:

Jan długo przenoślił się do Krakowa [Jan gradually moved to Krakow]

The metaphorical uses of the predicate PRZENIEŚĆ adopt the same pattern: PRZENIEŚĆ [to move] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE), where, e.g.:
SOMETHING: NUMBER, APPLICATION, MONEY, etc.
FROM SOMEWHERE: (?), COMPUTER, OFE [open pension fund], TELEPHONE, etc.

TO SOMEWHERE: (?), PLAY [a cellular telephone carrier], MEMORY CARD, ZUS [Social Insurance Institution], etc.

In such scenarios, transitions can be a reset (?) specification of either starting or target locations, which does not impact the fact whether an utterance has meaning. For example:

Marysia skądś przemieściła swoje pieniądze do mBanku [Marysia transferred her money from somewhere to mBank] or *Marysia przemieściła pieniądze z mBanku dokądś* [Marysia transferred money from mBank to somewhere]

In standard communication, the specification of the starting and target locations is usually required:

Przenieśli pieniądze z OFE do ZUS [They transferred money from OFE to ZUS]: PRZENIEŚĆ [to transfer] (someone: RZĄD [the government], something: PIENIĄDZE [money], from: OFE, to: ZUS)

The imperfective form of the predicate PRZENOSIĆ [to move/transfer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE) indicates, as I have already emphasised, the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates: PRZENIEŚĆ [to move/transfer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE). Its application in the present tense indicates an ongoing action in time (to) or recurring extra-temporal actions, e.g.:

(NOW) *Jan przenosi walizki z przedziału do przedziału* [Jan is moving suitcases from compartment to compartment] (observation of an action)

(USUALLY) *Jan przenosi walizki z peronu do przedziału* [Jan is moving suitcases from the platform to a compartment] (the work of a porter)

In the examples of metaphorical usage and with the predicate PRZENOSIĆ SIĘ, an interpretation indicating the interactive meaning of modality (expressing intent) is also possible, e.g.:

Rząd przenosi pieniądze z OFE do ZUS [The government is transferring money from OFE to ZUS] = *Rząd ZAMIERZA PRZENIEŚĆ pieniądze z OFE do ZUS* [The government INTENDS TO TRANSFER money from OFE to ZUS]

Jan przynosi się do Krakowa [Jan is moving to Krakow] = *Jan ZAMIERZA PRZENIEŚĆ SIĘ do Krakowa* [Jan INTENDS TO MOVE to Krakow]

Since the expressed perfective aspect indicates not the entire scenario of the predicate PRZENIEŚĆ but only a fragment of it, that triggers, in this case, the understanding of the meaning of intent.

Movement within the horizontal plane in one direction is defined by perfective predicates: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE), ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE), ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE), DONIEŚĆ [to bring to] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE), WNIEŚĆ [to bring in] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE). They indicate somewhat less clearly the starting location, instead emphasising the target location.

The predicates PRZYNIEŚĆ and ZANIEŚĆ indicate very similar meanings, though not identical. For example, in the statements:

Jan przyniósł dokumenty do urzędu
[Jan brought documents to the office]

Jan zaniósł dokumenty do urzędu
[Jan took documents to the office]

Piotr przyniósł piwo na stadion
[Piotr brought beer to the stadium]

Piotr zaniósł piwo na stadion [
Piotr took beer to the stadium]

Marysia przyniosła dziecko do żłobka
[Marysia brought child to daycare]

Marysia zaniosa dziecko do żłobka
[Marysia took child to daycare]

the following scenarios exist:

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-3) | | POSTANOWIĆ [to decide] (someone: JAN, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], somewhere: DO URZĘDU [to office]) |
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | WZIAĆ [to take] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], to someone: URZĘDNIKOWI [clerk] & POZOSTAWAĆ [to remain] (someone: JAN, somewhere: W URZĘDZIE [in the office]) |

- (t-3) **POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: PIOTR, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], somewhere: NA STADION [to the stadium])
- (t-2) (Loc-1): **WZIĄĆ** [to give back] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: (?))
- (t-1) **NIEŚĆ** [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO)
- (to) (Loco): **WYPIĆ** [to drink] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], somewhere: NA STADIONIE [in the stadium])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-2) (Loco): **WZIĄĆ** [to take] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?)
- (t-1) **NIEŚĆ** [to carry] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents])
- (to) (Loc+1): **ODDAĆ** [to give back] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], to someone: URZĘDNIKOWI [clerk] & OPUŚCIĆ [to leave] (someone: JAN, something: URZĄD)
- (t-2) (Loco): **WZIĄĆ** [to take] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: (?))
- (t-1) **NIEŚĆ** [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer])
- (to) (Loc+1): **ZOSTAWIĆ** [to leave] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], somewhere: NA STADIONIE [in the stadium])

In the scenario of the predicate **PRZYNIEŚĆ**, the starting link is the expression of intentionality (**POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)) which becomes weakened in the scenario of the predicate **ZANIEŚĆ**. Additionally, for the predicate **PRZYNIEŚĆ**, the most important location is the target location, and for the predicate **ZANIEŚĆ** what is important is the movement of the performer of the action to that target location expressed in the predicate **NIEŚĆ**.

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-3) **POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: MARYSIA, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: DO ŻŁOBKA [to daycare])
- (t-2) (Loc-1): **WZIĄĆ** [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?)
- (t-1) **NIEŚĆ** [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child])
- (to) (Loco): **ZOSTAWIĆ** [to leave] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: W ŻŁOBKU [at daycare])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-2) (Loco): WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?)
- (t-1) NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child])
- (to) (Loc+1): ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: W ŻŁOBKU [at daycare] & WYJŚĆ [to leave] (someone: MARYSIA, from somewhere: ZE ŻŁOBKA [from daycare])

It appears that the difference between those predicates consists of (apart from intentionality) a different target location, (Loco) in the case of PRZYNIEŚĆ, and (Loc+1) in the case of ZANIEŚĆ.

In such scenarios, the specification of the target location may be undefined (?) in an expression—it is replaced by the action's recipient. For example:

Piotrek przyniósł Zenkowi piwo
[Piotrek brought Zenek beer]

Piotrek zaniósł Zenkowi piwo
[Piotrek took beer to Zenek]

which can be transcribed in the form of specific scenarios:

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-3) **POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: JAN, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], somewhere: DO URZĘDU [to office])
- (t-2) (Loc-1): WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?)
- (t-1) NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])
- (to) (Loco): PODAĆ [to give] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take to] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-2) (Loco): WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?)
- (t-1) **NIEŚĆ** [to carry] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])
- (to) (Loc+1): PODAĆ [to give] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])

The metaphorical uses of the predicate PRZYNIEŚĆ (SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂, TO SOMEONE) take the same pattern in which the target location is reset and the beneficiary is suggested:

Inwestycja w budownictwo przyniosła Jankowi zysk [Investment in construction brought Janek profit]

Talizman przyniósł Marysi szczęście [The talisman brought Marysia good luck],
etc.

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂, SOMEONE), where, e.g.:

SOMETHING₁: INVESTMENT, DEPOSIT, TALISMAN, etc.

SOMETHING₂: PROFIT, LOSSES, HAPPINESS, etc.

Clearly, in the metaphorical use, the fact of reaching the target location is emphasised, which proves the intuitive assumption regarding the presumed scenario of the predicate PRZYNIEŚĆ.

Imperfective forms of the predicate PRZYNOSIĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE) and ZANOSIĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE) indicate periodic actions:

(USUALLY) *Marysia przynosi dziecko do żłobka* [Marysia brings child to daycare]
(periodic action)

(USUALLY) *Jan przynosi dokumenty do urzędu* [Jan brings documents to the office]
(the performance of the profession of a courier)

Then, the metaphorically applied imperfective predicate PRZYNOSIĆ (SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂, TO SOMEONE) indicates the recurring nature of the scenarios of past situations: investments bring profit or loss, talismans bring good luck, etc.

The target location is emphasised also by the predicate ODNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE). The standard scenario of this predicate assumes in the first phase the taking of something to somewhere, i.e. a change of location from (Loc-1) to (Loc0), and then the taking of the thing back to its original location (Loc-1). Clearly, there is a correspondence between the temporal scenario and the change of location. The temporal scenario precludes a return to the same point in time, whereas a change of location does not preclude it. That is visible in the following examples:

Zosia odniosła książkę na półkę [Zosia put the book back to the bookshelf]

Janek odniósł książkę Marysi [Janek brought the book back to Marysia]

Piotr odniósł butelki do sklepu [Piotr brought the bottles back to the shop], etc.

which fulfil similar scenarios:

ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING, SOMEONE₂)

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (t-6) | (Loco) | LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁCE [on a shelf]) |
| (t-5) | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (SOMEONE: (?), something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], from somewhere: Z PÓŁKI [from the bookshelf]) |
| (t-4) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE: (?), something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-3) | | LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| | (Loc+1): | |
| (t-2) | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ZOSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], FROM SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: ZOSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁKĘ [on the bookshelf]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | POŁOŻYĆ [to lay down] (someone: ZOSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁCE [on the bookshelf]) |
| (t+1) | | LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁCE [on the bookshelf]) |

ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING, SOMEONE₂)

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-5) | (Loco): | POŻYCZYĆ [to borrow] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], from someone: OD MARYSI [from Marysia]) |
| (t-4) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-3) | (Loc+1): | ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-2) | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], FROM SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: DO MARYSI [to Marysia]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], to someone: MARYSI [to Marysia]) |

ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING, SOMEONE₂)

| | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-6) | (Loco): | KUPIĆ [to buy] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop]) |
| (t-5) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], TO SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-4) | | PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], TO SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-3) | (Loc+1): | WYPIĆ [to drink <i>perf.</i>] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], SOMEWHERE:(Loc+1)) |
| (t-2) | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTR, something: BUTELKI [bottles], FROM SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1)) |
| (t-1) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: BUTELKI [bottles], to somewhere: DO SKLEPU [to a shop]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: PIOTR, something: BUTELKI [bottles], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop]) |

In the case of the predicates ODNIEŚĆ [to take back/ to achieve] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) and ODNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to refer to] (SOMEONE, TO SOMETHING), their metaphorical uses do not entail a change of location. There occurs a desemanticisation of the ontological reference of ODNIEŚĆ, e.g.:

Marysia odniosła sukces w pracy [Marysia achieved success at work]

Janek odniósł wrażenie, że Zosia go lubi [Janek got the impression that Zosia liked him]

Then, in the example:

Profesor odniósł się do podanych przykładów [The professor referred to the examples provided], etc.

the desemanticisation is not total, as the predicate can be replaced by a synonymic predicate SIĘGNAĆ [to reach for] (SOMEONE, FOR SOMETHING), where it retains the meaning of motion.

DONIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE) is another predicate which indicates the target location within the horizontal relation. It is rarely used in its non-metaphorical reference; it is much better known in its metaphorical meaning: DONIEŚĆ [to inform on] (SOMEONE, ON SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE). Physically “bringing” [“donoszenie”] entails either major effort required to carry an object or delivering additional documents to an office, e.g.:

Marysia doniosła zakupy do domu [Marysia lugged the shopping home]

Janek doniósł świadectwo na uczelnię [Janek brought the certificate to the university],
etc.

which following the scenarios:

DONIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-2) (Loco): KUPIĆ [to buy] (someone: MARYSIA, SOMETHING, somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])
- (t-1) Z TRUDEM [with difficulty] > NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: DO DOMU [home])
- (to) (Loc+1): POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: MARYSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: W DOMU [at home])

DONIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-2) (Loco): BRAKOWAĆ [to be missing] (someone: JANKOWI [Janek], something: ŚWIADECTWA [certificate], in something: W DOKUMENTACH [in documents], somewhere: NA UCZELNI [at the university] & MUSIEĆ [have to] (someone: JANEK, something: (DOSTARCZYĆ [to deliver] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚWIADECTWO [certificate], somewhere: NA UCZELNIĘ [to the university]))
- (t-1) NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚWIADECTWO [certificate], somewhere: NA UCZELNIĘ [to the university])
- (to) (Loc+1): ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚWIADECTWO [certificate], to someone: URZĘDNIKOWI [official], somewhere: NA UCZELNI [at the university])

The derived imperfective form functions only in the metaphorical meaning: DONOSIĆ [to inform] (SOMEONE₁, ON SOMEONE_n) and it introduces the meaning of multiple instances of informing on various persons.

WNIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE) is an interesting predicate which indicates relocation both within the horizontal and the vertical planes, with a specification of the target location (Loco). For example:

in the horizontal plane:

Janek wniósł materiały do magazynu
[Janek carried the materials into the storage]

Piotrek wniósł alkohol na stadion
[Piotrek carried alcohol into the stadium]

Zosia wniosła dziecko do gabinetu dentystycznego
[Zosia carried the child to the dentist's room]

in the vertical plane:

Staszek wniósł zakupy na drugie piętro
[Staszek carried the shopping to third floor]

Mirek wniósł narty na skocznię
[Mirek carried skies onto the ski jump]

Marysia wniosła dziecko po schodach
[Marysia carried the child up the stairs]

which can be transcribed in the form of scenarios:

WNIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-2) (Loc-1): WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: MATERIAŁY [materials], FROM SOMEWHERE:(?))
- (t-1) NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: MATERIAŁY [materials], somewhere: DO MAGAZYNU [to the storage])
- (t0) (Loc0): ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: JANEK, something: MATERIAŁY [materials], somewhere: W MAGAZYNIE [in the storage])

WNIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

- (t-3) (Loc-1): ZROBIĆ [to do] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])
- (t-2) WYNIIEŚĆ [to carry out] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], from somewhere: ZE SKLEPU [from a shop])
NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: NA DRUGIE PIĘTRO [to the third floor])
- (t0) (Loc0): ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: NA DRUGIM PIĘTRZE [on the third floor])

The metaphorical use of the predicate WNIEŚĆ adopts the same pattern: WNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, INTO SOMETHING): *wnieść ktoś wkład w rozwiązanie problemu / do projektu* [to bring someone input into a solution to a problem/ to a project], etc.

The imperfective form of the predicate WNOSIĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) indicates, as I have already emphasised, the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates.

The predicate WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise above] (SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) also indicates a target location defining motion within the vertical plane, e.g.:

Ptak wzniosł się pod chmury [The bird rose beneath the clouds]

Koń wzniosł się nad poprzeczkę [The horse jumped over the bar]

Samolot wzniosł się w powietrze [The plane rose into the air], etc.

The predicate fulfils the following scenarios:

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something, somewhere)

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: PTAK [bird], SOMEWHERE:(?)) |
| (t-1) | | LECIEĆ [to fly], (something: PTAK [bird], somewhere: POD CHMURY [beneath the clouds]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: PTAK [bird], somewhere: POD CHMURAMI [beneath the clouds]) |

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something, somewhere)

- | | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: KOŃ [horse], somewhere: NA ZIEMI [on the ground]) |
| (t-1) | | SKOCZYĆ [to jump] (something: KOŃ [horse], somewhere: DO GÓRY [up]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: KOŃ [horse], somewhere: NAD POPRZECZKĄ [over the bar]) |

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something, somewhere)

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: NA LOTNISKU [in the airport]) |
| (t-1) | | WZNOSIĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: DO GÓRY [up]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: W POWIETRZU [in the air]) |

The metaphorical uses of the predicate WZNOSIĆ SIĘ adopt the same pattern:

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE) where, e.g.:
SOMEWHERE: ABOVE A PROBLEM/ EMOTIONS/ DIVISIONS/ MEDIOCRITY/ INTO THE HEIGHTS

For example the statement: *Marysia wzniosła się ponad emocje* [Marysia rose above her emotions] enables the scenario of a metaphorical meaning, which assumes a change of Marysia's location from (Loco): BYĆ [to be] (someone: MARYSIA, somewhere: W EMOCJACH [under the influence of emotions]) to location (Loc+1): NIE BYĆ [not to be] (someone: MARYSIA, somewhere: W EMOCJACH [under the influence of emotions]), where Marysia's presence above emotions heralds her positive victory.

The imperfective form of the predicate WZNOSIĆ [to rise] (SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE) also indicates the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates.

Within both the horizontal and vertical planes, predicates also function which emphasise the starting location (Loco). Horizontally, the starting location is indicated by the predicates: WYNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, FROM SOMEWHERE), and PONIEŚĆ [to suffer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), and vertically: PODNIEŚĆ [to elevate] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂), UNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), ZNIEŚĆ [to carry down] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, FROM SOMEWHERE).

The predicate WYNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, FROM SOMEWHERE) indicates motion within the horizontal plane, with a profiling of the starting location, e.g.:

Zosia wyniosła zakupy ze sklepu [Zosia carried shopping out of the shop]

Janek wyniósł śmieci [Janek carried out the rubbish]

Policja wyniosła protestujących [The police carried off the protesters]

Strażak wyniósł dziecko z płonącego budynku [A fireman carried a child out of a burning building], etc.

Those examples trigger the following scenarios:

WNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE)

(t-2) ZROBIĆ [to do] (someone: ZOSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])

(t-1) (Loco): WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ZOSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping])
NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: ZOSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], from somewhere: ZE SKLEPU [from a shop])

| | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| (to) | (Loc+1) | BYĆ [to be] (someone: ZOSIA & something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: POZA SKLEPEM [outside a shop]) |
| (t-1) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: ŚMIECI [rubbish], somewhere: W DOMU [at home]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚMIECI [shopping], from somewhere: Z DOMU [from home]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1) | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: ŚMIECI [rubbish], somewhere: POZA DOMEM [outside the home]) |
| (t-1) | (Loco): | PROTESTOWAĆ [to protest] (someone: NATION, AGAINST SOMETHING: (?)) CHWYCIĆ [to grasp] (someone: POLICJA [the police], someone: PROTESTUJĄCYCH [protesters]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: POLICJA [the police], someone: PROTESTUJĄCYCH [protesters], from somewhere: Z DEMONSTRACJI [from a demonstration], SOMEWHERE:(?)) |
| (t-1) | (Loco): | PŁONAĆ [to burn], (something: BUDYNEK [a building]) & ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: W PŁONĄCYM [in a burning] > BUDYNKU [building]) WZIAĆ [to take] (someone: STRAŻAK [a fireman], someone: DZIECKO [child]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: STRAŻAK [a fireman], someone: DZIECKO [child], from somewhere: Z PŁONĄCEGO [from a burning] > BUDYNKU [building]) |

they clearly display a dominant indication of starting locations while target locations are not defined.

The same change of location is indicated by the predicate WYNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to leave] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE), e.g.:

Mieszkańcy wynieśli się z zagrożonego budynku [The residents left the hazardous building]

Rosja musi wynieść się z Krymu [Russia needs to leave Crimea], etc.

in both cases the conveyed meaning is similar: someone has to leave a location (Loco) they currently occupy, e.g.:

WYNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to leave] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|-------|---------|--|
| (t-1) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: MIESZKAŃCY [residents], somewhere: W BUDYNKU [in the building]) & ZAGRAŻAĆ [to be a hazard] (something: BUDYNEK [building], to someone: MIESZKAŃCOM [residents]) |
|-------|---------|--|

| | | |
|-------|---------|--|
| (to) | | OPUSZCZAĆ [to leave] (someone: MIESZKAŃCY [residents], something: ZAGROŻONY [hazardous] > BUDYNEK [building]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1) | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: MIESZKAŃCY [residents], somewhere: POZA BUDYNKIEM [outside a building]) |
| (t-1) | (Loco): | OKUPOWAĆ [to occupy] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: KRYM [Crimea]) |
| (to) | | MUSIEĆ [have to] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: OPUŚCIĆ [to leave] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: Z KRYM [Crimea]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1) | OPUŚCIĆ [to leave] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: KRYM) |

The metaphorical use of the predicate WYNIIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂, onto something: THE TOP) has a different (vertical) direction of motion, yet it also profiles the starting location (Loco), which is located low, and the action indicates an upward motion.

The imperfective form of the predicate WYNOSIĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE), as in the case of previously-discussed predicates, indicates a temporarily undefined (in terms of its iterativeness) fragment of a scenario, to which the perfective form draws our attention.

Within the horizontal plane, with an indication of the starting location, the predicate PONIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂/SOMEONE₂) also functions, rarely used in its standard meaning, e.g.:

Trumnę ponieśli przyjaciele [The coffin was carried by friends]

Wilki poniosły zdobycz [Wolves carried their prey], etc.

These examples fulfil the following scenarios:

PONIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)

| | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| (t-1) | (Loco): | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PRZYJACIELE [friends], something: TRUMNĘ [coffin]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PRZYJACIELE [friends], something: TRUMNĘ [coffin]) |

PONIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂)

| | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| (t-1) | (Loco): | ZŁAPAĆ [to catch], (something: WILKI (wolves), something: ZDOBYCZ [prey]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry], (something: WILKI (wolves), something: ZDOBYCZ [prey]) |

The predicate PONIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), which has countless examples of its standard use which indicates an action, has a rich periphrastic and metaphorical representation, where the SOMETHING is: CONSEQUENCES, DEFEAT, FAILURE, LOSSES, COSTS, RESPONSIBILITY, etc.

Interestingly enough, in the case of ODNIEŚĆ [to take back] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), that *SOMETHING* in the periphrastic case is mainly positive events, e.g. a *success*, while with the predicate PONIEŚĆ [to suffer] it mainly includes negative events, e.g. a *failure, defeat, losses, punishment, responsibility*, etc.

Then, within the vertical plane, the starting location is indicated by the predicates PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂), UNIEŚĆ [to elevate] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), and ZNIEŚĆ [to carry down] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂). All these, however, may also derivatively indicate an undefined target location.

The predicate PODNIEŚĆ is best illustrated by the following examples:

Marysia podniosła książkę z podłogi [Marysia lifted a book from the floor]

Zosia podniosła dziecko [Zosia lifted a child]

Marynarze podnieśli kotwicę [Sailors raised the anchor]

Jan podniósł rękę [Jan raised his hand], etc.

which follow the scenarios:

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| (to) | (Loco): | LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor]) WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], from somewhere: Z PODŁOGI [from the floor]) |
| (t+i) | (Loc+i) | TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: MARYSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: W REŃKACH [in hands]) |

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂, FROM SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|------|---------|---|
| (to) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE/W ŁÓŻECZKU [on the floor/ in a crib]) |
|------|---------|---|

| | | |
|-------|---------|--|
| | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ZOSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], from somewhere: Z PODŁOGI/ Z ŁÓŻECZKA [off the floor/ from the crib]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1) | TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: ZOSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA RĘKU [in hands]) |

These examples feature clear indications of the starting locations (Loco). That is the standard use of the predicate. A more complex situation exists in other examples. In *Marynarze podnieśli kotwicę* [Sailors lifted the anchor], both locations are profiled: the starting location and the target location, whereas neither must be defined in a statement, and the meaning is completed automatically, through reference to the standard:

PONIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)

| | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (to) | (Loco): | LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KOTWICA [anchor], somewhere: NA DNIE [at the bottom]) CIAĞNĄĆ [to pull] (someone: MARYNARZE [sailors], something: KOTWICĘ [anchor], from somewhere: Z DNA [from the bottom], to somewhere: NA POKŁAD [onto the deck]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1): | LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KOTWICA [anchor], somewhere: NA POKŁADZIE [on the deck]) |

Then, in the example *Jan podniósł rękę* [Jan raised his hand], the following scenario is fulfilled:

| | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (to) | (Loc-1): | TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: JAN, something: OPUSZCZONĄ [down] > RĘKĘ [hand]) PODNOSIĆ [to lift] (someone: JAN, something: RĘKĘ [hand], somewhere: W GÓRĘ [up]) |
| (t+1) | (Loco): | TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: JAN, something: RĘKĘ [hand], somewhere: W GÓRĘ [up]) |

which indicates the target location (Loco).

The reflexive predicate *PODNIEŚĆ SIĘ* [to raise oneself] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE), fulfils the prototypical use of the predicate *PODNIEŚĆ*, i.e. indicates a starting location, e.g.

Zosia podniosła się z fotela [Zosia rose from the armchair]

Dziecko podniosło się z podłogi [Zosia lifted herself from the floor], etc.

PODNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to raise] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE)

- (to) (Loco): SIEDZIEĆ [to sit] (someone: ZOSIA, somewhere: NA FOTELU [in the armchair])
 PODNOSIĆ SIĘ [to raise] (someone: ZOSIA, from somewhere: Z FOTEŁA [from the armchair])
- (t+1) STACĆ [to stand] (someone: ZOSIA)

The scenario can be, however, more developed to include an element of causality, which, of course, can be omitted, e.g.

- (t-1) (Loc-1) UPAŚĆ [to fall down] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁOGĘ [on the floor])
- (to) (Loco): LEŻEĆ/SIEDZIEĆ [to lie/sit] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])
 PODNOSIĆ SIĘ [to raise] (someone: DZIECKO [child], from somewhere: Z PODŁOGI [from the floor])
- (t+1) STACĆ [to stand] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])

In the metaphorical use, the upward motion usually assumes the meaning of a positive value, while the downward motion assumes the meaning of a negative value (Lakoff, Krzeszowski). Therefore, such a statement as

Firma się podniosła [The company rose/surged]

is perceived as a positive communication, while such a statement as

Firma upadła [The company fell]

as a negative evaluation with the applicable scenarios of escaping trouble or falling into them.

The metaphorical uses of the predicate PODNIEŚĆ adopt the same pattern:

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where:
 SOMETHING: EFFICIENCY, VALUE, SELF-ASSESSMENT, etc.

The imperfective form of the predicate *PODNOSIĆ* [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), similarly to the previously-discussed predicates derived from perfective forms, indicates a temporarily undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario created by a perfective predicate.

The predicate *UNIEŚĆ* [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) indicates a location similar to the predicate *PONIEŚĆ* [to suffer], yet it operates within the vertical plane, e.g.

Jan i Piotr unieśli fotel [Jan and Piotr lifted an armchair]

Maria uniosła garnek z wrzątkiem [Maria lifted a pot with boiling water], etc.

PODNIĘĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)

| | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| (t-1) | (Loco): | <i>STAĆ</i> [to stand], (something: <i>FOTEL</i> [armchair], somewhere: <i>NA PODŁODZE</i> [on the floor]) |
| (to) | | <i>CHWYCIĆ</i> [to grab] (someone: <i>JAN</i> and <i>PIOTR</i> , something: <i>FOTEL</i> [armchair]) <i>Z TRUDEM</i> [with difficulty] > <i>PODNOSIĆ</i> [to lift] (someone: <i>JAN</i> and <i>PIOTR</i> , something: <i>FOTEL</i> [armchair]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1) | <i>POSTAWIĆ</i> [to put down] (someone: <i>JAN</i> and <i>PIOTR</i> , something: <i>FOTEL</i> [armchair], somewhere: (?)) |

The metaphorical use of the predicate *UNIEŚĆ* adopts the same pattern with an emphasis on effort/difficulty associated with a state being experienced, and resetting the location:

UNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where, e.g.:
COŚ: VICTORY, SUFFERING, SUCCESS, etc.

The predicate *UNIEŚĆ SIĘ* [to lift oneself] (SOMEONE/SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) does not introduce, it would seem, the meaning associated with the difficulty of lifting; it comes closer to *PODNOSIĆ SIĘ* rather than to *UNIEŚĆ*, e.g.:

Janek uniosł się na łóżku [Janek lifted himself on the bed]

Samolot wzniósł się w powietrze [The plane rose into the air], etc.

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | LEŻEĆ [to lie] (someone: JANEK, somewhere: W ŁÓŻKU [in bed]) |
| (to) | | PODNOSIĆ SIĘ [to rise] (someone: JANEK) |
| | (Loco): | SIEDZIEĆ [to sit] (someone: JANEK, somewhere: W ŁÓŻKU [in bed]) |

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | STAC [to stand], (something: SAMOŁOT [plane], somewhere: NA LOTNISKU [in the airport]) UNOSIĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (something: SAMOŁOT [plane], somewhere: W POWIETRZE [into the air]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SAMOŁOT [plane], somewhere: W POWIETRZU [in the air]) |

It also appears in fixed phrases:

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ HONOREM [to take offence] (someone)

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ GNIEWEM [to become enraged] (someone)

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ DUMĄ [take to be too proud to] (someone), etc.

where the vertical motion indicates a position of dominance of a person over their surroundings.

The predicate ZNIEŚĆ [to carry down] clearly associated with the vertical downward direction may indicate various locations depending on the preposition preceding it – the starting location in combination with the preposition Z: ZNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE), target location in combination with the preposition DO: ZNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE), and no location, be it starting or target, in combination with the preposition PO: ZNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, OVER SOMETHING), e.g.:

Janek zniósł bagaże z drugiego piętra [Janek carried the luggage down from the third floor]

Marysia zniosła słoiki do piwnicy [Marysia carried jars down to cellar]

Piotrek zniósł dziecko po schodach [Piotrek carried the child down the stairs], etc.

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: BAGAŻE [luggage], somewhere: NA DRUGIM PIĘTRZE [on the third floor]) |
| (t-1) | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: BAGAŻE [luggage]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: BAGAŻE [luggage], somewhere: NA DÓŁ [down]) |
| | (Loc+1): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: BAGAŻE [luggage], somewhere: NA DOLE [downstairs]) |
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, something: SŁOIKI [jars]) |
| (to) | | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, something: SŁOIKI [jars], somewhere: DO PIWNICY [to cellar]) |
| | (Loco): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SŁOIKI [jars], somewhere: W PIWNICY [in the cellar]) |

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

| | | |
|-------|----------|--|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA GÓRZE [upstairs]) |
| | | WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTREK, someone: DZIECKO [child]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTREK, something: DZIECKO [child], over something: PO SCHODACH [down the stairs]) |
| (t+1) | (Loc+1): | ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: PIOTREK and CHILD, somewhere: NA DOLE [downstairs]) |

The imperfective form of the predicate ZNOSIĆ [to carry down] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) indicates, as I have already emphasised, the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates.

The metaphorical use of the predicate ZNIEŚĆ [to lift *perf.*] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) remains in an interesting relationship with the change of location as it introduces the meaning associated with removing something, e.g.:

ZNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where, e.g.:

SOMEONE: person/authorised institution

COŚ: CELIBACY, BAN, SANCTIONS, etc.

Then, in the imperfective form ZNOSIĆ [to experience/suffer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), indicates a long-term hardship of enduring inconveniences, e.g.:

ZNOSIĆ [to experience/suffer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where, e.g.:

SOMEONE: the person being harmed (beneficiary, subject of suffering)

SOMETHING: SUFFERING, HARDSHIPS, RHETORIC, etc.

An interesting location is indicated by the predicate NANIEŚĆ [to bring onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂), in the case of which there occurs an overlapping of planes, e.g.:

Dzieci naniósł błota na podłogę [The children brought mud in, all over the floor]

Malarz naniósł farbę na płótno [The painter put paint onto the canvas]

Janek naniósł pastę na zęby [Janek put paste on his teeth]

Marysia naniósła szampon na włosy [Marysia put shampoo on her hair], etc.

NANIEŚĆ [to bring onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Dzieci naniósł błota na podłogę [Children brought mud in, all over the floor]

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (t-2) | (Loc-1): | BIEGAĆ [to run] (someone: DZIECI [children], somewhere: PO BŁOCIE [in mud] & MIEĆ [to have] (someone: DZIECI [children], something: BŁOTO [mud], somewhere: NA BUTACH [on shoes]) |
| (t-1) | | WBIEC [to run into] (someone: DZIECI [children], somewhere: DO MIESZKANIA [into flat]) |
| (to) | (Loco): | ZABRUDZIĆ [to stain] (someone: DZIECI [children], something: PODŁOGĘ [the floor], with something: BŁOTEM [with mud]) & BYĆ [to be] (something: BŁOTO [children], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor]) |

NANIEŚĆ [to bring onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Janek naniósł pastę na zęby [Janek put paste on his teeth]

- | | | |
|-------|----------|---|
| (t-1) | (Loc-1): | NAŁOŻYĆ [to put] (someone: JANEK, something: PASTĘ DO ZĘBÓW [toothpaste], onto something: NA SZCZOTECZKĘ DO ZĘBÓW [onto toothbrush]) & ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: PASTA DO ZĘBÓW [toothpaste], somewhere: NA SZCZOTECZCE DO ZĘBÓW [on toothbrush]) |
|-------|----------|---|

- (to) (Loco): NAKŁADAC [to put] (someone: JANEK, something: PASTĘ DO ZĘBÓW [toothpaste], with something: SZCZOTECZKĄ [with a toothbrush], onto something: NA ZĘBY [onto teeth])
- (t+1) (Loco) MYĆ [to clean] (someone: JANEK, something: ZĘBY [teeth], using something: PASTĄ [toothpaste])

NANIEŚĆ [to put onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Malarz naniósł farbę na płótno [The painter put paint onto the canvas]

- (t-2) (Loc-2): ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: FARBA [paint], SOMEWHERE: (?))
- (t-1) (Loc-1): NAŁOŻYĆ [to put] (someone: MALARZ [painter], something: FARBĘ [paint], onto something: NA PĘDZEL [onto brush]) & **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: FARBA [paint], somewhere: NA PĘDZLU [on brush])**
- (to) NANOSIĆ [to put] (someone: MALARZ [painter], something: FARBĘ [paint], onto something: NA PŁÓTNO [onto canvas])
- (t+1) (Loco) **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: FARBA [paint], somewhere: NA PŁÓTNIE [on canvas])**

NANIEŚĆ [to put onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Marysia naniosiła szampon na włosy [Marysia put shampoo onto her hair]

- (t-1) (Loc-1): ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SZAMPON [shampoo], SOMEWHERE: (?))
- (to) NANOSIĆ [to put] (someone: MARYSIA, something: SZAMPON [shampoo], onto something: NA WŁOSY [onto hair])
- (t+1) (Loco) **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SZAMPON [shampoo], somewhere: NA WŁOSACH [on hair])**

Less commonly, NANIEŚĆ is also associated with gathering a major amount of something at a location, e.g.

Harcerze nanieśli chrustu na ognisko [Scouts brought brushwood for the bonfire]

- (t-1) (Loc-1): **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: CHRUST [brushwood], somewhere: W LESIE [in forest])**
- (to) NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: HARCERZE [scouts], something: CHRUST [brushwood], for something: NA OGNISKO [for bonfire])
- (t+1) (Loco) **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: CHRUST [brushwood], somewhere: OBOK OGNISKA [by bonfire])**

It seems that the horizontal or vertical system of motion in the case of the predicate NANIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING) is not significant.

It would seem that in the case of perfective predicates the prefix transfers the indication of meaning from one predicate onto the other while retaining certain spatial elements. If one compares the perfective predicates PRZENIEŚĆ and PRZEROBIC, one will notice that in the case of the predicates PRZEROBIC (SOMEONE, SOMETHING₁, INTO SOMETHING₂) or PRZEROBIC (SOMEONE, SOMETHING₁, INTO SOMETHING₂), space is reset, yet there emerges an analogous ontological meaning, in the case of which there occurs a transition from one state to the other, with a simultaneous introduction of additional meanings.

A detailed study of communicational meanings indicated by perfective predicates still requires extensive research. I hope that the proposed direction of study will be continued by my younger colleagues, who will develop a monograph which will discuss Slavic aspect within the communicational approach.

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Grażyna Habrajska

Kategoria aspektu a sens

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest analizie dokonaności w ujęciu gramatyki komunikacyjnej. Autorka zamieszcza przegląd wybranych czasowników wraz z ich komunikacyjną analizą, polegającą na odtwarzaniu układów predykatowo-argumentowych

i ich kombinacji (tzw. scenariuszy komunikacyjnych) w celu wykazania wpływu aspektu na uzyskiwaną konfigurację sensu. W tekście przywołane zostały także przykłady analizy wypowiedzi metaforycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: aspekt, dokonaność, gramatyka komunikacyjna, scenariusz komunikacyjny, metafora.

The category of aspect vs. meaning

Summary

The article offers an analysis of the perfective aspect within the approach of communicational grammar. The author provided an overview of selected verbs with a communication-based analysis of those which consist of recreating predicate-argument systems and their combinations (the so-called communicational scenarios) to indicate the impact of aspect on the resulting configuration of meaning. The text also includes examples of the analysis of metaphorical expressions.

Keywords: aspect, perfective aspect, communicational grammar, communication scenario, metaphor.

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Contemporary communication and ratiomorphization of meaning

Introductory remarks

Meaning is an extremely polysemous term, and the issues associated with meaning maybe and are analysed in various areas and from diverse perspectives, often out of relation.¹ In this article I shall discuss the issue of meaning from the communicological² and evolutionary perspectives, which does not make the analysis of the term any more stable. Such terms as “communication” and “evolution” refer to processes, changes, and dynamics; to “weak” ontology, the ontology of relations, not substances. Therefore, the perspective is much closer to Heraclitus’ “fluid” thought than to Plato’s constructs. Of course, I shall strive to, as much as it will be possible, indicate and explain the various referential shifts associated with the term “meaning”, yet it seems impossible to ensure comprehensive precision of definition.

In reference to the in-depth analyses conducted in the previous century by Władysław Stróżewski, I combine meaning, as per philosophical traditions, with rationality and purposefulness, yet being inspired by some propositions of evolutionary epistemologists, I focus on a phenomenon which I call the “ratiomorphization of meaning.” This new phenomenon emerged only two decades ago – it is inseparably linked with modern media technology and contemporary

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1 Cf. W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i sens*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Krakow 1994, pp. 423–437.

2 I am using the term “communicology” to emphasise the philosophical dimension of the reflection, which particularly in Poland is marginalised in media and social communication sciences. Vide, e.g. M. Wendland, *Filozoficzne i metodologiczne podstawy historii komunikacji*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań 2014, pp. 15–26.

communication practices. In most general terms, ratiomorphization of meaning consists of “washing out” rationality from meaning and applying a radical change of the goals which traditionally have been assigned to meanings. In the process of ratiomorphization, rationality and axiology are ousted by ratiomorphism, i.e. a form of quasi-rationality.³

In the context of rationality, Stróżewski wrote that “something has meaning if it is rational, if it can be identified, explained, and justified. Something is meaningless if it does not meet those postulates. Meaninglessness is then the only possible case of irrationality.”⁴ I, in turn, shall try to indicate that along the revolutionary changes in modern communication and media technology, meaning offers more and more ratiomorphism, which, however, cannot and should not be equated to irrationality.

In the context of purposefulness, Stróżewski associated meaning with the cause or rationale for something. “In that sense ‘meaning’ exists, e.g. in questions about the meaning of life, meaning of one’s existence, etc. Since a purpose is sometimes associated with goodness or, more broadly, with value, the understanding of meaning assumes an axiological tint, even though in its core it possesses a metaphysical nature.”⁵ I, in turn, stress that in the era of the new media, there has occurred a very visible axiological shift, which also applies to the sphere of traditional values, goals and meanings.⁶ In this area, too, ratiomorphism has nowadays a major presence.

The term “ratiomorphism” binds my discussion. I have borrowed it from the evolutionary theory of cognition, which is located at the intersection of philosophy and biology; as far as I am concerned, in humanities (except philosophy) and social sciences, the term is basically non-existent.⁷ Therefore, I devoted the first two sections of the article to clarifying in which contexts it can be used and how ratiomorphism is related to communicational phenomena and processes. I wish to indicate that in modern communication, i.e. also in social life, ratiomorphi-

3 I shall discuss the term “ratiomorphism” in detail later in the article. At this point I wish to note that it is somewhat confusing as it suggests that ratiomorphism is a derivative of rationality, while in fact it is quite the opposite: it is rationality that is a derivative of ratiomorphism.

4 W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i sens...*, p. 425 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

5 *Ibidem*, p. 425.

6 Of course, the notion of values entails problems of no lesser extent than those associated with the notion of meaning. Lesław Hostyński wrote that values “are probably one of the few most ambiguous notions in philosophy.” (L. Hostyński, *Wartości użyteczne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 1998, p. 27). Vide also, e.g.: W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i wartość*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Krakow 1981, pp. 11–15.

7 “As far as I am concerned” because that is something of which I cannot be sure. “Basically” because in my publications on communication and media I have used it often.

mechanisms exist at an unprecedented scale. As a result, the cultural sphere of meaning and values becomes dominated by ratiomorphism. That tendency is so distinct that one could even talk about a ratiomorphic turn, while the term ratiomorphism could be considered as a major cognitive category.⁸ Its introduction to humanities and social sciences seems justified to me as the reflection on the communicational outcomes of modern media technology demands multilateral approaches which uncover new scenes and other logics, which have previously been sparsely noticed or not noticed at all.⁹

Further in the article, I shall focus almost exclusively on the phenomenon of the ratiomorphization of meaning. I shall indicate that the terms which have traditionally been associated with the term *meaning*, i.e. rationality and purposefulness, are no longer fully adequate, or at least they should be applied with more caution than before, considering the new communicational contexts. Yet in order to avoid the shattering of established references associated with the term *meaning* and to avoid unnecessary chaos, I shall introduce the term *ratiomorphic meaning*. *Ratiomorphic meaning* is the outcome of modern ratiomorphization of meaning.

Please note already at this point that one should not confuse *ratiomorphic meaning* and the *meaning of ratiomorphism*. When I write about *ratiomorphic meaning* I am referring to certain characteristics and properties of the modern sphere of meaning, whereas the meaning of ratiomorphism refers to the epistemological and ontological importance and function which ratiomorphism plays in the world of all living organisms, i.e. also in the world of humans; it is the only one we know and to which we have and can have access.¹⁰

8 I discussed the ratiomorphic turn in a book which, hopefully, will be released in 2021. Of course, I realise that the term “turn” is abused and almost every theoretical proposal claims to be a turn. Nonetheless, I believe that the emergence of ratiomorphism in modern communication, and in turn in social life, has reached such intensity that in its case the use of the term “turn” is justified.

9 As Dariusz Czaja noted “narrow specialised approaches often miss that which is central in humanistic cognition: the meaning which cultural artefacts offer for the answer to the basic question: who is man? who is that anthropos whose expressions we study with such diligence?”. Vide: D. Czaja, “Żarliwość i melancholia. Dylematy humanisty”, *Przegląd Polityczny* 2018, issue 151/152, p. 7.

10 The fact of considering the human world as the only one which we know and which we can know is, of course, a very strong ontological and epistemological declaration. The space of the article is insufficient to justify that, which is why I wish to refer those interested in it to: J. Pleszczyński, *Epistemologia komunikacji medialnej. Perspektywa ewolucyjna*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2013, pp. 87–143.

Ratiomorphism, culture, and communication

The term ratiomorphism was popularised in the 1970s and 80s by evolutionary epistemologists gathered around Konrad Lorenz, the Nobel Prize laureate in physiology and medicine. Ratiomorphism can be defined in various ways. I usually define it as unconscious, innate, genetically-determined and teleonomically survival-driven cognitive faculties, skills and patterns of behaviour present in all living being, including humans. Ratiomorphism, although deeply hidden because suppressed by culture, is constantly present in all interpersonal relations and communication. Ratiomorphic activities and behaviour give the impression of being rational though they are not. Some examples of those include the production of honeycombs by bees, and the construction of nests by birds or hills by some species of insects. Such creations and structures seem to be the results of thinking, of planned activities, yet we assume that insects do not think—that is why biologists refer to that purposefulness as teleonomy, not teleology.

Ratiomorphic mechanisms are binary; they clearly indicate how to act: move closer or withdraw, fight or flight, become interested or ignore. However, ratiomorphicality cannot be reduced to emotions, nor ratiomorphism can be associated with irrationality.¹¹ Of course, ratiomorphism is also emotions, though mainly a permanent inalienable component of the ontology of the world of living organisms, present in all cognitive processes and phenomena, i.e. also in interpersonal communication. Therefore, it can also be treated as an onto-epistemological (or epistemo-ontological, depending on the presumed perspective) category. Ratiomorphism, rationality and irrationality meet and intersect at various orders and various ontological and epistemological planes: the rationality – irrationality dyad belongs solely to the epistemological order while the rationality – ratiomorphism dyad both to the epistemological and ontological orders. It is important not to confuse ratiomorphism with irrationalism.

The cognitive, both epistemic and epistemological, dimensions of ratiomorphism was best indicated by Konrad Lorenz:

¹¹ In the case of such a reduction, the theoretical and explanatory potential of the notion truly becomes negligible or disappears altogether. That was actually somewhat the case: in contemporary times, the term *ratiomorphism* very rarely appears in philosophical or biological literature, and it has been replaced by other terms which are more precise and adequate to the current state of knowledge. For example, Daniel Kahneman developed a theory of “fast” and “slow” thinking, in which fast thinking would correspond to ratiomorphic cognitive abilities, while Keith Stanovich and Richard West proposed “System 1” and “System 2”, the former of which corresponding to the ratiomorphic system. Nonetheless, the term *ratiomorphism* may, in my opinion, be useful in other areas of knowledge: humanities, and social sciences.

The analogy between the rational processes of thinking considered by the most radical scientists as scientifically valid and the ratiomorphic efficiencies of perception is an extremely convincing argument suggesting that such cognitive efficiencies which surely do not possess a rational character, must also be accepted as valid sources of scientific cognition. Rational and ratiomorphic processes constitute a further proof that our cognitive apparatus could have often developed two different independent of each other functioning organs for fulfilling the same task. The neglecting of any cognitive efficiencies equals to abandoning knowledge, and that is the highest transgression against the spirit of seeking truth, which a learned person cannot commit.¹²

The quotation explicitly indicates the cognitive dimension of ratiomorphism, yet it also enables one to notice its ontological dimension. Within the epistemological aspect, ratiomorphism is a cognitive “efficiency”, a very specific one, yet also valuable and necessary knowledge, though it does not possess the attributes which it is assigned by the ages’ long epistemological traditions of the West, starting with Plato and Aristotle. Within the synchronic perspective, that is innate knowledge, with which every living organism is equipped, and within the diachronic perspective it is acquired knowledge accumulated through millions of years of evolution. That was why Lorenz, and many other evolutionary epistemologists following his footsteps, already in 1941 wrote on ontogenetically *a priori* knowledge, which is also phylogenetically *a posteriori* knowledge, a species-wide experience.¹³ Ratiomorphism is a constitutive onticity of the animate world governed by the laws of evolution, and, therefore, one can also talk about its ontological aspect.

Ratiomorphic mechanisms often also fulfil quasi-axiological functions:¹⁴ for example, they regulate the forms and the level of inter-species aggression, which over 50 years ago enabled Lorenz to convincingly prove that in the animal world that is seemingly evil, “the so-called evil.”¹⁵ That kind of aggression combined with ritual fights constitutes the necessary component of the lives of various species of animals. Among humans it is too often manifested as ruthless rivalry, nonetheless, even that type of fight, provided it is conducted according to certain

12 K. Lorenz, *Regres człowieczeństwa*, trans. A.D. Tauszyńska, PIW, Warsaw 1986, p. 68.

13 K. Lorenz, “Kants Lehre vom Apriorischen im Lichte gegenwärtiger Biologie”, [in:] K. Lorenz, F.M. Wuketits, *Die Evolution des Denkes*, Piper Verlag, München-Zürich 1983, pp. 95–124 (originally printed in: *Blätter für Deutsche Philosophie*, issue 15, 1941).

14 Such a quasi-axiology can be defined, in analogy to ratiomorphism, as axiomorphism.

15 K. Lorenz, *Tak zwane zło*, trans. Z. Stromenger, PIW, Warsaw 1996 (original edition 1963). Naturally, one should bear in mind that humans are also animals, so when I write about animals I am referring to “animals except humans.” Vide, e.g. I.S. Fiut, M. Urbaniak, *Wiedza w perspektywie ewolucyjnej*, Wydawnictwo Aureus, Krakow 2017, p. 162.

pre-established rules which are respected, is a significant component of social life. Societies in which there is no fight are in danger of developing authoritarianism or totalitarianism based on unidirectional communication leading to cooperation devoid of dialogue, understanding or agreement. However, in the human world, the rules of the fight prescribed by ratiomorphism are defined by culture. Even more so, then, one must remember that it is only a thin layer covering the thick deposits of nature, and it has much lower power at its disposal. Biological apriorisms, though suppressed and concealed based on the pressures from culture, are much stronger. Of course, even a fight conducted according to cultural rules shall destroy the social fabric if it becomes the dominant element in the sphere of inter-subjectivity.¹⁶

Clearly then, ratiomorphism should not be viewed as something undesirable, which should be suppressed to the minimum or eliminated from the human world altogether. In fact, if that should ever be the case, humans would become a completely different species, possibly androids. Nonetheless, in the human world which we know now and in which we still live, ratiomorphism must be controlled; the role of the controller is played by culture and its pressures. As I have written in another text: “the original biological *a priori* receives a superimposed, and often colliding, cultural *a priori*. That collision means the emergence of uncertainty and problems, and the paradoxical question about to which necessity one should conform: believe others, i.e. culture, or keep their own sensations and intuitions, i.e. trust biology?”¹⁷

In the ontology of the human world, culture occupies a special place. Regardless of whether one defines it as a set of intentional, material and immaterial products of man or as a relational object or something else entirely, it is a real ontology the subjectiveness of which is expressed in its agency and its cultural *a priori*.¹⁸ Culture, which in the technical language of sociology or philosophy can be defined as a form or aspect of a collective subject, includes common knowledge, it filters individual experiences, it creates images and visions of the world, etc. Individuals, i.e. separate entities, have access to culture through communication, the form and framework of which are defined by communication media.

Communication, then, is a fundamental relation in the human world: it fulfils the bond-building, cognitive, and knowledge-building roles. It is an active relation

¹⁶ Cf. J. Pleszczyński, “O tożsamościach komunikacyjnych, intersubiektywności i przymusie komunikowania się”, [in:] *Komunikatywizm – przyszłość nauki XXI wieku*, ed. G. Habrajska, Wydawnictwo Primum Verbum, Łódź 2016, pp. 18–34.

¹⁷ J. Pleszczyński, *Epistemologia...*, p. 45.

¹⁸ Vide, e.g. K.R. Popper, J.C. Eccles, *The Self and Its Brain*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and New York 1983, pp. 9–11.

which carries agential power.¹⁹ Communication is *first*; it binds the human world: it precedes and conditions all human projects and actions. It *governs* economics, e.g. in the form of stock exchanges and advertising, and politics through the mass media and new media, and all other social phenomena and processes. Economics, politics, epistemology, morality, institutions, personal and collective convictions, inter-personal relations, etc. are the by-products of communication. Other by-products of communication are meanings: they form, they are discovered, they develop, evolve, sometimes disperse and disappear in communication processes and phenomena.

Communication is a social relation: even a hermit who has not communicated with anyone for decades constantly *produces* and discovers meanings using their earlier communicational experiences drawing from cultural resources.²⁰ In social life everything *passes* through communication, i.e. recognition and evaluation proper of its determining factors has major practical importance. In contemporary times ratiomorphism has become, in my opinion, an extremely important communicational determiner. Modern media technology has revolutionised, within just two decades, the area of communication by introducing in it technological mechanisms and rules while emphatically reducing and eliminating cultural mechanisms and rules. Those new rules are fundamentally, and if not fundamentally then at least in very many aspects, analogous to ratiomorphic mechanisms.

Technology + media = communicational technoratiomorphism

The human world, just as everything else, is subject to the laws of evolution, which are universal and they can never be suspended or annulled. Since the world is evolving, its ontology changes as well. Within only the past 20 years ontology of the human world, and with it social life and practices, have changed to such a degree that it is extremely difficult not only to describe and explain them, but even to specify as much as possible the problems of that which we attempt to study.

¹⁹ Of course, such a perspective requires one to accept relational ontology which assigns ontic primariness to relations and not material objects, items or things. According to the ontological relationism, relations have a primary status in ontology; objects are secondary to relations. In such an ontology, it is relations which define what objects are, not the other way around. Vide, e.g. J. Pleszczyński, *Epistemologia...*, pp. 22–28, 474.

²⁰ Naturally, the scope of the term *communication* could be defined very broadly; that is conventional. One could talk about, e.g. human communication with God, or the communication between the cells in the body. Here, I shall limit myself to social communication. Vide, e.g. J. Pleszczyński, "Komunikacja: natura i kultura", *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 2011, issue 2(59), pp. 255–274.

Jakub Nowak noted quite cautiously that the new media “are truly new in that the social practices associated with them and some of the outcomes of their operation constitute major phenomena new in terms of their quality.”²¹ As I see it, one should put it even more strongly: as a revolution in communication, a completely new communication era or epoch. Modern technology is not just tools, machines or automatons designed and controlled by people, but emancipated subjective ontic entities which possess constantly growing agency, which to a significant extent force, i.e. somewhat determine, various social practices and the specific behaviour of individuals under the threat of exclusion. Ratiomorphism is that mode or mechanism – it seems today the greatest determiner of communicational processes and phenomena. To paraphrase the *bon mot* once popular amongst sociobiologists which stated that nature holds culture on a short leash²², in the epoch of the new media one could say that modern communication technology holds culture on a lead; a lead which is even shorter than nature as biological mechanisms were amplified by technology. I refer to that technological variety of biological ratiomorphism as technoratiomorphism.

In order to identify ratiomorphism in contemporary social life, one should examine according to which rules modern technology operates, mainly the technicised media as they define the dominant forms of communication, and those, in turn, define the forms of social life. What stands out immediately is their binary and algorithmic nature which continues to increase its influence on the organisation and, to some extent, determination or interpersonal communication.²³ Similarly to ratiomorphic mechanisms, technoratiomorphic rules unify and flatten communication reducing it towards signals. Twitter is a good example of such a reduction. The typical long-lasting discussion which was the model in

21 J. Nowak, *Polityki sieciowej popkultury*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2017, p. 72.

22 Vide, e.g. E.O. Wilson, *O naturze ludzkiej*, trans. B. Szacka, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1988. This is a good opportunity to add that the ideals proposed by the evolutionary theory of cognition lost their popularity at some point, e.g. due to the radical propositions by sociobiologists, with Edward O. Wilson in the forefront. As one might expect, sociobiology quickly proved an approach which was too unilateral and it had to temper its radicalism, yet the evolutionary theory of cognition, despite the support from such authority figures as K.R. Popper, was not able to regain its position.

23 For example, sometimes students *have to*, though they do not want to, be present in some areas of the internet as that is the way in which they communicate with their instructors. Yet I am far from considering myself as a technophobe. On the contrary: I share Steven Pinker's, a renowned philosopher, optimistic view and hopes he associates with technological progress (vide: S. Pinker, *Nowe Oświecenie. Argumenty za rozumem, nauką, humanizmem i postępem*, trans. T. Bieroń, Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2018). Despite that I believe that one should be aware of the ratiomorphic mechanisms linked with modern technology and outcomes of ratiomorphism.

the Cartesian rationality of the Western civilisation was gradually reduced to a discussion in which two opposing positions were confronted rationally, then, in the mass media era, those positions were only presented without any discussion, and now, in the new media era (like Twitter) it has been reduced to a presentation of only one's own extremely subjective positions, often in the form of a single word or a few words, sometimes offensive in nature. That reduction has been the result of the ratiomorphic turn, in which the Cartesian doubt was replaced by the maxim: I do not doubt, therefore I am. People have started to act just like machines because it is machines that have no doubts. That entails serious social, epistemological, axiological, and anthropological (or other – basically, the list could be extended much further) consequences as ratiomorphism is good for organising herds but not societies. The same could be said about technoratiomorphism, which is why it is quite misleading when people term Facebook or Twitter as social media without specifying what they understood as a *society*.

One of the simplest examples of how ratiomorphism in communication is promoted by media technology is the phenomenon of hate speech. One might see in it a form of technological determinism.²⁴ I am referring to the fact that in communication organised by new media technology hate speech had to emerge – that is the logic of the technicised anonymous communication in which analogue faces and masks were replaced with digital masks.²⁵ Then, one of the most sophisticated examples is the “publish or perish” principle, in which the axiological demand to share knowledge was complemented by the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest. The common acceptance of the principles by the global academic community proves the power of ratiomorphic mechanisms. That should not come as a surprise since humans are not fit for such rapid changes in their environment as the ones happening today; evolution has not prepared them for electronic communication. Moreover, humans are not able to identify modern threats because technology, unlike nature, does not warn about a danger; *homo sapiens* have not developed the “electronic instinct” which would identify and signal danger.

Since those areas of the human world, to which we refer to as culture, have become dominated by a new form of ratiomorphism: technoratiomorphism, the

24 Obviously, that depends on how the term “technological determinism” is understood. Modern scholars of communication try to avoid it and rather indicate the social and political contexts of the expansion of technology than their (allegedly) deterministic nature. However, I believe that the potential of the term “determinism” makes it far from outdated and worn in the philosophical reflection on technology, i.e. also in the media and in modern communication.

25 Cf. J. Pleszczyński, “Maska i anonimowość jako problem komunikacji”, [in:] *Literatura. Media. Polityka*, ed. M. Piechota, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2014, pp. 107–122.

collective subject transforms into technoculture.²⁶ In the final years of the 2010s, the use of the smartphone could be considered as its symbol. In the pre-internet era, culture, the material expression of which were the numerous libraries, structures, paintings, etc., constituted a filter, and defined the references and meanings of the human world. Culture accumulated common knowledge, negotiated the references and meanings, and defined the frameworks of human understanding and agreement. Nowadays, all those functions have been taken over by technology which fits inside mobile devices (bit containers). It is the smartphone and not culture that fulfils the function of a filter and a lens.²⁷ At the same time, smartphones and other such devices are proof of the real existence of a collective subject, which can emerge in different forms, yet it is always necessary in the human world. Unlike in the model of the subject-object dyad proposed by Descartes, human cognition is intermediated through the collective subject or its analogue. Despite the fact that people develop software, it is technology that programs people; the result is, as Kazimierz Krzysztofek termed it, a technomorphization of people which is accompanied by the anthropomorphization of machines.²⁸ Within the technoculture, meaning has been linked with software, algorithms, and procedures.²⁹ The “publish or perish” principles have been witnessed and globally accepted by the academic community because in the era of new technology, which has a global nature, a scholar has simply become the “endpoint” of a programme and they fulfil the programme’s ratiomorphic meaning (e.g. in the form of the necessity to publish even if the scholar has nothing to say).

Technoratiomorphism, just as biological ratiomorphism, is a master imitator. It pretends and mimics rationality – which is not difficult as it is a fact that the rationality of technology is incomparably greater than the rationality of individuals, just as the rationality of culture was incomparably greater than the rationality of individuals – yet, at the same time, it perfectly conceals the fact that it is rationality without value or meaning, i.e. without axiology. Paradoxically, then, technoratiomorphism is also technorationality, and thus technology has

²⁶ That new previously unknown type of culture can be defined in different ways. The researchers of the new media often refer to cyberculture. Vide, e.g. J.P. Hudzik, *Wykłady z filozofii mediów. Podstawy nauk o komunikowaniu*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2017, p. 38.

²⁷ In 2017, 3.47 billion people were online; 2.73 billion went online via cellular phones, nearly 90% of those via smartphones. Vide E. Bendyk, “Krytyka rozumu cyfrowego”, *Przegląd Polityczny* 2018, issue 149, p. 15.

²⁸ K. Krzysztofek, “Wrażliwość zapisana w algorytmach? Między technomorfizacją człowieka a antropomorfizacją maszyny”, *Kultura Współczesna* 2018, issue 4, p. 25.

²⁹ There is an “infinite” number of publications on this matter. Vide, e.g. J. Kreft, “Władza algorytmów mediów – między reifikacją a rynkiem”, *Zarządzanie w Kulturze* 2018, issue 19, pp. 11–28. In Polish, the matter was discussed the most comprehensively by Jakub Nowak in: *Polityki sieciowej popkultury...*

continued to grow in power as the constantly perfecting hybrid of rationality and ratiomorphism.

In the context of techno-culture, the ratiomorphism turn it is return to old pressures. Nature used to tell humans: you have to! Culture over-saturated with axiology responded: you do not have to! Now, techno-culture is saying once again: you have to!

From the Oneness of values to meaning

In human life, the need for meaning, purpose, and values does not directly come from biology, though it belongs to humans' highest needs. Even if one cannot precisely define the term *meaning*, one intuitively senses that it is something primary and essential in the human world and life. Meaning is also important for those who arrived at the conclusion that life and the world bear no meaning.³⁰ In order to justify the meaning of the universe some, inspired by Plato, indicate the mathematical organisation of nature; for others it is sufficient that nature can be mathematicised, i.e. can be described and explained using rational methods, among which mathematics is the most perfect.³¹

The need and necessity of meaning has an a priori nature; it defines human existence. Marcin Napiórkowski, a semiotician of culture, author of various significant academic and popular science publications, and the author of an extremely interesting blog, concluded, though in a maybe overtly popular style (which should not, however, mislead anyone):

A person can survive three weeks without food, three days without water, three minutes without air, yet they cannot survive even three seconds without meaning. Even though those values are not excessively accurate, the principle which underlies them is undoubtedly true. The need for meaning, at least from the point of view of humanities and social sciences, is the fundamental force organising our culture and the lives of us all.³²

³⁰ As Michał Paweł Markowski wrote "man becomes a nihilist having emotionally over-invested in the meaning of the world and for whom at some point the return on the investment appeared lost. Then their ire turns not to their erroneous decision (i.e. themselves) but to the object of the investment transforming into hatred." M.P. Markowski, "Cioran. Portret fanatyka", *Przegląd Polityczny* 2018, issue 150, p. 119. Emil Cioran was a nihilist, at least declaratively; as Markowski wrote (ibidem, p. 122) Cioran believed that "man is a creature who lost, nothing has any meaning anymore, so why would anyone assign any value to anything at all."

³¹ Vide, e.g. A. Lemańska, "Matematyczność czy matematyzowalność przyrody", *Studia Philosophiae Christianae* 2013, issue 3(49), pp. 5–24.

³² M. Napiórkowski, *Mitologia współczesna*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2018, p. 7.

This quotation should be understood as stating that that which is imprecise yet understood intuitively is defined as “meaning”; it constitutes some extremely important value, not so much vitality-related since vitality refers to biology as existential which is the reason why our life is “human life”. The need for meaning prevents one from reducing human life to *zoe*, i.e. “life in general”; human life exceeds biology. Meaning is not only value but also a need—not biological, rather existential. We perceive lack of sense and meaning as an existential threat. The understanding of meaning as a correlation of an existential situation refers to the humanistic concept of man, which assumes the existence of “a certain essence of the human nature”³³, the mode of being inherently human, which does not necessarily need to be viewed within the tension between that which is supranatural and transcendent and that which is natural and material.³⁴ It is inscribed in the existence of *homo sapiens*, which, I believe, enables one to consider that the notion has the status of a primary category or a boundary concept.³⁵

Since meaning is a value and an existential need, even a subjective sense of its lack is perceived as a threat. Archbishop Józef Życiński, a philosopher and an excellent intellectual, told Aleksandra Klich that “a society without grand ideals, without sublime values, in which people chew gum and share the latest gossip, can exist, but I am afraid of such a world. The world has to have meaning.”³⁶

The question about meaning is also a question about values. The dispute on whether they exist has existed for centuries and it is, as all such issues, impossible to solve. The way in which one perceives values depends on their philosophical assumptions.³⁷ For Życiński, who in terms of ontological matters followed Plato

33 H. White, “Posthumanizm a wyzwolenie ludzkości”, trans. A. Czarnačka, [in:] *ibidem*, *Przeszłość praktyczna*, ed. E. Domańska, trans. J. Burzyński, A. Czarnačka, T. Dobrogoszcz, E. Domańska, E. Kledzik, A. Ostolski, P. Stachura, E. Wilczyńska, Ł. Zaremba, Wydawnictwo Universitas, Krakow 2014, p. 267.

34 *Ibid.*

35 Primary categories, i.e. categories which cannot be “attached” to some “higher” categories, are undefinable and therefore their epistemological status is fairly unclear. Additionally, that which we consider as a primary category may no longer be that tomorrow. The epistemological status of the term “boundary concept” or a “boundary notion” seems much more durable and therefore much safer. I think that the need for meaning can be considered a primary category or even a boundary notion as it is even more fundamental than the need for health and the need for autonomy, which, according to Len Doyal and Ian Gough, are two universal human needs. Cf. L. Doyal, I. Gough, *A Theory of Human Need*, The Guilford Press, New York 1991, pp. 49–75.

36 *Świat musi mieć sens. Przerwana rozmowa arcybiskupa Józefa Życińskiego i Aleksandry Klich*, Agora, Warsaw 2012, p. 11.

37 Vide, e.g. W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i wartość*. Similarly, the ontological status of meaning also depends on the assumptions of a metaphysical nature. Vide, e.g. W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i sens...*

and was a fierce and consistent critic of philosophical post-modernists, values had a universal nature and therefore at least some of them could not be relativized. He argued: “My basic claim towards Rorty is: if there are not universal values, then anti-Semitism is good, and so is cannibalism. I do not want to live in a world which is governed by such principles. It would be a terrifying world as it would be devoid of universal values, those which make us human.”³⁸

Both statements by Życiński convey some existential angst and subjectivity laced with ratiomorphism: “I am afraid”, “I do not want to.” Of course, such a form of communication was a result of the nature of the conversation. In his numerous publications, archbishop Życiński stated the same thoughts in objective language, referring to philosophical and scientific arguments, mainly in physics, biology, and the theory of science.³⁹ That indicates the complementary nature of rationality and ratiomorphism in human life, and it triggers the question of whether the author of those statements was “afraid” and “did not want” because his mind told him that the world has to have meaning or maybe he sought meaning in the world because it is a deep existential need. Or maybe it is both.

The theory of values originated, as almost all notions in the Western cultural circle, from Plato, who in the *Phaedrus* indicated three autonomous, universal and objective most important values. “Thus,” as Władysław Stróżewski argued, “the triad of our values was established: truth, goodness, and beauty. Once revealed, they seemed not only to uncover the goals of human strivings, but also to govern everything that exists.”⁴⁰ Stróżewski mentioned *truth* first, though in both Polish translations what is listed first is *beauty*.⁴¹ In Plato, those three fundamental values constituted ‘the Oneness’, so their ordering should not be important; nonetheless, in the modern era of communication dominated by the new media, the hierarchic sequence of Plato’s triangle: beauty-goodness-truth has suddenly become significant – I shall return a bit later to this issue important for this discussion.

³⁸ *Świat musi mieć sens...*, p. 14.

³⁹ Vide, e.g. J. Życiński, *Granice racjonalności*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1993; ibidem, *Struktura rewolucji metanaukowej. Studium rozwoju współczesnej nauki*, trans. M. Furman, Copernicus Center Press, Krakow 2013.

⁴⁰ W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i wartość...*, p. 12.

⁴¹ The well-known fragment 246D of the *Phaedrus* in Władysław Witwicki’s translation reads: “A boski pierwiastek to piękno, dobro, rozum i wszystkie tym podobne rzeczy” (Platon, *Fajdros*, trans. W. Witwicki, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1958, p. 72), while in Leopold Regner’s translation it reads: “Boskim zaś jest piękne, mądre, dobre i wszystko, co jest w tym rodzaju” (Platon, *Fajdros*, trans. L. Regner, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2004, p. 30) [“But the divine is beauty, wisdom, goodness, and all such qualities.” Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vol. 9 trans. H.N. Fowler, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1925].

Plato's rationally developed construct has been permanently ingrained in all the areas of the Western thought. Plato's 'the Oneness' organised axiology, epistemology, and ontology. Beauty did not have, as it does today, a subjective-aesthetic nature; it was rather something objective, like goodness and truth. In fact, beauty, usually in the form of simplicity, was until the modern times treated by mathematicians and physicists as a special criterion of the epistemic (and epistemological) value of equations, formulas, and theories. Nonetheless, everyday life's practice, with its inherent inalienable ratiomorphism, constantly questioned that highly refined and intellectually alluring concept. It proved emphatically that which is real is not always good; that which is beautiful it not always true; that which is good is not always beautiful, etc. The everyday life's experience put pragmatics above epistemology; life required people to break Plato's 'Oneness' when making practical choices. Actually, the triumph of technology and medicine proves that the approach is successful, even though its outcome and price has been the gradual instrumentalization of values: uncovered or established truth no longer acquires the status of an absolute value—it is always, though in silence, considered within the categories of its utility, i.e. as a tool. The foundation of epistemology is no longer the Truth (with a capital 'T'), but a partial truth, and rationality has been equalled to the methodology of natural sciences.⁴² Similar relativisation applies to goodness and beauty.

It is difficult to evaluate the pragmatic stratification or even the decomposition of Plato's 'Oneness' unequivocally. The extraction from the triad of only one value within some areas of life dictated by the rational analytical mind had negative outcomes, e.g. veritism which shattered social bonds. Then again, it was often everyday life practices that proved that truth, goodness and beauty were somehow, though it was unclear how, connected. The universalising and synthesising mind suggested combining, the analytical and methodological mind suggested dividing, while the pragmatics of everyday life suggested that the complete shattering of Plato's triad and complete 'Oneness' remained in dialectic tension and had to be constantly negotiated in communication. The human world is a relational and functional whole. Truth, goodness and beauty are relational values and therefore it becomes inevitable that a person accepts some form of relativism. Sometimes we prefer goodness sacrificing truth, other times we value beauty over goodness, and sometimes truth obscures goodness and beauty.

Such tensions and contradictions have been the sources of social and personal frustrations for centuries, and yet they also induced people to "revert", take a step back to a category which preceded Plato's 'Oneness' of values. That category is meaning. The meaning of ratiomorphism consists of repetitions, returning to

⁴² Vide, e.g. N.C.A. da Costa, S. French, *Science and Partial Truth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003, pp. 8–20.

the same thing which had proved to work in the several-thousands-year-long evolution of *homo*. The existential need for meaning arose a long time before Plato constructed or discovered 'the Oneness' of universal transcendent values. The turn from objective and universal values towards the category of meaning is also a ratiomorphic turn, i.e. a turn from a refined theory to ratiomorphic existence. Ratiomorphism and meaning are intertwined just as rationality and truth are.

Ratiomorphic meaning

Meaning can be treated as species-specific, since it applies only to *homo sapiens*, the mental element as whole in itself, which constitutes a rational-ratiomorphic (or ratiomorphic-rational) hybrid. The rational component directs towards epistemology and axiology, with truth, goodness and beauty as lead categories which pertain to objectivity, while the ratiomorphic component towards such categories as acceptance, utility, and attractiveness, i.e. values with a ratiomorphic basis, which is deeply subjective. In the ratiomorphic approach, meaning is mainly an anthropological category; it applies to cognition devoid of the important ontological foundation which for Western epistemology is a value which is considered as rational and universal.⁴³ Consider beauty, which occupied such a major place in Plato's 'Oneness': since the 18th century it has been a category almost exclusively concerned with aesthetics, and to associate it with subjectively understood attractiveness was only a matter of time. As Arthur C. Danto wrote: "In the 18th century, when aesthetics was invented or discovered, the thought was that art contributed beauty, hence gave pleasure to those with taste."⁴⁴ In the ratiomorphic triad which includes acceptance, utility and attractiveness, the goal is also to ensure pleasure or avoid unpleasantness, not about absolute and common values.

Allow me to reiterate: meaning is a correlation of an existential situation. The emphasis on existence means that meaning covers the past, the present, and the future. Therefore, hidden behind the questions about meaning there is always the question about a choice, and choice applies to a goal, i.e. the future. A choice, in turn, demands a criterion. Ratiomorphism suggests that one should choose that which is more advantageous and attractive, while rationality suggests a choice based on or at least a choice from among options filtered by universal values. In practical situations such as choosing, the clash of values is very often unavoidable; some values must be assigned priority: either universal or ratiomorphic values. And those values are not

⁴³ More on the relationships between epistemology and axiology vide, e.g. Z. Hajduk, *Nauka a wartości*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2008.

⁴⁴ A.C. Danto, *Czym jest sztuka*, trans. A. Kunicka, Wydawnictwo Aletheia, Warsaw 2016, p. 11 [English version: Arthur C. Danto, *What art is*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2013].

equivalent, though they are complementary since humans are animals. Yet one must stress that the fact of utilising in choices of rational or ratiomorphic values always means making decisions as per meaning: understood traditionally, as indicated by Władysław Stróżewski, or as per ratiomorphic meaning.

The fragmentation of Plato's 'Oneness' triggered by the pressures of everyday life is the reason why in every existential situation, the case-specific evaluation of the relation between truth, goodness and beauty, and acceptance, utility and attractiveness defines a direction of will, which, understood in line with Arthur Schopenhauer's thought, is an anthropological and not ontic, epistemological or aesthetic category. One's will decides whether a goal will be pursued, while the mind fulfils a selecting function. But since in contemporary times rationality is more and more transferred to technology, will becomes deprived of a strong mental and axiological support. Therefore, to speak of *ratiomorphic meaning* instead of *meaning* seems today justified and sounds very "Schopenhauery". As Rüdiger Safranski argued, according to Schopenhauer "there are no prescribed horizons to meaning and no guarantee of meaning."⁴⁵ That is because human will is determined to a considerable extent by biology, and the goals only seem rational while "in fact" they have a ratiomorphic nature. In the 19th century, such opinions could seem, and did seem, excessively extravagant⁴⁶, yet they can no longer be shocking in the 21st century.

Following Erich Fromm one could state that nature somehow "made an arrangement" with culture (and vice versa), and ratiomorphism with rationality (and vice versa) since the biological-cultural co-evolution developed through the tens or even hundreds of thousands of years some forms of symbiosis. Yet neither nature nor culture were able to handle modern technology which at a pace unknown in human history entered the human world. The digital revolution in communication has been happening for only the past two decades. That is why the currently fashionable inter and transdisciplinary debates on post and trans-humanism should not be treated as the manifestations of intellectual play or unwarranted prophesying. Similar distance was applied in the 1970s and 80s to post-modern philosophers when in fact their diagnosis, despite the various *fashionable nonsenses* which they produced⁴⁷, proved fundamentally legitimate.

⁴⁵ R. Safranski, *Schopenhauer. Dzikie czasy filozofii*, trans. M. Falkowski, Wydawnictwo Prószyński i S-ka, Warsaw 2008, p. 382 [English version: R. Safranski, *Schopenhauer and the Wild Years of Philosophy*, Harvard University Press, 1991].

⁴⁶ It is worth mentioning that Schopenhauer published his main work *The World as Will and Representation* 40 years prior to the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*.

⁴⁷ I am, of course, referring to the famed book from two decades ago *Fashionable Nonsense: A. Sokal, J. Bricmont, Modne bzdury. O nadużywaniu pojęć z zakresu nauk ścisłych przez*

Along the shift of rationality to technology and the replacement of cultural rules with technological ones, it is increasingly difficult to refer to universal values. Plato's triangle is gradually yet consistently being ousted by the ratiomorphic triangle. Truth is that which I consider to be true, good is that which is good for me, and beautiful is that which I consider likeable. The place of the rational truth-goodness-beauty triad was taken by the triad of: acceptance-utility-attractiveness. An individual mind has become a special kind of a "reverse category" – it is used for justifying the ratiomorphic triad. The mind has ceased to be common, universal, and absolute. Thus, modern humans ceased to be Cartesian logical entities who discover meaning, but people who need to sense meaning ratiomorphically: sense which they need, which is beneficial to them, what people are going to say. Convictions are no longer based on rational justifications and arrangements made via communication but on individual sensations and the experience of ratiomorphic meaning. Subjectified technology demands ratiomorphic reactions from users, e.g. to push a specific key on a laptop's keyboard, i.e. they force ratiomorphically meaningful activities, i.e. without understanding. In the pre-internet era, ratiomorphism defined, as Konrad Lorenz intended, some cognitive efficiencies of living organisms, i.e. their species-based specific "perceptions."⁴⁸ In the era of the new media, ratiomorphism must be treated more broadly: as a very important cognitive category.

Paradoxically, such a strategy bears the trademarks of a rational strategy: in the internet era people live in a technological surrounding, their communication with others is increasingly conducted in the environment of the new media. Social bonds which we knew in the pre-internet era are being eliminated from personal experiences. There is no longer a sense of common knowledge, nor common culture; there is even no one common internet because, as everyone knows, there are as many internets as there are users. In the environment of the new media and in contemporary communication, ratiomorphism remains the only thing common for all people regardless of the various internet bubbles in which they live. In a situation when rationality abandons the organisation of social life, reference to ratiomorphism and transferring it onto the social level is, from an individual's perspective, sensible as messages are being expressed in a form clear for everyone. The Facebook clicking of the "like" button, internet hate speech, and the "publish or perish" principle are examples of the push of ratiomorphism which is no longer being suppressed or corrected by culture; on the contrary, it is being amplified by technoculture.

postmodernistycznych intelektualistów, trans. P. Amsterdamski, Wydawnictwo Prószyński i S-ka, Warsaw 2004.

⁴⁸ K. Lorenz, *Regres...*, p. 68.

In the pre-internet era, ratiomorphism was mainly visible in the relations between individuals. In the era of modern media technology, it has also made a massive invasion into the relations between individuals and collective entities, and it works bilaterally. On the one hand, technoculture is governed by ratiomorphic mechanisms, they are inscribed in it. On the other, individuals, lacking the rational and axiological cultural protection, find existential meaning in ratiomorphism. The ratiomorphic shift which is observed nowadays from the level of the individual to the level of a community is extremely dangerous within various dimensions, e.g. it fosters populism, nationalism, hate speech, and the creation of an amorphic mass instead of a diverse society.

Nonetheless, to make sure that the article does not appear too pessimistic, allow me to once again reiterate that according to Lorenz and evolutionary epistemologists ratiomorphism is something fundamentally positive, necessary for life, and which favours life; something which can unite in situations when almost everything divides. Therefore, the act of falling back on ratiomorphism, at least in some existential situations, is justifiable. Yet the question up to what point one can go back relatively safely remains open. People who abandon, be it voluntarily or out of necessity, the pressures and rules of culture are not actually withdrawing to a position of a friendly animal. They fall much further, outside the ratiomorphism which exists in the world of non-human animals.⁴⁹

Final remarks

The main thought of my article could be summarised as the following: Since meanings are produced and discovered in communication and ratiomorphic mechanisms are being revealed in contemporary communication ever so emphatically and strongly, the meanings which are an existential need, which have been filtered for millennia by culture, with its rationality and axiology, are currently to an ever increasing extent defined by technoratiomorphism devoid of axiology. Therefore, in the era of the new media, ratiomorphic meaning begins to dominate. Then, since the need for meaning is a basic value and the existential need of humans, that ratiomorphic turn must possess a very important, though surely fairly unrecognised, consequences in the human world and in humans themselves. Nonetheless, somewhat paradoxically, that new strategy of finding and creating meaning is a rational strategy in the contemporary communicational environment: ratiomorphism is that which is common for all people; something to which everyone can refer.

Biologically humans are defined as *homo sapiens* while culturally as *homo communicans*. In the era of modern technology, humans have been evolving

⁴⁹ Cf. J. Pleszczyński, *Epistemologia...*, p. 320–321.

towards *homo ratiomorphicus*. Only after that can one expect post or trans-humans, whose prompt arrival has been discussed ever so seriously. They might be able to live completely devoid of any need for meaning, including ratiomorphic meaning—and longer than for three seconds. Such post or trans-humans would, however, be a different species. For now, at least I assume so, we are still *homo sapiens socialis et communicans*, and therefore we cannot live deprived of that which we call meaning. Even if that meaning has been taking increasingly more ratiomorphic forms.

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Jan Pleszczyński

Współczesna komunikacja i racjomorfizacja sensu

Streszczenie

W artykule próbuję pokazać, że we współczesnej komunikacji, a zatem także w życiu społecznym, ujawnia się coraz więcej racjomorfizmu. Racjomorfizm definiuję jako wrodzone, determinowane genetycznie, nieświadome, ale teleonomicznie ukierunkowane na przeżycie zdolności poznawcze organizmów żywych. Nie można go jednak utożsamiać wyłącznie z emocjami ani z irracjonalizmem. We współczesnej komunikacji zdominowanej przez nowe media racjomorfizm przybiera formę technoracjomorfizmu. Jest zatem oczywiste, że racjomorficzność pojawia się także w sferze sensu.

W epoce przedinternetowej sens wiązał się z racjonalnością i uniwersalnymi wartościami, takimi jak prawda, dobro i piękno. W epoce internetu następuje zwrot ku wartościom racjomorficznym: prawda jest zastępowana przez akceptację, dobro przez pożytek, zaś piękno przez atrakcyjność.

Paradoksalnie, ta nowa strategia odnajdywania i tworzenia sensu, jest we współczesnym środowisku komunikacyjnym strategią racjonalną.

Słowa kluczowe: komunikacja społeczna, nowoczesne technologie medialne, epistemologia komunikacji, racjomorfizm, sens, aksjologia.

Contemporary communication and ratiomorphization of meaning

Summary

In the article, I attempted to indicate that in modern communication, i.e. also in social life, ratiomorphism has been appearing. I define it as an unconscious, innate, genetically determined and teleonomically survival-driven cognitive faculties, skills and patterns of behavior present in all living being, including humans.

It cannot be, however, associated only with emotions or irrationalism. In modern communication dominated by the new media, ratiomorphism takes on the form of technoratiomorphism. Therefore, it is obvious that ratiomorphism also appears in the sphere of meaning.

In the pre-internet era, meaning was associated with rationality and universal values such as truth, goodness, and beauty. In the internet era, there has been a turn towards ratiomorphic values: truth is being replaced with acceptance, goodness with utility, and beauty with attractiveness.

Paradoxically, than new strategy for finding and creating meaning is a rational strategy in the contemporary communicational environment.

Keywords: social communication, modern media technology, epistemology of communication, ratiomorphism, meaning, axiology.

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Meaning. Are the tools of rhetoric useful in studying the matter?

*From the gods come all the means of mortal exploits;
thanks to the gods are men wise and brave and eloquent*
Pindar, *The Pythian Odes*¹

Introduction²

The quote from Pindar which opened this discussion says only this much: from the beginning of our reflection regarding the seemingly trivial issue of *What is meaning?* we have been mostly helpless and that he preferred to leave those matters... in the hands of gods (i.e. admit his lack of knowledge). I shall not discuss the state of research in this matter. That has already been done several times and I shall refer to those studies. Those include the works by Gottlob Frege, the summary article

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1 Pindar, *The Odes of Pindar*, ed., transl., comm. J. Sandys, The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., London 1915, p. 159. Cf. Pindar, *Wybór poezji*, selection, introduction, transl., comm. by A. Szastyńska-Siemion, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław et al. 1981, pp. 71–91. The quoted fragment in Adam Naruszewicz's translation: *Z rąk Boskich, od nich ludzkie swój początek biorą // Cnoty i dokonanie: z ich łask wymowa // Zdobi język, moc ramie, mądrze radzi głowa*. Greek text: ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς, καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ χερσὶ βιαταὶ περίγλωσσοί τ' ἔφυν. ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κείνον.

2 I believe it is worth quoting the opinion which opens the entry *Meaning* in the online version of the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: "Word «meaning» has played a somewhat marginal role in early contemporary philosophy of language, which was primarily concerned with the structural features of sentences and showed less interest in the format of lexical representations and in the nature of the word-level input to compositional processes. Nowadays, it is well-established that the way we account for word meaning is bound to have

by Andre Lalande, the study by Jerzy Pelc, as well as the dictionary entry by Peter Prechtl.³

Those are philosophical and logic discussions, yet the matter applies mainly or at least mostly to linguistics. Once again, allow me to indicate studies which summarised existing research in the matter – those include works by both Polish and French scholars who referred to the approaches by F. de Saussure, L. Bloomfield, Z.S. Harris, J. Apresjan, and Russian scholars who, similarly to Polish scholars, apart from discussing other issues, also differentiated grammatical and lexical meanings;⁴ apart from the already-indicated scholars, one should also refer to: Gołąb, Heinz, Polański, Dubois et al., and Szulc.⁵

a major impact in tipping the balance in favor or against a given picture of the fundamental properties of human language. This entry provides an overview of the way issues related to lexical meaning have been explored in analytic philosophy and a summary of relevant research on the subject in neighboring scientific domains. Though the main focus will be on philosophical problems, contributions from linguistics, psychology, neuroscience and artificial intelligence will also be considered, since research on word meaning is highly interdisciplinary [...]” (L. Gasparri, D. Marconi, “Word Meaning”, [in:] *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2016 Edition, ed. E.N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/word-meaning/> [accessed on: 16.01.2019]).

- 3 The most complete a summary (though omitting the works of, e.g. Polish scholars) was offered in the article: L. Gasparri, D. Marconi, *op. cit.*; G. Frege, *Sens i znaczenie (Über Sinn und Bedeutung*, 1892), trans. B. Wolniewicz, <http://sady.up.krakow.pl/antfil.frege.sensiznaczenie.htm> [accessed on: 17.07.2018]; *Logika i język: studia z semiotyki logicznej*, selection, trans., introduction and notes J. Pelc, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1967; A. Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie*, PUF, Paris 1972; P. Prechtl, *Leksykon pojęć filozofii analitycznej*, trans. J. Bremer SJ, Wydawnictwo WAM, Krakow 2009, pp. 19, 21, 98, 155–156, 192–193, 211, 232, 262–264.
- 4 I indicated this issue as it was, in the subject study, discussed at length. Russian scholars conducted a concise analysis of the state of research into lexical meaning. Cf. *Jazykoznanije. Bolszoj Enciklopediceskij Slovar'*, ed. V.N. Jarceva et al., Izdatelstvo Bolszaja Rossijskaja Enciklopedija, Moscow 1998, pp. 262–263.
- 5 Z. Gołąb, A. Heinz, K. Polański, *Słownik terminologii językoznawczej*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1968, pp. 650–652; J. Dubois et al., *Dictionnaire de linguistique*, Larousse, Paris 1973, pp. 436–437; A. Szulc, *Podręczny słownik językoznawstwa stosowanego. Dydaktyka języków obcych*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1984, pp. 265–267; *Jazykoznanije...* Yet I also wish to note that the issue also appeared in, e.g. the theory of speech acts. Cf. J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1962; R. Grzegorzczkova, “Problem funkcji języka i tekstu w świetle teorii aktów mowy”, [in:] *Język a kultura*, t. 4: *Funkcje języka i wypowiedzi*, eds. J. Bartmiński, R. Grzegorzczkova, Wiedza o Kulturze, Wrocław 1991, pp. 11–28 (overview of subject lit.) Also: J. Szymura, *Język, mowa i prawda w perspektywie fenomenologii lingwistycznej J.L. Austina*, Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, Wrocław 1982.

Even a browsing of the above-specified sources clearly indicates that the issue is extremely complex, while the term:⁶

Reference – representative content included in a linguistic sign. Since the term is extremely general in nature, it is necessary to analyse it and specify its components. Currently, in terms of the reference of a linguistic sign, linguistics operates the following special notions: designation (indication), significance (reference), reference-based or lexical value (specific reference); additionally, there exist lexical and grammatical reference.

can be treated as a good preliminary description of the research field.

Are the matters also discussed in the theory of rhetoric? A positive answer to that must entail a reservation that in order to fully answer the question, one must apply its specific definition. I applied the definition by Quintilian, but the one from Book V; please consider:⁷

(Rhetorica est ars bene dicendi scientia, aut per partes, ut) Rhetorice est inveniendi recte et disponendi et eloquendi cum firma memoria et cum dignitate actionis scientia [(Rhetoric is the science of speaking well, or in detail, such as) Rhetoric is the science of correct conception, arrangement and utterance, coupled with a retentive memory and a dignified delivery, English version: H.E. Bulter, *Institutio Oratoria*, Loeb, 1920]

I have chosen this particular definition because it implicitly assumes the existence of a stable reference/references of words. They may, of course, become distorted. Therefore, the problem is whether one can prevent that.

Definition of the problem

Thus, the problem seems quite simple, and since it has been analysed well, in theoretical terms, in Prechtl's dictionary, I shall, once again, only indicate the specific fragment of said work.⁸

In the most simplest terms, from the theoretical point of view, the problem is as follows:

6 Z. Gołąb, A. Heinz, K. Polański, *op. cit.*, p. 650 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

7 QUINT.V.10.54 = M.F. Kwintilian, "Kształcenie mówcy", [in:] St. Śnieżewski, *Terminologia retoryczna w Institutio Oratoria Kwintyliana*, Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka, Krakow 2014, pp. 113–148 (Book V).

8 Prechtl, *op. cit.*

When one considers the issue of meaning, there inevitably also emerge such issues as: reference, intention/extension, and the meaning criterion. The final element states:

- i. All chains of linguistic signs are either meaningful or meaningless,
- ii. Only descriptive, tautological, and contradictory sentences are to be treated as meaningful.

Discussions resulted in the establishing of a view that *meaning depends on the method of its verification*. Yet that position has also been challenged; that is because *context* plays a major role for reference, that is *reference must be inquired about in the context of a sentence* (the opinion of G. Frege, repeated by W. van Orman Quine). The latter argued that *theory functions as a carrier of reference*.⁹ At the same time, one must remember, though, that van Quine was the author of the theory of the *infinity of references*. I believe that the final remark may be applied to issues related to interpretation, i.e. the reception of a work of art¹⁰, i.e. a culture text.

However, as Chantal Delsol pointed out, already in antiquity there existed the phenomenon which is being discussed here;¹¹ it was the intentional violation of an established reference, i.e. the meaning of expressions or utterances. She quoted examples from the works of Thucydides and Sallust:¹²

[...] the references of various words were changed at will. **Incomprehensible impudence** has been considered as **courage** full of dedication to friends, **cautious austerity** as **cowardice** in search of fine pretence, and **moderation** as concealed **anxiety** [...]

9 In other words, it means that “[...] instead of asking whether gnomes exist, we ask whether a “gnome” plays a meaningful role in a theory”. Cf. Prachtl, *op. cit.*, p. 231 (note 156). That remark is close to the views of, on the one hand, Owen Barfield and, on the other, J.R.R. Tolkien, the author of the *On Fairy Stories* study. Cf. O. Barfield, *Poetic Diction. A Study in Meaning*, Faber & Gwyer, London 1928; J.R.R. Tolkien, *On Fairy Stories*, ed. V. Flieger, D.A. Anderson, Harper Collins, London 2008.

10 That issue was also indicated by Ingarden when he spoke of specification. Cf. R. Ingarden, *O dziele literackim. Badania z pogranicza ontologii, teorii języka i filozofii literatury*, trans. M. Turowicz, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1960.

11 Ch. Delsol, *Nienawiść do świata. Totalitaryzmy i ponowoczesność*, trans. M. Chojnacki, Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, Warsaw 2017, pp. 68–85.

12 THUC. III.82 = Tukidydes, *Wojna peloponeska*, trans. K. Kumaniecki, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław et al. 1991; SAL., LII = Salustiusz Krispus, “Sprzysiężenie Katyliny”, [in:] *ibidem*, *Sprzysiężenie Katyliny i Wojna z Jugurtą*, trans. K. Kumaniecki, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 2006.

We have long lost the true references of words. That is because **thriftiness** from someone else's pocket is called **generosity**, and **audacity** in ill actions is called **courage** [...] (emphasis – J.Z.L.).

One could say that the quoted fragments refer to a *change of reference*, yet that is not completely valid. Please consider that notions are accompanied by explanations which usually play the role of epithets. In other words, even if condition (i) exists, condition (ii)¹³ exists only to that extent that the result is a pair of *contradictory sentences*. At the same time, which must be stressed, the quoted examples carry another contradiction: between lexical and the grammatical references!¹⁴

Yet the violations can be of a different nature – I am referring to the speech delivered by Martin Luther King Jr. on 28 August 1963 at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C. Allow me to quote the beginning of the speech (with a minor insignificant omission):¹⁵

Five score years ago, / a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today,
/ signed the Emancipation Proclamation. / This momentous decree came /as a great
beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves/ who had been seared in the flames
of withering injustice. / It came as a joyous daybreak / to end the long night of their
captivity/.

[...]

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. / When **the architects
of our republic / wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the
Declaration of Independence**, / they were signing a **promissory note** / to which
every American was to fall heir. / **This note was a promise that all men**, / yes, black

¹³ For this discussion it is irrelevant whether one accepts the quoted concept by Carnap or not.

¹⁴ Those issues also emerge, e.g. in the case of applying eristic in various understandings, sadly including the legal understanding, though they are mainly used for specifying opposites, e.g. in works of art (the most apt example exists in the form of Iago in *Othello* by Shakespeare, though a similarly poignant example is offered by Matteo in G.M. Lewis' novel *The Bravo of Venice*). Cf. J.Z. Lichański, *Filologia – Filozofia – Retoryka. Wprowadzenie do badań (nie tylko) literatury popularnej*, DiG, Warsaw 2017, pp. 54–76, cf. Aneks 2 (the quoted fragment of the novel with commentary).

¹⁵ The omitted fragment: "But one hundred years later, / the Negro still / is not free. / One hundred years later, / the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation / and the chains of discrimination. / One hundred years later, / the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty / in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. / One hundred years later, / the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society / and finds himself an exile in his own land. / And so we've come here today /to dramatize a shameful condition/." Text is available at <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/top10ospeechesall.html> [accessed on: 7.06.2019].

men as well as white men, / would be **guaranteed the “unalienable Rights” of “Life, Liberty / and the pursuit of Happiness.”** / It is obvious today / that America has defaulted **on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned.** / **Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, / America has given the Negro people a bad check, / a check which has come back marked “insufficient funds.”** / [emphasis – J.Z.L.].

In this case, the author referred to *the proper references of notions*, yet he confronted them with something which was no abstraction for his audience (with all due respect, the *Emancipation Proclamation* and the *Declaration of Independence*, as well as the *Constitution* are, de facto, abstractions or, to put it more cautiously, general notions), and something concrete (a *promissory note*). The device used was simply a *simile*, possibly a *metaphor*, but there did not occur a change of the reference of the primary notions, only a *broadening of their extent of reference* (the question whether that was allowable, positive, etc. is, at this moment, irrelevant).

Analysis

The violations applied in the works by Sallust, Thucydides or Lewis violate the meaning/reference of notions and entire utterances change their nature. However, a violation is a case of either a conscious application of notions which either polysemous or of changing their reference. Sometimes that leads to contradictions, yet that does not, of course, annul meaningfulness.

In Martin Luther King Jr.’s speech, the emphasised fragments pointed to those elements thanks to which the speaker referred to a sense of community, i.e. they constituted the basis for *linguistic identification*. That occurs because the speaker referred to

- i. the experience of each and every one of us when we go to a bank to cash a check/ promissory note and suddenly it turns out that the account is empty.
- ii. What is more, he indicated specific elements: the Lincoln Monument, the *Emancipation Proclamation*, as well as the ***Constitution and the Declaration of Independence***.
- iii. Apart from the Lincoln Monument, the remaining elements were both physical but also symbolic, and according to the orator *they were signing a **promissory note** to which every American was to fall heir.*
- iv. Moreover, those symbols suggested something more – they were a promise, as he pointed out, that **This note was a promise that all men, / yes, black men as well as white men, / would be guaranteed the “unalienable Rights” of “Life, Liberty / and the pursuit of Happiness.”**

Regardless of van Quine's opinion, it offered a confirmation of Frege's view regarding the role of an opinion for the constitution of the reference of a word. Though the first three examples included indefinite references, which could have confirmed van Quine's suggestion, the final one contradicted it.

Therefore, the question is: where is meaning hidden and can we somehow find it?

Discussing the results

Can rhetoric save us? Or rather: can it, at least in the quoted examples, help clarify the indicated difficulties and aporias?

First, it is necessary to separate literary/artistic utterances from all other.¹⁶ That is purely heuristic, i.e. when one analyses Zbigniew Herbert's poem *Do Marka Aurelego*¹⁷, grammatical matters, e.g. syntactic, are significant for grasping the meaning of words and sentences.

What good can rhetoric do here?

Please recall that I indicated the waypoints of this discussion in the form of the definition by Quintilian¹⁸ and the practical analytical proposition by Sonja K. Foss.¹⁹ She explained:

[...] the aim is to teach students how to think rhetorically – i.e. ask questions on the nature and function of symbols. The course is based on three main questions which students/critics should ask: "What is the relationship between rhetoric and its context?" "How a message constructs a specific reality for the audience and the speaker?", and "What does rhetoric suggest about the speaker?"

[...] the questions are posed to develop knowledge on the rhetoric process: «The study and the evaluation of rhetoric acts and artefacts in order to understand rhetoric processes».²⁰

The object of the analysis is both the rhetoric act itself and the artefacts (those could be literary texts, public presentations, advertisements, films, architecture,

¹⁶ A problem immediately arises: does a statement in a work of literature, i.e. a culture text, have the same status as any other linguistic statement? I shall discuss this issue further in the study.

¹⁷ Z. Herbert, *89 wierszy*, Wydawnictwo A5, Krakow 2008, p. 44, cf. Aneks 1 (text by Z. Herbert).

¹⁸ M.F. Kwintylilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–148.

¹⁹ S.K. Foss, "Rhetorical Criticism as the Asking of Questions", *Communication Education* 1989, vol. 38, issue 3, pp. 191–196 [trans. into Polish with commentary in: *Forum Artis Rhetoricae* 2016, no. 4(47), pp. 70–87].

²⁰ Cf. S.K. Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*, Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, Ill. 2004, p. 5.

statues, etc.): generally speaking, as Kenneth Burke wrote, symbols which we use throughout our lives.²¹ What procedure does Sonja K. Foss propose?²²

The first question emphasises the context or the environment which produces a rhetoric artefact: “What is the relationship between rhetoric and its context?” That relationship is, of course, the subject of the debate around which communication is focussed. Some critics posit that contexts or situations shift strictly rhetoric problems towards existential issues, while others argue that a situation and how it is being defined depends on the points of view held by the persons engaged in the debate. An intermediate position holds that the situation is not the only factor impacting the conduct of a speaker, though a speaker does not possess (during the debate) sufficient freedom to choose at their own discretion how to influence the situation (or even create it).²³

There are two contexts of Herbert’s poem: the situation in which Marcus Aurelius fought with barbarians, and the situation in Poland after 1945. It is, as Foss indicated, clearly debatable whether a situation (= context, circumstances) *impact more or less the behaviour of a speaker*; in other words, whether an orator has during a debate any influence on the situation. It seems that, contrary to appearances (e.g. the fixed framework of a poem), a speaker may, through their text, influence (though I agree that indirectly) the situation (e.g. by specific use of epithets, the opposition between the classical and barbarian cultures, etc.)²⁴

The second question is important:²⁵

The second question during the course is: “How a message is constructed in a specific reality for the audience and the speaker?” In this case critics mainly focus on the message itself and that what happens within its reach as it produces a special perception of the world in those who are engaged in the process of creating and conveying said message.

²¹ K. Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action. Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*, California University Press, Berkeley et al. 1966.

²² S.K. Foss, “Rhetorical Criticism...”

²³ *Ibidem*. Therefore, the item one should define first is the context or rather the circumstances in which a rhetoric expression emerges or which impact(s) the subject of the debate. That item, clearly identified, constitutes the centre of the process of communication. Hence the importance of, e.g. the differentiation between pieces of information and commentary in media communication, or the extremely precise definition of the subject of a debate, e.g. parliamentary debate, presidential debate, etc.

²⁴ The examples from the works by Thucydides, Sallust and Lewis featured exactly that: a shift in the discussion of the reference of notions to existential issues and ones which are defined in negative terms from the beginning!

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

Sonja K. Foss stressed the vital problem of *the impact of an expression on the perception and interpretation of the world* both by a speaker and the audience. Herbert's poem organises our perception and interpretation of the world. At the same time, it indicates (*give me your hand!*) the continuity or at least a sense of continuity of culture – regardless of the power of the barbarians.

Allow me to refer to Plato's remark that Homer was the educator of Hellada; it indicated that through Homer's works people organised their world and defined their place in it. That results from the obvious fact indicated by Kenneth Burke when he spoke of the relationship between the meaning of, e.g. words and persuasion.²⁶ In the case of Herbert's poem, there occurs a confrontation between the classical tradition, barbarity, and something which he referred to as an *element*. Is that the so-called *inevitable historical process*?

Finally, the third question:²⁷

In some cases, critics are mainly interested in the specific features of an artefact or in an artefact as a manifestation of a speaker's expressiveness. Such a focus on the speaker results from the question: "What does a rhetoric artefact say about the speaker?" A critic who is interested in an artefact as a reflection of the views of its creator usually tries to discover how speakers/authors perceive and interpret the world, what their internal lives look like, and how their points of view motivate them to specific actions. Rhetoric symbols provide hints helping one answer those questions.

That issue is particularly important, and an excellent example of such an analysis is the famous Kenneth Burke's analysis of *Mein Kampf*.²⁸ The quoted speech by Martin Luther King Jr. shows that if a speaker wishes to find *common grounds* with a recipient, the meaning of the speaker's text does not need to be distorted (intentionally or by mistake).²⁹ Therefore, it is a question of the *attitude*.³⁰

²⁶ In the examples which refer to the works by Thucydides, Sallust and Lewis there exists that exact will to exert a negative influence on the audience so that they observed and interpreted the world as the speakers suggested!

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Cf. K. Burke, "Retoryka Mein Kampf", [in:] *Nowa Krytyka. Antologia*, selection H. Krzeczkowski, trans. M. Szpakowska, PIW, Warsaw 1983, pp. 344–377 (it is a chapter of Burke's book, *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, The University of California Press, Berkeley et al. 1973, pp. 191–220).

²⁹ That would offer an example of a very appropriate usage of variable lexical references; a different approach was applied in the works by Thucydides, Sallust and Lewis.

³⁰ Alf Ross discussed the problem of differentiating attitudes from convictions and he indicated that one's convictions can be influenced and, possibly, changed, while attitudes are not susceptible to such activities. Cf. A. Ross, "Argumentacja i perswazja", [in:] *Metaetyka*, selection, ed. I. Lazari-Pawłowska, PWN, Warsaw 1975, pp. 163–183. That somewhat resembled Rudolf Carnap's attitude towards evaluations and norms as expression devoid of any meaning, cf.

of the speaker who even in a seemingly objective statement conveys some more or less covert intentions.³¹ Herbert evaluated barbarians negatively, yet, allow me to reiterate, he did not bend the reference/meaning only “to have his way.”³²

Generally speaking, then, one could say that rhetoric can teach us the proper use of words/ expressions/ statements, also thanks to the fact that the emphasis of the negative elements of the description/interpretation of the world should occur though the application of a dialogue, i.e. a confrontation of various descriptions/ interpretations of the world.³³

ibidem, pp. 81–87: according to him, *beliefs* express some opinion about cognition while *attitudes* belong to the sphere of practical assuming of a position. The philosopher meant a differentiation between expressions of cognitive content and evaluative expressions. To put it bluntly: only the former possess any meaning; the latter may have some meaning, but it is mixed with emotions.

31 Extremely important remarks in: R. Marlin, “The Rhetoric of Action Description. Ambiguity in Intentional Reference”, *Informal Logic* 1984, issue 6(3), pp. 26–28: he indicated the fact that a speaker’s *intentions* may change the meaning/reference of words/statements. He introduced the notion of “referential translucency of statements”, which consists of using ambiguity. As van Quine commented: “[...] it can be taken as objectively stating a result of an action, and it can be taken as accusing the agent of intending that result” (W. van Orman Quine, *Różności. Słownik prawie filozoficzny*, trans. C. Cieśliński, Aletheia, Warsaw 1995, p. 176). The first three examples and, to some extent, Herbert’s poem illustrate that statement well. However, contrary to what I have just said about Herbert’s poem, one could indicate that the evaluation of barbarians is unequivocally negative (though it includes a referentially translucent statement as one cannot clearly state whether it will be barbarians who will destroy the classical world or whether that will be done by the so-called historical processes – in this case they were specified as the “unrelenting stream of elements”).

32 Once again, the examples from the works of Thucydides, Sallust and Lewis included intentional measures undertaken by the speakers to, while maintaining the pretences of an objective description of reality, create a negative image of either the antagonists or the modes of thinking (and action) of the antagonists. Allow me reiterate that the stylistic devices (?) used by Thucydides and Sallust, *in summa*, led to an extremely bloody civil war (in Greece and Rome). Nonetheless, the remark in the previous note might suggest that Herbert acted similarly to Thucydides, Sallust and Lewis. In reference to modern times (particularly in reference to examples taken from politics and the media), the issues were discussed to the fullest by Bruce McComiskey, *Post-Truth Rhetoric and Composition*, Utah State University Press, Ohio 2017.

33 That is the general recommendation offered in treatises in rhetoric (*science about status*), which were best summarised by Richard E. Volkmann. Cf. R.E. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht dargestellt*, Teubner Verlag, Leipzig 1885 (repr. Olms Verlag, Hildesheim et al. 1987), pp. 38–92, 241–242.

Conclusions

It is difficult to conclude anything with full certainty. Considering the difficulty in defining the theoretical perception of the notions of meaning/reference (in most general terms: whether it is philosophical, logical or linguistic), the problem already arises at the level of the theory, and in turn, when choosing the principles of analytical procedure. The other difficulty is associated with the selection of analysis examples, e.g. the ones indicated in this text can be interpreted both as violations of meaning/reference and simply as misunderstanding resulting from the difficulties in elementary understanding of texts (sometimes that is a matter of unfamiliarity with the notions or expressions used by authors), as well as intentional recipient manipulation.

I believe that the use of the theory of rhetoric can help avoid the biggest difficulties described in the situations in the first three examples as well as the difficulties associated with the selection of both the theory and the analytical method. That is because the lead principle in rhetoric is to juxtapose *pro et contra* views.³⁴ Moreover, each of the first three examples is basically a textbook example of intentional “confusing” thesis with hypothesis and that which should have been proven, was provided as something obvious. Those matters, from the theoretical point of view, were best discussed by Volkmann.³⁵

Does that bring us closer to explaining the problem of meaning? Only partly – rhetoric tools are more useful for studying whether a statement violates meaning/reference. The situation is worse when one wishes to use them for constructing statements which are not supposed to violate meaning/reference; then, one is once again faced with the problem posed by Frege and partly challenged by van Quine. In fact, it is necessary to consider both the context and the theory within which one is to discuss the meaning/reference of a statement.³⁶ I gather, then, that

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 38–92.

³⁵ Ibidem, pp. 38–57.

³⁶ In the quoted poem by Herbert, two theories of the world are described: the classical (Stoic) and the barbarian; however, please consider that despite the poet *preferred* the former, he did not condemn the latter – he only expressed his regret that the former was subsiding. That might have been caused by his (covert) application of a third theory which talks about progress, development, etc., in most general terms: evolution of the theories which describe the world. Cf. Ch. Delsol, *op. cit.* Then, the inevitable outcome of such an attitude would also be an evolution or rather transformation of the references of words. Yet, at the same time, it would be a confirmation of previously referenced suggestions by van Quine (the contextuality of reference and, at the same time, their entanglement in a more general theory, e.g. social theory, applied by the speaker). It is possible that the application of the theory of speech acts could also enable one to capture the formation and transformations of the references in Herbert's text.

one can study *language usage*; it is much more difficult to develop a theory which would enable one to *avoid* such violations of meaning/reference.

Thus, the result is poor, however, it all depends on the intentions of the speaker whether they will ensure the clarity of their statement, i.e. *unambiguity of meaning/reference*. The theoreticians of rhetoric considered speaker intentions as a major issue regarding the moral preparation of the one who spoke. As Richard E. Volkmann argued:³⁷

[rhetoric is...] the basis of true democracy. One's familiarity with its [rhetoric's – J.Z.L.] principles prevents the situation that power in a state is gained by demagogues and charlatans, who cover the void of their thoughts with the tinsel of words.

What a shame those words were mere *wishful thinking*! That is why already Pindar indicated in the *First Pythian Ode* that speech/eloquence is morally entangled.

Warsaw, 20.08.2018

Annex 1

Poem by Zbigniew Herbert *Do Marka Aurelego*, <http://www.fundacjaherberta.com/tworczosc3/poezja/struna-swiatla/do-marka-aurelego>, [accessed on: 21.08.2018]; also Z. Herbert, 89 *wierszy*, Wyd. A5, Krakow 2008. [English version: Herbert Z., *The Collected Poems 1956–1998*, Atlantic Books, Kindle Edition].

To Professor Henryk Elzenberg

*Good night Marcus put out the light
and shut the book For overhead
is raised a gold alarm of stars
heaven is talking some foreign tongue
this the barbarian cry of fear
your Latin cannot understand
Terror continuous dark terror
against the fragile human land*

³⁷ R.E. Volkmann, "Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer", [in:] *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1st. ed. von Müller, Beck Verlag, München 1901, Bd. 2, Abt. 3, p. 61 [Polish trans. in: H. Cichocka, J.Z. Lichański, *Zarys historii retoryki. Od początku do upadku cesarstwa bizantyńskiego*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1993, pp. 109–233 (quotation of the fragment omitted in the Polish edition!)]. In the Polish edition, the fragment was inserted into a different place of the study.

*begins to beat It's winning Hear
its roar The unremitting stream
of elements will drown your prose
until the world's four walls go down
As for us? – to tremble in the air
blow in the ashes stir the ether
gnaw our fingers seek vain words
drag off the fallen shades behind us*

*Well Marcus better hang up your peace
give me your hand across the dark
Let it tremble when the blind world beats
on senses five like a failing lyre
Traitors – universe and astronomy
reckoning of stars wisdom of grass
and your greatness too immense
and Marcus my defenseless tears*

Annex 2

Fragment of the novel by M.G. Lewis, *The Bravo of Venice*, and a commentary after: J.Z. Lichański, *Filologia – Filozofia – Retoryka. Wprowadzenie do badań (nie tylko) literatury popularnej*, DiG, Warsaw 2017, p. 63.

During a discussion between the protagonist (Abellino = Rosalvo) and the antagonist (Matteo), the following words are uttered (M.G. Lewis, *Postrach Wenecji*, trans. L. Owczarzak, WP, Poznań, pp. 23–24, 25–26 [English version: Zschokke, Heinrich. *The Bravo of Venice*; a romance. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. Kindle Edition]):

[1] „Fool! know, the bravo must be above crediting the nurse's antiquated tales of vice and virtue. What is virtue? [2] What is virtue? [3] What is vice? [4] Nothing but such things as forms of government, custom, manners, and education have made sacred: and that which men are able to make honourable at one time, it is in their power to make dishonourable at another, whenever the humour takes them; [...] [5] And what, then, is the thing called HONOUR! [6] ,This a word, an empty sound, a mere fantastic creature of the imagination! [...] [7] I followed the bent of my genius, yet count I not my studies thrown away, since they taught me more philosophy than to tremble at phantoms created by my own imagination.

That statement by Matteo is a bizarre mixture of views which together form a “beautiful” eristic argumentative construct. Please note that sentences [2], [3], and [5] are rhetoric questions, while the answer is seemingly true, cf. sentences [4] and [6]44. The author indicated how one can avoid a serious answer (while offering an illusion of it as, to some extent, he is right) to a very complex and important question. The entire argument does not even try to maintain the pretence of argumentation; moreover, sentence [4] intentionally, though covertly, introduces additional understanding. It is the equalling of such different categories as “forms of government”, “custom”, “manners”, “education” as the explanation (?) of the origins of such categories as “virtue” and “vice”. Please note that sentence [1] is an understatement, and the hidden fragment of the understanding equals the notions of “virtue” and “vice” with the contents of “nurse’s antiquated tales”.

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Jakub Z. Lichański

Sens: czy narzędzia retoryki są przydatne w jego badaniu?

Streszczenie

Przedmiotem rozważań są dwie kwestie: po pierwsze problem sensu, po drugie – czy narzędzia retoryki postrzeganej jako podstawowe narzędzie w komunikacji międzyludzkiej (obojętne czy codziennej, czy specjalistycznej), mogą być pomocne w odczytywaniu i interpretowaniu sensu. Sens jest rozumiany za G. Fregem: „Ustalmy teraz związkę terminologię: nazwa (wyraz, znak, układ znaków, wyrażenie) wyraża swój sens, oznacza zaś swe znaczenie. Przez znak wyrażamy jego sens, oznaczamy zaś jego znaczenie”. W niniejszych rozważaniach chodzi także o odpowiedź na daleko ogólniejsze pytanie: „czy, dzięki retoryce, możemy powiedzieć coś ważkiego o świecie, czyli jednak określamy jakoś tezę filozoficzną, czy tylko, z różnych perspektyw, ale szukamy najbardziej prawdopodobnej odpowiedzi na hipotezę”.

Przedstawione założenie jest konsekwencją sugestii, jaką przedstawił Willard van Orman Quine: „Retoryka jest techniką przekonywania do dobrego lub

do złego” i wiąże się ona z czymś, co za Randallem Marlinem określamy jako „wyrażenia referencyjnie półprzezroczyste”.

Hipoteza, jaką postaram się udowodnić, brzmi zatem: czy sens jakiegokolwiek wyrażenia można, przy pomocy narzędzi retoryki, można tak dookreślić, aby stał się tezą filozoficzną a nie hipotezą. Aby zarówno podmiotowo, jak i przedmiotowo uznać takie wyrażenie za prawdziwe. Wtedy i tylko wtedy możemy powiedzieć, iż takie wyrażenie ma/zawiera jakiś (a nie jakikolwiek) sens.

Słowa kluczowe: sens, retoryka, komunikacja, nauka, religia, metafizyka, teza, hipoteza, G. Frege, I. Kant, R. Marlin, W. van Orman Quine.

Meaning. Are the tools of rhetoric useful in studying the matter?

Summary

The discussion centres around two issues: the issue of meaning, and the question whether the tools of rhetoric viewed as the basic tool in interpersonal communication (be it everyday or specialist communication) can be helpful in reading and interpreting meaning. The author understands meaning after G. Frege: [...] let the following phraseology be established: A proper name (word, sign, sign combination, expression) *expresses* its sense, *stands for* or *designates* its reference. By means of a sign we express its sense and designate its reference. The purpose of the discussion is also to answer a much more general question: *whether through rhetoric can one say something important about the world, so do they define a philosophical thesis or only, from various perspectives, one searches for the most probable answer to a hypothesis.*

The presented assumption is a result of the suggestion of Willard van Orman Quine: *Rhetoric is the literary technology of persuasion, for good or ill*, and it entails something which Randal Marlin defined as *referentially translucent expressions*.

Therefore, the hypothesis I shall try to prove is the following: can the sense of any expression be, using the tools of rhetoric, defined to such an extent so that it becomes a philosophical thesis and not a hypothesis? So that in terms of both the subject and the object the expression could be considered as true. Then and only then can one say that such an expression has/contains some (but not any) sense.

Keywords: sense, rhetoric, communication, science, religion, metaphysics, thesis, hypothesis, G. Frege, I. Kant, R. Marlin, W. van Orman Quine.

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Narration as the production of sense using the example of a music video of the song *All by Myself* by Celine Dion

A music video is a genre which has been defined in various ways. One can assume that it is a television format, a kind of a short film promoting a song, and it includes specific composition features. A music video is a media text, a whole in narrative terms, which is why it can have a story which would indicate dramaturgic features. Its main feature is music interpreted through images. The lyrics play a major role in that.¹

This article proposes an approach to the discussed genre from the point of view of the traditional aesthetics of a masterpiece. In such a case, it will mainly be a mode of existence of mainstream culture.² This article analyses Celine Dion's music video *All By Myself*.³ It is a film produced in the realistic convention;⁴ the

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1 The definition of the genre can be found in: *Słownik pojęć i tekstów kultury*, ed. A. Rysiewicz, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 2002, p. 105; *PWN Kino*, eds. K. Damm, B. Kaczorowski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2000, pp. 253-254, or in Marek Hendrykowski's article: "Polonista w świecie reklamy i wideoklipu", *Polonistyka* 2004, issue 5, pp. 15-16.

2 The Chair of Journalism, University of Lodz, is mostly probably going to gain access in the near future to a television studio. Traditional readily accessible music videos can offer students of journalism examples for analysing actor work in front of the camera.

3 Dion Celine *All By Myself*, <https://youtu.be/NGrLb6W5YOM> [accessed on: 12.05.2019].

4 Of course, there are other more aesthetically complex music videos which do not present an aesthetic reflection of reality, which by using non-linear narration may produce a virtual reality or a different form of an artistically autonomous alternative being, yet those are not the object of the analysis in this article.

song has a simple story, and the cinematography rather apparently relates the song's lyrics.⁵

At this point, allow me to mention the role of the music video in establishing an artist's image. In its market impact, a music video reflects the complex play of the forces of music market competition; it could be even considered as exerting an ideological or world view impact when in its influence it refers to the activities of popular subcultures. A work of music – chiefly the song for which it was created – is governed by specific rules of harmony; one could refer to it in communicational terms, as a growing number of researchers tend to do, as the rhetoric of music.⁶ Performers themselves possess musical personalities, which are their personal keys to success. Therefore, a music video also enters the area of influence of the broadly understood social image of an artist.

If one assumes that a music video can be analysed as a system which produces sense⁷, then the production occurs mainly within two dimensions. Firstly, as fiction, and secondly, as narration. Since a music video as a media text is released at a certain time on television throughout the world, the fiction created by it does not reflect only local phenomena – it has a global dimension, and its existential status can be best described using Saul Kripke's theory of metafiction. According to the American philosopher, an observer projects reality through intermediation from the surrounding world of references. There may be an infinite number of such worlds. A music video is a proposed set of data which a viewer specifies assigning it a relational reference in the process of relating to the so-called *communicational chain*, which transmits the nature of references constructed every time within a different local reality as the inherent world. Therefore, fiction is not understood exclusively as the extraction of a bundle of references by a subject in relation to

5 The song *All By Myself* was released in the 1996 album *Falling into You*. It was composed by Eric Carmen in 1975 based on Sergei Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 2 in C minor, Opus 18a*.

6 One of the many works devoted to the rhetorical impact of music was an article by Piotr Zawistowski: *Rozważania na temat retoryki w muzyce baroku*, <http://chopin.man.bialustok.pl/umfc/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/02-02.pdf> [accessed on: 5.05.2019].

7 Exactly as Niklas Luhman argued in his work *Social systems*. According to him, communication is about an event understood as a difference between a piece of information and the behaviour of the notifier. Communication is successful when the difference is observed, assigned and understood, and when it becomes the basis for the selection of the referent's behaviour. The fact of a work of art being released into the market is the act of observing the difference – thus it is, in itself, a significant fact. An analysis based on the theory of systems assumes the extraction of sense by a culture text only in the present, as what is studied is the notion of reproducibility of data necessary for reconstructing the identity of a system or self-defining after isolation from the environment, which in itself assumes the processes of observation and self-observation of a dynamic nature. Cf. N. Luhmann, *Systemy społeczne. Zarys ogólnej teorii*, trans. M. Kaczmarczyk, Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, Krakow 2007.

a perceived object. When operating on a global scale, it is difficult to define clear features of such a perception. One must rather note the possibility of there occurring a specific horizon of the observations of viewers as an inherent set of references, assuming that there exists a world of all the possible references. A music video would be in each individual act of reception a possible world extracted from the theoretically and ideally assumed world of all the possible references of the music video.⁸

Sense is extracted in a media text which is analysed also based on the narration as a linearly arranged structure or composition equipped with features of logicity, which organises specific linguistic or image-based material. In that sense it builds a story's fiction based on the principles of dramaturgy, and inherent emotional tension to relieve it according to the principle of *katharsis*. That narration describes a specific nature of reality; it is clear in structural terms; it merges longer fragments into a logical and coherent whole. Within that convention a media text reflects a reality and also describes it. Plato framed it within the categories of *diegesis* and *mimesis*. The possibility of framing real events in a story, to tell them, if you will, indicates that one understands what surrounds them, i.e. a rational relationship with the environment. Through traditional narration one displays their way of perceiving the existing reality. This process can be termed as the analysis of the course of an impermanent media text. The reflection itself, i.e. the description of reality, is a spatial category. The third element is the subject (a person, a character), who combines both categories in a text.

Eberhard Lämmert discussed what people understand as story or action in the literary sense.⁹ He identified two notions which refer to action and which are

8 Kripke's theory abandons the assumption of consistent and generally clear intentionality within the process of assigning reference. Intended content, which accompanies the situation of assigning a name – i.e. the reception of a text (a music video in this case) – is undefinable. There exists the situation of the so-called *communicational chain*, i.e. a reference complies with the principles of maintaining reference to a name transmitted within the process of communication by the actors in a world of references. Cf. S.A. Kripke, *Nazywanie a konieczność*, trans. B. Chwedeńczuk, Aletheia, Warsaw 2001. As Filip Kawczyński argued: "Within (Searle's) descriptionism, a proper name has a reference and that is the content of the assumptions of the sender regarding the nature of the name's referent. It is the reference that determines which object is the referent of the name. The cause-based theory rejects the possibility of proper names to possess references (at least in the traditional understanding of the term). The reference of a name in a specific usage is defined based on the chain in which the usage appears and which place it occupies in it." F. Kawczyński, *Założeniowa teoria nazw własnych Searle'a*, https://www.academia.edu/29959969/Za%C5%82%C5%BCeniowa_teoria_nazw_w%C5%82asnych_Searle'a [accessed on: 4.05.2019] [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

9 E. Lämmert, *Bauformen des Erzählens*, 8th ed., Metzler Studienausgabe, Stuttgart 1993.

interrelated. Those are *plot* and *story*. It seems that those literary categories could be transferred onto the plane of music video analysis considering a song's lyrics.

A *story* is, simply, the events which occur one after the other within a logical plain progression – “A narrative of events arranged in their time sequence” – a *story* is the basic element of every narration.

A *plot* is subject to an organising principle – “The chain of events in a story and the principle which knit it together”. “The unity of the plot is thus the result of necessary relationship and order among the events”.¹⁰

Historie is a special progression of events, the creation of stages of a story, as well as a temporal or spatial reordering of events. A story told is rooted in the described reality. Major importance is carried in this rooting by the notion of *Stoff*, i.e. the material of literary processing. A *story* within the dimension of **historie** fictionalises events. Those apply to people who are the characters in a work. The matter could also be explained through phenomenology based on the discussion by Stefania Skwarczyńska.¹¹

Narration through images

An analysis of media texts is also an analysis of images. Images can be, just as text, perceived within time and space.¹² Those qualities appear to possess the characteristics of historical development; they differ depending on the epoch, viewed both in intellectual terms and in terms of a painting technique. In that sense, various epochs in the history of painting had different views on the background, i.e. space in a painting – from the vision of figures and objects presented flatly and devoid of depth to a conscious mastery in using space also framed in the form of the topic and the main compositional principle. In the portrait format, we perceive space as the background behind the presented person and above their head. It must be specifically balanced, depending on the degree to which the person fills the frame; it must be distributed evenly to give the presented person an air of dominance within a harmonious and balanced whole. Narration conveys an inherent vision of meaning as an artist-defined truth. Within the realistic convention, that truth applies to a figure with a specific appearance.

¹⁰ This division corresponds to Genette's notions of *historie* and *recit*. Cf. G. Genette, *Erzählung*, 2nd ed., W. Fink UTB, München 1998.

¹¹ S. Skwarczyńska, *Wstęp do nauki o literaturze*, vol. 1 and 2, PAX, Warsaw 1954. Clearly, they are rooted in Roman Ingarden's theory of a work of literature.

¹² Also within the dimensions of narration and description.

The presentation of a figure in a music video as a mainstream genre usually occurs based on classical ancient principles of beauty and harmony; it is subject to the rules of proportions, i.e. canon.¹³

Mise-en-scene is a good fit for the analysis of narration. The term originally meant theatrical staging and direction. It was adopted in film in the 1940s and 50s.¹⁴ According to that method, artistic activities were a development of the fashionable at that time existential thought. The goal was to create film fiction as close to reality as possible. *Mise-en-scene* was at that time a fashionable mode of film-based perception of reality. Famous shots defined by that term have been inscribed in the history of cinema.¹⁵

¹³ The notion of an aesthetic canon is used to define the perfect proportions of a person's body. One of the first works on proportions was written by Polykleitos, an ancient Greek sculptor. He proposed proportions where the face should be 1/10 and the head 1/8 of the height of the entire body. The length of the foot should be 1/6 of the height of one's body. The head with the neck equals the length of the foot. The face is divided into three equal parts. That canon, referred to as the Polyclitean canon, was applied by Leonardo da Vinci. Vitruvius, a Roman architect, created a model later referred to as the Vitruvian Man where the lengths of limbs are the basic modules. The length of extended upper limbs equals the height of the body. That is why the human body can be inscribed into a square. The navel is the natural centre of the body, and it is the centre of a circle described around the body. The length of the head is 1/8 of the height of the body. Cf. J. Zrzavy, *Anatomia człowieka dla artystów*, Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich, Warsaw 1961.

¹⁴ Andre Bazin, a film critic, is considered the originator of *mise-en-scene* in the context of film. In the late-1960s, director Jean-Luc Godard applied that method.

¹⁵ The specificity of some of the film scenes consisted of the application of sufficiently long shots to ensure that the filmed reality emerged in a scene in its own manner and it forced an unpredictable dramatic effect. Therefore, a film developed in line with those principles was a series of shots which possessed dynamic qualities. The dramatic effect was pervasive. They were full of tension. Several scenes from Orson Welles' *Citizen Kane* were the method's typical examples. One of those was the *mirror scene*. Discredited Kane leaves his house passing by a celebratory line-up of the house staff. After passing them, he walks past huge mirrors arranged in parallel on both sides of the hallway. They reflect his figure multiple times and assign the exiting from the house a monumental character. The dramatic effect of the scene was achieved by juxtaposing the internal and external dimensions of the experience of pain and defeat. Kane is in pain. That is visible at the beginning of the scene when he squeezes in his hand a snow globe, a toy from his childhood. The emotion becomes externalised and amplified in the second shot of the passage through the hallway with a line-up of the house staff by the symmetrically arranged mirrors. Kane is alone in a crowd and the mirrors producing a caricature magnification of his figure assign the scene the airs of the protagonist's reflection on himself; when exiting, he catches a glimpse of the mirror. The shot is long. The director allowed the protagonist to pass through the enormous hallway consisting of three sections. The actor depicted the world of emotions of the character using a prop, i.e. the snow

Mise-en-scene also functions as a term within the area of analysis. It could be summarised in a question: ‘How was it done?’ In the case of film, the notion has a complex nature. Firstly, one must include in an analysis the ‘theatrical dimension’ of film, i.e. which is real occurs at a film set and is directly directed in real time. That which has been directed, i.e. scenes, situations and characters in a set in their specific spatial surroundings, is filmed by a cinematographer. The manner in which they work using a camera is yet another separate matter. *Mise-en-scene* as an analysis juxtaposes those two dimensions.

Theatrical dimension

In this dimension, evaluation applies to, as I have already mentioned, the manner of directorial staging in relation to a theatre stage or a film set. A set or a stage are spatially organised into a certain spatial configuration, e.g. the proscenium stage in theatre or the television studio which fulfils the function of a living room or

globe, and through the way he moved – majestically walking past the staff and mirrors. The composition of the first shot is the key element for the whole of the scene. In the centre, there is the snow globe held in a hand which is trembling. In the snow globe, artificial snow is falling. The camera smoothly transitions to portrait Kane in the classical bust shot, the convention of which is broken by a view of half-opened lips of a man breathing heavily. The composition of the progression of the two images illustrates the internal grounding of the scene. Further actions of the character – there is no dialogue in the scene – are the logical consequences of the crisis being experienced. In: *Citizen Kane – Hall of Mirrors*, <http://www.filmspectrum.org/> [accessed on: 24.03.2014].

Another example of *mise-en-scene* is the scene from *Schindler’s List* by Steven Spielberg.

The actual *mise-en-scene* shot was preceded by a prologue and concluded in an epilogue. In it, the camera moves behind the protagonist who enters a hotel restaurant and takes a seat at a table. On his way to the table he meets an elderly grey-haired man who in a welcome gesture of embrace takes money out of Schindler’s jacket pocket. Next, the camera changes the perspective and assumes the point of view of the elderly man walking around the table at which Schindler sits. It offers a chance to portrait him. Previously, Schindler’s face was not visible. It is a bust shot taken from the side. In the face, the emphasis is placed on the lips which Schindler purses in a slight smile. In the epilogue, the camera once again changes the point of view offering side bust portrait from up close and from a distance of a few meters of Schindler with a cigarette in his mouth sitting at the table. Viewers can see that through the eyes of two men standing behind a glass separating them and the room. Schindler exchanges glances with a young attractive woman sitting at the next table. In the scene’s prologue which describes Schindler’s character, the first shot plays the key role. In the foreground, there is a radio, a figure of a man shot at the height of his navel – one can see smart trousers with a leather belt and a hand pouring vodka into a shot glass. The hand opens a desk drawer and takes money out of it. The lighting and the sound background are important. The radio plays a sorrowful melody played on the violin. The light comes from

a café. In the music video, the filmed area is a film studio which reproduces the atelier of the artist and the scene's back room. The title character appears as an anonymous girl (mainly black-and-white shots) and a singer (colour shots). On the stage, usually only one person is visible. Thus, the music and text produce an air of an intimate experience.

The areas of the stage or studio are subject to choreographical procedures. The director decides about the style of the choreography, lighting, placement of characters on a stage, and their mutual spatial relations. Their choices apply to the actors of a show – television show hosts in the case of a television studio. They must receive make-up and be properly dressed, and they must behave in relation to one another in line with the director's instructions. The relations between characters, i.e. the assigned to each a central or supporting importance, and their mutual relations within the emotional plane have a major importance for the dimension of the communication in the categories of the show. The phenomenon of the relations between the characters in the analysed music video is limited to the minimum.

Placement

It seems that the selection of the place where shots are taken is a result of the kind of situation being described and its psychological grounding. That could be, e.g. the hallway of a mansion being left by its owner, as in the mirror scene of *Citizen Kane*. The fact of leaving the house illustrated his demise. In *All By Myself*, the setting is a complex of residential high-rises. The music video's interiors maintain

a night lamp located on the desk. Further in the scene, it comes through a window cast over with a lace curtain and drapery. The costume plays a major role: a man, whose torso is clad in a silk shirt is in the foreground, he takes out a box with gold cufflinks, selects a pair, puts them on, and puts two suits and five ties on the bed to put on the right outfit before departing. During the epilogue, Schindler being portrayed by the camera is wearing a gold diamond ring on the hand which holds the cigarette lifted to his lips. The props, i.e. smart apparel, and, most of all, the centre-frame bottle of expensive vodka, money and jewellery, give the character the air of an affluent person who enjoys life's pleasures. In the discussed scenes, the dramatic principle is the presentation of the situation of the man who stands in the centre. The situation is strictly related to the character's mind. Those are the shot of the heartbroken Kane in the former, and the shot of Schindler willing to have a good time in the latter. That could be referred to as psychological grounding of a filmed character. Before setting off for the restaurant, Schindler drinks the glass of vodka, views the gold jewellery, and chooses a smart outfit, i.e. he is preparing for having a good time. His exchange of glances with the woman in the restaurant seems then fully motivated by the desire to experience strong emotions. In: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d7201_4fTDQ [accessed on: 24.03.2014].

the character of utility interiors, a theatre dressing room, or the backstage. The fragments which emphasise the mood are the dresser with a mirror, or the dark fairly undefined background.

Selection of action and make-up

The selection of an actor has a fundamental significance for an entire film, including *mise-en-scene* shots and its internal logic. In the analysed music video, the character undergoes a mental breakdown. That dramatic situation can be depicted within various stylistic and historical conventions. Yet what seems most important is the selection of the protagonist. The major factors for that are the character's personality, and the appropriately chosen costume and make-up. The placement and the historical convention, dramatic devices, and the narrative emphasis of key moments seem to be the outcomes of the choice made in this respect. In the various well-known film versions of *Hamlet*, the protagonist was played by acclaimed actors, with the classic of the group being the film starring Laurence Olivier. The actor with a classical subtle appearance of an intellectual wears clothes and make-up appropriate to the epoch. He seems made for playing this Shakespearian character. In 1990, Mel Gibson offered the character of a sword swinging Mediaeval knight clad in a coarse outfit, and driven by his faith. In a 1996 film, Kenneth Branagh delivered the *to be or not to be* monologue into a mirror in a palace hall wearing the outfit of an English noble from the 19th c. A through and through modern interpretation of the drama featured Ethan Hawke (2000). The music video's protagonist is played by the singer. Within the black-and-white convention of the first scenes, she appears as an anonymous 'girl like all others'. There are close-up shots with an intimate character intended to build tension. It is relieved with aesthetically neutral and flat shots of interiors, through which the character moves unhurriedly.

Visual dimension. Camera work

Lighting

Lighting has a major importance for cinematography. Three-point lighting is the classical lighting in a frame. It is an arrangement of light projected onto the characters within a frame from three different places: from the front, from the side, and from the back. That type of lighting does not emphasise the dramatic impact of shots; it distributes light evenly and gives an impression of naturalness. The shadows behind the characters are minimal. Most scenes in modern feature

films are lit that way. A master example of this type of lighting was applied in Blake Edward's 1961 film *Breakfast at Tiffany's*.¹⁶

The significance of studio lighting is best visible when one was to compare the way in which the appearance by ABBA on the German national television ZDF was shot in 1975¹⁷ and how the performance by Dorota Osińska in the *Voice of Poland* show was shot in 2012¹⁸. ABBA's performance was shot in the 1970s using three-point lighting without any dramatization. The figures in the frame were filmed whole using a static camera. The camera filmed the entire set throughout the entire programme. The choreography was limited to minimum. During Osińska's performance, laser lighting lit up the darkness in the studio from several points and built the space. The sheer extent of the space created using light contrasted the frailty of the figure of the singer who sang an extremely touching song *Je t'aime* originally by Lora Fabian. It was a classic *mise-en-scene* shot. The choreography, the lighting and the figure in the centre of the events, and the song being sung formed an artistic whole.

The lighting in the analysed music video is not extremely intensive; it comes from off the frame. When its intensity changes and it becomes very bright, the shots transition from black and white to colour. The change of the colour convention is important for the interpretation of the images. A young modest girl in a black-and-white convention turns into a fine woman of striking beauty.

Of course, the manner of filming the events in a studio or on stage is of fundamental importance. Cinematography and filming skills are two more separate matters when it comes to *mise-en-scene*. In this case, the analysis is the answer to the question about the complexity of a film frame or a section of it, about the way a shot was taken, and a scene was produced in film terms. The director's work extracts the differences which exist between a real situation and its film-based reflection. That is the creation of fiction. A camera presents a section of reality but we assume that several other things exist outside the frame. Usually, directors avoid ready-made patterns of narration and seek out new solutions.¹⁹ The temporal

¹⁶ Light illumination – light of high intensity giving the frame high brightness and bringing out the details in costumes was often used in musicals and comedies, and other classical Hollywood productions. Its opposite is toned-down lighting, e.g. in the discussed scene in *Schindler's List*. It elevates the dramatic nature of shots.

¹⁷ Website: YouTube.com: ZDF. ABBA – *Graetests Hits*, 1975. In: ZDF, TopMix 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T7GCqFed4fI&feature=youtu.be> [accessed on: 25.03.2014].

¹⁸ Website: YouTube.com: *Dorota Osińska Je t'aime*. In: https://youtu.be/_uK4jiUO53I [accessed on: 25.03.2014].

¹⁹ Alexander Kluge, a writer and director of the new German cinema of the 1970s, stressed, however, that directing cannot be dumbed down only devices which record events. Cf. A. Kluge, *Gelegenheitsarbeit einer Sklavin*, 3th ed., Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1975, p. 202.

course of a film, i.e. the combining of a progression of images in cinematography and the later adding of sound, can be analysed as per the following model based on the fragment of the script of *Muriel* by Alain Resnais (1963). It includes a description of the temporal course in real time and the corresponding overlapping of images and sound.

| FRAME | | IMAGE | | COMPOSITE TRACK | |
|---------|----------|---|---|---|------------------|
| NR | DURATION | DESCRIPTION (description, colour, content) | CAMERA (scale, angle, movement) | WORDS | SOUNDS, MUSIC |
| 6 (510) | 1.8 s | *orange and brown *two drawers in a recess, silver set inside *still | *close-up *slightly wry face, shot bottom up inclined, less emphasised *camera is still | *Further, there was a textile shop "at God's mercy" | *birds |
| 7 | 1.83 s | *white *glistening toppled over glasses in front of the mirror, shifted reflections *still | *close-up *30° right, bottom-up shot *camera is still | *But I can't see the shop. It was a... | |
| 8 (510) | 1.83 s | *white and brown *four piles of white plates (two levels) placed in front of the mirror on a brown table, while serviettes, salt cellars *still | *medium plan *slightly from the left, slightly bottom-up *camera is still | *... with tobacco. Oh! Impossible! | |

Figure 1. Fragment of the script of *Muriel* by Alain Resnais, 1963 after: Aumont Jacques, Michel Marie, *Analiza filmu*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2013.

The first column of the table includes the duration of the film once it was edited.²⁰ All of the filmed events unfolded in real time, i.e. chronologically. The film is a progression of shots/scenes which combine forming sequences. The significance of the edited shots/scenes depends on the location and the character of a sequence.

²⁰ To offer an example: the real time in the case of a film viewed on YouTube is marked with red line at the bottom of the screen.

Progression of shots

In order to notice the chronological progression of shots in the analysed music video of *All By Myself* by Celine Dion, one must consider the axis of the course of real time carefully.

Analysis of the music video

In the analysis, I omitted the relationship between the images and the music. In the music video of “All By Myself” the narration within the dimensions of the *plot* and the *story* is included in the lyrics and in the story told using images. Between both media texts of words and images there is a relationship which indicates compositional qualities.

The song lyrics are as follows:²¹

The lyrics in Polish:

When I was young
I never needed anyone
And making love was just for fun
Those days are gone
Livin' alone
I think of all the friends I've known
When I dial the telephone
Nobody's home

Kiedy byłam młoda
Nigdy nie potrzebowałam nikogo
A kochałam się tylko dla zabawy
Te dni minęły
Żyjąc sama
Myślę o wszystkich przyjaciółach, których znałam
Kiedy wykręcam numer
Nikogo nie ma w domu

All by myself
Don't wanna be
All by myself
Anymore

Całkiem sama
Nie chcę być
Całkiem sama
Nigdy więcej

Hard to be sure
Sometimes I fell so insecure
And loves so distant and obscure
Remains the cure

Trudno mieć pewność
Czasami czuję się tak niepewnie
A miłość jest taka odległa i nieznaną
Przypomina lekarstwo

All by myself
Don't wanna be
All by myself
Anymore

Całkiem sama
Nie chcę być
Całkiem sama
Nigdy więcej

²¹ Song lyrics and their translation after: *tekstowo.pl*, https://www.tekstowo.pl/piosenka,celine_dion,all_by_myself.html [accessed on: 3.05.2019].

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| All by myself | Całkiem sama |
| Don't wanna live | Nie chcę żyć |
| All by myself | Całkiem sama |
| Anymore | Nigdy więcej |
| | |
| All by myself | Całkiem sama |
| Don't wanna be | Nie chcę być |
| All by myself | Całkiem sama |
| Anymore | Nigdy więcej |
| | |
| All by myself | Całkiem sama |
| Don't wanna live | Nie chcę żyć |
| Oh | Och |
| Don't wanna live | Nie chcę żyć Nie chcę żyć |
| By myself, by myself | Sama, sama |
| Anymore | Nigdy więcej |
| By myself | Sama |
| Anymore | Nigdy więcej |
| Oh | Och |

The song can be described within the terms of *story* and *plot*.

Story:

A young girl experienced a heartbreak. She is lonely, the telephone remains silent, and when she calls, no one answers. The girl does not want to be alone. Loneliness means uncertainty. Love can rescue her from loneliness.

Plot:

Retrospective is the organising principle. The text is a form of a recollection from the past and an opposition to the present. It begins with 'When I was young' recalling carefree moments. The present is hard to endure, it means the pain of loneliness.

The essence of the music video is narration through images and using it to refer to the lyrics and, in general, to the sounds of the song. It can be discussed similarly to the above-quoted script of *Muriel* by presenting a series of shots until they transition to a sequence. The image of the character, i.e. a lonely anonymous girl, is built in a black-and-white convention. The following are the shots from the song's first stanza:

| FRAME | | IMAGE | | COMPOSITE TRACK | |
|-------|----------|--|--|---------------------------------|------------------|
| NO. | DURATION | DESCRIPTION (description, colour, content) | CAMERA (scale, angle, movement) | WORDS | SOUNDS, MUSIC |
| 1 | 1.0 s | Black-and-white images; white and black shadows in the background. A young woman with arms crossed across her breast is looking to the side. | American shot | None | Song's intro |
| 2 | 2-4 s | Black-and-white images; the young woman's face with eyes shut, head tilted to the side; right two-third profile | Close-up | None | Song's intro |
| 3 | 5-7 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's head; left two-third profile | Close-up | When I was young | Stanza |
| 4 | 8-11 s | Black-and-white images; figure of a sitting woman putting on make-up; her reflection is visible in the mirror | American shot | I never needed anyone | Stanza |
| 5 | 12-13 s | Black-and-white images; the face of the woman putting on make-up; left two-third profile | Close-up and zoom out | And making love was just for... | Stanza |
| 6 | 14-18 s | Black-and-white images; the woman walks around the room | Long shot | ...fun | Stanza |
| 7 | 19-20 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's face | Close-up | None | Melody |
| 8 | 21-23 s | Black-and-white images; the woman walks around the room; her hands near her face | Medium shot | Those days are gone | Stanza |
| 9 | 24-25 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's face - left and right two-third profiles | Medium shot - transition from left to right two-third profiles | None | Melody |

| FRAME | | IMAGE | | COMPOSITE TRACK | |
|-------|----------|--|---|----------------------------------|---------------|
| NO. | DURATION | DESCRIPTION (description, colour, content) | CAMERA (scale, angle, movement) | WORDS | SOUNDS, MUSIC |
| 10 | 26-29 s | Black-and-white images; women and men entering the scene | Long shot – camera at the back of the scene | Livin'alone I think... | Stanza |
| 11 | 30-34 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's face turning towards the camera | Close-up and zoom out | ...of all the friends I've known | Stanza |
| 12 | 35-38 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's face directly | Close-up, moving camera | When I dial the... | Stanza |
| 13 | 39-40 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's head left two-third profile | Close-up, moving camera | ...telephone | Stanza |
| 14 | 41-43 s | Black-and-white images; figure of a woman dressed black standing on a balcony; multi-floor buildings in the background | American shot | Nobody's home | Stanza |

The important element is when the scenes transition into a sequence. That occurs when the words 'Hard to be sure' are sung at 1 minute 8 seconds into the music video.

| FRAME | | IMAGE | | COMPOSITE TRACK | |
|-------|------------|--|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| NO. | DURATION | DESCRIPTION (description, colour, content) | CAMERA (scale, angle, movement) | WORDS | SOUNDS, MUSIC |
| 1 | 1 min. 7 s | Black-and-white images; the woman's head in right two-third profile | Close-up | ...anymore | Stanza |
| 2 | 1 min. 8 s | Colour images; the woman rises her eyesight from the floor and looks into the camera | Close-up | Hard to be sure... | Stanza |

The sequential editing adds significance to the entire film. The specific connection points of individual scenes influence the interpretation of the images by viewers – they extract the significance of a portion of the music video. Surely this phenomenon could be defined as a production of meaning. The combination of a black-and-white shot, a close-up being the result of five previous shots of a similar nature maintained in melancholic tone and monotonous, and of a colour shot coupled with the characteristic gesture of elevating the head and looking straight into the camera fundamentally fixed the viewers attention on the beauty of the person being filmed. At the same time, the memoir convention disappears and viewers recognise the singer in the aesthetic convention they know well from her previous music videos.

Conclusion

The narration present in a text, which can be interpreted as a *story* and a *plot*, is illustrated in a music video using narration through images. Its key element is the inclusion of a sequence completing the series of the presented images. The reference of the series of shots is related to how they were edited into the sequence. For obvious reasons the article did not consider the role the music in the music video, though it seems that its importance could be interpreted using the tools of the rhetoric of a musical work.

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Marek Ostrowski

Narracja jako produkcja sensu na przykładzie teledysku *All by myself* Celine Dion

Streszczenie

Narracja w teledysku Celine Dion *All by myself* jest linearnie ułożoną, wyposażoną w cechy logiczności konstrukcją, kompozycją, porządkującą określony materiał językowy czy obrazowy. Buduje ona fabularną fikcję opartą o zasady dramatyzowania. Jeżeli przyjmiemy, iż teledysk może być analizowany jako system produkujący sens, to produkcja ta zachodzi głównie w dwóch wymiarach. Po pierwsze jako fikcja, a po drugie jako narracja. Montaż sekwencyjny nadaje znaczenie całości

filmu. Określone miejsce połączenia scen wpływa na interpretację obrazu przez widza – jest wyłonieniem znaczenia części teledysku. Z pewnością można to zjawisko określić jako produkcję sensu.

Słowa kluczowe: teledysk, narracja, teoria systemów, produkcja sensu, Celine Dion.

Narration as the production of sense using the example of a music video of the song *All by Myself* by Celine Dion

Summary

The narration in the music video to Celine Dion's song *All By Myself* is a linearly organised construct or composition equipped with features of logicity, which organises specific linguistic or image-based material. It constructs a fiction based on the principles of dramatism. If one assumes that a music video can be analysed as a system which produces meaning, then the production occurs mainly within two dimensions. Firstly, as fiction, and secondly, as narration. The sequential editing adds significance to the entire film. The specific connection points of individual scenes influence the interpretation of the images by viewers – they extract the significance of a portion of the music video. Surely this phenomenon could be defined as a production of sense.

Keywords: music video, narration, theory of systems, production of sense, Celine Dion.

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Deception in negotiations Creating the vision of desired states

Diverse negotiation topics

Negotiations are a type of communication aimed at establishing positions in situations of disagreement, conflict, exacerbation, or contrary positions. Their point is to find a contract acceptable for the parties to the negotiations.¹ Each of those situations refers to the theory of exchange: I give you something and I receive something in return. However, is that exchange symmetrically satisfactory? Do both or all parties benefit proportionally to their input and expectations? Is it possible to apply the criterion of a fair contract? The course of communication and negotiating a contract can be diverse. To some extent, the negotiating parties reveal their true intentions, yet a major portion of those remain hidden. Mind you, both the motivation and the goals of negotiations are not simply divided into explicit and implicit; they spread over a long continuum from complete openness, through various degrees of implicitness, to completely surprising goals discovered almost after talks cease.² The subject of talks is not always simple or specific, as in the case

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1 Vide: *Negotiation, Decision Making and Conflict Management*, ed. M.H. Bazerman, An Elgar Reference Collection, Cheltenham UK, Northampton, MA 2005.

2 M. Skala, *Manipulacja odczarowana – 777 skutecznych technik wpływu*, Wydawnictwo Helion, Gliwice 2015.

of negotiating product prices or the locations of development projects. Sometimes, it is necessary to negotiate much less obvious topics, even some as cryptic as social status, educational service package or international natural protection rules and regulations. Uriel Foa and Edna Foa³ proposed a classification of notions subject to exchange into six values differing in terms of their quality:

1. **Money** – quite simple negotiations because their object is easily quantifiable and has an extremely finite nature, and negotiators often use precise tables of financial exchange;
2. **Goods** – barter is a bit more difficult because there is no identical value assigned to the products being exchanged. The legend of the Wild West still provides the example of success: white people offering a mirror in exchange for a bundle of fox skins caught and prepared by American natives. Today, barter is used in various communities where exchange needs are considerable, while financial resources less so, i.e. in poverty zones;
3. **Services** – an even more difficult object of negotiations as it is even less quantifiable. Consider this example: how can you compare the value of an hour of care for children with the service of cleaning a room, or help in farm work and help in doing homework? Just as in the case of “goods-for-goods” exchange, in many communities of the less affluent zones (slums, etc.) an exchange of services is the basis of social cooperation. Also, exchange of services for money or goods is much more difficult;
4. **Information, knowledge** – this kind of exchange applies to acquiring knowledge which can be used in activities undertaken, acquiring practical information (e.g. instructions), as well as to information – understood as constructing the image of the world, getting to know people, and describing physical, social, and ideological processes. Official channels of information exchange are mostly associated with education and the mass media, and in interpersonal channels – with personal confrontations between various communities, and sometimes with gossiping;
5. **Social status, prestige** – in this case, negotiations rather apply to the socially sensitive problem of respect, which is controversial when it comes to evaluation; to significance, and the position that people, but also organisations, states, and works of culture occupy within a community. The direct question to which negotiators respond may sound quite controversial: Who is more important? Who has a higher social position? What does employee equality consist of? Should the representatives of various races, nations, regions, cities and professions be treated equally? That issue also appears in intra-corporate

3 E.B. Foa, U.G. Foa, “Resources Theory. Interpersonal behaviour as Exchange”, [in:] *Social Exchange. Advances in Theory and Research*, eds. J. Gergen, M. Greenberg, R. Willis, New York 1980.

negotiations in the form of questions about which divisions are more important and have contribute most to the fulfilment of corporate goals. Even the most diverse aspects of social life become the subject of talks surrounding the issue: “who participates in major events: competitions, parades, events...” In short, a more or less hidden layer of negotiations consists of comparing the prestige of various political, social, cultural, sporting and community initiatives;⁴

6. **Feelings, emotional references** – being the vaguest object of negotiations, they are the most difficult topic. In whom, by what and when are positive emotions evoked, and what evokes negative emotions? Is the sympathy felt towards a partner reciprocated by that person? Is the sensation of happiness felt in contact with new works of art or with difficult professional tasks a personal experience or a socially-agreed experience shared by other participants of an event? How can one convince others to feel the same that one does (e.g. in terms of modern art)? Is it possible to negotiate the degree of mutual attachment or bond with children? Is it possible to replace time spent on playing with children with financial gifts? Sadly, that exchange is usually unsuccessful. Matrimonial, romantic and erotic negotiations, and negotiations on the degree of affection, are just as engaging. Within the professional context, the development of emotional bonds is supported by team building trips, for example. Their goal is to support formal relations with a system of mutual emotional bonds;
7. **Complications** – one should add complications when an exchange applies to negotiating different objects, not only in terms of individual values, but also between them. The greater the difference between the values is, the harder negotiations become. Thus, an exchange of money for goods is common in our everyday lives, but an exchange of money for feelings or prestige is quite controversial. By the same token, the fact of surrounding oneself with objects which suggest a high status may have many emotional associations, not only social, i.e. prestige-based ones. Every situation of this kind requires different tactics, yet the basis remains in compliance with the whole procedure of negotiations – the parties seek a solution which will be satisfactory or at least acceptable for them.

Negotiations that are thematically related to an exchange of goods may have one of three possible outcomes. Generally speaking, these are conclusion of contract, partial contract, or no contract. The disparity of positions is sometimes so great that parties suspend or terminate the talks. Normally, they should arrive at an agreement which is beneficial for both parties (a *win-win* situation), or which entails a gain for one party and a loss for the other (*win/lose*), or, in the worst

⁴ A. Szmajke, *Autoprezentacja. Maski, pozy, miny*, Wydawnictwo Urza Consulting, Olsztyn 1999.

variant, both parties lose. But even in the latter case, one can indicate that one party loses less than the other. In the extreme version, that is, during armed conflict, the winner is the one who destroys the resources of their opponent, their military potential, while retaining some portion of their own resources. There are also less drastic situations, such as when a quarrel, considered as an extreme variant of negotiations, causes discomfort for both parties, yet in emotional terms a bigger discomfort is triggered in the other party. This can be a reason for the relatively “victorious” party to feel a sense of triumph.⁵

The ambiguity of the meaning of *benefit* [benefit, advantage]

The most obvious conclusion about the mystery of meaning is that people can understand a single situation in various ways. What pleases some, bothers others; what is important for some, is meaningless for others; what amazes some, irritates others. The same applies to negotiations when one attempts to define what successful talks are. A single situation, but with three different meanings: successful because I won; successful because we both won; or successful because mine is bigger than yours.

That is exactly what studies associated with the concept of formal interpersonal games of the “Prisoner’s dilemma” type are focused on. The point of such games is to make decisions in situations where cooperative, competitive and individualistic motives are confronted. In life situations somewhat inferior to actual situations, study subjects are asked to choose one of two or three courses of actions acceptable in a game. The consequences of the choices made are strictly defined and indicated in numerical form in a table, so that both players know how much they will gain or lose, depending on the combination of both decisions – theirs and their partner’s. That combination of selected variants defines the meaning of an event, i.e. the consequences for both players. Even though this is a very simple situation (choose cooperation or one’s own advantage, measured in points), it perfectly reveals the differences in people’s social values, and their inclination to consider community meaning or just their own. Those are the two major social motivations. Consider one situation in which profits are conventionally expressed in numbers – profits are positive, losses are negative. In the game situation, numbers can be replaced by money, holidays, cinema tickets, etc. However, in the classical dilemma losses are measured in the number of days, months or years of imprisonment for presumed (suggested, alleged) felonies.

⁵ Z. Nęcki, “Zjawisko mobbingu w perspektywie psychologii komunikowania społecznego”, [in:] *Mobbing w białych rękawiczkach*, ed. R. Nęcek, Wydawnictwo Salwator, Krakow 2012, pp. 107–129.

The prisoner dilemma

Two people were arrested and placed in separate cells. They are suspected of having committed a serious crime. However, there is no irrefutable evidence of their guilt. They were both interviewed and presented with two options: admit their guilt and “snitch” on the other one (the police claim that they will soon get the evidence either way) or not admit their guilt, which is more beneficial in the short term, yet the eventual penalty will be higher. The sanctions are as follows:

1. Neither person admits their guilt: minor punishments for both (for example, 8 months each).
2. One of them confesses, the other does not: release for confessing, a severe punishment for the other one who did not confess (24 months).
3. They both admit their guilt: medium punishments for both (e.g. 14 months).

Therefore, if they both remain quiet, they both benefit to some extent, yet the temptation to “snitch” is considerable, as *my* punishment will vanish altogether (immediate release), although it increases for the other player. What should we do? It turns out that if the players are prevented from communicating, the non-cooperative strategy prevails (70%), i.e. “snitching” and hoping that the other will remain silent – so the individual benefit dominates. When the relationship is strengthened by allowing the “prisoners” to maintain eye contact, the level of cooperation (we both remain silent) increases to approx. 45%. After we introduce the players’ ability to hear (but not see) one another, cooperation increases to 60%, and in the case of full contact (eye contact and hearing, i.e. a conversation in normal conditions), the level of cooperation reaches 90%. Therefore, full contact changes how the situation is interpreted. If a person plays with a stranger, they mainly care about themselves (cooperation at 30%). When they get to know each other, the egoistic strategy becomes unattractive for 80–90% of players. That means that the intensity of contact impacts how the meaning of behavioural decisions is conceived, as does the temptation to gain an advantage and the looming risk of losses.

Relativity between meaning and comparison

It would be hard to overstate the importance of the function of comparison in defining the meaning of actions and the significance of a statement. Comparisons fulfil the role of the basic process when evaluating almost everything.⁶ A trivial

⁶ Vide: L. Festinger, “Theory of Social Comparison”, *Human Relations* 1954, issue 7, pp. 114–140; J.M. Suls, “Social Comparison Theory and research: an overview from 1954”, [in:] *Social Comparison Processes. Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*, eds. J.M. Suls, R.L. Miller, J. Wiley&Sons, New York 1977, pp. 1–21.

yet convincing example is how the word “tanio” [cheaply] can be understood. It refers to all other terms which contain a strong evaluative component: expensively, efficiently, quickly, well, beautifully, far, wisely, loudly, etc. The meanings of those terms, which indicate attitudes, depends to a considerable extent on many extra-verbal contextual factors.⁷ The everyday practice of sales representatives whose objective is to make sales (i.e. their own profit by meeting targets) consists of presenting a product in such a way that, when compared to a similar one, it seems to be much cheaper and, of course, better. For that end they gather image and word-based dossiers of the documents being compared and their sales proposals. For example, the deception created by the spatial arrangement of a sales stand is effective: when a men’s suit priced at, e.g. 3,000 PLN, is compared to a men’s suit which costs 9,000 PLN, hung on a rack right next to the former, the cheapness of the former is clearly suggested. Yet, if another suit were added, costing 1,200 PLN, it would suggest quite the opposite: our 3,000 PLN garment becomes rather expensive. Similar processes occur when evaluating income, the quality of a car, a person’s beauty, the loudness of a radio, a text’s level of difficulty, student performance in exams, the quality of a hotel, the speed of a train, or even the distance from one’s home (“close” means something quite different when a person is on a plane, when they are walking or cycling). The theory of social comparisons suggests that even the physiological evaluation of pain is also subject to the laws of comparison – sensitivity to the same pain stimuli differs greatly from person to person.⁸

The two commonly applied approaches to comparison are, firstly, somewhat abstractly conceived ideal conditions, i.e. visions of the perfect nature of processes or final values of some objects (e.g. the vision of the extreme states of poverty or wealth). The second approach is empirical comparison with the actual conditions available for practical experience, i.e. with experiences, observations, and sensations. An example of this may be the ideal vision of a great salary vs. a comparison with the actual wages achieved in the environment of the person evaluating the working conditions. Also, the national average may be a point of comparison which generates the evaluation of a salary as high or low. The well-known bowl of rice in a situation when everyone else gets half a bowl constitutes relative wealth, yet in a place where people have two bowls of rice it becomes a symbol of poverty. Therefore, in this approach meaning and its mystery lie in comparison processes. Using forged data for comparisons is a tactical choice in negotiations which often introduces

7 C.H. Castore, J.A. DeNinno, “Investigations in the Social Comparison of Attitudes”, [in:] *Social Comparison Processes...*, pp. 125–149.

8 Vide: Ph. Brickman, R.J. Bulman, “Pleasure and Pain in Social Comparison”, [in:] J. Suls, R. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–186; W. Austin, “Equity theory and social comparison theory”, [in:] *Social Comparison Processes...*, pp. 279–307.

an unfavourable contrast or creates vagueness as to the actual value of the topic being negotiated. For example, with holiday hotels and additional attractions, one can provide competing prices in much lower offers. A deception is then formed often surrounded by elaborate images of palm trees, sun, and old wine barrels. Are those favourable offers real or feigned? Fantasy and imagination suggest many wonderful options, but at the same time fantasy and imagination also offer visions of a major failure. When negotiating major issues and complex enterprises, the area of vagueness increases considerably. For example, in the negotiation process regarding the construction of a crematory in Krakow (from 2002 to 2016, i.e. 14 years of negotiating the location for the facility), people in the citizen committees opposing the locations saw the crematory as constituting a source of soil, water and air pollution within a few kilometres around the facility. All the reports by experts and institutes which studied air pollution and indicated there were no harmful effects were rejected as being the products of *corrupt* authors/scientists. The experts were accused of conducting studies and writing their reports on pollution along the lines specified by their principals... So their expert statements were not trustworthy, were rigged, or were scientific cover-ups of actual detrimental effects.

One of the common ways of modifying meaning is semantic reframing, i.e. changing the “name of an issue” for a contextual shift or modification of the interpretative frame.⁹ Small discussions over a minor case are, for some, an insignificant dialogue, while for others they may constitute a severe quarrel over fundamental issues. The line between being miserly and thrifty is also conventional – no objective criteria are helpful and everyone knows that thriftiness is commendable while being miserly is evaluated negatively. Fluent transitions between diversely emotionally tinted notions applies to many areas, e.g. “courage vs. rashness”, “nosiness vs. curiosity”, “generosity vs. wastefulness”, and “originality vs. frenzy”. A perfect example is offered by the change of meaning of behaviour associated with support –if framed as “aid” it has a different meaning than if framed as “I help to gain control”. The verbal determination of everything which can be determined defines the final interpretation. Consider how drastic conflicts regarding the determinations of pride parades are in social life: lessons in tolerance or the promotion of deviation? Either framing triggers heated public negotiations.¹⁰ This notion is used in the concept of neuro-linguistic programming (NLP), which consistently develops the notion of influencing people by a careful choice of linguistic devices.

⁹ B. Gray, “Framing and Reframing on Intractable Environmental Disputes”, [in:] *Research on Negotiation in Organizations*, eds. R. Lewicki, R. Bies, B. Sheppard, Jai Press Inc., Greenwich, Connecticut, London 1977, pp. 163–188.

¹⁰ W. Kostecki, *Zaawansowane zapobieganie konfliktom*, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-Jr, Warsaw 2011.

Verbal deception. Neuro-linguistic programming

NPL is a comprehensive school of deception: the creation of temptation or warning.¹¹ The professional school of deception that NPL is may serve positive goals, e.g. psychological therapeutic support by elevating a patient's self-assessment, but also increasing sales by targeted marketing procedures based on communication "tricks".¹² The point of those would be to present a product in such a way for it to acquire compelling, tempting qualities in the eyes of a potential buyer. The approach assumes that the appropriate narration in the context of building temptation is based on words and friendly communication.¹³ Below are presented a few examples of such recommendations. They are direct suggestions of applying communications which "program" recipients' thoughts.

The best known example is the rigging of the impression evoked by a very important element of business, i.e. price. The price of 599 PLN for, say, clothes is a form of deception as the actual economic meaning is 600 PLN. Yet the initial 5 in 599 gives the impression of a much lower price. The remaining 99 disappear from a customer's perception. Not entirely, of course, but enough to mask the actual economic meaning of the purchase, and, in turn, to increase a seller's profit. Another recommendation is to develop the exceptionality of one's offer – contrary to the facts, a customer is convinced that the offer is well thought-through and meets their needs, that it is also exceptional. Such a deception also makes a good impression, and it builds a good relationship between the seller and the customer. Communication tricks also apply to the formula for increasing the sense of community, i.e. indicating a common enemy. This is no longer trade: it is politics. This truly connects various groups, increasing their coherence. Yet in real life, there are actual enemies, not some imagined or fictional opponents. That is similar to developing the sense of an exceptional moment, and an opportunity which will soon disappear. The slogan of "Sale only at the weekend" is well-known to everyone from many shops. And yet it does encourage people to buy, though what the situation really looks like is only known to those who put the products on sale (or leftover stock being sold as a huge bargain). The nature of suggestions indicating the possibility of manipulation exists in many other recommendations and, truth be told, publications of this kind are basically sales handbooks. Here are a few suggestions from those:¹⁴

¹¹ Vide: K. Hogan, J. Speakman, *Ukryta perswazja – psychologiczne taktyki*, Wydawnictwo Helion, Gliwice 2007; L. Derks, *Techniki NLP w tworzeniu dobrych związków z ludźmi*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 2003.

¹² R. Żak, *Nie myśl, że NLP zniknie*, Wydawnictwo MT Biznes, Warsaw 2016.

¹³ H. Dąbrowska, *Programowanie neurolingwistyczne – nowa technologia osiągania sukcesów*, Wydawnictwo Medium, Warsaw 1996.

¹⁴ K. Hogan, J. Speakman, *op. cit.* [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

- *The emotions play a huge role in shopping – evoke them. The mind gives way to them. Accentuate emotions.*
- *express admiration, recognize, praise your customer, show them a lot of respect;*
- *in narratives, introduce surprise, shock. That increases interest;*
- *to increase the recipient's attention, try to introduce hand gestures, bodily movements, change your body position while sitting.*

These examples present a methodical intellectual focus – deceptions of reality subtly conducted yet brutal in terms of meaning. Even minor actions such as a motion of the hand or a change of body position while sitting during a talk become a “trick” for increasing attention. Psychological findings support this effect. They are intended to create a sense of favourable offers and decisions compliant with the intentions of the sender, not with the benefits of the recipient. And, sure enough, they are successful. In negotiations, such an attitude can be widely applied if the main point is the economic benefit of the author of a statement, advertisement, announcement, appeal or advice, not the ethics of coexistence within a society.

Internal deception. Flexible cognitive system

Cognitive deceptions in terms of one's self image, or that of a partner, or relations, i.e. self-deception, constitute another area of deception. This time the point is how people manipulate their own points of view and their convictions to, generally speaking, elevate their own well-being and mood. It is a problem of self-deception. A person “fools” themselves for various reasons, mainly to maintain a good opinion of themselves, despite a (sometimes) questionable rationale. One of the most important terms in negotiations is a fair and just division, a contract which meets not only economical but also ethical standards. How does one define their behaviour from the point of view of the criterion of fairness or justness? What is fair and what is not?

The consideration of one's own opinion as fair is driven not only by ethical norms, but also by the presumption of one's own benefit and the related system of one's own interests.¹⁵ It is not a completely conscious manipulation. It is difficult to own up to it, as we are very convincing and fair in our own eyes. It consists of favouring those criteria which make a solution to a conflict or a contract favourable to us while our own engagement and conduct can be considered as fair. Consider the following examples of egocentric inclination:

1. Excessively high evaluation of one's own input in the achievement of the outcome of an action. For example, overstating one's own work in main-

¹⁵ R.H. Ruhleder, *10 kroków do sukcesu w sprzedaży*, Wydawnictwo Buyar Marketing, Warsaw 1991.

taining order in a flat, emphasising the effort put into work for fulfilling the official aims and projects of a company, or one's input in organising help for those in need.

2. Studies of the opinions of the participants of academic conferences have shown that they very often overestimate the importance of their own papers, somewhat depreciating the papers presented by other authors whose findings they treat as inferior. Most speakers consider their presentations as better than the presentations by others. Similarly, most drivers consider themselves as more skilled than other drivers, but it is impossible for most to be better than most.
3. The favouring of solutions beneficial to oneself when dividing profits, and only later applying related criteria of fairness ("it is just that our department received additional bonuses – we were effective"). So the situation is contrary to what it should be: first division criteria, then the division itself. Actually, sometimes a division favourable to oneself is made, and only after are the criteria selected to justify it.
4. So-called naive realism¹⁶ assumes the obvious justness of one's own rationale. If others were objective, they would have to agree with what we profess. If this is not the case and they do not want to agree, this is because of their bias and unreliability. Therefore, the system of convictions is closed by the sense of the obviousness of one's own views. An opinion different than ours is treated as the outcome of an erroneous perception and the "sick" thinking of those "others".
5. The greater the vagueness, the stronger the egocentric inclination, especially with dilemmas that pertain to the social environment. The vagueness of consequences, the multi-faceted nature of problems, and numerous controversial issues open considerable opportunities for egocentricism, e.g. the common question in the corporate context asks which issue is urgent and which can wait. As one might expect, My Issue is objectively (!) more urgent than others. This is the quite well analysed fundamental attribution error (FAE),¹⁷ which consists of blaming one's failures on the environment, but if a success occurs, one assigns it to oneself.
6. The asymmetry of positions in a conflict and the vagueness in the evaluation of who can control the distribution of goods in a situation destroy the sense of just allocation of goods and fairness, since everyone has a different

¹⁶ S.L. Robinson, M.S. Kraatz, "Constructing the reality of normative behaviours. The use of neutralization strategies by deviants in organizations", [in:] *Dysfunctional behaviour in organizations*, eds. R.W. Griffin, K.A. O'Leary, J. Collins, Jai Press Inc., Greenwich 1997.

¹⁷ Ph. Zimbardo, *Psychologia i życie*, trans. J. Radzicki, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 1999.

estimation of their merits and economic, social, and emotional resources. It is a subconscious striving driven by the will to control conflict situations to ensure one is somehow treated fairly in them.

It is not only individuals who are subject to the mechanism. In public situations regarding community conflicts, the dark tint of “state-centricism” also emerges – or, to put it more bluntly, nationalism.¹⁸ Honesty, or the consideration of international arrangements as fair depends on the perceptions of one’s own interests. Therefore, fair criteria are those which favour our interests. For example, the build-up of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere should be limited by decreasing the pace of deforestation in Brazil – that is the American position. According to Brazil, though, that should be achieved by limiting unsustainable industrial production in the US.¹⁹ Similarly, when discussing the purity of the water in the Rhine, attempts were made to establish who is the river’s main polluter: Switzerland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, or Luxembourg? For whom did it have the most detrimental effect? Once again, each state saw the culprits in OTHERS. The Netherlands, located at the end of the chain of pollution, was the most vocal in its demands for a solution and cleaning of the waters. Countries closer to the river’s sources avoided the discussion, defining it as a minor problem. The egocentric perspective triggers self-deception: the same packages of information are interpreted selectively – not always consciously, as we quite consistently seek criteria favourable for our interests.²⁰

Dilemmas related to the surroundings sometimes have a much more tragic dimension in the event of natural or industrial disasters, and a search begins for accountable people and organisations. One drastic example of this is the case of the investments in the production of chemical substances (pesticides) by Carbon, an American company, in Bhopal (India, 1984). The company’s savings on safeguards in the production process led to a toxic leak (methyl isocyanate) which caused the deaths of over 3,000 people – the figure given in Carbon’s report. According to Greenpeace, approx. 20,000 people were directly affected, while another several hundred thousand suffered irreversible injuries. This was not just communication tricks but the crime of concealing facts and altering the actual course of events.

18 Cf. P. Balcerowicz, “Zasada sprawiedliwości w stosunkach międzynarodowych a przyczyny konfliktów etnicznych”, [in:] *Zaawansowane zapobieganie konfliktom*, ed. W. Kostecki, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-Jr, Warsaw 2011, pp. 63–97; W.F. Price, R.H. Capro, *Psychologia w badaniach międzykulturowych. Czy ludzie wszędzie są tacy sami?*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 2003.

19 Vide: Z. Pióro, *Przestrzeń i społeczeństwo. Z badań ekologii społecznej*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1982.

20 Cf. M. Watkins, *Breakthrough Business Negotiation*, Jossey-Bass, A. Wiley Company, New York 2002.

The example is clearly drastic, as it remains one of the biggest industrial disasters to date. The “culprits” are still under investigation and the company is currently compensating nearly 500,000 people in various forms. Until this day (30 years later!) many victims have yet to receive any compensation, and nobody has admitted guilt for the accident. Public justice in international relations is sometimes subject to similar mechanisms as the honesty of individuals. The mechanism of adjusting the criteria of honesty to one’s own benefit strictly follows moral judgement.

The basic type of issue to be solved is the division of various community resources: fishing quotas, distribution of water, logging, and forms of energy production. Who will manage to benefit the most? Those who are more important, and who have more power, i.e. who have more control. Many strategies are applied to mask that common issue. So what does “a just division of goods/natural resources” mean? In order to be fair, we try not to exploit our advantage. And yet an advantage leads to excessive, extraordinary profit, and the exploitation of goods.

The conclusion is quite clear: the vaguer a situation is, the higher the egocentric perspective will be, though there is much talk about community benefit, especially regarding dilemmas associated with the natural, social, professional, or national environments. The sense of guilt or embarrassment is easily offset by emphasising one’s own merits, the low harmfulness of one’s own egocentrism, and the development of common future benefits.

A similar process applies to the manipulation of own motivations in situations of extreme interpersonal aggression – not in the national context, but in very local terms – consider attacks on homeless people by housing estate hooligans [the so-called *blokersi* in Polish]. The ruthlessness of their assaults is easily justified using three mechanisms:

1. Bringing the world to order requires justice – he/they deserved it.
2. Dehumanisation of the victims, by referring to them as rats, dogs, trash, rags, etc.
3. Downplaying their own aggression by exaggerating other possibilities (“Well, we could’ve gone much harder on them...”).

So how one should search for a solution? Let us return to communication and building relations.

Communication focussed on mutual clarification of positions and discussion of the criteria of justice, open defining, specifying the premises at the level of behaviour, not some mythical norms of equality and democracy. Communication amplifies cooperation by:

1. Specifying the NORMS of mutual commitment; justified, required and expected mutual forms of cooperation;
2. Developing the sense of community and identity of a team or a community involved in the topic of conflict – a stronger WE than THEY;

3. Revealing one's own positions as proof of good intentions – this develops mutual trust;
4. Confronting views in a direct conversation illuminates the obvious fact that others have their reasons and positions, too. The multitude of reasons offers a chance of weakening the egocentric notion of the “highest reasons.”²¹

The environment of life is being destroyed together. Ecosystems and long-term programs shared by all parties offer a sensible basis for cooperative strategies devoid of deception, manipulation and unrealised or partly realised motivations driven by egocentrism.

Set of manipulation techniques in business practices

The above general considerations apply quite well to the everyday practices of negotiating in our Polish corporate reality. The following is a discussion of the results of interviews regarding the manipulations applied by medium and high-level management businesspeople. These were 50 people from two post-graduate MBA schools.

In general, the aim of negotiations was to increase the utility of contracts for oneself, i.e. to achieve the highest possible profit. Of course, sometimes manipulations are performed for the benefit of both parties, when the other party might not notice them due to their lack of knowledge or experience. An example of this is the introduction of obligatory lung X-ray check-ups at the university – it takes the penalty of revoking student IDs to motivate students to participate in the program, the aim of which is to promote the need to keep in good health. The benefit for students is clear, and there is the added social benefit of lowering the risk of an epidemic. When hiring a new employee, every modern company requires a health certificate, which is good for both parties, i.e. the employees and the employer.

Most of the study subjects admitted to using more or less sophisticated manipulation, feeling that it was necessary in their striving to achieve their goals. One of the major motivations justifying those “games” is simply profit, and this is the basic criterion for many companies. The following is a compressed summary of those techniques. They more or less correspond to the typology of the strategies presented in the study of negotiation tricks.²²

²¹ Cf. M. Watkins, *op. cit.*; S. Chełpa, T. Witkowski, *Psychologia konfliktów*, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw 1995.

²² Z. Nęcki, “Chwyty negocjacyjne – przegląd zagadnień”, *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 2018, no. 2(48), pp. 129–146.

Using time, obligations and trust

Postponing a corporate decision about taking a loan – the other party, i.e. a bank, is put in an inferior position as it has higher motivation to offer the loan – with the right balance of interests.

5. A non-standard supply of a valuable drug normally distributed as per a pre-established rule, i.e. “skipping the line”, i.e. doing someone a favour which obliges that person to reciprocate.
6. The whole concept of NLP fundamentally built on the erroneous assumption of trust of the other party, with the hidden intentions of success in fulfilling one’s own sales goals.

Activities within the framework of BATNA and the context

Mentioning in passing of the option to purchase a fleet of cars at more favourable terms from another company on the market. That is a direct indication of a competitor, which is supposed to weaken the position of the offering party.

7. The laying down “by mistake” of the offers (documents) of other suppliers of the same goods, i.e. the indication of having a good and real alternative. The documents are sometimes fabricated to evoke the desired effect.
8. Market survey and intentional development of an alternative through the knowledge of the current situation in the market of specific goods. Presentation of the competition and knowledge of the situation in the industry in its entirety.
9. Revealing a part of the ‘plan B’, i.e. readiness to make other moves if the talks fail. So, once again, indicating other possibilities (as, e.g. in 2019 in Poland there was the idea to use commune heads instead of teachers for holding the high school graduation *matura* examinations).
10. Selfies and other indications of contact with the representatives of the competition, their documents on the desk, seemingly not visible yet laid out in such a way that the interested party could notice them. The trick consists of emphasising other options in the negotiations.

Tinkering with the point of reference/comparison

Referring to the mean market price in the event of excessive demands. It appears as a normal fact, yet the choice of the right moment for such a reference reveals the underlying motivation – putting pressure on the other party.

11. An estimation of the size of the expected margin or discount within the notion of “our justified profit.” Expectations regarding profit are stated almost

immediately at the beginning of negotiations, when in fact it should be a separate subject of the negotiations.

12. Demanding additional car options while accepting the price of the basic model. These tactics, known as the “final bite” or “salami-slice” strategy, consists of landing minor advantages right before the conclusion and signing of a contract.
13. Negative point of reference – “threatening” with the consequences of a lack of contract, i.e. explicitly stressing future losses if a contract is not signed. Realistically, this is always doubtful and vague. Higher or lower losses and their doubtful or doubtless nature always carry significant risk. Estimations are only accurate in very few cases.
14. Displaying an extremely expensive product to evoke a high contrast comparison. Then even a relatively high price is viewed as considerably lower. Placing a bookshelf with a staggeringly high price in a furniture shop display helps the prices of other pieces of furniture (at much lower prices) create the sense of cheapness.

The opinions of decision-makers, people not present, “the padlock”

1. The opinion of the chairman, the actual decision-maker. That is an almost natural form of padlock as it sounds very reliable. Superiors have a deciding voice regarding the choice of acceptable options – but have they really formulated such limitations? To what amount? For how long a period? Can they be negotiated?
2. Past events, “we’ve gone through this before...”, i.e. the precedent tactics. References to past experiences, events, or instances are powerful tactics. It is difficult to argue with facts which remain in the memory of a company or an individual. However, one can doubt whether this is what really happened, or maybe those are just scenes concocted for the benefit of the current negotiations.
3. Everyone does that – the social standard procedure. In this case, the point of reference is the procedure accepted in a community or company. “The manager makes such decisions here,” says a sales rep seeking to maintain their offer without any option to change it, as that would require the application of the procedure defined in standard 178/17. Clearly, there is no place for negotiations.
4. Bringing a VIP (chairman, boss) to talks in the event of a deadlock. Despite agreeing upon the negotiators earlier on, the introduction of strong authority figures shifts the negotiating balance and enables a decisive defining of requirements.

5. Summoning an expert, a specialist in the topic, e.g. another mechanic: a car specialist estimated the repairs much higher, so my estimate is a truly favourable offer... This applies not only to prices – an expert may propose another location for a troublesome investment project or a different course of investing. An expert has the power of knowledge. This is a major advantage in our complex world full of complicated devices.

Techniques for building the company image and the image of the negotiator

In this type of deception, the role is played by both the actual negotiators and a much broader array of marketing activities, both direct and indirect. The point is to present a negotiation position and business stance which help reach a specific additional set of advantages. This may indicate the company's excellent, stable and favourable situation (audit report, press releases, recommendations, etc.) One can also gain more "points" by highlighting the position of the company within the specific industry, by indicating its leading role, and its advantage over other industry organisations. That builds trust and has a convincing effect.

A common trick is to "promote" the company's own sales reps in such a way as to make sure their positions seem prestigious. For example, a specialist's assistant gets the business card with the title "Director of Operations", a sales rep can be promoted to the position of "Marketing Manager", and a technical assistant to "Specialist Expert". The fact of using professional or academic titles, as well as industry-specific titles, is a useful social custom which enables people to structure relations. Yet in the case of a less ethical attitude, one can use titles to make up for one's lack of professional or expert stature. New Ph.D.s, chairpersons and deputy chairpersons are cropping up all the time.

Another mode of shaping the desired impression consists of showing former successes through the display of medals, cups and diplomas received in various disciplines, starting with state awards, all the way to the sports commendations achieved by employees. This also creates a positive impression, though its reliability is somewhat unclear. In this category, one should also include activities in the virtual space – websites full of beautiful images, clips, scenes and documentation of an emphatically triumphant nature. Many of those are actual documents so they cannot be discredited. Only the moment in which one's attention is directed to those elements is a factor which might be considered as tinkering.

In a compressed form, the eight tactics are as follows:

1. Elements of physical appearance: kind of watch, pen, etc.
2. Stern tone of voice and cool treatment, though gentle.
3. Appropriate business attire: a neat suit, accessories.
4. Professional titles and academic degrees, honorary diplomas.

5. The beauty and subtle eroticism of a female company representative.
6. Building the image of a stable and reliable company in a good situation.
7. Added maximum competences within an industry.
8. Details and numerical details in the exposure of objective data.

Emotional techniques, shaping feelings – negative and positive

The emotional side of negotiations is sometimes treated lightly, since rational analysis and a logical assessment of profit and loss balance should decide about the choices being made. Yet in some situations, the emotional side, that is, the taint of interpersonal relations and the emotional tone, constitute significant factors influencing the course of talks.

One of the direct and extreme versions of emotional action is crying, which is an expression of extreme despair. In micro negotiations between a parent and a child regarding the purchase of a toy at a store, a child's loud sobbing creates quite a considerable form of influence. But even in the case of job talks, there are moments of despair when a refusal to continue someone's employment or a decision to terminate an employee's position are the subject of serious talks. Crying is a pure emotional expression – and yet it works, as it evokes compassion, though rationally it is a display of weakness, not an argument. At the opposite extreme, there is the introduction of a negative form into negotiations, i.e. aggression, anger, irritation, and hostility. That demonstrates power and decisiveness. The advantage of a position is sometimes used both in intra-company negotiations and in negotiations with a party which is considered much weaker. In this case, what is particularly noteworthy is the disrespect conveyed in verbal forms, or in behaviour expressing that meaning. A classic example of this is to force the other party to wait a long time for talks to start, despite the fact the time of the meeting had been established much earlier. Minor gestures also convey disrespect – consider the act of tossing offers on a desk instead of handing them over politely. In extreme cases, tossed documents may end up on the floor, which is not only disrespectful, but a confrontational challenge combined with humiliating the interlocutor. That is how it is interpreted in our culture. The various forms of workplace mobbing also include a strong emotional component. The main five in Leyman's classification²³ are: blocking communication, a deterioration in one's professional position, harmful environmental factors, and isolation within the departmental community.

The positive forms of emotional activity include all forms of praise, admiration, and recognition. The broader expression of recognition is the correct and normal form of social coexistence, yet the same may be a case of false behaviour intended

²³ Vide: Z. Nęcki, *Zjawisko mobbingu...*

to mask the truth, aversion, and reluctance. Expressions of recognition are valued highly, but only when they are genuine, since they become form of flattery when they are insincere and false. How should one differentiate between them? It is extremely difficult if deception was used skilfully. The only way of reliably differentiating between them is to consider the subsequent course of events which reveal the actual motivations. The truth usually is revealed later, yet sometimes it is far too late. In Eric Berne's theory of transactional analysis, honest words of admiration are the basic notion of interpersonal exchange, the so-called *stroke*.²⁴

In short, the most commonly applied emotional techniques include:

1. A person being laid off crying (or a child crying in a shop as pressure to purchase).
2. Dulling others' watchfulness by playing the "Lieutenant Colombo" card – someone lost and quiet.
3. Emphatic display of dissatisfaction, aggressive demands.
4. Expression of sadness, despair with crying – pressure to gain concessions.
5. Demonstrating lack of interest in a contract.
6. Admiration, praise, emphasizing the pros – paying false compliments.

Techniques for building bonds. Negotiations strongly accentuating relations

Many deceptions are related to the manner of building economic interests through a seeming deepening of friendship and personal kindness between negotiators. Emphasising shared hobbies, the similarity of values, emphasising similar life's experiences, the same social clubs – those are once again the strong foundations of friendship, provided they are honest. Yet faked or forged, i.e. deceitful, building of non-existent similarities is just an efficient form of deception. And for people we like we are willing to offer much bigger concessions than for people that are neutral to us, let alone those we dislike. Kindness triggers a soft style of negotiations and obligingness. That, in turn, may lead to accepting unfavourable contracts. Is it worth playing the friendship card? The data suggests that often this strategy is effective.

In a compressed form, the tactics indicated by businesspeople include:

1. Network of friendly relations – for further business.
2. A minor favour which builds an obligation.
3. Acquiring many pieces of information about **Other Side**. to better develop contacts.

²⁴ Vide: E. Berne, *W co grają ludzie. Psychologia stosunków międzyludzkich*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1986.

4. Diplomatic approach: concealing intentions, selection of words.
5. Direct meetings instead of telephone calls and e-mails.
6. Seeming concessions (“the Trojan horse”) – to later reveal previously hidden rather unfavourable conditions. It is better if they are not initially visible.

Conclusion

The multi-layer phenomenon of deception permeates personal, group, and corporate conducts. Those can be studied at the level of individual techniques, and the strategic plans for developing the desired images or visions. So where is the meaning of those activities? It is carefully hidden under the mask of tricks and in an endless series of techniques for creating deception around the actual state of affairs – in its entirety, or in a large or small part. Yet the goal is always the benefit of the negotiator (variously understood), though that can be a shared benefit of a similar size for each party, or asymmetric, i.e. with one party having an advantage, or completely unequal, when only one party acquires favourable solutions while the other has to accept solutions which are unfavourable for them. That is necessary, sometimes.

Over 90% of people think it is a good thing to be realistic. Over 80% of people think it is a bad thing not to be realistic. In their naive psychology, people often think that the realistic approach is a valuable approach, one which is adaptive.²⁵ That may be true, but it is also true that the realistic approach is not always an approach which facilitates life choices. Actually, deception or illusion about oneself and about one’s own situation can better serve one in various situations.²⁶

There are three main forms of illusion:

1. An unrealistically positive attitude towards oneself.
2. An excessive sense of control.
3. Unfounded optimism.

Empirical data indicates that self-deception is the source of greater happiness, contention, greater care for others, more efficient mental functioning thanks to a good mood, stronger motivation and resilience.²⁷ In this context, deception is a positive and calming mechanism of negotiating. Somewhat like a drug, it has a supportive effect in a given moment. So what happens next? Well, the moment of “awakening” is sometimes difficult, so one can subject oneself again to a milder version of self-deception or optimistic variants of events.

²⁵ S.E. Taylor, J.D. Brown, “Illusion and well being: A social psychological perspective on mental health”, *Psychological Bulletin* 1988, issue 103, pp. 193–210.

²⁶ Cf. *ibidem*.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

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Zbigniew Nęcki, Szymon Nęcki

Negocjacyjne mistyfikacje – kreacja wizji stanów pożądaných

Streszczenie

Artykuł zawiera analizę tematyki negocjacji poczynając od najbardziej konkretnej (finanse) do najbardziej abstrakcyjnej (status i uczucia), a następnie analizuje wieloznaczność terminu „korzyść”, która w negocjacjach ma trzy sensy: moja, twoja albo wspólna. Jednak szacowanie korzyści wymaga procesu porównania z idealnymi oczekiwaniami albo z empirycznie dostępnymi innymi rodzajami dóbr (korzyści). Wszędzie tu można modyfikować wizję sytuacji poprzez manipulację, a nawet systemowe mistyfikacje obrazem punktu zakotwiczenia, wartości krańcowej. Szczególnie koncepcja Neurolingwistycznego Programowania zawiera bogaty zestaw werbalnych manipulacji, które mogą odzwierciedlać ukryte intencje jednej z negocjujących stron. Nawet w systemie poznawczym jednostki pojawiają się tendencje do manipulacji obrazem prawdy tak, by uchronić dobre mniemanie na swój temat. W drugiej części artykułu omówiono siedem strategii manipulacji, które są wykorzystywane w polskiej praktyce biznesu.

Słowa kluczowe: negocjacje, manipulacja, Neurolingwistyczne Programowanie

Deception in negotiations. Creating the vision of desired states

Summary

The article offers an analysis of the topic of negotiations, from the most concrete area (finances) to the most abstract (status and feelings), and then an analysis of the many meanings of the term *profit*, which in negotiations has three areas: mine, yours, or shared. Yet the estimation of profit requires a comparison with the ideal-situation expectations or with other empirically available kinds of goods (profit). In all these, it is possible to modify the vision of a situation through tinkering or even systemic deception via the image of an anchor point, the extreme value. The

concept of neuro-linguistic programming in particular includes a rich set of verbal manipulations, which may reflect the hidden intentions of a negotiating party. Even in an individual's cognitive system, there exist tendencies for tinkering with the image of truth in order to protect the person's good opinion of themselves. In the other part of the article, the authors discussed seven strategies of manipulation which are used in Polish business practice.

Keywords: negotiations, manipulation, neuro linguistic programming

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On the fairness of understanding a communicated message

The following conversation of friends inspired me to formulate the title issue:¹

(Example 1)

Adam: *Podobała mi się homilia Głódźa na pogrzebie Adamowicza.*
[I appreciated Głódź's homily at Adamowicz's funeral.]

Jerzy: *A ja uważam, że niepotrzebnie mówił o zamachu w Smoleńsku.*
[Well I think it was unnecessary that he talked about the attack in Smoleńsk.]

Adam: *Nie mówił o zamachu.*
[He didn't talk about the attack.]

Jerzy: *No nie wprost. Porównywał jednak zamach na Adamowicza z katastrofą smoleńską. Czyli tam i tu był – jego zdaniem – zamach.*
[Well, not overtly. He did, though, compare the attack on Adamowicz with the Smoleńsk plane crash. So, according to him, there were attacks in both cases.]

Adam: *Niekoniecznie. Podstawą porównania mogło być co innego: tam i tu śmierć, tam i tu tragedia.*
[Not necessarily. The basis for the comparison might have been different: in both cases there was death, in both cases there was a tragedy.]

Jerzy: *No nie wiem. Ja uważam, że jego zdaniem w Smoleńsku był zamach.*
[I'm not so sure. I think that he believes that there was an attack in Smoleńsk.]

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¹ Examples 1, 3, 4 and 5 are conversations of colleagues I reconstructed from memory.

I became curious whether Jerzy was fair in his understanding of the fragment of the homily they discussed. Whether the thesis he stated in his final reply could be justified by the homily's text. Before I answer that question and look closer at the essence of the fairness of understanding, allow me to quote the fragment of the homily:

Wielu z tych, którzy tamtego dnia lecieli do Katynia, aby na grobach zamordowanych polskich oficerów złożyć wieniec pamięci Ojczyzny było ludźmi, do których nagła śmierć przysła in media vita – w połowie życia.

[For many of those who on that day flew to Katyn to place wreaths of remembrance of the Motherland on the graves of massacred Polish officers, sudden death came in media vita, midway through their lives.]

Przysła w połowie życia także do śp. Pawła Adamowicza. Ofiary zbrodniczego, okrutnego, niepojętego w swej scenerii zamachu.

[It also came midway through the late Paweł Adamowicz's life. A victim of a sinister cruel attack inconceivable in its setting.]²

In the context of the statement on the death of the president of Gdańsk, there appeared a reminder of the Smolensk plane crash. The basis of the comparison was specified: in both cases death came midway through the victim's life. I shall return to the issue of the fairness of the understanding of communication in the conversation in example 1.

But now, allow me to present a different dialogue:

(Example 2)

Journalist: *Pani poseł zbulwersowała wiele osób swoimi słowami. Posłuchajmy:*

[You outraged many people with what you had said. Let us listen:]

[a recording from a pride parade in Warsaw is played]

Sejm Deputy: *Kochani, ta parada ma szansę odmienić oblicze ziemi, tej ziemi.*

[Dear friends, this parade has a chance to change the face of the earth, this earth.]

Journalist: *Panie senatorze, co pan powie o słowach pani posłanki?*

[Senator, what can you say about the Deputy's words?]

Senator: *To obrzydliwe, skandaliczne. Używanie słów papieża. Wykorzystywanie tradycji chrześcijańskiej do promocji homoseksualizmu jest czymś wyjątkowo wstrętnym. Nie ma żadnego prawa pani poseł używać tych*

² <https://gdansk.gosc.pl/doc/5294879.Homilia-abp-Slawoja-Leszka-Glodzia/2> [accessed on: 21.01.2019].

słów, dlatego że ewangelia chrześcijańska jest wyjątkowo obca ekscesom promocji homoseksualizmu i samego homoseksualizmu. Pomijam już czy to jest choroba, nad tym można dyskutować. Jest grzechem. Proszę nie przerywać. To, że pani ośmieliła się użyć tego określenia wystawia jak najgorsze świadectwo.

[It's disgusting, outrageous. To use the Pope's words. To use the Christian tradition to promote homosexuality is an extremely disgusting thing. There is no right for the Deputy to use those words because the Christian doctrine is extremely foreign to the excesses of the promotion of homosexuality and of homosexuality itself. It is a sin. Do not interrupt me. The fact that the Deputy dared to use the term is the worst of testimonies.]³

When I was analysing the exchange, I considered two issues:

1. Did the Deputy fairly understand Pope John Paul II's message?⁴
2. Did the Senator fairly understand the Deputy's message?

At this point, the question of the fairness of understanding arises. Among the principles of the ethics of the word, Jadwiga Puzyńska and Anna Pajdzińska list the following: "hear others out with goodwill but do not be naïve, try to understand their reasoning," "do not break off from dialogue, do not be closed to the words of others, do not perceive them with preconceived prejudice."⁵

Considering the indicated principles, one might assume that a fair understanding is based on the reception of communication which is connected to the content, intentions and mode⁶ assigned to the communication by its sender. Then again, communications are peculiar in that they do not include everything. Recipients complement them with elements based on their knowledge of the world. Its extent may vary. Additionally, the reception of a text is influenced by the axiological

3 Fragment of the *Prosto w oczy* show in TVP1, June 2006. The show was hosted by Monika Olejnik, the guests were Deputy Joanna Senyszyn and Senator Stefan Niesiołowski.

4 The reference was to the homily delivered in June 1979 in Warsaw. The Pope quoted the words of Psalm 104: Thou sendest forth thy spirit and thou renewest the face of the earth," and added: "this earth."

5 J. Puzyńska, A. Pajdzińska, "Etyka słowa", [in:] *O zagrożeniach i bogactwie polszczyzny*, ed. J. Miodek, Warsaw 1996, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 35–45 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

6 I am using one of the basic assumptions of communicational grammar: a communication includes a reference to the reality (the ideational level), it expresses the knowledge, convictions, emotions and/or will of the sender, it fulfils a goal in relation to a recipient (the interactive level), and it is formulated in a way (the meta-discursive level). Vide: A. Awdziejew, "Komunikatywizm – nowe horyzonty badań nad językiem", [in:] *Język trzeciego tysiąclecia*. Kraków, 2–4 marca 2000, ed. G. Szpila, Krakow 2000, Wydawnictwo Tertium, pp. 15–23.

attitude of a recipient and the related view of reality, i.e. the mode of seeing the world which is based not only on knowledge but also on convictions.

Now, allow me to return to example 1. Further in Adam and Jerzy's conversation, they were not able to recall whether the priest whose text they discussed had ever spoken of his views on the causes of the Smolensk plane crash. Nonetheless, they were able to establish that in many of his statements, Archbishop Głódź expressed views similar to those of the politicians of the so-called right, some of whom have adopted the thesis of an attack. Therefore, Jerzy concluded that the comparison between the attack on the president of Gdańsk and the Smolensk plane crash offers basis for a conclusion that the Gdańsk metropolitan bishop had adopted the thesis of an attack, while Adam did not draw such a conclusion, and his attitude was motivated by the fact of the lack of knowledge on the archbishop's views and the possibility of using a different basis for comparing both events (*in both cases there was a tragedy*). A question arises: which understanding was fair? Adam's or Jerzy's? Adam applied the principle of "hear others in good will [...] trying to understand their reasons." I consider his understanding of the archbishop's communication as fair. At the same time, though, I do not deny the fairness in Jerzy's understanding as in his reception, he considered the broad context, and the knowledge of it does not necessarily entail prejudice. In other words: his understanding fits the framework of fairness. Then another question arises: is it possible to assume that there are various degrees of fairness? If so, I consider Adam's understanding fairer than Jerzy's understanding.

Allow me to consider now example 2 and answer the question whether Deputy Senyszyn understood John Paul II's words fairly. The reaction of Senator Niesiołowski indicates that he considered the paraphrase of the Pope's words as an interpretative abuse. It would be difficult not to see reason in that. The applied paraphrase suggested that between the axiological attitude of the originator of the quote and the attitudes of the participants of the pride parade there was an ideological equivalence, which was unfounded as such equivalence did not exist.⁷ Deputy Senyszyn indicated that, though not in a very weighted manner, maybe even aggressive. Yet it is not completely clear whether Senator Niesiołowski accused Deputy Senyszyn of an unfair understanding of the text or of manipulating it. At this point, another question arises: how to differentiate an unfair understanding of a communication from a situation when it is intentionally used for manipulation? Does a communication scholar possess the tools to settle that? I believe that, for the time being, no, and that all one can do is state that their thesis is either more or less probable. However, for the purposes of this discussion, I shall assume that the Deputy displayed an unfair understanding of the Pope's words.

⁷ Professor Grażyna Habrajska pointed out to me in a conversation another way of understanding the Deputy's statement: as an ironic criticism of how politicians use the Pope's words.

And, finally: did the Senator fairly understand the Deputy's message? She expressed her conviction of the breakthrough role of the pride parade in Warsaw. The Senator did not argue with that. Actually, he did not refer to it at all. He only negatively evaluated the manner in which the Deputy used the authority of the Pope to justify her argument. And despite I do not accept the aggressive language used by the Senator, I cannot deny him the fairness of his understanding of the Deputy's communication.

As I have already mentioned, the mode of reception is influenced by a recipient's convictions. Consider the following examples.

(Example 3)

Alicja: *Ładnie powiedział Kaczyński, że PiS nie wystawi swojego kandydata na prezydenta Gdańska.*

[Kaczyński said it nicely that PiS will not run their candidate for president of Gdańsk.]

Bogumił: *Ładnie? Powiedziałbym – świetnie wyreżyserowane. Nie wierzę w cudowne nawrócenie PiS-u.*

[Nicely? I would say "well directed". I do not believe in PiS' reformation.]

(Example 4)

Celina: *Podobało mi się to, że Michnik podpisał listę poparcia dla kandydatury Kaczyńskiego.*

[I liked it that Michnik signed the letter of support for Kaczyński's candidacy.]

Damian: *Daj spokój. To tylko świetny chwyt pod publiczność.*

[Oh please. That's just a pretence.]

(Example 3 – after the assassination of the president of Gdańsk in January 2019, Example 4 – during the presidential campaign after the death of Lech Kaczyński).

Bogumił (in Example 3) based his understanding on his political views, similarly to Damian (in Example 4). The convictions of each sender of the opinions differed, yet the model of understanding was similar. Both Bogumił and Damian perceived the statements by both politicians according to the following model: "I behave in a way which is supposed to evoke your (the recipient's) acceptance."

In other words: the interlocutors assigned politicians unexpressed intentions. Does such an assignment remain within the extent of the fairness of understanding of a communication? (In example 3, the message was the announcement of not running a candidate in presidential elections; in example 4, the signing of a letter of

support for a political opponent). The understandings brought forward by Damian and Bogumił were based on the assumption that politicians seek social support. In it, in my opinion, there is nothing unfair, as it is based on one's observations of public life and the familiarity with human nature. Since, however, the discussed seeking of support is evaluated negatively by the interlocutors in the conversations, one should verify the above-indicated intention: "I behave in a way which is supposed to evoke your (the recipient's) acceptance and that is the only motivation for developing my communication, other values are of no interest to me."

Such a motivation is evaluated negatively in common perceptions. If, however, this article focusses on fair or unfair understandings of communication, please consider whether the assignment of the intention to the communications' senders is based on something. Both recipients (Damian and Bogumił) would probably search for such bases in previous communications by the politicians they criticised. Do the previous communications offer sufficient premises for assigning that intention, and, in turn, for the understanding of the communications proposed by the interlocutors? Or is it understanding based on prejudice? That is yet another question which I wish to pose in my discussion.

And another issue: the mode of listening of interlocutors. Consider the example.

(Example 5)

Filip: *Nie róbcie z Adamowicza świętego. Miał kilkanaście mieszkań w Gdańsku, był zamieszany w Amber Gold i inne afery.*

[Don't make Adamowicz a saint. He had a dozen or so flats in Gdańsk, he was implicated in Amber Gold and other shady affairs.]

Marta: *Nic na ten temat nie wiemy. Na razie nie udowodniono żadnego przekrętu. Więc może nie ferujemy wyroków.*

[We don't know anything about that. No scam has been proven. So let's maybe not pass false judgements.]

Filip: *Mówię raz jeszcze: nie róbcie z niego świętego.*

[I'll say once more: don't make Adamowicz a saint.]

Marta thus commented on Filip's final statement: *on mnie w ogóle nie słuchał* [he was completely not listening to me]. Marta was not evaluating the person they were discussing. She only manifested her distance. Filip did not refer to her appeal for distance. And the premises for his evaluation were weak. I consider Filip's understanding of Marta's statement as unfair. That unfairness could have been a result of Filip's excessive attachment to his opinion which made him overlook the opinion of another person. The fact of not listening was the reason why the understanding was unfair. One other issue impacted that exchange. Marta was

a young woman while Filip was an older man. In another part of the exchange, Filip said to Marta: *młoda jesteś i niewiele jeszcze wiesz, ja mam duże doświadczenie, za parę lat poznasz prawdę* [you're young and you don't know much, I have much experience, you'll know the truth in a few years' time]. An analysis of the exchange offers one more insight: Filip was driven by prejudice which had him convinced that when a young person is faced with an older person, the former cannot be right.

The presented findings offer the basis for a few remarks.

1. I associate the understanding of the meaning of a communication with the understanding of its content and intentions. I treat the mode of formulating a communication as an element which enables understanding. The understanding of a communication by a recipient consists of reproducing the content and the intentions envisaged by a sender. The degree of the compliance between content and the sender's intent and the version reproduced by a recipient can only be studied through an analysis using means of communication, set by conventions, and one cannot omit the broad context which consists of external circumstances, and the sender's and recipients' axiological attitudes and visions of the world. Considering the complex nature of the phenomenon and its limited verifiability, the compliance of the sent and the received communication can only be indicated within a range of probability. However, if communication is intended to achieve understanding, then one should consider whether it would not be advisable to seek in human communication some rules which they use (even if not consciously). Such a description should start with Grice's conversational maxims.⁸ Maybe it would be possible to develop a catalogue of principles of fair understanding of communication. It could apply to both the pragmatic and the relation-based aspects of communicational conduct.
2. The search for said principles presumes that a sender of a communication intends to achieve a communication purpose in good will, while remaining respectful of recipients and treating them as partners. Such a basis precludes the intention to use recipients as tools or to depreciate them. However, the reality is that agents in acts of communication carry various attitudes. One can, e.g. refer to someone else's communication while offering its unfair understanding (or while pretending to understand it unfairly) to manipulate recipients. It is difficult to indicate the line between unfair understanding and intentional manipulation. One can attempt to find it. That would require one to consider a very broad context, and even then the search could offer answers within a range of probability. Nonetheless I believe that in studying

⁸ H.P. Grice, "Logika a konwersacja", *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1980, issue 6 or: [in:] *Język w świetle Nauki*, selection and edition B. Stanosz, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1980, pp. 91–114.

- communication it is worth considering this issue, even if only to defend oneself better against manipulation from others.
3. Another issue is whether one could talk about the degrees of fairness of the understanding of a communication, and if so, how such a degree could be measured. I shall leave it for later study.
 4. The analysis of the examples triggers the question about the reasons for unfairness of understanding. It seems that the reason can be traced to the mental attitude of a recipient, mainly their axiological attitude. That is another matter which could benefit from a closer examination.

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Elżbieta Laskowska

O rzetelności rozumienia przekazu komunikacyjnego

Streszczenie

Autorka przyjmuje, że rzetelne rozumienie przekazu to taki odbiór, który jest bliższy treści, intencji i sposobowi nadanym przekazowi przez nadawcę. Odbiór ten uwarunkowany jest stopniem wiedzy odbiorcy oraz jego postawą aksjologiczną

i wizją świata. Analizowane przykłady pokazują różne aspekty rzetelności rozumienia oraz skłaniają do pytań o metodę badania opisywanego zjawiska.

Słowa kluczowe: sens, rozumienie, rzetelność, etyka komunikacji.

On the fairness of understanding a communicated message

Summary

The author assumed that a fair understanding of communication is such a reception which is close to the content, intent and mode assigned to it by the sender. That reception depends on the extent of the knowledge of a recipient, and their axiological attitude and view of the world. The analysed examples indicate various aspects of fairness of understanding and trigger questions regarding the method of studying the phenomenon.

Keywords: meaning, understanding, fairness, communication ethics.

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Bez sensu as an act of communication

The results of verbal communication can be discussed at various levels, be they linguistic, mental or sociological. In traditional linguistic theories, they are related to lists of functions of utterances. In psychology, they constitute the starting point in a diagnosis of mental properties and the mental condition of the communicator, while in sociology, based on the study of verbal behaviours of communities, scholars develop interpretations, theories and postulates of mass communication. In analyses based on the communication theory¹, two aspects must be addressed: the emotive aspect and the behavioural aspect. I shall treat the third information module identified in this methodology as a building block of the emotional sphere and a pillar of action or procrastination. Received communications trigger emotions, which in turn create the frame for the world of values and convictions, and impact the manner and mode of decisions being made – they are triggers of emotions or the reasons for suppressing them.

In communication acts, both in local contexts (private conversations) and social communication, there appear such verbal instances of behaviour which violate the interpersonal status quo and create a negative aura surrounding

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1 I am referring to Aleksy Awdiejew and Grażyna Habrajska's functional concept of the grammatical description of language (communicational grammar), the methodological apparatus used for discovering the mechanisms of verbal communication—particularly for analysing and interpreting communications within their semantic-pragmatic continuums at three levels of the language: the ideational, interactive, and metadiscursive levels. The levels were taken from Michael Halliday's theory (M.A.K. Halliday idem, *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, E. Arnold, London 1973). I included the major works that present the model of communicational grammar in the bibliography.

interpersonal contact. One such instance is the use of the phraseme ‘bez sensu’ [no point/ meaningless] in the conversational mode. My interest in the semantics and pragmatics of the expression developed on the basis of my various communicational experiences, both direct and indirect (observations). I became particularly intent on this discussion due to my experiences of face-to-face communication and my fulfilling the function of the recipient of the ‘bez sensu’ expression. It is in that role that one is hard pressed to avoid a conclusion which triggers some kind of disappointment in interpersonal contact. Usually, if this expression appears overtly in a conversation, one is induced to infer a clearly negative evaluative reference from it. Such communicational experiences result in a sense of discomfort caused by the manner of introducing hostility, which eventually creates interpersonal distance. All that is often amplified with reflection on why my interlocutor considers something I am doing/ I did/ I intend to do and what I am stating verbally to be ‘bez sensu’.

Based on my preliminary and purely intuitive consideration for now, I would refer to the manner of summing up an element of reality by using the expression ‘bez sensu’ as a pragmatic action which is not very polite, or even blunt and rude. This is the type of thesis which comes close to an *ad personam* evaluation, though it can also be an opinion which, as the conversation develops, becomes supported by facts. Nonetheless, the considerable persuasive load of the device is clear: the fact of using ‘bez sensu’ amplifies the discrediting of someone’s motivations and goals, and the modes and results of their actions. One more perspective should be considered: ‘bez sensu’ is a sign of one’s interlocutor disputing the logic in one’s utterance, which in some contexts may be considered as a kind of insult to the speaker’s intelligence.

As an example of how the ‘bez sensu’ expression amplifies the persuasive effect when it is included in a communication, consider the simple substitution test in communications with the same ideational contents:

[1.]

ja: *Kupiłem nową kamerę.*

I: *I bought a new camcorder.*

on: *Bez sensu – każdy smartfon ma kamerę!*

He: *Bez sensu – all smartphones have cameras!*

vs.

vs.

on': *Po co – każdy smartfon ma kamerę!*

He': *What for – all smartphones have cameras!*

on'': *Niepotrzebnie – każdy smartfon ma kamerę!*

He'': *That's unnecessary – all smartphones have cameras!*

on''': *No co ty – każdy smartfon ma kamerę!*

He''': *Be serious – all smartphones have cameras!*

itp.

etc.

In the presented alternate versions (He', He'', He'''), the emotive connotations of the information change the nature of the expression and, in turn, temper it by drawing attention to the pragmatic element of pointlessness (He', He''), or by expressing emotive disappointment (He''').

A somewhat broader perspective on the placement and functions of 'bez sensu' in a natural conversation is offered in a conversation between two women I once overheard:

[2.]

| | | | |
|------------------|---|----------------|--|
| kobieta starsza: | [...] <i>a wiesz, co Ania mi powiedziała? Że ten Kowalski był bez sensu, a ja jej na to: swoje uwagi do mnie zachowaj dla siebie, załóż sobie zeszyt i tam zapisuj.</i> | Older woman: | [...] <i>do you know what Ania told me? That that Kowalski was useless, so I told her: keep your remarks about me to yourself, start a notebook and write them down there.</i> |
| kobieta młodsza: | <i>jaaa, bez sensu [...]</i> | younger woman: | <i>oooh, ridiculous [...]</i> |

In that colloquial exchange the 'bez sensu' expression appeared twice: in reported speech and in the reaction of the other interlocutor. In order to recreate the ideational content of the first application (*Kowalski był bez sensu*), one must utilise the sources of meaning supplementation² – in this case use discursive knowledge which an outsider lacks. However, in reference to semantic standards, one might assume that *Kowalski* is a kind of a metonymic figure which could be substituted with content associated with Kowalski's unsuccessful or dysfunctional actions. The other utterance is quite intriguing from an interpretative perspective, as what is most distinct about it is its interactive character: it is an expression of emotive solidarity with the interlocutor, sharing her dismay and expressing support for the negative opinion of the verbal conduct of Ania. Yet once again there are major elements of discursive knowledge that are missing, and which are necessary for one to be able to decide whether Ania was criticised for what she had said about Kowalski or for voicing her opinion in the first place. Despite the fact that the interactive function of the utterance (as well as the entire exchange) was clear: the goal was to bring forward the negative emotion experienced as a result of the behaviour of a third party (conversational non-hostile mode), it remains unclear to which behavioural area Ania's opinion 'bez sensu' referred. First of all, it might be a reference to the pragmatic conditions signifying a denial of Ania's right to express a negative opinion on the matter (or on any matter in general). Secondly,

2 The concept of systemic and non-systemic sources of meaning was introduced to the communicational theory of text interpretation by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (idem, *Relevance. Communication and Cognition*, Blackwell, Oxford 1995), the creators of the relevance theory.

it might be associated with the semantics of redundancy and/or impudence, or the irrelevance of the opinion voiced by Ania (e.g. Kowalski cannot be blamed for anything).

Considering these introductory reflections, one can see that the functional complexity of the 'bez sensu' phraseme opens a rich field of communicational discussions. In this article, I shall apply the methodology of communicational grammar, though I shall also draw on the theory of rhetorical argument and knowledge of inference.

Finally, reflections as an observer of social communication, and media communications in particular, will also prove useful.

Meaning in communication

To properly consider the communicational value of the 'bez sensu' [without meaning/sense] expression, one must first refer to the original unit, i.e. 'sens' [meaning/sense]. From the pragmatic perspective, it seems important to indicate the discursive variability in the functions of the term, particularly in reference to its application in colloquial discourse and the modes in which it is understood in academic discourse. Colloquially, the application of the term 'sens' [meaning/sense] usually constitutes an evaluation of the rationality of the detrialisation of a (cause-and-effect/time-and-space) scenario to which the propositional content of communication refers, e.g.

[3.]

złodziej1: *Ja mam splanę, to wchodzę pierwszy, zastraszę ich, wtedy ty wejdiesz z torbą i będziesz pakował kasę, a ja będę ich miał cały czas na muszce*

robber1: *I've got the piece so I go in first, I'll intimidate them, then you come in with the bag and you'll pack the cash and I'll keep them in check*

złodziej2: *To ma sens, to się uda!*

robber2: *That makes sense, that's gonna work!*

The communication utilises the common script of a bank robbery [SC: (bank) ROBBERY], and the propositional content presented in the course of this exchange can lead to the desired effect, i.e. the indication in the second statement (robber2) that the plan of action makes sense is equal to accepting the proposition.

In another common example, the term 'sens' is a positive evaluation of the logic of an argument (entailment) presented in the communication, e.g.

[4.]

- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|---|
| Marek: | <i>Janek nie podniósł, Franek nie podniósł, ja jestem słabszy, to tym bardziej nie podniosę.</i> | Marek: | <i>Janek couldn't lift it, Franek couldn't lift it, I'm weaker so there's no way I can lift it.</i> |
| Arek: | <i>Wreszcie gadasz z sensem.</i> | Arek: | <i>Now you're finally making sense.</i> |

Then, in academic discourse, there are various perspectives for discussing what 'sens' is.³ Example 3, where the evaluation of detrivialised scripts of common activities is based on common sense, is a common type of a conversation based on socially developed elements of common sense.⁴ In example 4, the mechanisms of natural logic form the basis for an inference of the *a fortiori* type.⁵ Both speakers display appropriate logical competences. This enables Marek to argue convincingly, and it enables Arek to understand the internal relations of entailment.

In communicational theory, *meaning* is defined as "the reference area realised by a recipient which she/he acquires through the process of communication (text) interpretation".⁶ The relation of the notion of *meaning* to reference area has its traditions, especially in semiotics, where the relations within the triad of referent-notion-sign were framed into the so-called semiotic triangle by Charles

3 Michael Fleischer offered a rich overview of academic concepts which refer to the modes of understanding 'sens' [meaning] and its communicational functions in his book: *Sens, czyli – co to jest. Perspektywa konstruktywistyczna* (Wydawnictwo Primum Verbum, Łódź 2019). Those include philosophical, linguistic, psychological, and sociological concepts. In the second part of the book, he proposed his own solutions within the constructivist theory of communication.

4 Michael Fleischer in the book *Sens, czyli – co to jest. Perspektywa konstruktywistyczna* discussed the sources and features of common sense in Chapter 1.2. entitled "Ujęcia syntetyczne" [Synthetic approaches].

5 The arguments referenced in this article, their components and inference patterns were discussed in detail in the works by Jerzy Ziomek (*Retoryka opisowa*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław–Warsaw–Krakow 2000), Krzysztof Szymanek (*Sztuka argumentacji. Słownik terminologiczny*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2001), Chaim Perelman (*Imperium retoryki, Retoryka i argumentacja*, trans. M. Chomicz, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2002), Marek Tokarz (*Argumentacja, perswazja, manipulacja*, Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 2006), Grzegorz Malinowski (*Logika ogólna*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2010), Barbara Stanosz (*Wprowadzenie do logiki formalnej. Podręcznik dla humanistów*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2012).

6 A. Awdiejew, "Czym jest sens?" [in:] *Komunikowanie wartości – wartość komunikowania*, eds. I. Benenowska, A. Bączkowska, W. Czechowski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2019, pp. 65–66.

Ogden and Ivor Richards.⁷ However, communicational grammar proposes a functional (not structural) approach to linguistic units and the recreation of a reference area of a communication by applying new methods of text analysis and interpretation.⁸ Communication scholars can only access the material aspects of the communicational process. The discovery and specification of covert (since abstract) mental processes, responsible for the emergence of the reference area, occurs through the relation to semantic standards, which constitute links in the scripts of routine activities: actions and processes, positions, and states. They demonstrate repeatability because space-and-time and cause-and-effect relations are universal and natural.

In pragmalinguistics, the purpose of communication is related to the functions of an utterance, which in turn are related to the process of influencing the knowledge, will and behaviour of an interlocutor – and appropriate techniques of persuasion are the tools. Communicational theory assumes a different perspective, i.e. the thesis is that “the basic purpose of natural communication is to convey meaning”.⁹ The difference stems from the fact that in pragmalinguistics there is an ongoing struggle with the original unclear rule of the division of the purpose of a communication from the communicative tasks and tools. I shall clarify this by using two inter-related chains:

satisfaction of needs \leftrightarrow impact \leftrightarrow conveying of meaning
 existence \leftrightarrow interaction \leftrightarrow communication

The need to **satisfy one's needs** is the driving force of human **existence**. Different people have different needs; everyone should become aware of their own ones. For that, it might be helpful to resort to the hierarchy of needs drawn up by Abraham Maslov¹⁰, well-established in humanistic psychology. For this discussion, it must be stated that we can satisfy some of these needs ourselves, while others require the participation of other entities (people) – this is the reason for entering into **interactions** and maintaining them. Marek Ziółkowski wrote:

7 C. Ogden, I. Richards I., Charles Ogden and Ivor Richards *The Meaning of Meaning. A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1923.

8 The components and stages of text analysis and interpretation in the methodology of communicational grammar were presented by Grażyna Habrajska in the book *Komunikacyjna analiza i interpretacja tekstu* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2004). The book *Komponowanie sensu w procesie odbioru komunikatów* by Aleksy Awdiejew and Grażyna Habrajska (Primum Verbum, Łódź 2010) offers a major supplement to the theory.

9 A. Awdiejew, “Czym jest sens?”, pp. 65–66.

10 A.H. Maslov, *Motivation and Personality*, Harper, New York 1954.

*Man is an entity that realises that both he and his behaviour is being observed and interpreted. Therefore, he can manage some elements of his behaviour, which remain under his control, to [...] **appropriately influence** [emphasis – WC] how he is perceived and interpreted by his partners.¹¹*

In other words, interactions are interpersonal relations in which bilateral influence exists, or it is a mode of operation focussed on influence. In a situation in which two individuals appear within the reach of their senses, an action begins with pre-defined parameters, i.e. one which is set in time and space; an interactive relationship forms which might have been planned or which is random.¹² In an interaction (a planned one, in particular) actors fulfil an **interactive task**: an **interpersonal impact**, i.e. such an influence on others which will lead to fulfilling one's need(s). When individuals notice each other, there opens a field for communicational activities. Thus, **communication** must be understood as a **tool of impact in interaction**. Planned verbal communication is the most effective mode of achieving interactive goals. It encompasses **meaning** (the reference area) and the interactive circumstances of its **transfer**: selected recipient, time and place of contact. That was confirmed in Marek Ziółkowski's theses¹³:

*The dynamics of human interactions, which consist of adjusting the mutual behaviours of partners, is largely based on the processes of **sending and receiving meaning** [emphasis – WC], which condition actual impact.*

In constructivism, the essence (purpose) of a communicational action is to negotiate meanings, confront the modes of understanding reality, matching visions of the world, and, systemically speaking, maintaining and shaping social and cultural movement.¹⁴

¹¹ M. Ziółkowski, *Znaczenie – interakcja – rozumienie*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1981, p. 107.

¹² I could offer at this point the excellent example of the illusion of randomness of interaction shared by the characters in Giuseppe Tornatore's film *The Best Offer* (2014).

¹³ M. Ziółkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁴ The core of the concept is presented in the books of Michael Fleischer, the originator of the constructivist theory of communication. The appropriate sources are included in the bibliography of this article.

'Bez sensu' in communicational grammar

At the ideational level, 'bez sensu' specifies a primary predicate and changes the ideational image; within the pattern it is the constitutive element of **secondary metapredication** and it opens a place for a predicative-argument system:

MPSEC BEZ SENSU {P (a₁, an)}

BEZ SENSU {GADAĆ (Janek)} ← *Janek gada bez sensu.*
[Janek talks nonsense.]

BEZ SENSU {CHODZIĆ (Janek, to class)} ← *Janek bez sensu chodzi na te zajęcia.*
[Janek's going to that class is pointless.]

BEZ SENSU {ZROBIĆ (Janek, it)} ← *Janek zrobił to bez sensu.*
[Janek did it pointlessly.]

It must be added that the element 'bez' [without] fulfils the communicational function of negation, which is evident in the paraphrase of the following breakdown:

MPSEC BEZ SENSU {BYĆ [N]} = OPNEG NIE > MIEĆ [N, sense]

The original ideational image is altered, as the negation deprives the ideational image of the selected quality (axiology) – in the analysed case that **quality is meaning**.

The position of the phraseme in a text may cause a change of its function – from a metapredicate to a predicate specifying an argument, e.g.

Bez sensu Janek pisze pracę. [Janek's writing the work is pointless.] → BEZ SENSU > {PISAĆ (Janek, work)}

Janek pisze pracę bez sensu. [Janek is writing a meaningless work.] → PISAĆ (Janek, work) & BEZ SENSU {BYĆ (work)}

That is because the 'bez sensu' expression enables a two-directional interpretation:

BEZ SENSU → BEZSENSOWNIE [meaninglessly] (MPSEC)

BEZ SENSU → BEZSENSOWNY [meaningless] (MPSEC)

The maxim which I have known for many years: “You can’t say that something is meaningless. All you can say is that you don’t see meaning in it,” reflects the communicational assumption that every communication has meaning (a reference area), regardless of whether the recipient was/is able to grasp it. Since texts can indicate various scenarios, which are sometimes semantically distant from one another, the interpretative activities of a recipient may occur within different reference areas. That triggers various complications in the form of misunderstanding which lead to communication failures. It is also caused by the fact that sometimes in people there is triggered the syndrome of interpreting at any cost, well-known in the psychology of communication – a reaction to the emerging cognitive dissonance. Or the recipient can be overtaken by interpretative impotence. This inclines me to consider the relationship: nie rozumiem [I do not understand] \leftrightarrow bez sensu [meaningless].

If a recipient cannot grasp the reference area, they may focus on the three elements of a communication system in their verbal reaction: themselves, the message, and the sender. Focus on oneself is a sign of assuming responsibility for an interpretative failure. That can be expressed by the recipient verbally manifesting their incompetence, e.g. *jestem na to za głupi* [I’m too dumb for this]; *to już za wysoki poziom* [this level is too high for me]; *nie moja liga* [I’m out of my depth here], etc., or indicating their problems with interpretation, e.g. *trochę to dla mnie niejasne* [it’s somewhat unclear to me]; *nie do końca rozumiem* [I don’t quite understand it]; *ciężko mi uchwycić sens* [I’m having a hard time grasping the meaning], etc. Focus on other elements enables the sender to divert the responsibility away from them. In terms of the message, what is most common is an emphasis on the logical failings of the communication, e.g. *bezsensowna wypowiedź* [meaningless utterance]; *to jakiś bełkot* [that’s some gibberish]; *ni składu, ni ładu* [without form or structure], etc., while regarding the sender, there appear indirect or direct opinions about their lack of linguistic and communicational competences – that includes statements with the *bez sensu* expression, e.g. *to, co mówisz, jest bez sensu* [what you are saying is senseless]; *gadasz bez sensu* [you’re making no sense at all]; *puknij się w głowę – to jest bez sensu* [You need your head examined – there’s no sense to it], etc.

‘Bez sensu’ as a reference to the logic of a message

Utterances such as: *to, co mówisz, jest bez sensu* [what you are saying is meaningless] may be a reaction related to the sender’s inference deficits, as they are not able to grasp the **logic link** in the process of argumentation/explanation. The following is an example of an argument based on **deduction**:

- [5.] *Każdy polityk to karierowicz, a więc żaden społecznik nie jest politykiem.* [Every politician is a careerist so no social activist is a politician.]

To understand the conclusion, one must recreate the enthymematic premise: *No social activist is a careerist* (the *Camestres* syllogistic mode). That enables the recipient of such a communication to react properly, i.e. according to their convictions: *I agree /I do not agree*. Then, the fact of not comprehending the deductive argumentation can be indicated by applying the more tactful *nie rozumiem* [I do not understand] or the rude *bez sensu*. In the latter situation, an interlocutor gives themselves a negative evaluation.

The shortcomings in the logic competences of interlocutors can be used for manipulation, which may lead to the shaping of convictions which are aligned with the sender's interests. One example of a tool of manipulation in argumentation is **quasi-deduction** (deduction with a hidden logic error):

- [6.] *Każdy minister jest politykiem, a więc niektórzy ministrowie są skorumpowani.* [Every minister is a politician; therefore some ministers are corrupt.]

If a recipient's competences enable them to catch the error, they will resist the manipulation. They may then react with the communication *bez sensu*, which would be a justified statement on the lack of reliable entailment.

If the entailment in an argumentation is based on a probabilised deduction, the argument elements are bound by less expressive relations and in turn less susceptible to reactions in the form of the *bez sensu* phraseme. Consider the following example of a media statement by Ryszard Legutko, an MEP from the Law and Justice (PiS) party, the context of which is related to the teachers' strike in Poland of April 2019¹⁵:

- [7.] *To tak jakby lekarz powiedział, że odmówi przeprowadzenia operacji. (...) Są różne formy nacisku na władzę, ale pewnych rzeczy nie tylko robić, ale również mówić nie wolno. (...)* [That's like a doctor saying that he would refuse to perform an operation (...). There are various forms of exerting influence on the government, but there are some things that not only cannot be done, but they can't even be said (...)].

The applied mode of depiction entails the comparing of the professional obligations of a teacher with those of a medical doctor. Many people who rejected the statement pointed to this analogy. Lack of acceptance was usually expressed

¹⁵ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/438418-prof-legutko-oburzajaca-wypowiedz-broniarza-to-szantaz> [accessed on: 15.03.2019].

in verbal expressions of the kind: *to porównanie jest bez sensu* [this comparison is senseless]. To be able to assess the senselessness of the comparison, one must consider its axiological foundation related to professional ethics. Once applied, the standardised argument takes the form:

P1: For medical doctors to refuse to operate is unethical.

P2: The teachers' strike during examination sessions **is similar** to a doctor's refusal to operate.

C: The teachers' strike during examination sessions is unethical.

The common qualities of the professions of a teacher and a medical doctor surely include: social service and care of social groups which are particularly protected (children, young people, the ill). The presumption of the creator of the analogy was that the harm caused by refusing to work was another common quality. And that was the point which constituted the comparison's weak spot, as the kind of harm and its consequences significantly differentiated the two professions, i.e. the intangible mental discomfort of students vs. the very tangible harm to people's health. In comparing the work of teachers with that of medical doctors, the author of the statement intended to elevate the scale of the harm, and thus the analogy became a tool of manipulation through the process of political persuasion – it created a negative emotional aura (*metum/ consequentiam*) by suggesting the kinds of harm which are unfounded. An attempt to counter this manipulation may consist of indicating the **error of shallow analogy**, which enables one to express their disagreement on the basis of facts, including in the form of the 'bez sensu' expression with further justification of the deficiency of the analogy.

Such questioning of the analogy with the use of the 'bez sensu' expression could be found in the practice of media-based political communication, e.g. in a statement by Leszek Miller, a Polish political scientist and politician¹⁶:

- [8.] *Porównywanie sprawy Rywina z aferą KNF z sugestią, że PiS upadnie tak jak upadł SLD jest bez sensu. Sojusz znalazł się na krawędzi bo został rozbity od wewnątrz przez ówczesnego marszałka Sejmu przy wsparciu prezydenta. Czy ktoś widzi w tych rolach Kuchcińskiego i Dudę.* [The comparison of the Rywin case and the KNF-gate suggesting that PiS will fall just as SLD did makes no sense. SLD found itself on the brink of collapse because it was shattered from the inside by the speaker of the Sejm at that time, with the support of the president. Can anyone see Kuchciński and Duda in those roles.]

¹⁶ <https://twitter.com/leszekmiller/status/1063159714694029312> [accessed on: 15.03.2018].

The argumentative unreliability can also manifest itself in the modes of induction. It is particularly visible in theses which are not justified in the following examples, which are based on *argumentum ab exemplo* premises, e.g.

- [9.] *Mieszkańcy Rogowa nie znają pojęcia szacunku – Janek i Ania dotąd spóźnili się na wszystkie spotkania.* [The inhabitants of Rogów are not familiar with the notion of respect – Janek and Ania have been late to all the meetings so far.]

The fact of someone's being late only entitled the author of the thesis to conclude that some inhabitants of Rogów had trouble with arriving on time.

The 'bez sensu' comment can also be a reaction to a violation of the natural cause-and-effect relationship. It is used in building theses which utilise reductive reasoning. The error of reduction emerges when a statement refers to a heuristic rule:

- [10.] *W oknie pali się światło, Janka nie ma w domu.* [You can see a light through the window, Janek is not home.] RH: A light turned on is the sign of someone's presence.
- [11.] *Woda wrze, herbata na pewno się nie zaparzy.* [The water is boiling, the tea will certainly not brew.] RH: Tea brews in boiling water.
- [12.] *Pada jak z cebra, wycieczka będzie udana.* [It is raining cats and dogs, the trip will surely be a success.] RH: Trips are not a success when it is raining.

The fact of uttering such communications usually entails the existence of special rules for their interpretation; without those the authors of such statements could be accused of a lack of logic competences. In such cases, the 'bez sensu' response must be treated not as an *ad personam* attack, but rather as an encouragement to clarify the pragmatic-interpretative background.

'Bez sensu' at the interactive level

At the interactive level, 'bez sensu' fulfils two pragmatic functions. It is the thesis behind negative opinions in axiological-emotive strategies, and a thesis which amplifies the persuasive force of verbal communications in behavioural strategies. In using the 'bez sensu' phraseme in a reaction to a received communication and a reproduced (interpreted) area of reference, an interlocutor shifts communication to the **emotive plane** and, more broadly speaking, challenges the sender within the perspective of the antagonising axiological strategy. The emotive nature of 'bez sensu' is revealed regardless of the starting strategy being fulfilled. Consider the following exchange in which the starting communication was produced in the assertive mode:

- [13.] *Zmieniili nam termin wyjazdu.* [They changed our departure date.]
informative strategy (assertion)

Bez sensu, już wszystko kupione, spakowane. [That's senseless, everything is already bought, packed.] axiological-emotive strategy

The analysed phraseme in this case is an expression of the emotion of **disappointment**, amplified by a sense of **wastefulness**. Similar motivation is visible in communications in which, apart from the verbalisation of the sense of loss, a script commonly known as **mądry po szkodzie** [hindsight is 20/20] is triggered. It is fulfilled in the form of a conclusion which suggests the application of a strategy which enables the avoidance of wastefulness in the future, e.g.

- [14.] *Nie zgodziła się, a na samą kolację poszły dwie stówy, bez sensu, na drugi raz, pomyślę dwa razy, zanim z nią się spotkam.* [She didn't agree and the dinner itself cost 2 hundred, no sense at all, next time I'll think twice before I go out with her again.]

The demonstration of disappointment by using 'bez sensu' can also be noticed in other scripts, where the **sense of lack or incomplete benefit** is the pragmatic foundation. In reference to one's own actions (usually past ones), it would build an air of complaining about one's fate/ frustration/ impotence (importance of prosody), e.g.

- [15.] *Pojechałem tam bez sensu.* [I went there and it was pointless.]
[16.] *Bez sensu – nic nie wskórałem.* [Totally pointless – I did not manage to do anything.]

In reference to the actions of others, 'bez sensu' amplifies **grievances** – when a lack of benefit is also experienced by the sender of a communication:

- [17.] *Bez sensu, akurat to musiałeś pominąć.* [That's stupid, you had to skip that particular thing.]
[18.] *No i mamy koniec dobrego, bez sensu, że odmówiłeś.* [So all the good just ended, it's so stupid that you refused.]

The fact of not using an opportunity to achieve some benefit triggers the scenario of **lost opportunity**. This may include grievances towards oneself, e.g.

- [19.] *Było w zasięgu ręki, bez sensu, że się zawahałem.* [It was within reach, it's so stupid that I hesitated.]

or an expression of someone's lack of pragmatism, e.g.

- [20.] *Nie uwierzysz, Czesław Lang tu był.* [You'll never believe it. Czesław Lang was here.]
Super, a zrobiłeś selfie? [Great, did you get a selfie?]
Nie. [No.]

Jaaa, bez sensu, co za głupek! [Wow, that was silly, what an idiot!]

In all of the presented examples, the application of the 'bez sensu' phraseme as an expression of negative emotions being experienced was motivated by the **discrepancy principle** between the **assumptions** (plans/ scripts/ imagination) which were supposed to lead to the desired specific benefits/ goals/ results, and the **actual** undesired **course** and/or eventual unsatisfactory outcome of said actions.

In the applications of antagonistic axiological-emotive strategies, 'bez sensu' amplifies the interpersonal distance being built; it is a sign of emotive rejection, e.g.

- [21.] *Jestem taka szczęśliwa, tak się cieszę, że tam pojedziemy.* [I am so happy, I'm so glad we're going there.]
Bez sensu, ja jakoś nie. [But why? It doesn't make me happy.]

or disregard for someone's emotive communications (an expression of a lack of empathy):

- [22.] *Niestety, tyle ofert im przedstawiłam i nic, przykro mi, naprawdę się starałam.* [Sadly, I presented them with so many proposals and nothing worked, I'm sorry, I really did my best.]
Bez sensu, będziesz musiała spróbować gdzie indziej. [That was pointless, you'll just have to try somewhere else.]

The emotive nature of the studied phraseme may **indirectly** amplify the **activity functions** (behavioural strategies). The experienced and expressed sense of wastefulness becomes an **argument of wastefulness**¹⁷, which indirectly opens objectives specific to the **behavioural strategy**, e.g.

¹⁷ Chaim Perelman discussed the social power of influence of the argument of wastefulness in the book *Imperium retoryki. Retoryka i argumentacja* (pp. 103–104). Those pages also include a specification of the argument of redundancy, which I depict with example 36.

- [23.] *Być może zmienią termin wyjazdu.* [They might change the departure date.]
 informative strategy
 – *Bez sensu, już wszystko kupione, spakowane.* [That's senseless, everything is
 already bought, packed.] emotive (direct)

No tak, pogadam z nimi. → behavioural (indirect) strategy
 [Right, I'll talk to them.] undertaking to act (a promise)

Clearly, communicational modal modes which apply to the shape of the future do not enclose the field of influence at the extra-modal level. The effectiveness of such an influence depends on some pragmatic conditions, in particular on the roles of people who communicate and their actual ability to influence decisions.

The fact of displaying a negative emotion related to the lack of benefits from an action or a possible loss may fulfil the function of *argumentum ad misericordiam*:

- [24.] *Czuję, że ten wyjazd jest bez sensu.* [I can feel that the trip is pointless.] emotive
 (direct)

→ behavioural (indirect) strategy
Jeśli nie chcesz jechać, to odwołam. [If you don't want to go, I'll call it off.]
 undertaking to act

It is a common persuasion technique to evoke **pity** as a measure for using someone's **empathy** to reach one's own goals. The hidden plane of communicational intentions makes it difficult to differentiate a primarily emotive communication from behavioural manipulation tactics, e.g.

- [25.] *Nie no, wszystko bez sensu, beznadziejnie...* [Come on, it's all pointless,
 abysmal...]
Spokojnie, zaraz coś poradzimy, mmm... podaj mi numer swojego konta.
 [Calm down, we'll think of something soon, err... give me your account
 number.]

The verbalisation of a detected **inconsistency** is yet another communicational circumstance in which 'bez sensu' appears. In conversational exchanges, it is the base for using an *argumentum ad personam*. The studied phraseme fulfils in it the function of amplifier of the *ad personam* reference – it usually amplifies the content of an uncovered inconsistency, e.g.

- [26.] *Całe dni pracuję nad dodatkowymi kodami.* [I spend my days working on additional codes] (assertion)
Bez sensu, mówiłeś, że nie będziesz, bo nie są potrzebne. [That's pointless, you said you wouldn't because they weren't necessary] (E-)
- [27.] *Złożyłem papiery do liceum.* [I submitted my high school application.] (assertion)
Bez sensu, cały czas mówiłeś o technikum. [That doesn't make any sense. You always talked about technical school.] (E-)

In both cases (26 and 27), 'bez sensu' refers to a violation of a heuristic principle, which is built on a relation chain: "thought \rightarrow speech \rightarrow action". Once standardised, the argument takes the form of a *tollendo tollens* logic mode:

P1: A consistent man acts according to his assumptions. (P \rightarrow Q)

P2: Action X was inconsistent with the assumptions. (\sim Q)

 C: X is not consistent. (\sim P) (E-)

The socially valued quality of being consistent usually refers to the consistency between verbal declarations and extra-linguistic conduct. Its value in interpersonal relations is high, as it influences the processes of building and maintaining trust. A lack of (complete) trust in inconsistent people triggers a limiting of the field of common interpersonal/team activities, in which success is guaranteed by the predictability of individuals' actions.

The act of **questioning** someone's competences is another field of applying *argumentum ad personam*, e.g.

- [28.] *Janek dyrektorem?! Nie no bez sensu.* [Janek a director?! That's utter nonsense.]

The *tu quoque* mode is also a typical *ad personam* mode, e.g.

- [29.] *Najpierw mi wyrzucasz, że to, że tamto, a później sam tak robisz?! Bez sensu!*
 [First you reproach me saying that's not enough and now you're doing that yourself?! That's utter nonsense.]

Statements by politicians often contain scenarios illustrating the lack of efficiency or purpose in actions, which is used to discredit political opponents. It is sometimes the case that the 'bez sensu' expression is also used to stress the expressiveness of an argument. This is what a leading PSL (Polish People's Party)

politician said about Law and Justice party's post-election (2018 local elections) activities to form a coalition:¹⁸

- [30.] – *Wolne żarty. Już nie mogą czegoś bardziej inteligentnego zrobić, tylko takie bez sensu chwytły. No nie, żalodne – mówi nam jeden z ważnych działaczy PSL. Wczoraj Kosiniak-Kamysz spotykał się w stolicy z partyjnymi baronami, którzy odpowiadają za negocjacje w terenie. Dostał owację na stojąco. Atmosfera była znakomita, bo przed wyborami obawiano się klęski. A czy boją się losu przystawki? – Jestem ciężkostrawny jako przystawka – mówi lider PSL.*
- [– What a joke. Can't they do anything more intelligent than such nonsensical ploys. Come on, it's pathetic – says one of the key figures in Polish People's Party. Yesterday, in the capital Kosiniak-Kamysz met party barons. He got a standing ovation. The mood was excellent, because before elections they were afraid of failure. Aren't they afraid of becoming just an hors d'oeuvre? – I'm stodgy as an hors d'oeuvre – says the leader of Polish People's Party.]

Then, when referring to the problem of the legal discrimination of women in Poland, Jarosław Kaczyński raised the issue of propagandist social postulates related to the issue of *gender* included in the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention:¹⁹

- [31.] „Wiem, że do ideału jest bardzo daleko, tylko nie wszystko da się załatwić przy pomocy prawa – prawo jest w porządku, praktyka się poprawia, natomiast w tej chwili wojna z tym genderem (...) jest w tym wymiarze prawa międzynarodowego w istocie bez sensu” – dodał. [“I know that the perfect situation is still far away, but not everything can be achieved by establishing new laws – the law is good, the practices are getting better, but now the war with that gender (...) in the sphere of international law is essentially pointless”, he added.]

In his statement about the Kukiz'15 party, Janusz Korwin-Mikke used the 'bez sensu' expression to support his argument which basically refused the movement the right to function in the Sejm [lower chamber of the Polish parliament]²⁰:

¹⁸ https://www.fakt.pl/wydarzenia/polityka/schetyna-zje-kosiniaka/ghnf8on?utm_source=viasg_fakt&utm_medium=direct&utm_campaign=leo_automatic&srcc=ucs&utm_v=2 [accessed on: 15.03.2019].

¹⁹ <https://www.gosc.pl/doc/4643655.Kaczynski-Jestem-dosc-optimistyczny-ws-wycofania-procedury-z> [accessed on: 15.03.2019].

²⁰ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/418370-korwin-mikke-atakuje-kukiz15-tego-typu-ruch-jest-bez-sensu> [accessed on: 15.03.2019].

- [32.] *Kiedy Kukiz'15 działa w Sejmie w ten sposób, że jak jest ważne głosowanie, to dziesięciu głosuje za, dziesięciu przeciw, a dziesięciu wstrzymuje się od głosu. Istnienie tej partii jest zupełnie zbędne, mogłoby jej równie dobrze nie być. Tego typu ruch jest bez sensu. Musi to być partia o jakimś programie* [When Kukiz'15 operates in the Sejm in such a way that when there is a major vote ten /deputies/ vote for, ten against, and ten withhold. The existence of that party is completely unnecessary, it might as well not exist. Such a movement is pointless. There must be a party with a manifesto].

The studied phraseme can also amplify the thesis on the pointlessness of spending time on matters devoid of any social value. The expression 'bez sensu' fulfilled such a function in a Facebook post by Jakub Żulczyk, a writer:²¹

- [33.] *Po internecie krąży "wypowiedź" Krystyny Pawłowicz nt. samobójstwa Kacpra z Gorczyzna k. Łodzi. Jeśli ktoś nie wie – chłopak był gejem, zabił się, bo go zaszczuto.*

Wypowiedzi pani Pawłowicz nie będę cytował, bo bez sensu, moralnie i intelektualnie jest to warte mniej niż zawartość toi toia pod koniec festiwalu muzycznego.

[On the internet, there is a "statement" by Krystyna Pawłowicz about the suicide of Kacpra from Gorczyn n. Łódź. If someone is not aware: the boy was gay, he killed himself because he was persecuted.

I will not quote Pawłowicz's statement because it would be pointless, it is morally and intellectually worth less than the contents of a portable toilet at the closing hours of a music festival.]

In Waldemar Kuczyński's tweet the application of the 'bez sensu' expression indicated the scenario of an irreparable and yet avoidable loss, while stressing the harmfulness of individual interests:²²

- [34.] *Radek Sikorski napisał prawdę. 96 osób poszło bez sensu do ziemi, bo jedna z tych osób chciała być na czas w Katyniu.* [Radek Sikorski wrote the truth. 96 people pointlessly ended up six feet under because one of those people wanted to be in Katyn on time.]

²¹ <https://www.facebook.com/jakub.zulczyk/posts/po-internecie-kr%C4%85%C5%BCy-wypowied%C5%BA-krystyny-paw%C5%82owicz-nt-samob%C3%B3jstwa-kacpra-z-gorczyzn/1468669583222633/> [accessed on: 15.03.2019].

²² <https://twitter.com/panwaldemar/status/829790926507823109> [accessed on: 15.03.2019].

In behavioural strategies, 'bez sensu' is a thesis which amplifies the persuasive force of **advice** and **warnings**. Consider the following announcement of action – the reaction to it was an attempt to cause a change of the decision:

- [35.] *Pójdę do dentysty, ale dopiero w przyszłym tygodniu.* [I'll go to the dentist but next week] (act of undertaking)
Bez sensu, idź jutro rano, będziesz miał to z głowy. [Nonsense, go tomorrow morning, get it over and done with] (argumentum ad quietem)
Bez sensu, jutro jest taniej, zaoszczędzisz sobie. [Nonsense, tomorrow will be cheaper, you'll save money] (argumentum ad carotam)
Bez sensu, jak będziesz zwlekał, to będzie za późno. [Nonsense, if you delay it will be too late] argumentum ad consequentiam)
Bez sensu, do tego czasu będzie bolało nie do zniesienia. [Nonsense, by then you won't be able to stand the pain] (argumentum ad metum)

The different ideational variants of the premises indicated above constitute components or various arguments at the pragmatic level – the initial thesis 'bez sensu' of each statement makes the premises gain in their expressiveness, and the whole sounds more convincing than in the possible variants without any initial thesis.

'Bez sensu' can also amplify refusal as a reaction to an **act of proposition** and it then constitutes the persuasive element of the **argument of redundancy**:

- [36.] *Może razem popracujemy nad twoim zadaniem?* [Maybe we should work together on your task?]
Bez sensu, lepiej zrób swoje, ja sobie sam poradzę. [Nonsense, you'd better do yours, I'll cope with mine]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the 'bez sensu' phraseme can also fulfil the amplifying function for negotiations at the **meta-discursive level**. That occurs during the questioning the pragmatic conditions of directive acts of speech, which in the perception of a recipient, i.e. the assumed performer of an action, constitute unjustified demands and requests and unfounded proposals, e.g.

- [37.] *Oddaj mi ten telefon.* [Give me the phone]
Bez sensu, przecież to nie ja go zabrałem. [Nonsense, it wasn't me who took it]
- [38.] *Jak wrócisz, daj znać proszę.* [Let me know when you come back]
Bez sensu, nigdzie nie wychodziłem. [Nonsense, I haven't gone anywhere]

Conclusion

At the imaging level, the ‘bez sensu’ phraseme is related to depicting scenarios of failure, wastefulness, disloyalty, and expected or actual harm. In some cases, it is also a thesis which indicates the lack of merit in an action. At the logic-semantic level, it indicates firm rejection/ lack of acceptance of the proposed content. Usually, that reaction is triggered by the detected inconsistency of the argumentation, in reference to a standard interpretation based on heuristic principles. One should remember that the lack of logical entailment suggested by the ‘bez sensu’ expression is either the result of successful intellectual operations or, in contrast, lack of specific logic competences. A major function of the studied phraseme is its amplification of the argumentative force of a communication. It serves the function of a *persuasive springboard* – it usually precedes and amplifies the arguments used in conversations at various levels of communication. One negative outcome of using it is the introduction of distance to an interpersonal contact, and in some cases the sense of intellectually debasing the sender of a communication. In the article, I used several examples of media-based political statements to show that ‘bez sensu’ can support an act of discrediting a political opponent. In internet posts and comments, ‘bez sensu’ indicates shortcomings in politicians’ competences, the lack of merit in specific political actions and the resulting benefits, and it places emphasis on social harm. ‘Bez sensu’ can also be used as a way to undermine an argument – it emphasises the frailty of the premises functioning as the justifications of theses. At the interactive level, ‘bez sensu’ is a major component of emotive acts; in axiological-emotive strategies it is often the “emotive root”, the core component and the building block of the emotional tension between interlocutors. In this instance, it is mostly used to bring forward the experience of a negative emotion. In antagonistic strategies, it is a ruthless foundation of emotive rejection and distancing from an interlocutor, while in non-antagonistic strategies it emphasises emotional solidarity, e.g. it amplifies the negative image of a common “enemy”. The emotive potential of ‘bez sensu’ is also used in behavioural strategies, in which it amplifies the persuasive nature of advice and warnings, and it amplifies the reason of negotiations, at the meta-discursive level in reference to actions.

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Wiesław Czechowski

Bez sensu jako akt komunikowania

Streszczenie

Artykuł zawiera komunikacyjną analizę funkcji frazemu *bez sensu*. Autor rozważa konwersacyjne i dyskursywne możliwości użycia tej frazy. Stosuje w tym celu metodologię gramatyki komunikacyjnej, która pozwala na analizę komunikatów na poziomie ideacyjnym i interakcyjnym. W obszarze semantycznym *bez sensu* pozbawia wartości zdetrywializowany standard semantyczny. W konwersacjach jest reakcją na scenariusze sprzeczne z naturalną logiką i zdroworoządkowym przyczynowo-skutkowym biegiem rzeczy. Ważną funkcją jest eksponowanie scenariuszy nieskuteczności, marnotrawstwa, zbędności, braku korzyści, przewidywanych lub faktycznych szkód. Na poziomie interakcyjnym fraza *bez sensu* pełni funkcję wsparcia argumentacyjnej siły przekazu, jest też sposobem podważenia argumentacji – podkreśla słabość przesłanek. W strategiach aksjologicznych *bez sensu* jest ważną składową aktów emotywnych i budulcem napięcia emocjonalnego między rozmówcami. Tu przede wszystkim służy wyeksponowaniu przeżywanej negatywnej emocji. Ujemnym skutkiem użycia frazy *bez sensu* jest wprowadzanie do kontaktu interpersonalnego dystansu, a w niektórych przypadkach atmosfery intelektualnej degradacji nadawcy przekazu. W artykule znajduje się kilka przykładów medialnych wypowiedzi politycznych z frazą *bez sensu*, które służą dyskredytowaniu przeciwnika politycznego.

Słowa kluczowe: sens, gramatyka komunikacyjna, ideacja, interakcja, konwersacja, logika, perswazja, manipulacja, dyskurs potoczny, dyskurs medialny, dyskurs polityczny.

Bez sensu as an act of communication

Summary

The article presents a communication-based analysis of the function of the 'bez sensu' [meaningless/ pointless/makes no sense etc.] phraseme. The author discusses the conversational and discursive opportunities for using it. He applies the methodology of communicational grammar, which enables the analysis of communications at the ideational and interactive levels. Within the semantic level, 'bez sensu' removes the value of the trivialised semantic standard. In conversations, it is the reaction to scripts which contradict natural logic and the common-sensical cause-and-effect course of things. An important function is the bringing forward of scripts of failure, wastefulness, redundancy, and lack of benefit or expected or actual harm. At the interactive level, the 'bez sensu' expression fulfils the function of support for the argumentative power of a communication; it is also a measure of undermining an argumentation – it emphasises the frailty of its premises. In axiological strategies, 'bez sensu' is a major component of emotive acts and the building block of the emotional tension between interlocutors. In this instance, it is mostly used to bring forward the experience of a negative emotion. One negative outcome of using the 'bez sensu' expression is the introduction distance to interpersonal contact, and in some cases the sense of intellectually debasing the sender of a communication. The article includes several examples of media-based political statements with the 'bez sensu' expression, which are used for discrediting political opponents.

Keywords: meaning, communicational grammar, ideation, interaction, conversation, logic, persuasion, manipulation, colloquial discourse, media discourse, political discourse.

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Does standard interpretation exist? Empirical verification of selected assumptions of communicational grammar

Introduction

Researchers have developed many theories, mainly based on psychology and linguistics, the aim of which is to grasp and explain the mechanism that mediates in reaching agreement between two people, on the basis of the communications they send. One such theory is called communicational grammar.¹ Its assumption

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1 Communicational grammar is an extensive methodology, under constant development, of the study of communicational phenomena. Its assumptions were presented in the books by its originators: Grażyna Habrajska and Aleksy Awdiejew, as well as in numerous articles. Those interested in expanding their knowledge about it can easily find source texts (*Wprowadzenie do gramatyki komunikacyjnej*, Vol. 1, Oficyna Wydawnicza Leksem, Łask 2004, Vol. 2, Oficyna Wydawnicza Leksem, Łask 2006; *Komponowanie sensu w procesie odbioru komunikatów*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2010, also A. Awdiejew, *Gramatyka interakcji werbalnej*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Krakow 2007). In this study, I shall reference only those assumptions of communicational grammar which have a direct impact on the study of the issue. The manner of understanding the process of verbal interaction is essential for the problem discussed in this article, as it covers the sphere of the sender and the sphere of the recipient. The former constitutes in this case the primary area of interest, yet for clarity's sake other elements need also be briefly discussed. Awdiejew and Habrajska described

is that “communication is a partly realised interpersonal contact, the aim of which is [...] to coordinate the joint activity of a community ensuring the community’s most comfortable conditions of survival.”² Linguistic communication and the resulting agreement, i.e. understanding and acceptance, often following earlier negotiations, of the content communicated in a message, is the method which leads to developing the principles of social cooperation (in a peaceful manner). However, how is it possible that agreement is achieved?

Communicational grammar, to the assumptions of which I shall refer, assumes that through human cognitive processes there emerge visions about the state of things which become preserved in people’s memory. They become generalised and as a result standard knowledge develops, which is common for all the users of a language. In their minds, that standard knowledge operates as ideational (representational) images, which are automatically elicited from memory if needed. For that purpose people use lexemes, which form a text. Individual elements of a text in the form of linguistic units do not possess autonomous meaning, i.e. they do not denote themselves – they rather direct recipients’ attention towards certain typical situations or states of things, which function in the minds of the persona communicating through ideational images. For example, in order to understand the word LEKARZ [a doctor], one needs to know the meanings of the words “ill”, “a patient” and “to treat”. It entails the vision of the typical (i.e. standard) appearance of a doctor, the equipment of a doctor’s exam room, as well as the examination itself, or writing out a prescription. Therefore, the linguistic unit is a trigger automatically eliciting from one’s memory a specific complex and non-divisible set of elements of a communicational situation, and of the procedures occurring in it. Therefore, the configuration of meaning conveyed in

verbal interaction as follows: “The starting point is the communicational intention of a sender expressed in the form of a cognitive representation [...], which can be divided into two parts: the ideational image [...] and the pragmatic intention [...]. Having realised the content of their own communicational intention, the sender proceeds to verbalising it, i.e. selecting the structural means of a language to produce a sequence of forms which a recipient can interpret as a communication produced specifically for them with a specific pragmatic intention. Within the process of verbalisation, the sender conveys a piece of information available within a system [...]; the piece of information is the result of the creative composition of the units of linguistic array available to the sender and the recipient, and it assumes that the sender uses a relevant non-systemic piece of information [...], which together with a piece of information available systemically enables the proper interpretation of the communication. A piece of information available systemically enables a standard interpretation of a communication in those cases when a recipient does not possess any other relevant pieces of information [...]” [Wprowadzenie..., Vol. 1, p. 30].

2 A. Awdziejew, G. Habrajka, *Komponowanie...*, p. 7 [unless indicated otherwise, all quotations in English were translated from Polish].

a communication occupies a much bigger area of reference than one might expect based on the formal organisation of the text.³

In the process of communication, ideational images function as semantic standards, i.e. inter-subjective generalised representations with a predicative-argumentative organisation.⁴ When constructing a text, the sender has to approximate their subjective vision to the set of those interpersonal semantic standards if the sender wants to be understood. Next, the assumption is that if a recipient wants to understand the meaning which the sender strives to convey, the recipient has to first view the text through the prism of semantic standards (conduct a standard interpretation), and in the next stage utilise the available non-standard knowledge, which can transform the original or standard meaning.⁵ That shorthand specification of the process of linguistic communication enables one to notice that the concept of communicational grammar is based, in this respect, on a certain set of assumptions. Verification of those assumptions on the basis of an analysis of material or social studies would strengthen the academic foundations of the methodology. In this article, I shall present the results of a study which aimed to verify one of the major assumptions of communicational grammar: the existence of the phenomenon of a standard interpretation.

Standard interpretation. Terminology

Standard interpretation “presents a generalised model of analysis of a communication by a virtual recipient, which consists of constructing [...] basic components of meaning which work together.”⁶ In other words, the assumption is that despite the reception of a communication being a subjective process, its course is to some extent pre-determined, since “a recipient, at certain stages of interpretation, progresses through specific standard references, common for most speakers of a language, while the later subjective extension of the interpretation will not contradict those standards.”⁷ The aim of the study, the results of which I discuss in this article, was to verify the veracity of the assumption. In other words, the aim was to find an answer to the question whether it is true that in the

3 Cf. A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie...*, p. 188.

4 A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie...*, Vol. 1, p. 43.

5 Such elements of knowledge which modify standard meaning include, e.g. one's familiarity with the political views of the sender, and knowledge based on the current conditions of the communicational situation in which interaction occurs. That enables one to notice, e.g. the use of irony in an interlocutor's statement, which requires one to apply the special procedure of the interpretation of meaning.

6 A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie...*, p. 9.

7 *Ibidem*, pp. 9–10.

process of interpreting a communication, individual real recipients reproduce the same mental path that a standard interpretation assumes.

In communicational grammar, it is important to notice the difference between the formal structure of text units (lexemes) and the plan of the content, which is conveyed through them: “at the level of content, a text does not possess a linear structure as its formal structure might suggest, while the relations between units are defined based on their inter-relations of meaning.”⁸ The linguistic form applied in a text may refer to ideational images of varying degrees of complexity – it may indicate parts of semantic standards, whole standards, their sets, or their sequences, i.e. scenarios.⁹ In communicational grammar it is eventually assumed that “[...] a text does not ‘convey’ meaning of a communication but rather only indicates the possible directions of its interpretation.”¹⁰ Interpretation, then, mainly consists of reproducing the systemic pieces of information included in a text, both those conveyed explicitly and those assumed. A recipient includes in that process also the set of non-systemic pieces of information which they possess since the process of interpretation is subjective in nature – each interpreter has a different stock of pieces of information relevant for the interpretation and strives to achieve their communicational goals.¹¹ Because of these various conditions in which text interpretation occurs, the cognitive representation (expressed in an ideational image and pragmatic intention) reproduced by an individual recipient is usually not equivalent to the sender’s cognitive representation, being only its approximation.

Time-space scenario in communicational grammar

The images of the world retained in memory can take one of two forms: fixed images, i.e. such which do not change in time or space (static images of states), and moving (dynamic) images of events, which exist as changing configurations altering over time and space. Awdiejew and Habrajska defined scenarios as follows:

In the case of events, various types of images combine in human minds in logically structured wholes, often referred to as scenarios. Scenarios form at the syntagmatic level of structuring where individual cognitive images are bound in sequences or which exist simultaneously. Scenarios can be represented as extensive semantic patterns, which include sequences of individual predicate-argument systems, both in

⁸ A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie...*, Vol. 1, p. 22.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 22–23.

¹⁰ A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie...*, p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

the form of events and states. Their co-existence is a result of the requirements of the coherence of meaning within the courses of typical generalised situations.¹²

Between the individual elements which exist in a scenario, there often exist cause-and-effect relations. In line with the assumption of there being a standard interpretation, predicates which introduce event scenarios¹³ determine the course of the process of interpretation requiring a recipient to reproduce the standard interpretative path. In other words, in order to understand the meaning of a statement which includes a predicate which introduces an event scenario, a recipient reproduces a systemically defined sequence of semantic standards which, even though not expressed at the text level, are essential to complete the meaning of a communication. Therefore, in order to understand the meaning of such predicates as *przepraszać* [to apologise], *chronić* [to protect], or *wybacząć* [to forgive], it is necessary to realise some previous states and events which caused the predicates, i.e. develop appropriate scenarios.

Below, by indicating a few strategic steps, I shall present a detailed discussion of the interpretative processes which according to the methodology of communicational grammar occur when interpreting four statements of my choosing, which will constitute the basis for verifying the hypothesis tested in this study.¹⁴ Those statements are: “Prawnik powinien przeprosić” [The lawyer should apologise], “Wyznanie znanego aktora: jestem gotowy wybaczyć” [Confession by well-known actor: I’m ready to forgive], “Chrońmy gatunek culex pipiens” [Let us protect the species *Culex pipiens*], “Matka przedszkolaka z przedszkola nr 12 w Łęczycy: jestem zbulwersowana” [Mother of a kindergarten pupil from kindergarten no. 12 in Łęczycy: I am appalled].

One can assume that the predicate *przepraszać* within the standard interpretation could open the following scenario:

UCZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to hurt] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂) → PRZEPRASZAĆ [to apologise to] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂, (FOR) UCZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING))

The lexeme “przepraszać” used in the text evokes a sequence of events when an earlier actant had led to a situation which was unfavourable for someone. Only

¹² A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie...*, pp. 104–105.

¹³ In communicational grammar, those units are called hyperterms, cf. A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie...*, Vol. 1, p. 72–73.

¹⁴ The survey which I used for the study covered more examples of statements, yet the permitted length of the article prevented me from presenting all the results. I shall discuss all the results of the survey in my forthcoming book.

once that stage has been considered in the process of interpretation can one fully understand the content which underlies the word. Having reproduced the scenario, a recipient acquires a complement of the meaning included in the text even though at the level of its formal structure there exists only the lexeme “przeprosić”.

Next, one can assume that for the predicate *wybaczać* the time-space scenario could take the following form:

UCZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to apologise] (SOMEONE₂, SOMEONE₁) → PRZEPROSIĆ [to apologise to] (SOMEONE₂, SOMEONE₁) (optionally as this stage can be omitted, it is not required in the scenario) → WYBACZYĆ [to forgive] (SOMEONE₂, SOMEONE₁)

As in the previous example, the introduction in the text of the lexeme “wybaczyć” unavoidably triggers a sequence in which first there must have occur an action which led to a sense of harm in the person now ready to perform the act of forgiving.

Similar to the previous examples, the predicate *chronić* acquires meaning only when the process of interpretation includes the element of a threat. The situation of a threat is not expressed at the text level, yet to fulfil the meaning, the threat must be realised. Therefore, one can assume that the standard interpretation of the predicate *chronić* requires one to recreate the following sequence:

ISTNIEĆ [to exist] (SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁) & POTRZEBNYM/WARTOŚCIOWYM BYĆ [to be necessary/valuable] (SOMEONE₂, SOMETHING₂) → CZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₂, SOMETHING₂) & NIEBEZPIECZNYM [dangerous] > BYĆ [to be] (SOMETHING₂, (FOR) SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁) = ZAGRAŻAĆ [to threaten] (SOMEONE₂/SOMETHING₂, SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁) → POWSTRZYMAĆ [to prevent] {SOMEONE₃, SOMEONE₂ (FROM) CZYNIĆ [form doing] (SOMEONE₂, SOMETHING₂) & NIEBEZPIECZNYM [dangerous] > BYĆ [to be] (SOMETHING₂, (FOR) SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁)

The scenario introduced by the predicate *zbulwersować się* could take the following form:

ZROBIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING) & NIEWŁAŚCIWYM [inappropriate] > BYĆ [to be] (SOMETHING) → ZBULWERSOWAĆ SIĘ [to become appalled] (SOMEONE₂, (WITH) SOMEONE₁, (ABOUT) ZROBIĆ [doing] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING))

The scenarios proposed above are examples of standard interpretations evoked by the selected lexemes. According to the assumptions of communicational grammar, one should assume that every recipient when interpreting a text which includes those words is going to realise that exact sequence of events, i.e. they are going to perform a mental process consisting of recreating the missing elements of the scenario in order to make the meaning complete.

The subcategorisation of arguments in semantic standards

The phenomenon of the subcategorisation of arguments in semantic standards is of major importance for the study procedure applied in the discussed study, as the “presence of a specific verb which fulfils the function of a predicate in a text does not determine the type of the predicate-argument system in a finite manner.”¹⁵ The same verbs may open at the text level various types of predicate-argument systems depending on the nouns included in the text in specific argument positions. The difference is clearly visible when considering the following texts: “Matka karmi dziecko” [Mother is feeding the child], and “Ojciec karmi dziecko” [Father is feeding the child]. Both texts refer to the same general pattern:

KARMIC [to feed] (SOMEONE, SOMEONE ELSE),

yet the meaning of the predicate-argument system of KARMIC [to feed] (MOTHER, CHILD) is broader in terms of reference, i.e. it allows more variants than the predicate-argument system of KARMIC [to feed] (FATHER, CHILD)¹⁶.

Please consider that the introduction of a certain noun instead of the argument impacts the process of completing the meaning of the statement in such a way that it directs and limits the extent of standard interpretations. For example, the role an actant plays defines the array of its actions and the area of activity, and specifies the remaining actors who exist with the actant within the space in a standard version. One should discuss how those processes progress in the analysed examples.

1. The subcategorisation of arguments in the predicate-argument system for the statement “Prawnik powinien przeprosić.”

The fact of introducing in the predicate-argument system opened by the predicate “przepraszać” the first argument, i.e. the actant, in the form of the noun “prawnik” determines specific actors in the standard interpretation, who can appear in the position of the second argument, i.e. in the position of the person who deserves an apology. In my mind, that might be the lawyer’s client or another party in a court case (the judge, the accuser, the jurors, the audience). Depending

¹⁵ A. Awdziejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie...*, p. 136.

¹⁶ Cf., *ibidem*, pp. 136–140.

on which noun appears in the position of the second argument of the predicate-argument system, the action for which the lawyer should apologise is replaced with another action of the lawyer. However, that action always takes a negative value (E-)¹⁷ since it is understood as an action which hurts someone, and in normative terms it assumes a negative value. One can assume that in a standard situation the lawyer can offend someone during a court hearing or cause a situation which may be somehow unfavourable for their client.

2. The subcategorisation of arguments in a predicate-argument system for the statement “Wyznanie znanego aktora: jestem gotowy wybaczyć.”

The noun “aktor” which appears in the place of the first argument in the predicate-argument system opened by the predicate “wybaczyć” somewhat limits the scope of ideational images which may appear in the standard interpretation, yet it still allows diverse interpretative paths, as for that professional group it is typical to have considerable transparency in terms of private affairs and openness to displaying unusual signs of emotional fragility. Therefore, in a standard situation an actor may direct an act of forgiveness towards people who accompany them in their professional life (other actors or directors), but they can also state their willingness to forgive their wives or girlfriends for some actions. Please note that the predicate “wybaczać” framed in the standard manner determines the scope of earlier actions – those actions undertaken in relation to the person who performs the act of forgiving must possess negative evaluation (E-).

3. The subcategorisation of arguments in the standard interpretation of the statement “Chrońmy gatunek culex pipiens.”

The predicate-argument system in the analysed example opens with the predicate “chronić” [protect] introduces in the position of the first argument the noun “ludzie” [people], and in the position of the second argument – a species of an animal (as per the method of recording applied in the selected methodology: ZWIERZĘCIA [of animal] >GATUNEK [species]). Thus, the eventual structure is as follows:

CHRONIĆ [to protect] (PEOPLE, OF ANIMAL>SPECIES); CULEX PIFIENS (SPECIES)¹⁸.

¹⁷ Awdiejew and Habrajska stated that: “Semantic standards, which constitute part of the semantic system, possess [...] standard values as the images of reality presented by them connect to their normative evaluations. Those evaluations may possess very distinct and intense character, e.g. (E-) ZACHOROWAĆ [to become ill] (SOMEONE) [...]” [in:] A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie...*, Vol. 1, p. 297.

¹⁸ That is the so-called secondary predicate. Awdiejew and Habrajska defined it as follows: “When a sender’s ideational image is more complex than the semantic standard, i.e. the semantic standard cannot contain all the elements of the ideational image, the sender

What is important is that specific animals can be considered, not all the animals there are – in a standard situation those are not bacteria (as those we rather kill than protect) or animals which are considered parasites or pests. The standard interpretation also requires the species to be endangered to become extinct. Therefore, the time-space scenario opened by the predicate “chronić” with the complement of the object of the actions, i.e. the species of the animal, will have the following standard interpretation:

ISTNIEĆ [to exist] (SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁) & POTRZEBNYM/WARTOŚCOWYM BYĆ [to be necessary/valuable] (SOMEONE₂, SOMETHING₂) → CZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₂, SOMETHING₂) & NIEBEZPIECZNYM [dangerous] > BYĆ [to be] (SOMETHING₂, (FOR) SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁) = ZAGRAŻAĆ [to threaten] (SOMEONE₂/SOMETHING₂, SOMEONE₁/SOMETHING₁) → POWSTRZYMAĆ [to prevent] (SOMEONE₃, SOMEONE₂ (FROM) CZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₂, SOMETHING₂))

What is worth noticing is the complex evaluation of the elements of the ideational image triggered by the predicate “chronić”. The person who protects received a positive evaluation (E+); the object subject to protection, in a standard situation, also receives a positive value (E+) as it connects with the normative evaluation resulting from the relationship that normally we protect only those objects which we consider as beneficial. Then the antagonist, who introduces an action dangerous for the protected object, inherits the normative negative evaluation (E-).

What is noteworthy is that during a non-standardised survey among the study subjects conducted after the study I found that most of them did not recognise the Latin name of the animal: *Culex pipens* is the common house mosquito. Therefore, a standard interpretation could not have been initialised.¹⁹ This fact has an interesting reflection in the results (vide below).

4. The subcategorisation of arguments in the predicate-argument system for the statement “Matka przedszkolaka z Przedszkola nr 12 w Łęczycy: jestem zbulwersowana.”

introduces in their statement such specifications of the primary predicate, in the form of, e.g. secondary predicates, which can facilitate the recipient's recreation of the approximate ideational image. Such specifications, being separate semantic standards, are perceived as projections of additional ideational images, coherent in compositional terms with the primary predicate. [...] The aim of the thus developed meaning is to approximate the content of the statement being interpreted to the sender's cognitive interpretation,” [in:] A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie...*, Vol. 1, p. 45.

¹⁹ That also enables one to conclude, though with considerable caution, that standard interpretation can be a process which is automatic and thoughtless.

In the analysed statement, the actant in the form of “matka przedszkolaka” determines the remaining actors who might appear in the ideational image, expressed using the predicate-argument system ZBULWERSOWAĆ SIĘ [to become appalled] (PRZEDSZKOLAKA [of kindergarten pupil] > MATKA [mother], TOWARDS SOMEONE, ABOUT SOMETHING). As per the principles of standard interpretation, in the position of the second argument there can appear nouns naming the employees of the kindergarten, the scope of actions performed by them in the position of the third argument, yet there is a major limitation: those actions will normally assume negative evaluations and one might expect that they will express various kinds of omissions by the employees which lead to dangerous situations, or which feature a potential to cause such situations.

It is extremely difficult (and risky if one intends to retain academic reliability) to predict all the possible subcategorisations of arguments in the standard interpretation for individual examples, as in order to refer to them a scientist would have to only capitalise on their competences, which for obvious reasons are imperfect (mainly because it is marked by individual experiences). Therefore, I shall introduce an auxiliary rule of interpreting survey results, namely that if an ideational image is referenced several times and by various respondents, it is considered as standard. It is difficult to specify how many such references there should be in relation to the study sample, which is why it is necessary to make an arbitrary decision. I shall assume that the same answer provided by 8 people proves there exists a semantic standard and that enables one to consider such an interpretation as a sign of standard interpretation.

Study method

In order to verify the hypothesis of the existence of a standard interpretation, it was necessary to establish the appropriate procedure and develop a special tool. I conducted the study using an anonymous survey (a paper-and-pencil version). The study subjects were given short texts (which imitated announcements on news websites) and asked to indicate the reasons which caused the texts to be created. As I have already mentioned, those statements were:

Prawnik powinien przeprosić [The lawyer should apologise],

Wyznanie znanego aktora: jestem gotowy wybaczyć [Confession by a well-known actor: I'm ready to forgive],

Chrońmy gatunek culex pipiens [Let us protect the species culex pipiens],

Matka przedszkola z Przedszkola nr 12 w Łęczycy: jestem zbulwersowana [Mother of a kindergarten pupil from Kindergarten No. 12 in Łęczycza: I am appalled].

I intentionally selected sufficiently general examples to make sure that interpretations aimed at finding the causes could develop in any direction and cover various situations, in line with the individual experiences of the study subjects.²⁰ A large diversity among the answers provided by the respondents would indicate that the assumption about a standard interpretation was false. I treated agreement in terms of the indicated causes as an argument in favour of the dominance of the model of a standard interpretation. In other words, I assumed that the hypothesis of the existence of a standard interpretation would be proven if the study subjects in their interpretations referred to the same semantic standards which exist in the standard form of the time-space scenario triggered by a predicate.

Study group

The study was conducted on a sample which consisted of students of journalism and social communication. They were students of first-year bachelor's studies and first-year master's studies. The group totalled 79 subjects. It also included people from Ukraine. I assumed that the variety of the study population positively influenced the value of the results. It proved that the assumption of communicational grammar being tested was not limited to conditions specific for Poles, which in turn offers basis for assuming its universality.

I considered the group adequate for studying the phenomenon since the persons included in it came from geographically diverse regions and diverse social groups, which means there existed potential for individual interpretations to be revealed in the answers they provided.

Standardisation of survey results

The causes indicated by the study subjects took the form of short descriptions. It was necessary to reduce them to a standard form and compare with the above-discussed standard time-space scenarios appropriate for each of the examples being tested. As a result, I developed several categories for every example. I created them by selecting common ideational images to which the study subjects referred, even though they used different lexemes in their statements. I presented the results of the categorisation in tables, defining every ideational image using a semantic

²⁰ One should consider as a sign of a non-standard interpretation the fact that, e.g. the actor forgave the fact it was necessary to wait long for a taxi or that the actor's friend playing with him forgot his role and caused a theatre play to flop, while the mother could be appalled by the fact that kindergarten classes started at 8 a.m. or that the school year in Poland starts, as per the law, on 1 September, which might interfere with her vacation plans.

standard, indicating the number of respondent references to a standard, and quoting example statements which I assigned to a category.

A sheet prepared by one study subject could include more than one cause which the person deemed to be the cause of the statement tested in the survey, or a respondent might not have indicated such a cause at all, which is why the number of answers acquired in the survey differs from the number of persons who participated in the study. In every case, I analysed all the interpretations provided by the respondents. Answers which did not fit the defined categories were also of major importance – I treated them as a sign of a non-standard interpretation.

Below I present the results of the survey for individual examples.

Prawnik powinien przeprosić

As I have already mentioned, the standard scenario for the predicate “przepraszać” has the form:

UCZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to hurt] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂) → PRZEPRASZAĆ [to apologise to] (SOMEONE₁, SOMEONE₂, (FOR) UCZYNIĆ [for doing] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING))

I have already indicated that the noun “prawnik” appears in the position of the first argument (SOMEONE₁). In their answers, respondents mentioned in the position of the second argument (SOMEONE₂) such persons as: sędzia [a judge], klient [a client], oskarżony [a defendant].

Next, it was necessary to define which actions of the lawyer the respondents deemed to be the basis for the later apology and whether the actions fulfilled the pattern assumed for standard interpretation: UCZYNIĆ [to do] (PRAWNIK [lawyer], SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (PRAWNIK [lawyer], SOMEONE₂).

In Table 1, I present the categories of answers which respondents provided in the survey.

Table 1. Standard interpretations for the statement “Prawnik powinien przeprosić”

| Semantic standard | Number of references | Example answers provided in the survey |
|---|----------------------|--|
| ZROBIĆ [to do] (PRAWNIK [a lawyer], SOMETHING) & POPEŁNIĆ [to commit] (PRAWNIK [a lawyer], MISTAKE), ZAWODOWY [professional] (BŁĄD [a mistake]) | 59 | “popętnił błąd” [made a mistake], “Prawnik podjął błędną linię obrony” [the lawyer engaged in an incorrect line of defence], “Pomyłkowo powiedział błędny przepis” [he quoted the wrong provision by mistake], “udzielił błędnej porady” [he offered incorrect advice], “popętnił błąd podczas rozprawy” [he made a mistake during a case hearing] |

| | | |
|---|----|---|
| ZROBIĆ [to do] (PRAWNIK [a lawyer], SOMETHING) & OBRAZIĆ [to offend] (PRAWNIK [a lawyer], SOMEONE) | 31 | “powiedział coś niestosownego” [he said something inappropriate], “Obraził kogoś” [He offended someone], “Prawnik obraził drugą stronę postępowania” [The lawyer offended the other party in the case], “Bo kogoś obraził, swojego klienta” [Because he offended someone, his client], “Podczas rozprawy sądowej prawnik mógł użyć niewłaściwego słownictwa, nadużyć swoich praw i kompetencji, a to z kolei mogło prowadzić do obrazy uczestników rozprawy” [During the court hearing, the lawyer might have used incorrect vocabulary, abuse his rights and competences, which in turn might have led to offending the parties in the case] |
| UCZYNIĆ [to do] (PRAWNIK [lawyer], SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (PRAWNIK [lawyer], SOMEONE) | 11 | “Prawnik wygłosił o kimś krzywdzącą opinię” [The lawyer uttered an unjust opinion about someone], “Prawnik zrobił komuś coś złego” [The lawyer did something wrong to someone], “... ludzi, którym zrobił jakąś krzywdę” [... people to whom he did harm], “komuś zaszkodził” [he harmed someone] |
| UCZYNIĆ [to do] (PRAWNIK [lawyer], SOMETHING) & NIESKUTECZNIE [unsuccessfully] > DZIAŁAĆ [to act] (PRAWNIK [lawyer]). | 5 | “nie zdołał obronić swojego klienta na rozprawie” [he did not manage to defend his client in the hearing], “rozczarował swojego klienta, któremu obiecywał coś lepszego niż się stało” [he disappointed his client, whom he had promised something better than that which happened], “osobę, którą reprezentował, jeśli przegrał sprawę” [the person whom he represented lost the case] |

Source: own study.

Five times the fact that the lawyer's actions were unsuccessful was indicated as the reason why he should apologise: UCZYNIĆ [to do] (PRAWNIK [lawyer], SOMETHING) & NIESKUTECZNIE [unsuccessfully] > DZIAŁAĆ [to act] (PRAWNIK [lawyer]). Based on my own competence, I would not indicate such an interpretation as a standard one, yet the fact that similar observations were made by several people indicates a certain trend in thinking and enables a conclusion that a similar interpretation is becoming generalised.²¹

I recorded four manifestations of non-standard interpretations for the example. Two study subjects referred contemplatively to the attitude evaluating the sender

²¹ That, in turn, leads to a statement (which, however, requires further extensive study) that semantic standards undergo modifications. They are the outcomes of generalisations yet they are not universal in nature. That observation opens an interesting study area for applying the methodology of communicational grammar.

of the statement “Prawnik powinien przeprosić”. The subjects described it in the following manner: “Prawnik postąpił w sposób nieaprobowany przez kogoś i ta osoba uważa słusznie lub nie, że prawnik powinien przeprosić” [The lawyer acted in a way that was not approved by someone and that person thinks rightly or not that the lawyer should apologise], and “Prawnik wcześniej dopuścił się karygodnego czynu zdaniem osoby, która mówi/zapisuje powyższe zdanie” [The lawyer had committed a reprehensible act according to the person who said/recorded the statement]. One person assumed a justifying attitude and wrote: “Ale też prawnik jest zwykłym człowiekiem i może przeprosić w sytuacjach, gdy np. wylał na kogoś kawę” [Oh, but a lawyer is human, too, and he can apologise in a situation when, e.g. he spills coffee over someone], indicating as the reason for the apology a situation other than a typical court situation. One person indicated, among many other standard interpretations, also one in which “może powinien przeprosić swoją żonę za coś” [maybe he should apologise to his wife for something], introducing in the position of the second argument in the standard a person from outside the typical scope for a lawyer.

An overview of the answers provided by the study subjects in reference to the studied example enables the following statement. Based on the analysis of the processes of the subcategorisation of the arguments in the referenced semantic standard, one might conclude that the lawyer was viewed only through the prism of his professional function, in a stereotypical communication situation occurring in a court room and in his work with a client, i.e. in an environment of people fulfilling specific functions typical for that communication situation (defendant, judge, etc.) and engaging in actions solely from a scope of those typical for the profession. The key point is that in a standard situation the predicate “przepraszać” requires the earlier actions of an actant to assume a negative evaluation (E-). The answers provided by the study subjects fulfilled that requirement in every case (the semantic standard “obrazić kogoś” [offend someone], “popęłnić błąd” [make a mistake], and “skrzywdzić” [harm] traditionally are assigned a negative value).

Wyznanie znanego aktora: jestem gotowy wybaczyć

The standard scenario opened by the predicate “wybaczyć” [to forgive] is the following for the studied example:

UCZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (SOMEONE, AKTOR [an actor]) → PRZEPROSIĆ [to apologise to] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [an actor]) (optionally as this stage can be omitted, it is not required in the scenario) → WYBACZYĆ [to forgive] (AKTOR [an actor], SOMEONE)

In their answers, study subjects listed in the position of the missing argument (SOMEONE) such persons as: a partner, director, the media/journalists. References to the actor's parents appeared twice. Often the originator of the harmful behaviour was not defined.

The study subjects indicated several actions which required forgiveness of the actor's part, which I classified under several categories. I present this in Table 2.

Table 2. Standard interpretations for the statement "Wyznanie znanego aktora: jestem gotowy wybaczyć"

| Semantic standard | Number of references | Example answers provided in the survey |
|---|----------------------|--|
| UCZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [the actor]) | 20 | "Ktoś wyrządził mu krzywdę" [Someone did harm to him], "Tego aktora spotkała krzywda z czyjejs strony" [This actor was harmed by someone], "Ktoś sprawił przykrość aktorowi" [Someone caused the actor distress], "Warunek: ktoś musiał zachować się w nieodpowiedni sposób w stosunku do aktora" [Condition: someone must have behaved improperly towards the actor], "Ktoś zrobił aktorowi coś jednoznacznie złego" [Someone did something clearly bad to the actor] |
| POMÓWIĆ [to impute] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [the actor]) | 16 | "Aktor został zniesławiony" [The actor was libelled], "jego dobre imię mogło być zagrożone, a autorytet podważony" [his good name might have been threatened and his respect challenged], "rozsiewanie nedorzecznych plotek" [spreading wild rumours], "Kłamstwa o sobie ze strony dziennikarza/ publikacji w magazynie" [Lies about him from a journalist/ publication in a magazine], "nieustannie oskarżyli go o coś, co zaszkodziło jego karierze (np. o molestowanie nieletniej)" [he was wrongly accused of something which harmed his careers (e.g. about molesting a minor)], "Znany aktor został skrzywdzony/ oczerniony" [A well-known actor was harmed/defamed] |
| ZDRADZIĆ [to betray] (PARTNER, AKTORA [the actor]) | 14 | "Aktor został zdradzony" [The actor was cheated on], "... swojej żonie wszystkie jej zdrady z innymi aktorami i w ogóle z kim popadnie" [... all his wife's infidelities with other actors and with anyone else around], "Aktor został zdradzony przez partnera życiowego lub zawodowego" [The actor was betrayed by his life or professional partner], "Zdradziła go żona!" [His wife was unfaithful to him!], "Aktor został zdradzony przez swoją dziewczynę" [The actor's girlfriend cheated on him] |

| | | |
|--|----|--|
| OBRAZIĆ [to offend] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [the actor]) | 13 | "Ktoś obraził aktora" [Someone offended the actor], "Aktor został przeze kogoś obrażony" [The actor was offended by someone], "Został kiedyś obrażony" [He was offended at some point] |
| OSZUKAĆ [to swindle] (REŻYSER [a director], AKTORA [the actor]) | 8 | "Kłótnia z reżyserem" [A falling out with a director], "Nie zatrudnienie go przez reżysera do filmu mimo wcześniejszych ustaleń" [Not being employed by a director for a film despite earlier arrangements], "Aktor nie otrzymał roli u swojego przyjaciela-reżysera" [The actor did not get a role from his friend the director], "Reżyser nie wziął do filmu tego aktora, choć mu to obiecał" [Director did not give the actor a role although he promised him that] |
| PRZEPROSIĆ [to apologise to] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [the actor], (FOR) SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [the actor])) | 5 | "Aktor został przez kogoś obrażony, ta osoba aktora przeprosiła" [The actor was offended by someone, the person apologised to the actor], "Znany aktor został przeproszony przez kogoś" [Someone apologised to a famous actor], "kiedy dziennikarz przeprosił" [when a journalist apologised] |

Source: own study.

Five people indicated that the possible reason which might have induced the actor to forgive was that the person who had caused him harm apologised to him. Even though the number of those answers was small, I did not consider the case as an example of a non-systemic interpretation, as the interpretation provided by the study subjects fits the standard interpretation opened by the predicate "wybaczyć", though it is an optional element. What is required is a previous experience of negligence.

Among all the answers provided by the study subjects, I found two which I considered to be manifestations of non-standard interpretations. One person indicated that the reason which led to the actor uttering the statement included in the survey was the fact that during an interview someone might have asked about the actor's childhood and as a result the actor admitted that he was ready to forgive past actions of one of his parents: "Pytanie w wywiadzie dot. trudnego dzieciństwa i zaniedbania przez jedno z rodziców" [Question in an interview regarding a difficult childhood and neglect by one of his parents]. Another person also referred to the actor's difficult situation from his childhood and wrote: "ojciec go bił, zniweczył jego dzieciństwo" [his father beat him, wrecked his childhood]. I considered those statements, though forming a coherent category, as non-standard, since they did not fulfil the requirement regarding the minimum number of indications among

all survey results. In other words, two instances of an interpretation among all the answers of the 79 study subjects do not form a basis for considering such an interpretation as standard.

When considering the answers of the study subjects regarding the discussed example, one can identify the typical interpretative paths the subjects took. When analysing the processes of the subcategorisation of the arguments in the quoted standards one might notice that the actor was perceived not only in reference to professional activities (director), but also, or even predominantly, through the prism of events which occurred in the actor's private life (wife, girlfriend, partner, parents) or those emerging in relation to his activities as a public figure (the media, journalists). Please note that the predicate "wybaczać" framed in the standard manner determines the scope of earlier actions undertaken in relation to the person who performs the act of forgiving. Those actions have to feature negative evaluation (E-). The interpretations indicated by the study subjects²² always referred to the standards with a traditionally assigned negative value: "skrzywdzić" [to harm], "pomówić" [to libel], "zdradzić" [to betray/cheat on], "obrazić" [to offend], "oszukać" [to swindle].

Chrońmy gatunek culex pipiens

The standard scenario for the analysed example could be transcribed as follows:

ISTNIEĆ [to exist] (CULEX PIPIENS) & POTRZEBNYM/WARTOŚCIOWYM [necessary/valuable] > BYĆ [to be] (CULEX PIPIENS) → CZYNIĆ [to do] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING₁) & NIEBEZPIECZNYM [dangerous] > BYĆ [to be] (SOMETHING₁, (FOR) CULEX PIPIENS) = ZAGRAŻAĆ [to threaten] (WYGINIĘCIE [extinction]²³, CULEX PIPIENS) → CHRONIĆ [to protect] {(SOMEONE₂, CULEX PIPIENS, (AGAINST) WYGINAĆ [to become extinct] (CULEX PIPIENS)}

In order to assume that in reference to this example study subjects applied a standard interpretation, their answers would have to include lexemes which invoke ideational images which in the above scenario are expressed in the form of individual semantic standards. In Table 3, I presented the survey results.

²² Some doubts can arise from the category PRZEPROSIĆ [to apologise to] (SOMEONE, AKTORA [the actor], (FOR) SKRZYWDZIĆ [for harming] (SOMEONE, AKTORA (the actor)), yet a more in-depth analysis of the structure of the semantic standard indicates that it also contains a reference to the ideational image which traditionally features a negative evaluation. Compare with the PRAWNIK example.

²³ WYGINAĆ [to become extinct] (CULEX PIPIENS)

Table 3. Interpretative standards for the statement “Chrońmy gatunek culex pipiens”

| Semantic standard | Number of references | Example answers provided in the survey |
|---|----------------------|---|
| ZAGRAŻAĆ [to threaten] (WYGINIĘCIE [extinction], CULEX PIPIENS) | 54 | “Gatunek culex pipiens jest zagrożony” [The species Culex pipiens is endangered], “Gatunek culex pipiens jest zagrożony wyginięciem” [The species Culex pipiens is threatened with extinction], “...gdyż grozi mu wyginięcie” [... as it is threatened with extinction], “Gatunek culex pipiens jest zagrożony wymarciem” [The species Culex pipiens is threatened with extinction], “Populacja gatunku culex pipiens zmniejszyła się w ciągu ostatniego roku o połowę” [To the population of the species Culex pipiens decreased by half in the last year] |
| WYGINAĆ [to become extinct] (CULEX PIPIENS) | 22 | “Istnieje ryzyko, że gatunek culex pipiens wyginie” [There is a risk that the species Culex pipiens might become extinct], “wymiera” [is dying out], “Gatunek culex pipiens jest na wymarciu” [The species Culex pipiens is becoming extinct], “ponieważ jest rzadkim gatunkiem” [because it is a rare species], “Gatunek culex pipiens prawdopodobnie jest na wymarciu lub bliski osiągnięcia tego stanu” [The species Culex pipiens is probably becoming extinct or close to it] |
| POTRZEBNYM/ WARTOŚCIOWYM [necessary/valuable] > BYĆ [to be] (CULEX PIPIENS) | 10 | “bo jest ważny dla ludzkości” [because it is important for humanity], “bo jest ważny i indywidualny” [because it is important and unique], “Gatunek culex pipiens jest ważny dla człowieczeństwa” [The species Culex pipiens is important for humanity] |

Source: own study.

Among the non-standard interpretations, of which I recorded 4, a certain tendency emerged: the study subjects indicated the harmful activities of human beings, which according to them have led the species to the brink of extinction. The following statements appeared: “ludzie polują na zwierzę lub niszczą środowisko – zabierają mu miejsce do życia lub pożywienie” [people hunt animals or destroy the environment – they take away their place for living or eating], “Kłusownicy coraz częściej polują, dla ich rogów i kłów” [Poachers hunt them, more and more, for their antlers and fangs], “Gatunek na wymarciu dodatkowo borykający się z niebezpieczeństwem tworzonym przez np. człowieka” [A species which is becoming extinct additionally struggles with the dangers created by, e.g. humans], “... ponieważ coraz więcej gatunków zwierząt wymiera przez działania człowieka” [... because more and more animal species are becoming extinct as a result of human activity].

Based on the analysis of the processes involved in the subcategorisation of the arguments in semantic standards which indicate the categories of the answers, one can note considerable compliance in terms of the selection of interpretation paths. This is also visible at the level of the survey answers. Among the lexemes used by the study subjects a clear pattern emerged (the expression “zagrożony wyginięciem” [threatened with extinction] appeared 22 times in that exact form). Another feature of the gathered material was that the study subjects often provided only one possible reason as the cause of the statement “Chrońmy gatunek *Culex pipiens*”.²⁴ I considered this to be an argument supporting the hypothesis of the existence of a standard interpretation.

At this point, reference should be made to evaluation in the standard interpretation of the studied example. As one might notice, that which is threatened with extinction (the common house mosquito in this case) automatically receives a positive value (E+), while the essence or the factor which causes the situation of endangerment receives a negative value (E-). As a result, the people appearing in non-standard interpretations as the originators of the situation of the threat inherit the negative value (E-). The interpretation patterns which deceived the study subjects led to a situation in which people were assigned a negative value (E-) while the common house mosquito received a positive value (E+).²⁵ The fact of considering that something requires protection results in the automatic assignment of a positive value.

Matka przedszkola z Przedszkola nr 12 w Łęczycy: jestem zbulwersowana

The scenario introduced by the predicate *zbulwersować się* in a standard interpretation (while retaining the same principles as in the above-discussed examples) could assume one of two forms. One of these is associated with the actions undertaken by the employees of the kindergarten which appalled the mother of one of the children. That scenario could be transcribed as follows:

²⁴ The results produced by the example illustrate the typical trait of ideological thinking, which features fairly uniform exclusively correct pattern of thinking, i.e. the only correct (considered as just) interpretation path. The interpretations provided for this example correspond to the assumptions of the ideology of ecologism (cf. A. Heywood, *Ideologie polityczne. Wprowadzenie*, trans. M. Habura, N. Orłowska, D. Stasiak, (ed. scientific) T. Żyro, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2008, pp. 273-297). That is yet another argument in favour of the claim that a standard interpretation is subject to transformations, i.e. it is possible to manage the changes within its scope. The study of the mechanisms which enable the changes is an area which demands study.

²⁵ Vide the notes on the awareness of the reference of the term “*Culex pipiens*” in the section “The subcategorisation of arguments in semantic standards, subsection c) The subcategorisation of arguments in the standard interpretation of the statement “Chrońmy gatunek *Culex pipiens*”.

ZROBIĆ [to do] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergartener>employee], SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [a kindergarten pupil>employee], DZIECKO [a child]) → ZBULWERSOWAĆ SIĘ [become appalled] {DZIECKA>MATKA [child>mother], (AGAINST) PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], (ABOUT) ZROBIĆ [to do] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], SOMETHING) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], DZIECKO [child])}

The other scenario expressing the standard interpretation considers the situation in which the employees of the kindergarten neglect their responsibilities and it can be transcribed in the following manner:

ZOBOWIĄZANYM > BYĆ [obliged > to be] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], ZROBIĆ [to do] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], COŚ [something])) → NIE ZROBIĆ [not to do] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], SOMETHING) & MÓC²⁶ > UCIERPIEĆ [to happen to>be harmed] (DZIECKO [child]) → ZBULWERSOWAĆ SIĘ [become appalled] {DZIECKA>MATKA [child's>mother], (AGAINST) PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], (ABOUT) NIE ZROBIĆ [not to do] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], SOMETHING) & MÓC > UCIERPIEĆ [to happen to>become harmed] (DZIECKO [child])}

In both cases, the predicate “zbulwersować” existing at the text level necessarily evokes, as one of the earlier elements of the scenario in a standard interpretation, a semantic standard which is traditionally assigned a negative value. Those elements are: SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], DZIECKO [child]) for the first scenario, and MÓC > UCIERPIEĆ [be able to > become harmed] (DZIECKO [child]) for the other.

At this point it is necessary to consider the survey results. I list the identified categories²⁷ and the examples of the study subjects' answers in Table 4.

²⁶ It introduces the potential possibility of the emergence of a situation. It is an optional fragment. The semantic standard may also take the form: UCIERPIEĆ [become harmed] (DZIECKO [child]). It is worth noting that even the potential possibility of the emergence of the situation in which a child may experience harm is normatively associated with a negative value.

²⁷ In the analysis of this example, I decided to break down the categories further. The first one (NIE DOPILNOWAĆ [to fail to care for] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], DZIECI [children]) & MÓC > UCIERPIEĆ [to be able to > become harmed] (DZIECI [children])) is strongly bound with the other one (NIE DOPILNOWAĆ [to fail to care for] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], DZIECI [children]) > ULEC [to become subject to] (DZIECKO [child], WYPADKOWI [an accident]) and, basically, could exist

Table 4. Standard interpretations for the statement “Matka przedszkola z Przedszkola nr 12 w Łęczycy: jestem zbulwersowana”

| Semantic standard | Number of references | Example answers provided in the survey |
|--|----------------------|--|
| NIE DOPILNOWAĆ [to fail to care for] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], DZIECI [children]) & MÓC> UCIERPIEĆ [be able to> become harmed] (DZIECI [children]) | 20 | “Panie prowadzące zajęcia przez większość czasu nie pilnują dzieci” [The teachers conducting the classes do not watch the children for the majority of the time], “Przedszkolanki z Przedszkola nr 12 w Łęczycy nie dopilnowały dzieci” [Kindergarten teachers from Kindergarten No. 12 in Łęczycy failed to care for the children], “Niedopilnowanie dzieci przez przedszkolankę” [Failure to care for children by a kindergarten teacher], “W przedszkolu nr 12 w Łęczycy doszło do zaniedbania przez wychowawców” [At kindergarten No. 12 in Łęczycy the carers were negligent], “W przedszkolu doszło do jakiegoś niedopatrzania względem dziecka” [At a kindergarten there was some sort of negligence regarding a child] |
| NIE DOPILNOWAĆ [to fail to care for] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee], DZIECI [children]) & ULEC [to become subject to] (DZIECKO [a child], WYPADKOWI [an accident]) | 17 | “zdarzył się wypadek, ucierpiała jej dziecko” [an accident occurred, her child got harmed], “W przedszkolu miało miejsce niebezpieczne zdarzenie” [A dangerous event occurred at the kindergarten], “Dziecko spadło ze schodów” [A child fell down the stairs], “że moje dziecko złamało sobie nogę” [that my child broke a leg], “Dziecko w przedszkolu zostało ugryzione przez kolegę” [A child in a kindergarten got bitten by another child] |

as a single category. However, in many of the answers of the study subjects assigned to the first category there appeared only that potential of harm occurring, which is not present in the other one, which was why I separated those categories. Similarly, the third category (NIEODPOWIEDNIO > ZACHOWAĆ SIĘ [improperly > to behave] (NAUCZYCIELKA [a teacher]) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (NAUCZYCIELKA [a teacher], DZIECKO [a child]) is so extensive that it fits the fourth category (KONTROWERSYJNIE > ZACHOWAĆ SIĘ [controversially > to behave] (PRZEDSZKOLA>PRACOWNIK [kindergarten>employee]) and the fifth (UDERZYĆ [to strike] (NAUCZYCIELKA [a teacher], DZIECKO [a child])). However, it would be difficult to decide whether the cognitive representation which a study subject tried to convey by writing: “nieodpowiednie zachowanie nauczycielki względem podopiecznych” [improper behaviour of a teacher towards a person under her care] included a situation of using physical force by a teacher, which was clearly indicated by other study subjects. Therefore, I presented the individual categories in this example in such a way to, first of all, not abuse the rights of the researcher, and, secondly, not to lose certain subtleties in the meaning which were featured in the survey answers.

Table 4. (continued)

| Semantic standard | Number of references | Example answers provided in the survey |
|--|----------------------|--|
| NIEODPOWIEDNIO > ZACHOWAĆ SIĘ [improperly > to behave] (NAUCZYCIELKA [a teacher]) & SKRZYWDZIĆ [to harm] (NAUCZYCIELKA [a teacher], DZIECKO [a child]) | 14 | “nieodpowiednie zachowanie nauczycielki względem podopiecznych” [improper behaviour of a teacher towards those under her care], “Złe traktowanie dzieci przez osoby pracujące w przedszkolu” [Mistreatment of children by persons working at the kindergarten], “Zbulwersowana zachowaniem przedszkolanki, która źle potraktowała jej dziecko” [Appalled by the behaviour of a kindergarten teacher who mistreated a child], “matkę zbulwersowało zachowanie nauczycielki w stosunku do jej dziecka” [the mother was appalled by the behaviour of a kindergarten teacher towards her child], “Matce nie podoba się postępowanie przedszkola wobec jej dziecka” [the mother did not appreciate how a kindergarten handled her child] |
| KONTROWERSYJNIE > ZACHOWAĆ SIĘ [controversially > to behave] (PRZEDSZKOLA > PRACOWNIK [kindergarten > employee]) | 13 | “Prawdopodobnie w przedszkolu doszło do jakiejś sytuacji kontrowersyjnej” [Presumably there was a controversial situation at the kindergarten], “Pani w przedszkolu poruszała kontrowersyjne tematy” [A kindergarten teacher discussed controversial topics], “Nauczycielka używa wulgaryzmów na zajęciach” [A kindergarten teacher used swear words in class], “Jeden z wychowawców/opiekunów grupy przedszkolnej spożywał w pracy alkohol. Sprawa wyszła na jaw” [One of the carers of a kindergarten group drank alcohol. This became public knowledge], “Wydarzyło się coś, co godzi w postawy, poglądy i/lub oczekiwania matki przedszkolaka” [Something happened that went against the attitudes, views and/or expectations of a mother of a kindergarten pupil] |

| Semantic standard | Number of references | Example answers provided in the survey |
|---|----------------------|---|
| UDERZYĆ [to strike] (NAUCZYCIELKA [a kindergarten teacher], DZIECKO [a child]) | 11 | <p>“Przedszkolak został uderzony przez przedszkolankę” [A kindergarten pupil was struck by a teacher],</p> <p>“Przedszkolanki biły dzieci w przedszkolu w Łęczycy” [Kindergarten teacher hit children at a kindergarten in Łęczycza],</p> <p>“Matka jest zbulwersowana, bo zobaczyła siniaki na ciele swojego syna” [Mother was appalled as she saw the bruises on her son's body],</p> <p>“Przedszkolak z Łęczycy pobity przeze swoją przedszkolankę” [A kindergarten pupil from Łęczycza beaten by his teacher],</p> <p>“... bo nauczycielka bije uczniów za złe zachowanie” [... because the kindergarten teacher hits children if they misbehave],</p> <p>“Dziecko tej matki ma siniaki na ręce w wyniku szarpania go przez przedszkolankę” [The mother's child has bruises on his arm as a result of being pulled by a kindergarten teacher]</p> |

Source: own study.

The answers provided by the study subjects included several non-standard interpretations. Among such I include the following: “Matka dowiedziała się, że w grupie jej dziecka w przedszkolu są niezaszczepione dzieci” [The mother learnt that in her child's group at the kindergarten there are children who have not been vaccinated]. Another example of that type of an interpretation: “...brakiem 1000+ na dziecko” [... that she did not receive 1000+ ? for the child]. Two people interpreted the statement contemplatively indicating that the words “jestem zbulwersowana” [I am appalled] were an expression of the subjective opinion of the sender: “Matka się zbulwersowała, bo jej dziecko zostało (w jej opinii) niedopilnowane” [The mother became appalled because her child was not cared for enough (in her opinion)], “W przedszkolu nr 12 w Łęczycy lub z jego winy zadziało się coś, co zbulwersowało matkę dziecka z tego przedszkola. **Albo po prostu jest zbulwersowana, matki tak mają**” [At kindergarten No. 12 in Łęczycza something happened, or because of something the kindergarten did, which appalled the mother of a child attending it. Or she's just appalled, mothers are sometimes like that]. In two other answers, and only two, the study subjects stressed that the situation which triggered the mother's critical remarks might not have been caused by the kindergarten: “W przedszkolu miało miejsce niebezpieczne zdarzenie. Chociaż «Matka» może być tylko opisem postaci, a **wydarzenie nie musi mieć związku z przedszkolem**” [At the kindergarten, a dangerous event occurred. Though the “Mother” might only

be a description of a character and the event did not necessarily have to do anything with the kindergarten], “bulwersująca sprawa między przedszkolem a jej dzieckiem, coś się stało/ **może być zbulwersowana sprawą niezwiązaną z jej dzieckiem**, po prostu została nazwana matką” [an appalling matter between a kindergarten and her child, something happened/ she may be appalled at an issue not related to her child, she was simply referred to as a mother]. The first thoughts of the study subjects progressed along the lines of a standard interpretation: the mother’s attitude was caused by the irregularities in the operations of the kindergarten. Adopting a contemplative attitude enabled some to notice other interpretations. The final two examples, existing as exceptions to the rule, constituted particularly clear proof for the existence of a standard interpretation.

The analysis of the processes of the subcategorisation of arguments clearly indicates that, according to the study subjects, the originator of the situation which caused the mother to become appalled was a kindergarten teacher, the kindergarten’s headmaster or another employee of the kindergarten (even though none of the persons appeared at the text level). What was symptomatic was that there was a very high agreement between the answers provided by the study subjects. In the standard interpretation, the mother’s state of mind was caused by a situation which in standard conditions assumes a negative value. In their answers, the study subjects indicated that the reason for the condition were the instances of neglect of children by the kindergarten employees, their improper behaviour towards those under their care, controversial activities against the will of parents, as well as the fact of experiencing physical harm by children, as a result of an accident or intentional acts of aggression by kindergarten teachers. All those situations feature negative evaluations in standard conditions. An overview of the answers provided by the study subjects for this example illustrated the typical interpretative paths applied by the study subjects, and supports the hypothesis of the existence of a standard interpretation.

Summary and conclusions

In the article, I presented the results of a study intended to verify the assumption of communicational grammar concerning the existence of the phenomenon of a standard interpretation in the process of receiving communications. According to this assumption, despite the fact the reception of a communication is a subjective process, its course is to some extent pre-determined since, as Adwiejew and Habrajska assert, “a recipient, at certain stages of interpretation, progresses through specific standard references, common for most speakers of a language, while the later subjective extension of the interpretation will not contradict those standards.”²⁸

²⁸ A. Adwiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie...*, pp. 9–10.

I designed a special tool to verify the hypothesis of the existence of a standard interpretation. 79 study subjects were provided with a list of communications and asked to indicate the causes which led to the emergence of those. The communications were highly general, which was intended to ensure freedom of interpretation. I standardised the answers I received as per the principles assumed in the methodology of communicational grammar. I assumed that a large diversity among the answers provided by the respondents would indicate that the assumption concerning standard interpretation was false. I treated agreement in terms of the indicated causes as supporting the prevailing model of a standard interpretation.

The results enabled me to formulate the following conclusions:

1. despite the ensured freedom in terms of the direction of interpretation, individual real recipients recreated the mental pathways presumed in standard interpretations (while retaining the principle of the subcategorisation of arguments as binding);
2. the principle of subcategorisation applied in communicational grammar applies not only to individual arguments in a semantic standard, but also to individual semantic standards in a time-space scenario;
3. in the process of interpretation, real recipients maintained the standard evaluations in the quoted predicate-argument systems.

Basically, one must accept that communicational grammar's assumption concerning the existence of a standard interpretation was proven by the empirical data acquired in the study.

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Anita Filipczak-Białkowska

Czy istnieje interpretacja standardowa? Empiryczna weryfikacja wybranych założeń gramatyki komunikacyjnej

Streszczenie

W artykule postawione zostało główne pytanie badawcze: „czy istnieje interpretacja standardowa?”, która w metodologii gramatyki komunikacyjnej, do jakiej odwołuje się autorka, definiowana jest jako uogólniony schemat analizy komunikatu przez wirtualnego odbiorcę, polegającej na konstruowaniu podstawowych, współpracujących ze sobą, komponentów sensu. Empirycznej weryfikacji poddano założenie, że choć odbiór komunikatu jest procesem subiektywnym, to jego przebieg jest do pewnego stopnia zdeterminowany, gdyż odbiorca, na pewnych etapach interpretacji, przejdzie przez określone, standardowe odniesienia, wspólne dla większości mówiących w danych języku, a jego dalsze subiektywne rozwinięcie interpretacji nie będzie przeczyło tym standardom. Artykuł prezentuje wyniki cele, metody i wyniki badania ankietowego przeprowadzonego na okoliczność weryfikacji założenia o istnieniu interpretacji standardowej, jednego z głównych założeń gramatyki komunikacyjnej w opracowaniu A. Awdiejewa i G. Habrajskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: interpretacja standardowa, schemat poznawczy, gramatyka komunikacyjna, wartościowanie.

Does standard interpretation exist? Empirical verification of selected assumptions of communicational grammar

Summary

The article poses a major study question: “Does standard interpretation exist?” In the methodology of communicational grammar, to which the author refers, standard interpretation is defined as a generalised pattern of the analysis of a communication by a virtual recipient, which consists of constructing basic,

mutually cooperating elements of meaning. An empirical test was applied to the assumption that, despite the fact that the reception of a communication is a subjective process, its course is to some extent pre-determined, since a recipient, at certain stages of interpretation, progresses through specific standard references, common for most speakers of a language, while the later subjective extension of the interpretation will not contradict those standards. The article presents the results, the aims, methods, and the results of a survey study conducted to verify the assumption about the existence of a standard interpretation, one of the major assumptions of communicational grammar being developed by A. Awdziejew and G. Habrajska.

Keywords: standard interpretation, cognitive pattern, communicational grammar, valuation

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The impact of a YouTuber's lively gesticulation on his image The case of Wojtek Drewniak and his *Historia bez cenzury*

Introduction

The aim of this article is to define, based on selected research material, the impact on image-based communication of the gesticulation in a popular science historical discourse fulfilled on YouTube. In that respect I shall analyse the image of Wojtek Drewniak¹, the host of the *Historia bez cenzury* [History uncensored] channel.

Based on the literature of the subject one may conclude that gesticulation and, more broadly speaking, body language are studied by researchers from various fields. Cultural studies scholars, sociologists, psychologists, and linguists (working alone or in interdisciplinary teams) often focus on the cultural foundations of gestures and try to indicate the similarities and differences between cultures. For example, Agnieszka Szczepaniak has focused on body language (limited to the so-called emblematic gestures) of Poles, Greeks and the British.² Francois Caradec prepared a dictionary of gestures typical for the French but he also included in it,

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1 The caption identifying the host features this particular diminutive form of his name.

2 A. Szczepaniak, *Gesty emblematyczne w międzykulturowej komunikacji niewerbalnej. Polsko-grecko-brytyjskie studium porównawcze i gestownik*, Kaliskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauki, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-Społeczny, Kalisz-Wrocław 2017.

e.g. Indians, the Japanese and the representatives of Arabic cultures.³ Krystyna Jarząbek developed *Słownik mowy ciała Polaków* [Dictionary of the Body Language of Poles].⁴ There are also works which emphasise the relationship between natural language⁵ and body language or which argue that body language is a system just as complex as the natural language.⁶ The main characteristic of those is the focus on gestures and their communicational functions.

However, sometimes the direction of an analysis is reverse; researchers are interested in a certain aspect of human communicational activities in which they see a specific role of non-verbal communication. Amongst such a topic one should list the issue of detecting/ communicating lies⁷, behaviour during job interviews⁸, and, most of all, the use of body language by politicians.⁹ The image aspect appears

3 F. Caradec, *Dictionary of Gestures. Expressive Comportments and Movements in Use around the World*, illustrated by P. Cousin, trans. Chris Clarke, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 2018.

4 K. Jarząbek, *Słownik mowy ciała Polaków*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2016.

5 A. Cienki, C. Müller, *Metaphor and Gesture*, John Benjamin Publishing Company, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 2010.

6 N. Rossini, *Reinterpreting Gestures as Language. Language "in Action"*, IOS Press, Amsterdam-Berlin-Tokyo-Washington DC 2012.

7 Vide, e.g. J. Antas, *O kłamstwie i kłamaniu*, Universitas, Krakow 2008. Also: D.G. Leathers, "Wykrywanie oszustwa", [in:] *Komunikacja niewerbalna. Zasady i zastosowania*, trans. M. Trzcńska, ed. Z. Nęcki, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2009, pp. 299-324. Or: W. Sikorski, "Gesty kłamstwa", [in:] *ibidem, Niewerbalna komunikacja interpersonalna. Doskonalenie przez trening*, 2nd ed., Difin, Warsaw 2018, pp. 204-212.

8 Vide, e.g. W. Sikorski, "Komunikacja niewerbalna podczas rozmowy kwalifikacyjnej", [in:] *Niewerbalna komunikacja interpersonalna. Doskonalenie przez trening*, pp. 128-156, or: D.G. Leathers, "Rozmowa kwalifikacyjna", [in:] *Komunikacja niewerbalna. Zasady i zastosowania*, pp. 345-352. I am omitting a whole host of guidelines and advice on the topic included in numerous handbooks on self-presentation or creating one's image in business, which are based on the same studies (if those are recommendations somehow related to academic studies).

9 Some more significant texts in the extensive subject literature include, e.g. J. Antas, M. Kozień, "Gesty i rytuały niewerbalne oraz ich znaczenie w obecnej polityce polskiej", *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 2018, issue 2(48), pp. 113-128; ks J. Szymczyk, "Funkcje mowy ciała w procesie kreowania wizerunku publicznego polityków", *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych* 2018, vol. 10(46), no. 2, pp. 131-161; J. Antas, A. Załazińska, "Niewerbalne środki i strategie przekonywania stosowane w telewizyjnych debatach polityków", [in:] *Sztuka perswazji. Socjologiczne, psychologiczne i lingwistyczne aspekty komunikowania perswazyjnego*, eds. R. Garpel, K. Leszczyńska, Wydawnictwo „Nomos”, Krakow 2008, pp. 183-194; W. Sikorski, "Tworzenie pozytywnego wrażenia w polityce", [in:] *Niewerbalna komunikacja interpersonalna. Doskonalenie przez trening*, pp. 156-185; D.G. Leathers, "Zarządzanie wrażeniem w praktyce", [in:]

only in the context of the media behaviour of politicians, and mind you: that is a rather peculiar mode of communication. Specific reactions and gestures of public figures carry particular significance as they are recorded (be it on video or in photos) and later (or simultaneously) they appear in the media and they exert a major impact on the perceptions of politicians which voters formulate based on such communications.

Clearly, it would be difficult to transfer the results of such studies and analyses to a study of significance of gesticulation for a YouTuber, for whom verbal communication is most important, sometimes only enriched with visual or audio material. Furthermore, one should note that among all YouTubers there are media dabblers, i.e. persons who often possess specific knowledge yet lack any training in public speaking. In that respect their communicational conduct is natural. That quality together with their universality are noteworthy particularly since the content published on YouTube channels gathers new audiences and there is still no subject literature on the relationship between gesticulation of show hosts and their image.

Theoretical perspective

I decided to employ the theoretical framework of Michael Fleischer's rational constructivism according to which the reality known to us is the result of an act of construction conducted by an interpreter, who perceives the physical reality (first reality) through senses (second reality) and assigns to it meaning using signs, where the third stage is conducted using communication (third reality). An interpreter participates in a social system and, at the same time, receives sign-based objects¹⁰, whereas the same signs may function in various systems (e.g. visual, auditory, verbal) and form the expressions of an author which the interpreter, i.e. the recipient of the expression, may use as the basis for constructing the image of the author.

Komunikacja niewerbalna. Zasady i zastosowania, pp. 254–264; I. Ĺńigo-Mora, G. Álvarez-Benito, "Gestures and words in political discourse: a case study of the Obama-McCain encounter", *Respectus Philologicus* 2010, issue 18(23), pp. 11–25; A. Boniecki, "Pozajęzykowe środki kreowania wizerunku polityka", [in:] *Język w komunikacji*, ed. G. Markowski, Wydawnictwo im. Stanisława Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2011, pp. 31–42; A. Majkowska, "O komunikowaniu parawerbalnym i niewerbalnym w dyskusji sejmowej", [in:] *Język w komunikacji*, ed. G. Markowski, Wydawnictwo im. Stanisława Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2011, pp. 21–29; A. Komendarczyk, "Pozawerbalna ekspresja polityków w debacie telewizyjnej", [in:] *Język w komunikacji*, ed. G. Markowski, Wydawnictwo im. Stanisława Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2011, pp. 43–53.

¹⁰ Vide a broader discussion of those relationships in: M. Fleischer, „Rozsądny konstruktywizm”, [in:] *ibidem*, *Ogólna teoria komunikacji*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2007, pp. 86–173.

That is also the case when it comes to the image of a YouTuber, which is the product of an act of construction conducted by an interpreter after watching an expression by the YouTuber, which is fulfilled through several systems of signs.

One should also note, in this context, the useful division into **speaking** and **communicating**. Michael Fleischer stressed that “while speaking applies to that which is spoken, communicating applies to how it is spoken and what is communicated by what and how one says something.”¹¹ In other words, one could boast that one is a specialist in the literature of Spanish Enlightenment and values particularly highly the achievements of Saint Augustine, its leading poet, mainly for introducing innovative narrative solutions in his greatest play *Hamlet*. What one said was nothing more than what the words stand for, yet what one communicated was a deep ignorance in terms of the history of literature.

The issue is particularly important in the discussed study of a YouTuber’s image as the analysis will apply to the level of communicating not speaking, meaning it will define the image of the YouTuber and the significance of the gesticulation of the author of the expression for his image. Neither the YouTuber’s intentions nor what he said constitute the focus of the analysis. What is important is what an interpreter constructs based on a clip and what the impact of the gesticulation is.

For clarity, allow me to define how I understand gesticulation. It covers the motions of one or several parts of the body, and in terms of human expression the majority of gestures applies to arms and the head¹², and the biggest number of typologies apply to those parts of the body. This study omits facial expressions, communication with eyesight, proxemics and haptics.¹³ When presenting historical content, Wojtek Drewniak is present on the screen more or less from the waist up, which means that in this case gestures must apply mostly to arms and the head, which was in fact mainly indicated by the study subjects.

Method and study procedure

I utilised the experiment formula and applied it to one study group. After watching one video of *Historia bez cenzury*, the subjects answered the question: “Based on the episode of *Historia bez cenzury* you have just watched, how would you describe Wojtek Drewniak?” Next, the subjects were asked the following: “For each quality

¹¹ M. Fleischer, *Typologia komunikacji*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2012, p. 29 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

¹² A. Szczepaniak, p. 16.

¹³ Vide the clear textbook division of body language in: T.G. Grove, “Niewerbalne elementy interakcji”, [in:] *Mosty zamiast murów. Podręcznik komunikacji interpersonalnej*, ed. J. Steward, trans. J. Suchecki, P. Kastyło, J. Kowalczevska et al., 4th ed., Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2005, pp. 122–134.

you specified for Wojtek Drewniak, please provide words, sentences or fragments of his statements and/or behaviour, gestures, facial expressions, etc. and/or sound/visual elements of the video which were the reason why you assigned the quality.” The first task was intended to extract image-related qualities, while the other to indicate the communicational indicators of each quality.¹⁴

The study subjects watched two videos from the channel. One described a battle: “Łomot po polsku #2 – Husaria pod Kircholmem” (67 persons), the other was of a biographical type: “Mózg na wypasie – Albert Einstein” (24 persons).¹⁵ The duration of each one was approx. 17 minutes. The whole study took no more than 25–30 minutes.

As the study focuses on the YouTuber Wojtek Drewniak who provides historical content, i.e. by listing dates, names, places and, sometimes, terms or words which might be considered as specialised, then the image of an expert might have formed. At the same time, the high level of “commonalisation” of the content being communicated (the popular science style/discourse¹⁶) lifts the air of exclusivity off his videos making them accessible and enjoyable thus seizing the audience’s attention. Originally, I used the study to check what kind of impact colloquialisms had on the historian’s image of an expert, but the major significance of the YouTuber’s gesticulation made the issue important enough to be worthy of a separate study. At that point I assumed, which was later disproved by the results, that the communication of the content and not the gesticulation constituted the foundation of the historian’s image. Therefore, it seems even more important to closely analyse the matter and its relationship with image-building.

The study was conducted on 28 February and 1 March 2019 among 91 1st-year students of journalism and social communication at the University of Lodz. I intentionally approached students of humanities as I assumed they were more eloquent and skilled in articulating their thoughts than students of other focuses. I decided not to approach students of later years as they are too aware of styles, rhetoric devices and journalistic genres, which could have negatively impacted the results.¹⁷ Before the students decided to participate in the study, I instructed them on its voluntary and anonymous nature.

¹⁴ Task sheets were of an A5 format. Underneath each instruction, there were five bullet points which suggested the number of qualities to be indicated; that was intended to ensure comparability of the results.

¹⁵ The disproportion was mainly a result of the sizes of groups and class attendance.

¹⁶ To read more on mixing the notional extents of style and discourse vide S. Gajda, “Teoria stylu i stylistyka”, [in:] *Stylie współczesnej polszczyzny. Przewodnik po stylistyce polskiej*, eds. E. Malinowska, J. Nocoń, U. Żydek-Bednarczuk, Universitas, Krakow 2013, pp. 15–33.

¹⁷ 2nd-year students were acceptable but a sufficient number of subjects enabled me to refrain from expanding the study group to include other years.

The results

The following table summarised the main preliminary details of the analysed results. The resulting study material had the form of 436 characteristics (instruction 1) listed by the study subjects and notes indicating the communicational basis (instruction 2) of those characteristics. The so-called open coding¹⁸ enabled me to classify the qualities listed by the subjects under 25 consistent image characteristics, e.g. “energiczny” (energetic), “zabawny” (funny), “ciekawie opowiada” (talks in an interesting way), “pasjonat” (enthusiast), “inteligentny” (intelligent), “charyzmatyczny” (charismatic), “sympatyczny” (friendly), “nieśmieszny” (unfunny), etc.¹⁹ The study subjects indicated various manners of communicating image characteristics. For example, he appeared educated to some study subjects because he quoted various details or cited books. To some subjects the historian seemed “bezpośredni” (direct) because, e.g. he used colloquialisms and avoided euphemisms, while his smile or jokes were the basic elements of communicating the characteristic of “sympatyczny” (friendly). Lively gesticulation was also among the various manners of communicating various image characteristics. It was indicated 83 times which considering the total number of indications (436) constituted slightly over 19% of all indications. Those 83 indications of gesticulation as the basis for communicating an image characteristic appeared among 10 (out of 25) indicators of image characteristics. 63 subjects listed gesticulation as the indicator of a specific characteristic(s), i.e. 69.23% of all study subjects.

Table 1. Summary of results for gesticulation when compared to all indications regarding Wojtek Drewniak.

| Data category | Number |
|--|--------|
| All indications | 436 |
| All characteristics | 25 |
| Indications to gesticulation | 83 |
| % of indications regarding gesticulation in reference to the whole | 19.04% |

¹⁸ The classification and references to notion “based on direct insight into data and the detailed analysis of it” after: E. Babbie, *Badania społeczne w praktyce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2004, pp. 626–627, vide also: G. Gibbs, *Analizowanie danych jakościowych*, trans. M. Brzozowska-Brywczyńska, series: Niezbędnik Badacza, Warsaw 2011, p. 91.

¹⁹ Other image characteristics assigned by the subjects included: “ma wiedzę” (he is knowledgeable), “kreatywny” (creative), “bardzo gestykujący” (gesticulates a lot), “pozytywny” (positive), “wygadany” (voluble), “irytujący” (irritating), “szalony” (mad), “pewny siebie” (self-confident), “profesjonalista” (professionalist), “wykształcony” (educated), “głośny” (loud), “chaotyczny” (chaotic), “wyluzowany” (chill), “elokwentny” (eloquent), “ekscentryczny” (excentric), “bezpośredni” (direct).

| Data category | Number |
|---|--------|
| Characteristics communicated i.e. using gesticulation | 10 |
| People who indicated gesticulation as an indicator of a characteristic | 63 |
| % of people who indicated gesticulation as the indicator of image characteristics | 69.23% |

Source: own study.

This compilation indicates how important gesticulation is for one's image. Nearly one in five of all references to the motions of arms and the head and over two in three study subjects considered that aspect of non-verbal communication as the basis of assigning specific image characteristics.

Image characteristics assigned by study subjects based on lively arm or head motions included: "energiczny" (energetic), "pasjonat" (enthusiast), "charyzmatyczny" (charismatic), "o wyrazistej mowie ciała" (with expressive body language), "ciekawie opowiada" (talks in an interesting manner), "chaotyczny" (chaotic), "szalony" (mad), "irytujący" (irritating), "pewny siebie" (self-confident), and "wyluzowany" (chill).

Most often, lively gesticulation triggered subjects to assign the characteristic of "**energiczny**" (energetic). That applied to 49 in 83 instances (i.e. 59.04%), and a total of 43 in 63 (68.25%) subjects saw that quality in Wojtek Drewniak based on his movements.²⁰

NB, **instances of gesticulation** as isolated indicators were very rarely related to the historian's energy – only eight of the case study subjects indicated it in isolation writing, e.g.:

- ciągła gestykulacja podczas opowiadania²¹ (unrelenting gesticulation while talking);
- duża, gęsta gestykulacja (extensive, thick gesticulation);
- gestykulacja rękami przez cały czas (gesticulation with arms all the time).

In the remaining cases, what was important was the co-occurrence of noticeable vivid gesticulation with pace and/or tone, with facial expressions, with both

²⁰ The difference in the number of people and the number of indications was caused by the fact. That sometimes the same people indicated the same characteristics twice or more times only referring to it differently. In such cases, despite two different determinations (e.g. "energiczny" (energetic) or "ekspresywny" (expressive)) a specific characteristic was classified under one image characteristic ("energiczny"), which numerically resulted in two indications related to only one subject.

²¹ All quoted remarks by study subjects are in original form, without any changes to the answers on the survey form.

elements simultaneously, and, finally, with the movements of the entire body or other aspects of non-verbal communication.

The most common indications (16 in total) referred to **gesticulation**, which determined the energetic quality **in combination with pace and/or tone**. The study subjects indicated, e.g.:

- *pojawiło się dużo ruchu (np. rękami), ton głosu pozbawiony był swego rodzaju monotonii, dlatego nie dało się nudzić* [there was a lot of movement (e.g. arms), tone of voice was devoid of the typical monotony so it was impossible to be bored];
- *bogata gestykulacja podczas trwania całego programu (praca rąk, głowy), sposób opowiadania bardzo żywy* [rich gesticulation throughout the show (arms, head), very vivid mode of talking];
- *mówi w sposób energiczny oraz dużo gestykuje* [he speaks in an energetic manner and gesticulates a lot].

Half as many indications (8) referred to the characteristic of “energetic” (energetic) communicated using **gesticulation together with facial expressions**. The subjects thus wrote about that:

- *gesty, mimika – gesty bardzo szybko następowały po sobie, wraz z nimi zmieniała się mimika prowadzącego* [gestures, facial expressions – gestures occurred rapidly one after the other, the host’s facial expressions changed along them];
- *mowa ciała/mimika* [body language/ facial expressions];
- *gesty, bogata mimika* [gestures, rich facial expressions].

For 7 people, **gesticulation** was noticeable **together with the voice and facial expressions**:

- *szybka gestykulacja, bogata mimika twarzy, ton i barwa głosu* [rapid gesticulation, rich facial expressions, tone and timbre];
- *dużo gestykował, jego mimika twarzy ciągle się zmieniała, mówił dość szybko* [he gesticulated a lot, his facial expressions constantly changed, he spoke quite quickly];
- *mówi różnymi tonacjami, używa dużej ilości gestów, mimiki* [he speaks in different pitches, he uses many gestures, facial expressions].

Finally, also 7 subjects viewed the movements of **mainly arms** as functioning together with the **movements of the entire body**, as indicated in the remarks:

- *szybkie ruchy dłońmi, poruszanie ciałem* [rapid hand motions, body movements];
- *skoki, ruchy rękoma* [jumps, arm movements];
- *cały czas wykonywał dużo gestów, praktycznie podskakiwał, nie potrafi stać w miejscu* [he constantly made a lot of gestures, he was practically jumping, he could not stand still].

Three subjects indicated the combination of gesticulation with other aspects of human communication.

In summing up the communication of the “energiczny” (energetic) characteristic, one should conclude that it was significant in half of the indications among which it functioned independently as the indicator of the discussed characteristic in only 8 instances, while it co-occurred with other aspects of body language in 41 indications. Interestingly enough, if one was to consider other communicational indicators of “energiczny” (energetic), those would include mainly a high pace of speaking, i.e. mainly extra-verbal elements constructing the image-related characteristic.

Other image-related characteristics communicated using, e.g. gesticulation, were to a much lesser extent based on it.

The “**charyzmatyczny**” (charismatic) characteristic throughout the study was assigned 15 times out of which in 7 instances it was associated with gestures. Arm movements together with facial expressions and/or pace of speaking were decisive in four indications, while in the remaining three for the first time some role was played by verbal elements (e.g. *ładne i rozbudowane zdania, płynność mowy, gesty podkreślające słowa* [nice developed sentences, fluent speech, gestures emphasising the words]). Apart from indications of gesticulation there was one indication of facial expressions, one of voice, and two of self-confidence; in the remaining cases less precise indications were decisive by the study subjects (e.g. *Cały film, wypowiedzi o tym świadczą* [The entire video, statements indicate that]). Despite the communication of charisma, non-verbal communication was largely important (9 in 15 indications), it was still a characteristic which was rather difficult to describe for the subjects.

In the case of the “**pasjonat**” (enthusiast) characteristic, solely gesticulation as the communicational indicator of the characteristic (e.g. *gestykuluje bardzo dużo* [gesticulates a lot]) was indicated twice; in other three cases facial expressions were also indicated (*widać to po jego mimice, gestach* [that is visible in his facial expressions, gestures]), and in one, several different co-occurring instances of behaviour related to body language (*Po prostu czuć i widać, że Wojtek bardzo interesuje się historią. Uśmiech przy opisywanych wydarzeniach, żywa gestykulacja, podniesiony głos, wreszcie mówienie, bez choćby jednego zajęknięcia potęgują owe przekonanie* [You can simply feel and see that Wojtek is very much interested in history. Smiles while discussing events, vivid gesticulation, raised voice, finally speaking without even one stutter emphasises the conviction]).

Study subjects assigned this image-related characteristic to Wojtek Drewniak 36 times, out of which only 10 indications referred to his knowledge as the basis for associating him with “passion”, 6 times gesticulation was important, and in the remaining 20 instances other elements of extra-verbal communication were the basis of communication, mainly high pace of speaking.

The image-related characteristic of “**o wyrazistej mowie ciała**” [with a vivid body language] was based on gesticulation itself in three instances (e.g. *Kiedy tylko nie miał książki w rękach, to nie przestawał nimi machać* [Whenever he didn't have a book in his hands, he waved them incessantly]), in another three there was also other aspects of non-verbal communication (e.g. *podczas oglądania filmu w oczy rzuciły mi się bardzo jego gesty, ruszanie rękoma, głową, oczami* [while I was watching the video, what was striking were his movements, his moving arms, head, and eyes]).

The historian “**ciekawie opowiada**” [talked in an interesting manner] in 36 cases, out of which four depended on gesticulation and only when it functioned together with the appropriate pace of simple narration. For example:

- *nie mówi wolno, jest żywy, mówi prostym językiem oraz dużo obrazuje* [he does not talk slowly, he is lively, he talks in simple language and with much imagery];
- *interesujący ze względu na gesty, które wykonuje oraz głos, który według mnie przyjemnie się słucha* [interesting considering his gestures which he makes and his voice which according to me is pleasant to listen to].

Apart from that visual additions (2 indications) had minor significance. Mainly, though, Wojtek Drewniak *potrafi w interesujący sposób przekazać informacje* [can convey information in an interesting way] or *całość przyjemnie się słuchało* [it is pleasant to listen to the whole], etc., i.e. the task of specifying the basis of assigning the characteristic posed some problems for the study subjects.

The “**chaotyczny**” [chaotic] characteristic was associated with gesticulation three times. Apart from arm movements (once – *wnioskuję po jego gestykulacji (machanie rękoma)* [I gather based on his gesticulation (waving his arms)]) subjects indicated twice the set of non-verbal aspects (*Mówił dość szybko, dużo gestykulował i ciągle się poruszał* [He talked rather quickly, he gesticulated a lot and moved constantly]). In total, it was recorded 6 times. Decisive in assigning it was also the frequent and rapid changes of topic, which confused recipients.

The characteristic of “szalony” [mad] was assigned a total of 11 times, out of which gesticulation was indicated three times as the method of communicating it, every time **łącznie z mimiką i/lub tempem głosu** [together with facial expressions and/or speaking pace] (e.g. *ożywiona mimika i gesty, szybkie tempo mowy* [vivid facial expressions and gestures, high-paced speech]). It was the voice and facial expressions, especially the protruding stare, that were the main (6 times) basis for assigning the characteristic. In the remaining two cases, linguistic aspects gained significance (puns).

Wojtek Drewniak was “**irytujący**” [irritating] (10 times throughout the study) because he **gestykuluje głośno i szybko mówi** [gesticulates loudly and talks

quickly] (2 times), though for the characteristic to be assigned, the voice was enough (5 indications) or graphic additions (2 times) or other forms of communication (1).

“**Pewność siebie**” [self-confidence] (9 indications in total) was the **domena gestykulacji i pewnego głosu** [domain of gesticulation and steadfast voice] (2 indications), but also steadfast voice alone sufficed (3 indications), looking straight into the camera (2) or other aspects (2).

“**Wyluzowanie**” [chill] only once depended on **gesticulation** (*Wyluzowany, ponieważ jego ruchy, gestykulacja była bardzo płynna i nie zaburzała wypowiedzianych przez niego słów* [He's chill because his movements, gesticulation were very fluid and did not distort the words he uttered]). The remaining indications (5) focussed on colloquial language and/or puns.

Summary and conclusions

In summary, and in conclusion, allow me to use the following synthesis in the form of a table. The table cells which apply to “gesticulation among the characteristics communicated through it” include data regarding only gesticulation. The table cells which refer to “individual characteristics among all characteristics” include data in the context of all indications of a given image-related characteristic, not only in reference to gesticulation.

Clearly, based on gesticulation the historian was most often assigned the characteristic of *energetic* (59% indications regarding gesticulation, nearly 50% of the study subjects associated it with Wojtek Drewniak). In the case of other characteristics, gestures played at least a 7-time less important role. The “charyzmatyczny” [charismatic] characteristic was assigned only 7 times, “pasjonat” [enthusiast], “o wyrazistej mowie ciała” [with a vivid body language] 6 times, “ciekawie opowiada” [talks in an interesting manner] 4 times, “chaotyczny” [chaotic], “szalony” [mad], “irytujący” [irritating] 3 times, “pewny siebie” [self-confident] 2 twice, and “wyluzowany” [chill] only once.

Table 2. The summary of figures for gesticulation as the communicational indicator of the image of Wojtek Drewniak.

| No. | Image | Gesticulation among all the characteristics communication through it | | | | Individual characteristics among all characteristics | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--|------------------|-----------|-------------|--|------------------|----------|-------------|
| | | n indications | % of indications | n people | % of people | n indications | % of indications | n people | % of people |
| 1 | energiczny | 49 | 59.0 | 43 | 47.3 | 61 | 14.0 | 48 | 52.7 |
| 2 | charyzmatyczny | 7 | 8.4 | 7 | 7.7 | 15 | 3.4 | 15 | 16.5 |
| 3 | pasjonat | 6 | 7.2 | 4 | 4.4 | 36 | 8.3 | 30 | 33.0 |
| 4 | o wyrazistej mowie ciała | 6 | 7.2 | 6 | 6.6 | 11 | 2.5 | 11 | 12.1 |
| 5 | ciekawie opowiada | 4 | 4.8 | 4 | 4.4 | 36 | 8.3 | 31 | 34.1 |
| 6 | chaotyczny | 3 | 3.6 | 3 | 3.3 | 6 | 1.4 | 6 | 6.6 |
| 7 | szalony | 3 | 3.6 | 3 | 3.3 | 11 | 2.5 | 10 | 11.0 |
| 8 | irytujący | 2 | 2.4 | 2 | 2.2 | 10 | 2.3 | 10 | 11.0 |
| 9 | pewny siebie | 2 | 2.4 | 2 | 2.2 | 9 | 2.1 | 9 | 9.9 |
| 10 | wyluzowany | 1 | 1.2 | 1 | 1.1 | 6 | 1.4 | 6 | 6.6 |
| | total | 83 | 100.0 | 63 | 69.2 | 201 | 46.1 | | |

Source: own study.

The communication of the listed image-related characteristics is conducted not only by gesticulation but also by other aspects of extra-verbal communication. It is very often the case that gestures become the basis of assigning the designations together with other elements of body language. Gesticulation and high-paced speaking was particularly significant for the characteristics of “irytujący” [irritating] and “pewny siebie” [confident], “ciekawie opowiada” [talks in an interesting manner], and “pasjonat” [enthusiast]. In the case of “energiczny” [energetic], “charyzmatyczny” [charismatic], “o wirazistej mowie ciała” [with a vivid body language], “chaotyczny” [chaotic], apart from the vocal elements, the study subjects also indicated lively facial expressions, and for the “szalony” [mad] characteristic what was decisive was protruding eyes.

Only some characteristics included among their indicators methods of communication based on verbal communication, e.g. subjects associated with the construction of neat sentences containing “charyzma” [charisma], references to data which indicates knowledge as being “pasjonat” [enthusiast], understandable manner of conveying content indicated that the historian “ciekawie opowiada” [talked in an interesting manner], the use of jokes was supposed to indicate in some cases the communication of the characteristic of “szalony” [mad], many changes in the direction that the talk took indicated the characteristic of “chaotyczny” [chaotic], and the use of colloquial speech indicated the characteristic of “wyluzowany” [chill].

Interestingly enough, the movements made by Wojtek Drewniak in addition to the characteristics which seem obvious in the case of body language and image (e.g. “energiczny” [energetic], “o wyrazistej mowie ciała” [with an expressive body language]), they also communicated characteristics which were closer to the mode of verbal expression (“ciekawie opowiada” [talks in an interesting manner], “charyzmatyczny” [charismatic], “pasjonat” [enthusiast]). That might indicate extensive extra-verbal communication opportunities and its broad combinations with characteristics not close to body language.

Please note that Wojtek Drewniak's gesticulation most often (as indicated by the study subjects) consisted of waving his arms, high-paced talking, confident speech, with clear articulation, changing the pace and sometimes tone. Subjects indicated facial expressions, but when they became more specific, they usually indicated protruding eyes.

All of that indicates vivid body language, which, of course, cannot be a result of only the host's temperament; it is also possible that it stems from the pre-established entertainment formula of the channel coupled with his limited financial means. Therefore, to ensure a friendlier and more relaxed character of the videos, they are enlivened using the means at the host's disposal. Such excessive use of extra-

verbal communication results in relatively high opportunities in terms of image building.

Allow me to add that such a broad use of gesticulation and body language has its consequences: study subjects assigned not only positive (“charyzmatyczny” [charismatic], “pasjonat” [enthusiast], “ciekawie opowiada” [talks in an interesting manner], “pewny siebie” [confident]) or neutral characteristics (“o wyrazistej mowie ciała” [with an expressive body language], “wyluzowany” [chill]), but also some rather negative characteristics (“chaotyczny” [chaotic], “szalony” [mad], and “irytujący” [irritating]).

If one was to total the characteristics in the communication of which gesticulation as well as other aspects of body language played a part, such indications would constitute less than half of all the indications (46.1%). If one considers the fact that extra-verbal communication communicates characteristics more often associated with the level of words rather than movements and looks, the share of gestures and, more broadly speaking, movements is very high in communicating one’s image.

A question arises: can the set of the assigned characteristics be representative for everyone and in all conditions or maybe it is rather true for the Wojtek Drewniak’s case? Or is it a feature typical of most YouTubers?

Surely, the very formula of the show requires specific conduct, yet there are other YouTubers with much more limited gesticulation than that of the discussed host, and those also include historians.²² Therefore, such a high share of gestures and other elements of body language could actually be specific for Wojtek Drewniak only.

To verify that, it would be necessary to analyse other historians in a new study. Interesting results could be offered by a comparison of the results presented in this article with the results of a study where study subjects would analyse only the tape scripts of the YouTuber’s shows. That might help further filter the data and check which characteristics and to what extent may depend on body language and which on verbal elements to which it was more difficult to refer in the discussed study (the study subjects were not able to rewind a video and return to words or actions of the historian, unlike they would have been able in the case of reading a text).

Therefore, the communication of one’s image using gestures is important for the image of Wojtek Drewniak. Gestures rarely exist in isolation as the bases for communicating individual characteristics. Many of the indicators of the discussed image-related characteristics included diverse extra-verbal aspects, and rarely verbal ones. The phenomenon analysed in this article may be of an individual nature, a fact which should be verified in new studies.

²² Vide, e.g. channels: *Irytujący Historyk* or *Satyrycznie Historycznie*.

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Wizerunkowy sens energicznej gestykulacji youtubera. Przykład Wojtka Drewniaka z *Historii bez cenzury*

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest zweryfikowanie, jakie znaczenie wizerunkowe ma gestykulacja w dyskursie popularnonaukowym na przykładzie filmów historyka Wojciecha Drewniaka, umieszczanych w serwisie YouTube. Posłużono się formułą eksperymentu, w którym uczestnicy badania oglądali film, by potem określić cechy wizerunkowe youtubera, a następnie wypisać, co stało się podstawą wyłonienia poszczególnych cech. Gestykulacja stała się kluczowa dla konstrukcji takich cech wizerunkowych, jak: „energiczny”, „pasjonat”, „charyzmatyczny”, „o wyrazistej mowie ciała”, „ciekawie opowiada”, „chaotyczny”, „szalony”, „irytujący”, „pewny siebie”, „wyluzowany”. Oprócz gestykulacji, duże znaczenie wizerunkowe ma także ton i tempo mówienia oraz ekspresywna mimika. Potrzebne są kolejne badania, by zweryfikować, na ile uzyskane wyniki są typowe dla tego typu komunikacji na YouTube, a na ile jest to specyficzne wyłącznie dla Wojciecha Drewniaka.

Słowa kluczowe: wizerunek, dyskurs popularnonaukowy, YouTube, mowa ciała, komunikacja wizerunkowa.

The impact of a YouTuber's lively gesticulation on his image. The case of Wojtek Drewniak and his *Historia bez cenzury*

Summary

The aim of the article is to verify the importance of gesticulation on one's image in the popular science discourse based on YouTube videos by Wojciech Drewniak, a historian. The study employed the formula of an experiment in which subjects watched a video and defined the image-related characteristics of the YouTuber, and then were asked to write on what bases they assigned

individual characteristics. Gesticulation became key for the construction of such image-related characteristics as: “energiczny” (energetic), “pasjonat” (enthusiast), “charyzmatyczny” (charismatic), “o wyrazistej mowie ciała” (with expressive body language), “ciekawie opowiada” (talks in an interesting manner), “chaotyczny” (chaotic), “szalony” (mad), “irytujący” (irritating), “pewny siebie” (confident), and “wyluzowany” (chill). Apart from gesticulation also tone and the pace of talking as well as expressive facial expressions had a major significance. It is necessary to conduct other studies to check to what extent the achieved results are typical for this type of YouTube communication and to what extent they are specific for Wojciech Drewniak only.

Keywords: image, popular science discourse, YouTube, body language, image-related communication

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Philosophy modules on journalism courses at Polish higher education establishments and the search for meaning. A few remarks for discussion

Introduction. The search for meaning. The search for truth

The purpose of this article is to answer the question of the extent to which Polish universities prepare students majoring in journalism to engage in academic reflection on the category of meaning and to continue the search for truth in their future careers. The issue concerns a major philosophical notion which is relevant to the higher education of people who will pursue careers in the media. I have noticed a strong correlation between the terms *meaning* and *truth* [in Polish, 'sens' and 'prawda', respectively], and I consider the search for truth to be implied by the search for meaning.¹ The discussion also addresses the ethos of the journalist profession and the outcomes of the post-modern era.

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1 M. Drożdż, "W poszukiwaniu antropologicznych kontekstów wykluczenia społecznego. Inspiracje personalistyczne", *Studia Socialia Cracoviensia* 2014, issue 6(2), p. 84; K. Śnieżyński, "Filozofia sensu jako odpowiedź na kryzys metafizyki. W stronę nowej «filozofii pierwszej»", *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne* 2008, issue 22, pp. 215–234; E. Sienkiewicz, "Zagadnienie prawdy w filozofii", *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne* 2006, issue 20, pp. 309–325.

At the outset, I believe that will be useful to pose the following question: *What does it mean to search for truth?* In the text *Co się dzieje z prawdą dziś?*, Jadwiga Puzynina wrote:

When considering the situation of truth in our contemporary times in the most general terms, one should conclude that around the notion, and, in turn, the word itself, there exists a confusion which, in fact, covers the entirety of our contemporary intellectual and spiritual lives. That confusion is most noticeable in the philosophical theories of truth.²

One could posit after Gottlob Frege that the expressions “the search for truth” and “the search for meaning” are undefinable, yet one should also accept the epistemic definition of truth, or Richard Rorty’s pragmatic-solidaristic definition.³ Many philosophical propositions argue that the attempt to indicate one concept of truth as the horizon of understanding of reality acceptable for all is something of an utopia. Numerous horizons of the perceptions of human existence exist, numerous modes of viewing and evaluating actual reality, and understanding truth as the grounds for searching for the meaning of life. Michał Drożdż noted that “contemporary post-modern culture treats the public sphere as something axiologically neutral, shifting the possible axiological references to the sphere of private life.”⁴ That, in turn, will imply there are doubts about the need to seek out truth, since efficiency and success may be more important.⁵ Then, Józef Tischner in the book *Myslenie w żywiolę piękna* posited:

If philosophical thinking was to reject the notion of truth, it would cut off the branch on which it sits. The rejection of the notion in philosophical thinking may only occur in the name of truth about that thinking, and therefore it would have to assume that which it intends to reject. Of course, a question arises as to what the notion of truth means. Yet neither in that matter are we completely free. Without going into overly complex issues, and focussing on the basics, one can say: truth indicates that which is contrary to illusion. If the opposite of illusion is a being itself, then truth is a being itself.⁶

2 J. Puzynina, “Co się dzieje z prawdą dziś?”, *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Język a Kultura* 2008, issue 20, p. 35 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

3 J. Puzynina, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36; S. Judycki, “O klasycznym pojęciu prawdy”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 2001, issue 49.1, pp. 25–62.

4 M. Drożdż, “Medialna produkcja i dekonstrukcja sensu”, *Media i Społeczeństwo* 2012, issue 2, p. 24.

5 *Ibidem*.

6 J. Tischner, *Myslenie w żywiolę piękna*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Krakow 2013, p. 7.

In this article I adopted the assumption that any notion regarding the search for truth in journalism education at university level is basically discussed during classes in reference to philosophical subjects, though I cannot preclude the possibility that these issues may also be discussed during other classes. Therefore, I verified the presence of such issues (e.g. the history of philosophy, introduction to philosophy, journalist ethics, the ethics of communication) in the curricula of full-time studies at the journalism and social communication majors in the 2018/2019 academic year, which were listed in the TOP 10 of the *Perspektywy. Dziennikarstwo i komunikacja 2018* ranking.⁷ Thus, the analysis applied to the most prestigious universities which offer studies in journalism. I analysed the contents of the websites of individual university units in terms of the numbers of hours of classes in philosophy, and considered possible axiological declarations which emphasised, e.g. the significance of respecting truth in the journalism profession, and philosophy (broadly defined) in the education of future journalists.⁸ I assumed those details could be useful in assessing the degree of the focus of university level education of future journalists on the search for meaning.

7 *Perspektywy. Dziennikarstwo i komunikacja 2018*, <https://www.perspektywy.pl/RSW2018/ranking-kierunkow-studiow/kierunki-spoleczne/dziennikarstwo-i-komunikacja> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

8 I collected the study material from the details available at the following websites:
Faculty of Journalism, Information and Book Studies, University of Warsaw, <https://www.wdib.uw.edu.pl/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, <https://wnpid.amu.edu.pl/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Institute of Journalism, Media and Social Communication, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, <https://media.uj.edu.pl/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Institute of Media Education and Journalism, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, <http://media.uksw.edu.pl/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Chair of Journalism and Social Communication, Faculty of Philology, University of Lodz, <https://katedradziennikarstwa.wordpress.com/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Faculty of Administration and Social Sciences, University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszow, <https://wsiz.rzeszow.pl/uczelnia/wydzialy/wydzial-administracji-i-nauk-spolecznych/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, <https://www.wpism.umk.pl/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Institute of Journalism and Social Communication, University of Wrocław, <http://dziennikarstwo.uni.wroc.pl/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019];
Institute of Political Science and Journalism, University of Silesia in Katowice, <http://www.inpidz.us.edu.pl/index.php> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].
Faculty of Social Sciences, the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, <http://www.kul.pl/aktualnosci,11044.html> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

In the text, I refer to empirical studies conducted by Małgorzata Laskowska regarding education related to journalist ethics in Poland, as presented in her monograph *Kształcenie w zakresie etyki dziennikarskiej w kontekście mediów społecznościowych*.⁹ She conducted surveys in the period from October 2015 to July 2016, among 768 students of journalism at eight Polish higher education institutions¹⁰, with the goal to, e.g. evaluating the education in terms of journalist ethics, and defining how aware students were of the contemporary ethical dilemmas related to the utilisation of social media.¹¹

My analysis of the curricula of journalism studies and the results of Małgorzata Laskowska's study trigger the following question: *Would it not be advisable to place greater emphasis in higher education on caring for the ethos of journalism, and less emphasis on lectures in media ethics or philosophical classes?* As Michał Drożdż indicated "the main problem of contemporary journalism and the entire media sphere is not the lack of appropriate ethical regulations, but rather difficulties with the practical application of the principles, norms, convictions and virtues," and thus he posed the question: *Is it possible to have the journalist ethos without ethics, and what would the basis of educating and shaping the consciences of journalists be?*¹² Therefore, this academic reflection also considers the situation in which university standards of preparing future journalists do not guarantee that their education will be focussed on the search for meaning. In this context, the question posed by Mikołaj Krasnodębski is of great significance: *Are contemporary universities still searching for truth? Do they only refer to contemporary trends and popular intellectual currents, e.g. post modernism, without having analysed them critically?*¹³ Maybe Andrzej Maryniarczyk was right to claim that contemporary universities are struggling with the fear of ethos, with the escape from *universitas*, and with the fear of reaching truth?¹⁴ Even if such a diagnosis is excessively

9 M. Laskowska, *Kształcenie w zakresie etyki dziennikarskiej w kontekście mediów społecznościowych*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warsaw 2018.

10 The academic institutions studied by Małgorzata Laskowska were mostly the same as the ones I selected for this article. Laskowska included UWM in Olsztyn which I omitted, whereas in my study I included WSliZ in Rzeszów and UMK in Toruń which Laskowska omitted. Putting those differences aside, what seems important is the provision of the same Polish contexts and a minor time gap between both studies.

11 M. Laskowska, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

12 M. Drożdż, "Etos dziennikarski bez etyki...?", [in:] *Etyka dziennikarstwa. Edukacja. Teoria. Praktyka*, eds. E. Pawlak-Hejno, J. Pleszczyński, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2012, p. 31.

13 M. Krasnodębski, "Kultura klasyczna podstawą suwerenności duchowej uniwersytetu", *Człowiek w Kulturze* 2014, issue 24, p. 345.

14 A. Maryniarczyk, "O zapomnianej misji uniwersytetów", *Człowiek w Kulturze* 2004, issue 16, pp. 50–53 [as quoted in: M. Krasnodębski, *op. cit.*, pp. 345–346].

unilateral and harsh, that does not mean that it should not incline one to reflect on the role of universities not only in transferring knowledge but also in shaping the ethos.

Philosophy classes in the curricula of journalism courses at academic institutions in Poland

I analysed whether the frameworks of full-time journalism and social communication major studies included classes with a philosophical character (e.g. media ethics, ethics of communication, ethics in public relations, media philosophy) as obligatory or elective course-based lectures, and, if so, then to what extent.¹⁵ I referred to that feature as a “SUBJECT” and within it I identified the following categories:

1. mandatory – philosophical subjects are mandatory in the curricula of journalism studies;
2. elective – philosophical subjects are elective in the curricula of journalism studies;
3. none – no philosophical subjects were identified in the curricula of journalism studies.

In Table 1, I presented the results of the analysis within the studied feature of “SUBJECT”, indicating the number of mandatory and elective hours dedicated to philosophical subjects in full-time first-cycle studies in journalism and social communication majors.¹⁶ Table 2 presents the corresponding results for full-time second-cycle studies, while Table 3 includes a summary of the results for first and second-cycle studies.

Table 1. Studied feature: “SUBJECT” – number of hours of philosophical subjects in the curricula of full-time first-cycle studies

| University/ Feature being studied | Mandatory | Elective |
|--|-----------|----------|
| University of Warsaw | 30 | 0–60 |
| Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań | 75 | 0 |
| Jagiellonian University in Kraków | 35 | 0 |
| Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw | 60 | 0 |
| University of Lodz | 56 | 0 |

¹⁵ I refer to information regarding the 2018/2019 academic year. I have also applied a simplification which consists in assuming that a subject does not cover philosophical issues if the area of philosophy is not referred to in its title. I based the study on the contents of the websites of the universities specified in footnote 8, including their subpages.

¹⁶ Depending on the major, the numbers of mandatory and elective hours may differ.

| University/ Feature being studied | Mandatory | Elective |
|--|----------------|----------|
| University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszow | n.d. (no data) | n.d. |
| Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń | 60 | 0 |
| University of Wrocław | 60 | 0 |
| University of Silesia in Katowice | 30 | 0 |
| John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin | 90 | 0 |

Source: own study.

Table 2. Studied feature: "SUBJECT" – number of hours of philosophical subjects in the curricula of full-time second-cycle studies

| University/ Feature being studied | Mandatory | Elective |
|--|-----------|----------|
| University of Warsaw | 0–30 | 0 |
| Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań | 0 | 0 |
| Jagiellonian University in Kraków | 0 | 30 |
| Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw | 60 | 0 |
| University of Lodz | 28 | 0 |
| University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszow | n.d. | n.d. |
| Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń | 0 | 0 |
| University of Wrocław | 30 | 0 |
| University of Silesia in Katowice | 0 | 0 |
| John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin | 0 | 0 |

Source: own study.

Table 3. Studied feature: "SUBJECT" – number of hours of philosophical subjects in the curricula of full-time first and second-cycle studies

| University/ Feature being studied | Mandatory | Elective |
|--|-----------|----------|
| University of Warsaw | 30–60 | 0–60 |
| Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań | 75 | 0 |
| Jagiellonian University in Kraków | 35 | 30 |
| Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw | 120 | 0 |
| University of Lodz | 84 | 0 |
| University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszow | n.d. | n.d. |
| Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń | 60 | 0 |
| University of Wrocław | 90 | 0 |
| University of Silesia in Katowice | 30 | 0 |
| John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin | 90 | 0 |

Source: own study.

At the University of Warsaw, journalism studies offer elective courses in journalist ethics – in full-time first-cycle studies in journalism, in media science on the journalism minor (30 hours of lectures and 30 hours of tutorials), and a mandatory course in philosophy (30 hours of lectures). Between the minor modules of press photography, advertising photography and publishing photography on the above-mentioned major I have found no differences regarding the numbers of hours or the statuses of the modules of these philosophical courses. Then, on the public relations and media marketing minor students are assigned only 30 mandatory hours in philosophy in the curriculum. As for the curriculum of full-time second-cycle studies, I have found no philosophical courses on the documentary, reportage, television film minor, the journalism minor or the press, advertising and publishing photography minors. The curriculum of the public relations and media marketing minor at second-cycle studies includes a subject called Ethical Aspects in PR as part of a mandatory 30-hour course.

Regulation No. 8 of the Chancellor of the University of Warsaw, dated 21 January 2016, on establishing the Faculty of Journalism, Information and Book Studies included a list of organisational units included in the faculty, including the Chair of Media Law and Ethics (Katedra Prawa i Etyki Mediów).¹⁷ The fact that the Chair was established indicated that the university's academic and teaching staff conducted intensive research in axiology. The current framework of the faculty does not, however, include any references to media ethics in either of the names of its chairs.¹⁸

At the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, studies in journalism and social communication are conducted at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism. I found in the curriculum of full-time first-cycle studies mandatory classes in philosophy, consisting of 45 hours (30 hours of lectures and 15 hours of tutorials), and journalistic ethics (30 hours). As for the curriculum of full-time second-cycle studies, I did not find any philosophical classes on either of the minors. Research in journalism and social communication at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań is conducted at the Department of Journalism, the Department of Social Communication, and the Department of Press Systems and Press Law at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism. The names of the departments do not include any direct references to the notions of media ethics.

¹⁷ *Monitor Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Zarządzenie nr 8 Rektora Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego z dnia 21 stycznia 2016 r. w sprawie utworzenia Wydziału Dziennikarstwa, Informacji i Bibliologii*, p. 12, <https://www.wdib.uw.edu.pl/images/Zarzdzienie-Rektora-Regulaminy-WDIB.pdf> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

¹⁸ *Faculty of Journalism, Information and Book Studies. University of Warsaw. Faculty Structure*, <https://www.wdib.uw.edu.pl/wydzial/struktura-wydzialu> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

The curriculum of full-time first-cycle studies at the Institute of Journalism, Media and Social Communication, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, offers mandatory classes in philosophy of 20 hours and in journalist ethics – 15 hours. The range of elective subjects at second-cycle studies offers media ethics of 30 hours. The names of the Institute's departments do not include the words *philosophy*, *ethics* or *axiology*, which might indicate that the philosophical perspective on media and communication is not central for the Institute's research.

The students of full-time first-cycle studies at the Institute of Media Education and Journalism, the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, are required to complete philosophical subjects: Fundamentals of Journalist Ethics (30 hours) and Introduction to Philosophy (30 hours), while the students of second-cycle studies are required to complete classes: Contemporary Challenges of Media Ethics (30 hours) and Ethics in Business and PR (30 hours). Within the framework of the Institute, research is conducted into the ethics of the media and communication, which is indicated in the name of one of the chairs: Chair of Media Theory, Ethics and Law [Katedra Teorii, Etyki i Prawa Mediów]. Since the beginning, journalism studies at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University have been conducted at the Faculty of Theology, which implies a considerable number of philosophical subjects in the curriculum.¹⁹ The Christian nature of the university provides the second major proof that its students may expect higher education in journalism focussed on the world of values.²⁰

In the curriculum of full-time first-cycle studies at the Chair of Journalism and Social Communication, Faculty of Philology, University of Lodz, I found mandatory classes in the Fundamentals of Philosophy (28 hours) and Journalist Ethics (28 hours). Then the curriculum of full-time second-cycle studies includes Media Philosophy (28 hours). The chair's website states the following: "The Journalism and Social Communication major belongs to the humanities and social sciences. The focus of research of Journalism and Social Communication covers both the principles (journalist ethics, values, social norms, media law, etc.) and communicational social practices (methodology of journalistic work in its different

¹⁹ *Instytut Edukacji Medialnej i Dziennikarstwa UKSW w Warszawie. Historia Instytutu*, <http://media.uksw.edu.pl/?mod=my&id=7084> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

²⁰ "[UKSW] is a state-owned university of Christian inspiration, strictly linked with the Catholic Church. The status of the university obliges all of the academic community to nurture and develop humanistic, Christian and national values. Every academic teacher and every student should be aware of those duties. Academic teachers of the non-ecclesiastical faculties do not require the "missio canonica" from the Great Chancellor, nevertheless the rector endeavours to engage employees who are well suited for working in a university of a Catholic nature." (*Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie. History*, <https://uksw.edu.pl/pl/23-uniwersytet/historia-i-patron?start=4> [accessed on: 24.03.2019]).

varieties, modes of influencing people, use of various codes in communication, the principles of proper language usage, etc.)”²¹ The quoted statement indicates that particular attention in higher education in journalism is placed on issues associated with the ethics of the media and communication.

Journalism and Social Communication studies at the University of Information Technology and Management with its seat in Rzeszów are conducted at the Chair of Media, Journalism and Social Communication at the Faculty of Administration and Social Sciences. The subjects offered on full-time first-cycle journalism and social communication studies include the Ethics of the Media and Social Communication, and Applied Philosophy in full-time second-cycle studies. The chair’s website lacks any information on the number of hours of such classes, which is why Table 1–3 include the following remarks: “n.d.” (no data).

At the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń full-time Journalism and Social Communication studies are conducted at the Chair of Journalism and Social Communication at the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies.²² First-cycle studies offer the following mandatory philosophical classes: Journalist Ethics (30 hours), Philosophy (30 hours). In second-cycle studies I did not identify any philosophical subjects.

At the University of Wrocław, Journalism and Social Communication studies are conducted at the Institute of Journalism and Social Communication at the Faculty of Letters. First-cycle studies offer mandatory philosophical classes: Philosophy (30 hours) and Journalist Ethics (30 hours), while full-time second-cycle studies offer modern philosophy (30 hours).

At the University of Silesia in Katowice, studies in Journalism and Social Communication are conducted at the Institute of Political Science and Journalism. The curriculum includes 30 hours of Journalist Ethics on first-cycle studies. In second-cycle studies I did not find any classes of a philosophical nature.

Journalism and Social Communication studies are conducted at the Institute of Journalism and Social Communication at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. At full-time first-cycle studies, there are mandatory lectures in: Ethics (30 hours), History of Philosophy (30 hours), and Journalist Ethics (30 hours). In second-cycle studies I did not find any subjects of philosophical nature. It must be

21 *Katedra Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej. Wydział Filologiczny Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, O Katedrze*, <https://katedradziennikarstwa.wordpress.com/katedra/o-katedrze/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

22 *Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu. Wydział Politologii i Studiów Międzynarodowych. Katedra Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej*, <https://www.wpism.umk.pl/katedra-dziennikarstwa-i-komunikacji-spolecznej/> [accessed on: 24.03.2019].

stressed that it is a Catholic university, which means it should be assumed that its university education permanently refers to Christian values and philosophy.²³

I did not analyse the specifications of the issues of the above-mentioned classes. Nonetheless, one might assume that students gain knowledge in various streams of philosophy.

The aforementioned studies by Laskowska indicated that according to 77% of the respondents, Journalism Ethics is a necessary subject at Journalism Studies²⁴, while 45% of the respondents evaluated these classes as “high” or “very high” level.²⁵ Around 52% of the respondents offered basically positive evaluations of the contemporary nature of the topics of the classes in Journalism Ethics.²⁶ 21% of the respondents evaluated their attractiveness as “average” and 15% as “low” or “very low.”²⁷ The competences of the instructors of the classes in Journalism Ethics were generally evaluated positively: as much as 34% of the respondents evaluated instructor competences very highly and 28% highly.²⁸ Regarding the general tendencies in placing emphasis on the individual elements of the curricula of journalism studies, Małgorzata Laskowska argued:

There is a major global emphasis on: the issues of dividing information from opinion, the problem of journalist impartiality, the problem of the reliability and verifiability of journalistic sources, and the issues associated with the protection of journalistic sources. There is less emphasis on such elements of the curricula related to journalist ethics as: issues associated with access to information which is confidential, sensitive or of strategic importance for the state, issues regarding the display of drastic content, issues of conflict of interest, issues of commercial use of a journalist’s image (e.g. in advertising), and the issues of journalist autonomy in relation to the owners of their medium.²⁹

²³ The website of the Institute of Journalism and Social Communication of the John Paul II Catholic University reads, e.g.: “The Institute of Journalism and Social Communication of the John Paul II Catholic University responds to the new areas of interest and the new social and cultural needs of the Lublin region, Poland and Europe. It has joined the search for the key to the true restoration of socio-cultural life in Poland, mainly by associating it with the highest values, ethics and all cultural bonds in integration with Europe and the world.” (*Institut Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II. Witamy na stronach Instytutu Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Społecznej*, <http://www.kul.pl/o-instytucie,12156.html> [accessed on: 24.03.2019]).

²⁴ M. Laskowska, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 251.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 253.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 253–254.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 353.

Laskowska's report indicated that there exist many problems which, according to the students of Journalism Studies, are not raised during courses in Journalism Ethics. Those include, e.g.: current events in the ethical context, no presentation of the relationship between ethics and the profession of journalist, new media vs. ethics, ethics vs. the law, no practice, excessive load of theoretical content, and the general form of classes.³⁰ Her studies have proven that despite the fact Journalism Ethics is present in the curricula of Journalism Studies, it does not always meet the educational expectations of students.

Ethics as an academic subject vs. the journalist ethos

The fact of placing intensive attention on ensuring high standards in the preparation of future journalists does not guarantee that their future work will be focussed on the principles of deontology, nor is it ensured by the multitude of codes of ethics.³¹ One should, however, appreciate the presence of philosophical subjects in the curricula, which can indicate university authorities' care about the education of the students of journalism, ensuring that it is aimed at the search for meaning.

Michał Drożdż noted that, on the one hand, journalism ethics is a subject that all think should be covered, yet, on the other, "it is still valid in the context to pose the question of how in the world of ethical pluralism, the pluralism of the world of values and the diverse understandings of ethics and its justifications, one can fulfil a common and universal ethical goal: to defend people and their personal value and dignity."³² Can one consider the search for purpose in the context of university education as a mode of fulfilling the protection of individual human value and dignity? According to Drożdż, an objection to the validity of universal normativism in ethics will result in treating moral principles only as customary and pragmatic principles, and the division into individual-private and public-

³⁰ Ibidem, pp. 354–355.

³¹ M. Drożdż, "Etyczne aspekty mediów integralną częścią nauk o mediach", *Studia Medioznawcze* 2013, issue 55(4), pp. 11–23; A. Baczyński, "Uczciwość dziennikarska, czyli o potrzebie etyki zawodowej w mediach", *Studia Socialia Cracoviensia* 2012, issue 4(1), pp. 35–51; D.A. Ojcewicz, "O konsekwencjach nieprzestrzegania etyki dziennikarskiej w dobie nowych mediów", *Civitas et Lex* 2014, issue 4, pp. 7–19; M. Wąsicka, "Idealny model dziennikarza w zderzeniu z rzeczywistością", *Środkoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne* 2013, issue 2, pp. 295–310; R. Leśniczak, *I principali doveri professionali nella formazione di giornalisti: un'analisi della formazione accademica e professionale nei diversi paesi dell'Europa*. unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rome 2010, pp. 184–196; R. Leśniczak, "Dziennikarz i informacja – integralny model formacji dziennikarskiej", *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne* 2011, issue 20, pp. 194–195.

³² M. Drożdż, "Etos dziennikarski bez etyki...?", p. 31.

social ethics.³³ A renunciation of normative ethics will result in ethical subjectivity, which cannot serve as the basis for building an objective journalistic ethos.³⁴

Regardless of whether philosophical issues appear in the curricula of journalism studies, it is important to ask about how ethics is understood by the instructors, and about their acceptance or rejection of normative ethics. Therefore, it is valid not only to ask whether ethics/philosophy are present in the curricula, but it is also important to ask: *What kind of ethics/what kind of philosophy?* to be able to further specify whether university journalism education helps one to find meaning.

Jan Pleszczyński claimed that it would be a utopian attitude to view codes of ethics or university journalism education as the only and exclusive factor which can solve the problems of journalism ethics. This media researcher and philosopher went on to argue that the goal is not to reproach academics for the fact that by teaching from their university pedestals they add little to the profession of journalism, nor that it is to “close one’s eyes” to journalists’ failings in terms of their competences.³⁵ Pleszczyński noted that “journalism has become a common and mass profession, not one for the chosen ones, a profession for everyone,” while the attachment to the traditional ethos can only be found in some of the few journalists who completely identify with their profession.³⁶ This diagnosis, proved by media researchers, indicates a need to differentiate between journalism ethics as professional ethics and journalism ethics as a university subject.³⁷

Stanisław Olejnik noted that the ethological approach to professional work does not only consist of a special technique of identifying individual professions, but about the content of the ethos of the people who perform a profession. Olejnik understood ethos not as much as a fixed mode of external conduct, but rather as a fixed internal approach to specific activities, founded in higher human mental capacities.³⁸

University education in journalism does not guarantee a high journalist ethos, and most importantly, at the theoretical level, the transfer of philosophical knowledge of a theoretical nature. Such knowledge is offered to students of journalism by the leading academic institutions in Poland. That is because the

³³ Ibidem, pp. 32–33.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 33.

³⁵ J. Pleszczyński, “Jaka etyka dziennikarska jest potrzebna i możliwa?”, [in:] *Etyka dziennikarstwa...*, p. 72.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 69.

³⁷ B. Dobek-Ostrowska, P. Barczyszyn, A. Michel, “Zmiana w dziennikarstwie. Kultura zawodowa polskich dziennikarzy (badania ilościowe)”, *Studia Medioznawcze* 2013, issue 52(1), pp. 11–27; M. Laskowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–156.

³⁸ S. Olejnik, “Etos i etyka pracy zawodowej”, *Collectanea Theologica* 1957, issue 28(3–4), p. 541.

journalist ethos is created not by curricula or collective declarations, but by people: the masters, teachers, guides. At this point it would be worth quoting the title of Simona Mancini's book *Chi me lo fa fare*, which, by raising the issue of teacher responsibilities, indicates the reality of the freedom of instructors in deciding on the degree to which they shall fulfil their vocation, based more or less on the ethos of the profession they fulfil.³⁹ That is an apt reflection of the situation of university instructors who conduct classes in the field of philosophy. They might not only explain the major currents of philosophy, but also interpret, criticise or accept them. As Lucyna Szot noted, the Polish media system, apart from in-court verification, lacks any clear and uniform criteria for verifying the level of professionalism of journalists.⁴⁰ Formal professional education is not central for the journalistic practice and people do not seem to notice the correlation between professionalism understood as professional reliability and formal education.⁴¹

Education which consists of searching for meaning and truth is not legal but deontic in nature. It is not ethics but the law that constitutes the dominant regulator of social life. The fact of moving from professional ethics to law is unacceptable, as ethics clearly emphasises the moral dimension of humanity whereas the purpose of the law is to organise society and manage the community.⁴²

Today, it is widely accepted that journalists' adherence to deontic principles and the search for meaning leaves much to be desired. Therefore, the philosophical knowledge acquired at university is not enough to be sure that a journalist will become a person who will search for meaning and truth. So what could complement intellectual education at universities? The answer is not an easy one, considering the context of the post-modern era, in which the society is defined through the notion of post-industrial society, a society of knowledge, a consumer society; it rejects or questions whether it is possible to reach the truth, understood classically as the correspondence of matter and the mind (*adequatio rei et intellectus*).⁴³ In the modern era there exists "a pre-figurative generation in

39 S. Mancini, *Chi me lo fa fare*, Kimerik, Patti 2015.

40 L. Szot, "Profesjonalizm dziennikarzy w Polsce", [in:] *Współczesne media. Status. Aksjologia. Funkcjonowanie*, eds. I. Hofman, D. Kępa-Figura, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2009, p. 192.

41 Ibidem, pp. 192–193.

42 J. Pleszczyński, *Etyka dziennikarstwa...*, pp. 153–154.

43 A. Guzik, "Postmodernizm, postprawda, postekspersi w mediach mainstreamowych", [in:] *Postprawda jako zagrożenie dla dyskursu publicznego*, eds. T. Grabowski, M. Lakomy, K. Oświecimski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, Krakow 2018, pp. 143–162; R. Leśniczak, "Komunikowanie polityczne w epoce postmodernizmu i postprawdy. Analiza debaty przed wyborami parlamentarnymi w Polsce w 2015 r.", *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne* 2018, issue 2, pp. 182–184.

which the older general cannot keep up with the changes and, as a result, former cultural patterns are no longer viable [...] Young people have been deprived of their compass, a sense of direction. That is why they are so desperate in their search for norms. And since there are none, they create their own ones as the world of authority figures has crumbled.”⁴⁴ Several decades ago Furio Colombo, an Italian journalist, writer and politician, wrote about a post-journalist era in which the creation of a media piece was not determined by facts, but by more or less covert centres of power.⁴⁵ Various conflicts of interests become revealed within the field of the journalist profession, which hinders the search for such representatives of the press of whom it could be said with certainty that they care for a high journalistic ethos. Marco Benadusi, a media researcher and a journalist, indicated the triad of forgery, conspiracy and populism, which, according to him, induces the omnipresent manipulation of information.⁴⁶ Within the post-modern dimension, there only remains a space for a multitude of discourses, none of which insists it is the true one.⁴⁷ Within that perspective, one cannot agree with and accept Iwona Hofman’s proposition that serious journalism is the cure for the confusion regarding the fundamental deontic principles or the post-modern vision of the inability to engage in a search for meaning or truth by those who are training to fulfil the profession of journalist at university, or soon after embarking on their professional careers in journalism.⁴⁸ As Hofman aptly noted, quality journalism is “a kind of information and opinion writing on topics which are important for recipients within global or local perspectives, authenticated by the stature of its author; an autonomous writing which is distinctive for its respect of the communicational relationship.”⁴⁹ Therefore, serious journalism is one of the possible paths to complement journalistic education at university in the context of the search for meaning.

⁴⁴ A. Guzik, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁴⁵ F. Colombo, *Post giornalismo. Notizie sulla fine delle notizie*, Editori Riuniti, Rome 2007.

⁴⁶ M. Benadusi, “Il falso nell’epoca della sua riproducibilità tecnica”, *Mondooperaio* 2017, issue 4, p. 6.

⁴⁷ H.-G. Gadamer, *Verità e metodo*, Bompiani, Milan 1983; J.-F. Lyotard, *La condizione postmoderna*, Milan 2014; R. Rorty, *La filosofia e lo specchio della natura*, Feltrinelli, Milan 2004.

⁴⁸ I. Hofman, “Media w warunkach kryzysu demokracji liberalnej”, [in:] *Zmierzch demokracji liberalnej?*, eds. K. Wojtaszczyk, P. Stawarz, J. Wiśniewska-Grzelak, Aspra JR, Warsaw 2018, pp. 253–270.

⁴⁹ I. Hofman, “Dziennikarstwo poważne – wartość w mediach na przykładzie Polski”, *Communication Today* 2012, issue 2, p. 99.

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Rafał Leśniczak

Uniwersytecka filozoficzna formacja dziennikarska w polskich uczelniach wyższych a poszukiwanie sensu – kilka uwag do dyskusji

Streszczenie

Tekst artykułu odnosi się do zagadnienia uniwersyteckiej formacji dziennikarskiej w kontekście filozoficznych kategorii sensu i prawdy. Autor analizuje programy wybranych polskich ośrodków akademickich na kierunku dziennikarstwo i komunikacja społeczna oraz odwołuje się do badań dotyczących kształcenia w zakresie etyki dziennikarskiej w Polsce, przeprowadzonych w latach 2015–2016. W refleksji naukowej wskazuje niewystarczalność formacji akademickiej we właściwym przygotowaniu dziennikarzy do wykonywania profesji zawodowej wobec wyzwań epoki współczesnej.

Słowa kluczowe: formacja dziennikarska, sens, prawda, filozofia, etyka, uniwersytet.

Philosophy modules on journalism courses at Polish higher education establishments and the search for meaning. A few remarks for discussion

Summary

The article refers to the issue of journalism education at university, in terms of the philosophical categories of meaning and truth. The author analyses the curricula of selected Polish higher education institutions in the majors of journalism and social communication, and refers to studies on education in journalism ethics in Poland conducted in 2015–2016. In his academic reflection, he indicates the inadequacy of university education for the proper preparation of journalists for fulfilling their profession when faced with the challenges of the modern era.

Keywords: journalist education, meaning, truth, philosophy, ethics, university.

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When there is meaning in design? Two dimensions of the practice of designing (communication)

It is difficult to provide a comprehensive account of the practice of designing, the goal of which is, on the one hand, to focus and direct end users within the complex space of codes, signs and brands, and, on the other, to trigger managed irritation in order to gain their attention within a highly competitive market of references, in accordance with the strict framework of rules and principles which stabilise the predictability of the outcomes of a design operation. It is this unpredictability and the undefined nature of the content of the process of designing – the design process itself follows an iron-clad cause-and-effect logic¹ – that determines its value and dynamics for the creative sector, and for creative processes in general, in terms of innovation and progress. When including design practice within the doctrine of designing communication, the operating stability of which is an outcome of the assumptions of the most current theories of communication, society, and perception, one needs to completely challenge the notion of an artificial creative process, or successful communication as the outcome of a process is always unpredictable from the point of view of the consequences of design actions and achievements. The notion of transmission (of data, information, or knowledge) within the dimension of communication activities is elegant and clear, yet it cannot be applied directly in design practice – mainly because this article adopts the assumptions of the constructivist theory of communication, which should be reduced to negotiating references.² Designers and theoreticians of design are

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1 M. Wszółek, *Reklama – operacjonalizacja pojęcia*, Wydawnictwo Libron, Krakow 2015.

2 M. Fleischer, *Communication design, czyli Projektowanie komunikacji (lub odwrotnie)*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2010.

focused on the attempt to devise the rules of high efficiency communication, which assume not so much predictability as a circular process of negotiating and control over the outcomes of the design process. It is not possible to assume what the design outcome will be, yet that scope can be controlled in an empirical manner. High efficiency communication mostly assumes actions which can be reduced to clear and comprehensively designed design activities, which are free of contradiction. In that sense, the essence of the circular design process, the consequences of the executive scope of which constitute the basis for evaluating activities and those which are the basis for further activities, ensures limited predictability of actions within the long term, and surely indicates the possibility of controlling communication activities within the long and short term. Even though it would be difficult to imagine an instruction manual for the content and scope of the design process from the point of view of such notions as innovation, progress, or creativity, it is possible to outline the rules and principles on which one should focus during the design process – not to ensure the predictability of the outcomes of a design process, but for profiling and clarity of actions. The design principles which I shall discuss in this article on the one hand ensure adequate points of reference to the design practice considering the scope of application of the constructivist theory of communication, and, on the other, define the framework points of the process of creation, which are offered by market entities, e.g. advertising agencies, and design studios. It is difficult to refer to those principles in a critical manner, mainly because they do not intervene in the design practice, but they ensure a certain level of ideation of the manifestation of the creative sector. Regardless of whether the focus of design efforts is managed irritation or focus and direction, the presented design principles offer a major point of reference for the fulfilment of the basic paradigmatic *problem – solution* relation.

Design practice is close to the system of science, in terms of the discovery mode, i.e. of observation and understanding of the design problem not from the perspective of a participant (though this perspective is often necessary within the process of verifying the problem) but of an observer, for whom the manifestations of the system define the mode of its operation, which is to be studied. There is no place for an evaluation or assessment of the system from the point of view of the system. In this article, instead of the widely applied model strategies in the form of design rules, I would like to propose a description of design practices in reference to two dimensions of design functions. I am not referring to the function of a design as such but the superior goal for which a design is fulfilled. The main axis to be used in this case is the indication of the nature of a design, considering the assumptions of the discipline and the related principles of design work – the latter shall differ depending on whether the object of designing is the focus-direction dimension or whether the task of the project is to draw attention by

means of managed communication irritation. Therefore, I would like to establish a basic division within the design practice in reference to those two dimensions, i.e. the focus-direction dimension and the irritation dimension. In the case of the former approach, the practice of the design process should mainly concentrate on focussing a participant in communication within the complex world of codes, signs, and brands, the outcome of which is, as it should be, direction within a systemic frame. Such design work pragmatically refers to the principle of function in design. In doctrinal terms this was framed by Krzysztof Lenk in his catalogue of student works in Information Design:

To present phenomena and processes not noticeable with the naked eye. Explain how complicated devices work or how events develop so that their essence is understandable for every recipient. Lead by the hand, step by step, when assembly a cabinet, in the stroll through labyrinth of a city when sightseeing, or when learning the various functions hidden in a cellular telephone.³

Designing in that approach becomes an instruction manual for social reality; the main points of reference within design practices are: (1) a clear and distinct definition of the design goal and of the strategy for fulfilling the solution, (2) the development of implementation monitoring tools, (3) a definition of interest groups so that the implementation does not preclude the end user from participation, (4) the construction of solutions considering the connectivity of communication systems within the proposed solutions, (5) the consideration within design practices of the issues associated with geographical, climate, and cultural differences, (6) the definition of the systemic costs of a design, including the social and corporate relevance of the design, and (7) approving reference to the scientific achievements within the scope relevant for the project being fulfilled. It would seem that such an approach to designing might block creativity and ingenuity. However, quite the opposite is the case. The above-mentioned principles are mainly supposed to channel the design process in terms of its approximate nature. The goal of a design is for it to adequately develop in terms of its focus on the end user who can smoothly apply the outcomes of the design. In the case of the irritative dimension of designing, the opportunities for develop solutions are focussed on the managed irritation of communication to grasp attention – it is the (recipient's) attention that becomes the basic currency of that dimension of design. It is all about attracting attention through the irritation of communication itself, the goal of which might be to provoke the recipients to think, tear them away from their comfort zone, or draw their attention to a problem. The irritative dimension of designing is applicable

³ K. Lenk, *Krótkie teksty o sztuce projektowania*, Wydawnictwo Słowo/obraz terytoria, Gdańsk 2011, p. 1 [unless indicated otherwise, all quotations in English were translated from Polish].

mainly in designing experiences, for which the adequate aspects include: the world of experiences, the atmospheric quality of communication, and the discursive nature of language. From the market point of view, that area of designing consists of such design areas as advertising and branding. Therefore, the main goal of designing is to control communication to draw attention—in that sense, a design achievement cannot be later specified from the level of a medium. It is only the intellectual effort of a recipient that indicates the value of an implementation, the way it stands out from a backdrop of *communicational competition*. In that approach it is difficult to offer a clear list of rules of creative/irritative operations, unless one were to consider that list to consist of such notions as: creativity, surprise, performance, provocation, market application of disruption⁴, etc.

George Lois, an American designer of Greek descent, offered an interesting description of the irritative dimension of design practice. His approach, with particular consideration of advertising, is a kind of a revolution in thinking inclined towards cultural provocation. For Lois, only those designs possess a *raison d'être* which stand out from the competition due to the unconventional nature of their form, rather than their content. His point was mainly to skilfully provoke and stimulate the minds of the audience (broadly considered). If, for example, an advertisement distinguishes itself from other advertisements by virtue of its form and content, it is impossible in the communication of the advertisement itself to omit the product or service which it advertises. Lois' main thought was for the advertised product or service to fit the manifestations of cultural systems, to be a part of those. He assigned a completely new status to designing, i.e. of a cultural provocateur, for which e.g. advertising was a goal in itself. The product or service were mere reasons for doing communication:

Great graphic and verbal communication depends on understanding and adapting to the culture, anticipating the culture, criticizing changes in the culture, and helping to change the culture (...) So if you're young person with an entrepreneurial spirit who aspires to succeed, not only in business, but if life, your mission is not to sedate, but to awaken, to disturb, to communicate, to command, to instigate and even to provoke.⁵

4 Cf. TBWA: "We start with disruption at the core of everything we do. Disruption is a tool for change and an agent for growth: a working methodology and a life-view philosophy. Disruption is the art of asking better questions, challenging conventional wisdom and overturning assumptions and prejudices that get in the way of imagining new possibilities and visionary ideas. Disruption is not limited to marketing and communications, but can also be applied to deeper levels of an organization, including products and services or the core business offering"; <http://www.tbwa.com/disruption> [accessed on: 19.09.2014].

5 G. Lois, *Damn Good Advice*, Phaidon Press, London 2012, p. 136.

Lois defined designing as a poisonous gas⁶, the function of which is to remain in communication and to change social attitudes. Thus he was very close to the notion of designing communication, centred around the designing of communicational proposals and maintaining them in motion within a social system as the topic of communication. The point is to ensure that designing forces, on the one hand, people to reflect on issues and, on the other, to offer them a chance to communicate about the outcome of designing. The provocative designing discourse which Lois has propagated ever since is presumably a result of his artistic education. He graduated from New York's High School of Music & Art and his first positions before he established his own advertising firm (Papert Koenig Lois in 1960), had fluctuated around design and graphic work. Lois is known mainly for his unconventional design aesthetics – in his visual expression, he remains distant from Soviet constructivism or the modernism of the Ulm School of Design. He often surprises with his aesthetics, which employ religious motifs, and cultural and national symbolism, clearly for reasons of provocation. Yet he himself wrote that designing does not consist of a technical-visual manner of organising the available space and area:

My first commandment: The word comes first, then the visual (...) a big campaign idea can only be expressed in words that absolutely bristle with visual possibilities, leading to words and visual imagery working in perfect synergy.⁷

Following his own design ideology, Lois firmly rejects the empirical context in the design practice. In this he is closer to Bill Bernbach than to the pragmatism of David Ogilva. For Lois, research is a trap which captures designers who are not able to think independently or who are afraid of such thinking. He blatantly referred to market research as analytical paralysis:

Do not analyze it. Trust your gut. Trust your instincts. In all creative decision-making, analysis involves conjuring up not only the pros, but also those hidden, spooky cons – and discussion about the cons is, ipso facto, analysis paralysis.⁸

In his criticism of market research in advertising practice, Lois even concluded that advertising is an art, not a science, and thus market research is not an adequate measure of verifying the effects of art. According to him, research freezes the creative process in tables, statistics and endless discussions about the effectiveness

6 Ibidem.

7 Ibidem.

8 Ibidem.

of using advertising to influence product sales. Lois' revolutionary design discourse is not only advertising practice, but the general attitude towards the surrounding reality. An attitude which favours the notions of a mental revolution, fight against racism, and opposition towards various totalitarianisms and cultural intolerance. As the conclusion of the irritative dimension of design practice, I consider the following points of reference which I view as relevant in the design of experiences/communication: (1) **speaking vs. communication**: the definition of the mode of speaking [A] for communicational purposes [B]; in other words, the point is to utilise the discursive nature of language in such a way that through speaking (in any intermediated form of communication) a recipient can deduce the real goal of the communication, as per the proposition: *don't say you're creative, prove it*, (2) the **audience**: who is the recipient of a design, who is supposed to become interested in it – communication for everyone is communication for no one: since we differentiate society (in terms of various lifestyles), it is necessary to differentiate communication in order to exclude audiences that are inadequate from the point of view of the design assumptions, (3) **the media**: not only the content of communication should be distinguishable but also its medium – every space/area can constitute a place of communication; identification cannot be permanent, (4) the **outcome**: one must realise that the only certain outcome of communication design is meaning/image; everything else is by-products, (5) **narration**: communication design cannot conclude with the medium – the recipients are responsible for the punchline, (6) the **product**: it is not sufficient for it to be clearly visible; it is necessary to have something to say, (7) **networking**: due to the multi-channel nature of communication in the design process, one must include a coherent identity, aesthetics and message; in general, the same spirit must be present throughout all the communication channels. A similar point of view was adopted by Jean-Marie Dru in his book *Disruption – zmiana reguł gry na rynku*.⁹ He discussed the concept of disruption, which has become the ideology of the creative work of the TBWA advertising firm. It adopts the following assumptions: (1) *disruption* is a manner of viewing the socio-communicational reality through the prism of conventions and communicational scripts, which offer the basis for challenging the *status quo*, (2) *disruption* is also an art of asking questions, challenging conventional thinking, breaking assumptions and prejudices which prevent one from noticing the opportunities and creating, (3) the media: they define every space and area between a brand and a recipient, (4) the recipient: one cannot treat recipients as consumers; a recipient must be treated as an audience whom one can make interested in a brand; it is necessary to understand their behaviours, seize their

⁹ J.-M. Dru, *Disruption: Overturning conventions and shaking up the marketplace*, Vol. 1, Wiley 1996.

attention and draw them into the narration of the world of experiences, (5) the idea: *disruption* is based on the simple notion, namely that the main character is an idea, not a consumer, (6) agency: *disruption* prevents the artificial division into strategy and application – within disruption, responsibility applies to both the strategic input and the creative product, (7) success: *that which enabled you to become successful in the past is not going to work in the future*¹⁰, (8) convention: the convention which covers the present market dynamics becomes the starting point in the design process, (9) disruption is the ability to think outside the box, to assume an outside perspective on things, and twist the convention to be able to achieve the future vision of a design, and (10) generally speaking: *convention – disruption – vision*.

It is not difficult to infer why the two dimensions of design practice apply to completely different design domains and disciplines. On the one hand, design practice ensures smooth utilisation of the offered solutions; it makes the end user feel comfortable in their new surroundings; it builds social, cultural, and sometimes even economic affiliation – in general, it ensures the predictability and relatability of communication; on the other, though, design may irritate in a cognitive sense; it can build both a desire for the object of design, or estrangement from it; it can evoke communications of various degrees of engagement – in general, that dimension of design is responsible for securing the attention of an end user through an often challenging normality.¹¹ A question may arise of when either of the two dimensions of design should be used. It all depends, of course, on the goal of a design and the discipline. It would be questionable to employ the irritative dimension in the design of road signs, maps, and visual processes and procedures. Yet it is adequate for application in propaganda posters, advertisements, marketing, and other areas which do not directly or indirectly affect human safety, health or life. The basic design principle which works for both dimensions refers to the logical course of the design process, which consists of the following design questions: *Where are we?* (definition of the existing situation, context for the design and the extent of the design problem's applicability), *Where are we going?* (definition of the postulated situation, i.e. the strategy of design application), *How do we want to achieve it?* (definition of the mode of application through the design tactics), *How would we like to verify it?* (development of the design evaluation apparatus). I propose the following list as a set of adequate points to be considered to ensure the stability of the design process as a practice:

¹⁰ Personally, I prefer a different version of the statement: *that which proved successful for some does not have to be just as good for others*.

¹¹ A. Siemes, *Normalność w komunikacjach – jej negocjowanie i badanie: na materiale komentarzy dotyczących architektury domów mieszkalnych*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2013.

1. **The problem** – the notion of a design problem is the only constant in design. It is the starting point for the design practice in almost every design doctrine; the design problem is the goal of a diagnosis, while the general goal of designing is its efficient solving and providing solutions which are easy to apply (I am aware of my repetition);
2. **Technology** – this is always a means for fulfilling a goal, never the goal in itself. In designing, it is vital to ensure that technology does not determine the strategy of designing. The role of technology consists of applying technology or developing it in reference to the social and/or corporate demand. Technology cannot dictate the conditions of a design process;
3. **Recipient** – designers need to understand their servile role with regard to a recipient as an end user, not a consumer. In that sense, Paul Rand's remark on the role of designers¹² seems an adequate design anti-manifesto;
4. **Compromise** – a design doctrine should not favour any side of the design process, be it the client, designer or recipient. In operationalising the notion of human-centred design, Donald Norman did not clearly indicate that the client/ company/ organisation for whom a design is being developed are just as important. The fact of placing its weight on only one of the sides in that unique relationship may lead to disturbing the social or corporate relevance of a design, which in turn would lead to increased direct and systemic costs of the design – and that, quite clearly, would lead to a situation of the design's unprofitability. What is certain is that a designer's role cannot be viewed in terms of its relevance – a designer's role in that sense is extra-systemic, focused on organising and accelerating the design process using diverse resources (*know-how*, personal, technological, financial, etc.)
5. **Differences** – spatial, geographical, social or cultural differences should trigger diversity in communication leading towards local solutions; differences should be treated as opportunities, never as contradictions. In my view, the local nature of activities, which I discussed above, becomes important – no matter how efficient a community is – only at the local level. Only such a community is resistant to fluctuations, as it is diverse in that sense, and diversity leads to openness and tolerance. Mind you, the essence of design is to treat differences as an added value, not as obstacles;
6. **Space of things** – design should refrain from flooding the world with things and communications no one needs. One should consider who benefits from there being more and more attributes of everyday life – surely those who make money from people having those things. However, it seems surprising to me that designers are so naive and fulfil a servile function for corporations.

¹² Cf. S. Heller, *Paul Rand: Inspiration & Process in Design*, Chronicle Books, New York 2019.

The design practice should be responsible for providing, in a sustainable manner, ever newer solutions both in terms of the media of communication and specific items and services, in which we are slowly drowning;

7. **Knowledge** – the interpretative framework provides a specific control over the context within the design practice, which results in a broader field of view of things in the categories of design problems and their possible solutions. The broader the interpretative framework of communicational constructs is, the higher the control over context becomes. Design is based on knowledge, never on a vision of it, and as a result it should build control over context, also on the part of an end user. Design only focussed on comfort and convenience produces a thoughtless society, which is naturally also profitable for some. I have always said that the role of a designer has much in common with that of a teacher, yet, in the case of designing, the classroom is the adequate solution to a design problem, which in a discrete (the focus-direction perspective of design) or a downright brash (the irritative perspective of design) manner explains the contexts of social operation. Educational failures in design tend to be dramatic;
8. **Sensitivity** – a designer should possess a specific kind of sensitivity also to be able to transfer their sensitivity into the cognitive field of the end user – then it is possible for an environment relevant for knowledge to emerge;
9. **Active citizen** – change through design is not possible when applying totalitarian design practices – the purpose of design is not to change behaviours as such. The purpose of design is to build the awareness on the part of end users, from whom, consequently, a social change may emerge, i.e. not from the outside (often within the top-down trend) but from outside the system, considering the properties of a system;
10. **Exclusion** – the application of design at a given time often directly or indirectly leads to various exclusions: social, economic or cultural. Universal designing cannot constitute a separate discipline of design, and the same applies to sustainable design, as I have already mentioned. Design is supposed to integrate, build relations, and, finally, secure the ability to establish communication in the sense of creating and maintaining community;
11. **System** – a key word in the design practice, which once applied enables people to counter design peculiarities, and to view problems and (often) more important solutions within the optics of the metaphor of communicating vessels. Design, especially within its social dimension, cannot be abstracted from the system in which it functions. I have already discussed this in the part devoted to the design problem, when I proposed that the problem is the perspective of the observer, in which a system becomes operationally inefficient – that means that the system is working, but in an inefficient manner

due to the system's functions and properties. Similar logic should be applied to solutions being applied – those should be considered as ways of solving a design problem on the one hand, but, on the other, one must assume that every solution to a problem may produce other problems due to that exact systemic nature of how design functions. The systemic perspective, at least in design, enables one to see mutual relations, which cannot be seen “from the inside”.

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Mariusz Wszótek

Jaki design ma sens? Dwa wymiary praktyki projektowania (komunikacji)

Streszczenie

John Thackara podkreśla, że 80% negatywnego wpływu na środowisko naturalne ma podłoże w designie i jego dowolności zastosowań. Z oglądu praktyki projektowej nietrudno nie przyznać mu racji – współcześnie design w rozu-

mieniu praktyki projektowej przyjął służalczą rolę wobec wielkiego biznesu. Konsekwencje takich praktyk możemy obserwować w czasie rzeczywistym: wykluczenie społeczne, brak refleksji projektowej i końcowych użytkowników, porażka brandingów czy polaryzacja całych społeczeństw – to tylko niektóre wyznaczniki aktualnych zastosowań projektowania (również graficznego). W miejsce aktualnych zastosowań potrzebujemy zmiany paradygmatu zarówno w teorii projektowania, jak również w praktycznych zastosowaniach. Design potrzebuje nowego kodeksu zastosowań, który nie tylko będzie dobrze wyglądał w mediach społecznościowych, ale również będzie jasnym punktem odniesienia w praktyce projektowej.

Słowa kluczowe: design, disruption, zrównoważone projektowanie, komunikacja, irytacja systemu.

When there is meaning in design? Two dimensions of the practice of designing (communication)

Summary

John Thackara emphasised that 80% of the negative impact on the natural environment has its origin in design and the randomness of its application. Considering the entirety of design practices, one would have a hard time disputing this. In contemporary times, design understood as design practices has assumed a servile role in relation to big corporations. One can observe the consequences of such practices in real time: social exclusion, the lack of design consideration or consideration of end users, the failure of branding, and the polarisation of entire societies – these are only some dimensions of the current applications of design (including graphic design). Instead of the current applications, we need a change in the paradigm of both the theory of design and practical applications. Design needs a new code of application which would not only look good in social media, but would also be a clear point of reference in the design practice.

Keywords: design, disruption, sustainable design, communication, irritation of the system

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The silent meaning of the cognitive-performative horizon

Meaning and reference

Meaning and reference have in Polish (*sens* and *znaczenie*, respectively) very similar connotations and are sometimes, particularly in common usage, interchangeable. [In this translation, the words *meaning* and *reference* as being the English equivalents of the Polish words *sens* and *znaczenie* shall be used only as designations of the linguistic terms. When they will be applied in phrasemes, as in the following examples, the translations provided in the square brackets will use other core elements to best reflect the meaning of the Polish phrasemes]. According to the definitions of the authors of *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* the word *sens* (meaning) (from the Latin *sensus* meaning ‘a feeling’) denotes “treść, wymowa czegoś, właściwe, zgodne z prawidłowym myśleniem, z rozsądkiem znaczenie czegoś” [the content, the meaning of something, the proper thinking, with common sense the meaning of something], but also “logiczność, trafność” [logicality, aptness].¹ Then, the word *znaczenie* [reference] has three basic explanations: 1) “myśl, przesłanie zawarte w czyjejś wypowiedzi, w czyimś zachowaniu” [a thought, the message included in someone’s statement, in someone’s behaviour], 2) “wartość, waga, ważność czegoś” [the value, weight, importance of something], 3) “treść, której znakiem jest wyraz lub wyrażenie; to, co określony wyraz lub wyrażenie znaczy, sygnalizuje” [the content designated by

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¹ *Wielki słownik języka polskiego PWN*, t. 1–5, ed. S. Dubisz, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2018, Vol. 4, p. 331 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].

a word or expression; that which a word or expression denote, indicate]² – however, their synonymic nature, i.e. the interchangeability of *sens* and *znaczenie*, is related to parts of all their explanations and, at the same time, with neither as a whole. If one says “w tym lub w takim sensie” [in this or in such sense] and “w tym lub takim znaczeniu” [in this or such meaning], they express the same thought. Yet the expressions “w pewnym sensie” [in some sense] and “w pewnym znaczeniu” [in some sense] express somewhat different thoughts. While the former refers to a general expression, i.e. something has a meaning in general but under some undefined condition, the latter indicates a limited extent, specific, though still not completely defined significance. A greater dissonance occurs when one says that “zrobienie tego nie ma sensu” [there is no point in doing this] or that “zrobienie tego nie ma znaczenia” [there is no difference whether you do it or not]. In the case of the former, it is not worth doing something as it would be illogical or irrelevant, and in the case of the latter, because it would be pointless or worthless.

Those variations suggest that people discuss meaning rather in reference to their general or subjective convictions or knowledge while reference in the context of specific verifiable relations to discursive objectivised knowledge (e.g. in dictionaries, which is unequivocally indicated by the third denotation of *znaczenie* [reference], while the remaining two are in this respect much more specific and objectivising than the dictionary-based denotation of *sens* [meaning]). Similar conclusions can be drawn based on the exemplary phrasemes in *Wielki słownik języka polskiego*: “Coś jest nie bez znaczenia” [something is not insignificant], “W całym, pełnym tego słowa znaczeniu” [As per the words complete meaning], “W dobrym, w najlepszym, w złym, w najgorszym tego słowa znaczeniu” [In the good/ the best/ the bad/ the worst sense], “W ścisłym tego słowa znaczeniu” [As per the words precise meaning].³ The dictionary-based set of examples for meaning indicates its individualised conviction-based nature:

Głęboki, istotny, jasny, określony, ukryty, zrozumiały sens. Sens listu, nauki, powieści, wypowiedzi. W sensie dosłownym, metaforycznym. Sens życia. Zdania bez sensu, pozbawione sensu. Domyślać się, doszukiwać się, dopatrywać się w czymś sensu. Nadać, przywrócić czemuś sens, Pojmować, rozumieć sens czegoś. Wypaczyć, zatrzeć, zmienić sens czegoś. Coś ma sens; w czymś jest sens. Coś straciło sens. [Deep, significant, clear, defined, hidden, understandable meaning. The meaning of a letter, education, novel, expression. In literal/ metaphorical sense. The meaning of life. Sentences without meaning, devoid of meaning. To induce, to seek out, to search for meaning in something. To assign/ restore meaning for something. To grasp/ understand the meaning of something. To distort/ blur/ change the me-

² *Wielki słownik...*, Vol. 5, p. 925.

³ *Ibidem*.

aning of something. Something has meaning; there is some sense in something. Something has lost any meaning.]⁴

Then, in *Korpus języka polskiego*, two more instances can be found: “poczucie bezsensu” [sense of meaninglessness]⁵ and “poczucie sensu życia” [sense of the meaning of life]⁶, which apart from a strong subjectivisation, also indicate a reference to the etymological ‘feeling’ (Latin ‘sensus’). The individualised nature of the application of the word ‘sens’ [meaning] is also indicated in philosophical texts. ‘Sens’ [meaning] and ‘sensowność’ [meaningfulness] are terms which in philosophy denote “that thanks to which something becomes understandable, acceptable or worthy of fulfilling.”⁷ Tomasz Komendziński, the author of the entry ‘sens’ in *Słownik filozofii*, offered the following clarification: “When searching for meaning one refers to values which add meaning to actions” – the understanding and acceptance which build meaning are related to the evaluation of actions.

Therefore, what is ‘sensowne’ [meaningful] is not only that which contains a thought or content, which is logical or apt in itself, but also an action performed (or, at least, attempted) in this or another way, which one can understand as something which has value. That value can, of course, be understood as that exact content or thought, especially when it is logical or apt, yet it must be associated with action. Moreover, an action itself presupposes the entity which undertakes it. And most importantly, that entity undertakes the action as something which hold some value.

Meaning of life

The problem of the “values which add meaning to actions” was discussed by fr. Józef Innocenty Maria Bocheński OP in the essay *O sensie życia*.⁸ He posited that “the case of the meaning of life is a case in the utmost degree individual, personal, private. It is even, if I am not mistaken, doubly private. In Andrzej’s case⁹, it is about the meaning of *his* life and about the meaning of life *for him*.”¹⁰ Bocheński

4 *Wielki słownik...*, Vol. 4, p. 331.

5 *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN*, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/korpus/szukaj/poczucie;1.html> [accessed on: 12.03.2019].

6 *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN*, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/korpus/szukaj/poczucie;2.html> [accessed on: 12.03.2019]; *Korpus Języka Polskiego PWN*, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/korpus/szukaj/poczucie;6.html> [accessed on: 12.03.2019].

7 *Słownik filozofii*, ed. J. Hartman, KRN, Krakow 2009, p. 203.

8 J.I.M. Bocheński OP, “O sensie życia”, *Kultura* 1990, issue 1–2 (388–389), pp. 3–16.

9 He begins the essay with a story of Andrzej, who whilst having *objective* rationale for having a sense of the meaning of his life (his youth, intelligence, successes, appearances, wealth, health, etc.) concluded that his life was devoid of meaning; vide: *ibidem*, p. 4.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 4.

conducted his discussion in the style of a logic argument, where the cardinal points were consecutive statements surrounded by related arguments. In the summary, he thus encapsulated his discussion of the meaning of life:

It is my private affair, in which I can depend only on myself. A strive for a goal usually adds that meaning to my life; therefore, I must make sure that I do not lack goals. Yet meaning can be found not only in striving as it is also offered, at to a major extent, by when you use the moment. To be able to use it, to be able to find happiness in that which is given to me now, currently, is a major thing; it is befitting for me to learn it with full awareness. Human life is not one single chain of strivings – it consists of a whole bunch of small chains. One should not become seduced by The One, by the Major Issue, but rather must be able to find satisfaction in the multitude of small and fleeting satisfactions.¹¹

Similar (within the perspective assumed in this article) conclusions were voiced by Jan Hartman, the author of the entry ‘sens życia’ [meaning of life] in *Słownik filozofii*. He began his analysis of the meaning of life with a general definition stating that it is “the essence and the goal of human existence, human calling, that which justifies the efforts in life and which makes it worth living, even if it ends in absolute death,” he went on to present a synthesis of various philosophical positions, and concluded with the following formula: “human life does not so much have a specific meaning or goal, but rather humans, who create themselves through their attempts at defining their calling, struggle with the incessant problematic nature of existence.”¹²

Both syntheses, though developed from radically different positions, established meaning as the individual cognitive-performative horizon to which every individual refers their actions (even if only mental). Of course, that horizon, though to an individually limited extent, also includes the previously discussed values. Values are also perceived within its context. The silent assumption of both philosophers (as the cultural habit would also suggest) is the objective existence of that cognitive-performative horizon in the form of knowledge (e.g. scientific as it is recorded in scientific studies, or common knowledge as it is transmitted in direct communication acts) or convictions (e.g. religious or philosophical) about humans and the world. In fact, that knowledge and convictions, even if they were extremely diverse, are already “present in the culture.” However, for the “sense of meaning” their objective *presence* does not suffice as the *sine qua non* of meaning to exist, the objective presence must be applied subjectively, it must be constantly referred to current actions and situations of an individual, and, most importantly, by that individual specifically. One could discuss, though, whether we live in a world which

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 16.

¹² *Słownik filozofii...*, pp. 203–204.

is standardised or which is constantly changing (in the case of the latter people could argue about the extent and detailing of the knowledge and/or convictions one would need to gather to guarantee themselves the “sense of meaning” – many such mental experiments exist in our cultural archives), but that is not the problem for every human individually, it is their own responsibility (even if they try to transfer that liability onto others, the culture, or the Great Presence or the Great Absence), undertake the effort of recognising themselves and their closest or more broader surroundings. What is then the *sine qua non* of the “sense of meaning”?

The unconscious mind

Objective cultural archives are, of course, very helpful, virtually essential, especially when one’s existence begins to encompass a bigger range of activities than could be assigned to a new-born. Also, how are we supposed to know how to use that treasure trove of knowledge and beliefs before we start using it? Despite appearances, that is not a squaring-a-circle-type of situation. That knowledge comes directly from life, from existence, and it is accumulated by every individual – probably from birth to death through continuous experiences, actions and... understanding of such actions. We do, however, argue about this matter a lot¹³, yet the moment when one starts to inquire about meaning is *in medias res*, i.e. independent of the extreme situation (or of whether it even occurs) of a major part of the cultural archive which one has already experienced (applied), and to a considerably smaller extent which one has not yet experienced. However, what is most important is another problem: how much is one aware of their experiences and their knowledge.

When commenting on the latest research into brain activity, Leonard Mlodinow introduced a new (when compared to Freud’s or Jung’s psychologies) concept of the unconscious arguing that “many unconscious processes can *never* be directly revealed” because “they transpire in areas of the brain not open to the conscious mind.”¹⁴ He also formulated a more potent argument regarding that experimentally proven type of the unconscious:

¹³ Does one’s birth and death constitute the final limit lines? Is it not that since one learns through imitation, their entire knowledge comes from the “cultural archive” transmitted from generation to generation? Or is its source not rather transcendent? Or maybe every one of us has, by the power of our genome, the ability to reconstruct the eternal cultural model? Or does only one of the many “presences” in cultural archives ensure meaning? And if so, which one? The list goes on endlessly.

¹⁴ L. Mlodinow, *Nieświadomy mózg. Jak to, co dzieje się za progiem świadomości, wpływa na nasze życie*, trans. J. Szajkowska, Prószyński i S-ka, Poznań 2012, p. 26 [English version: Mlodinow L., *Subliminal*, Vintage Books, New York 2012].

We perceive, we remember our experiences, we make judgements, we act – and in all of these endeavors we are influenced by factors we aren't aware of. The truth is that our unconscious minds are active, purposeful, and independent. Hidden they may be, but their effects are anything but, for they play a critical role in shaping the way our conscious minds experience and respond to the world.¹⁵

Tacit knowledge

Around fifty years earlier Michael Polanyi formulated similar arguments; he introduced the notion of tacit knowledge.¹⁶ He set it against explicit propositional knowledge, which fills cultural archives and is constantly being added to them. Tacit knowledge is knowledge which one possesses yet cannot express it in any other way than through its practical application. One simply knows how to do something but not how to justify it discursively. Tacit knowledge is hard to articulate; it is unconscious – and in that respect it correlates with Mlodinow's unconscious mind. It is reflected in people's individual actions and in their interactions with their social environments. Its scope is very broad, from everyday activities (the absorbed unconscious psychomotor patterns), through social interactions (e.g. the so-called organisational knowledge¹⁷) up to creative activities in art (especially in performing arts). Tacit knowledge is transmitted directly between people, in their practical interactions. It is acquired through active participation in the broadly understood culture – apart from discursive knowledge, people also absorb knowledge which is expressible but which can be applied in practice: “the aim of a skilful performance is achieved by the observance of a set of rules which are not known as such to the person following them.”¹⁸

Therefore, tacit knowledge covers mainly the practical (performative) part of the unconscious mind, which we use in a broad spectrum of individual (including social) activities. Starting with an infant which by imitating its closest environment

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 46.

¹⁶ Vide: M. Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 2009, pp. 3–25; ibidem, *Personal Knowledge. Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy, Enlarged Edition with a New Foreword by Mary Jo Nye*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 2009, pp. 49–65.

¹⁷ Studies into the transfer of tacit knowledge conducted at four Australian universities have shown that up to 75% of organisational knowledge is tacit in nature; vide: R. Chugh, “Do Australian Universities Encourage Tacit Knowledge Transfer?”, [in:] *Proceedings of the 7th International Joint Conference on Knowledge Discovery, Knowledge Engineering and Knowledge Management*, 2015, Vol. 1: KMIS, pp. 128–135.

¹⁸ M. Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge...*, p. 49.

learns the communication employed by it, clearly without awareness of all the existing rules and yet able to apply them more or less correctly, through all micro-community situations and activities which shape the unconscious psychomotor patterns, which regulate the wide array of actions based on the stimulus-reaction pattern, all until adult creative activities, which are regulated by unrealised rules. Polanyi concluded in that context quite unequivocally: “Rules of art can be useful, but they do not determine the practice of an art; they are maxims, which can serve as a guide to an art only if they can be integrated into the practical knowledge of the art. They cannot replace this knowledge.”¹⁹ For example, when a child learns to speak properly, that does not happen by it absorbing (remembering) the rules identified in phonetics, but by repeating sequences of sounds until reaching a satisfactory (communication) outcome. When a dancer learns a completely new style, it is not enough to learn the discursive rules of kinaesthetics (if such have been formulated as usually they are not written down), but she/he repeats sequences of movements until her/his master decides she/he is doing it correctly. Of course, a portion of tacit knowledge becomes in time (at least by most of its users) realised, nonetheless even then it can be verbalised only in a fragmentary fashion (in such a case it supplies our discursive cultural archives), while most of it remains non-verbalised, at least within the extent available to an individual.

NB, a significant portion of a cultural archive is transferred not in a discursive but rather a practical form, which is why it becomes for recipients the object of their tacit knowledge. Polanyi discussed the phenomenon in terms of a master-apprentice relationship: “By watching the master and emulating his efforts in the presence of his example, the apprentice unconsciously picks up the rules of the art.”²⁰ Clearly, that pattern does not only apply to art but all our activities: for a child its parents are its first masters; for teenagers those are their heroes and idols; for adults those are every social interaction in which we acquire new skills and competences from people who had them and who showed us how to acquire them (even if in doing that they describe it in a more or less discursive manner, just as in the case of the rules of art). Tacit knowledge transferred to an “apprentice” directly by a “master” is therefore stored in the actual used cultural traditions – most broadly speaking: in all their aspects, dimensions and extents.

Cognitive-performative horizon

Human individual activities constantly form human individual cognitive-performative horizons. Those include all human sensory and mental experiences which they subject to conscious and subconscious evaluation. Yet I do not

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 50.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 53.

refer to solely an axiological categorisation. The discovery of mirror neurons²¹ suggested that we constantly acquire or consolidate the perceived (through senses or the mind) psychomotor patterns which, subject to our evaluation, will from now on constitute our array of performative opportunities to use (conditionally or unconditionally) or avoid (conditionally or unconditionally). Conditioning has a double or interactive nature: on the one hand, it responds to the subjective opportunities and desires of an individual and, on the other, it considers aspirations and cultural expectations – depending on one's mental constitution and their current existential projects, both sides of the internal evaluation interaction either gain or lose its significance, which in time may, of course, change dramatically.

The nature of the functioning of neuron-based reflection is the reason why we acquire or consolidate not only that which we perceive through our senses as something which actually occurs, but also, to varying degrees, that about which we read or hear. The cognitive-performative horizon also covers (with appropriate evaluation "label") all the content acquired through various mental (intellectual, psychological, spiritual) experiences which together with the absorbed sensory experiences constitute an area of reference for new evaluations. The most recent findings in neurosciences have suggested that a great majority (if not all) of new experiences are correlated first subliminally with the previously absorbed psychomotor patterns, and only then (if ever) with our realised knowledge and convictions. That indicates that the compositions of our individual cognitive horizons may include patterns and content of which we are not aware but also such which we do not want to or cannot let into our consciousness and which are not entirely compliant with our consciously declared views.

The meaning-building goals and values constitute a significant component of the cognitive-performative horizon, yet even if they had existed in cultural archives, they reached the horizon only through individual activities and similarly individual evaluation (positive or negative), not necessarily compliant with their cultural evaluations. The evaluation of both proximal and distal goals and values, even if it was done with a major impact from intellectual processes, is to much larger than it is generally assumed extent based on the unconscious mind, which essentially is the tacit meaning of our activities, and consequently also of our individual sense of meaning.

²¹ Vide, e.g. V. Gallese, "Ucieleśniona symulacja: od neuronów po doświadczenie fenomenologiczne", trans. M. Trzcńska, [in:] *Formy aktywności umysłu. Ujęcia kognitywne*, Vol. 2, ed. A. Klawiter, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2009, pp. 172–200.

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Mariusz Bartosiak

Milczący sens horyzontu poznawczo-performatywnego

Streszczenie

Przedstawione w artykule rozważania wychodzą od opalizacji semantycznej sensu i znaczenia w polskim uzusie językowym, poczynając od podstawowych ujęć słownikowych i korpusowych, w których wskazana jest podmiotowa (subiektywna) dominanta sensu i przedmiotowa (obiektywna) dominanta znaczenia. Następnie przywołane są elementy dyskursu filozoficznego (J. Bocheński, J. Hartman, T. Komendziński), w których wyartykułowane są dodatkowe warunki sensu jako „sensu życia” i „sensu działania”, podkreślające podmiotowy i performatywny charakter sensu, szczególnie związany z frazą „sens życia”. Filozoficzny kontekst rozważań wspierają ustalenia nauk poznawczych odnoszące się do udziału nieświadomości i jej potencjału poznawczo-performatywnego, wprowadzonego za pomocą kategorii „umysłu nieświadomego” (L. Młodinow) i „milczącej wiedzy” (M. Polanyi). W dalszej części rozważań poświęconych przede wszystkim koncepcji „horyzontu poznawczo-performatywnego” podkreślony jest dominujący udział nieświadomianego wymiaru podmiotowej wiedzy o byciu i działaniu w świecie w sensotwórczej aktywności poznawczej i performatywnej.

Słowa kluczowe: sens działania, sens życia, nieświadomy umysł, milcząca wiedza, horyzont poznawczo-performatywny.

The silent meaning of the cognitive-performative horizon

Summary

The article presents the discussion which begins with a semantic clarification of the Polish terms of ‘sens’ [meaning] and ‘znaczenie’ [reference] in Polish linguistic usus, starting with the basic dictionary and corpus-based determinations, which indicate the subjective dominant element of ‘sens’ and the objective dominant

element of 'znaczenie'. Next, the author indicated the elements of philosophical discourse (J. Bocheński, J. Hartman, T. Komendziński), which defined additional conditions of meaning as "the meaning of life" and "meaning of action" and which emphasise the subjective and performative nature of meaning, particularly associated with the expressions "meaning of life". The philosophical context of the discussion was supported by the findings of cognitive sciences which refer to the impact of the subconscious and its cognitive-performative potential introduced using the categories of the "subliminal" (L. Młodinow) and "tacit knowledge" (M. Polanyi). The final part of the discussion was mainly devoted to the concept of the "cognitive-performative horizon", it emphasised the dominant impact of the unrealised dimension of individual knowledge about existence and action in the world for meaning-building cognitive and performative activities.

Keywords: meaning of action, meaning of life, subliminal, tacit knowledge, cognitive-performative horizon.

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Włodzimierz Adamiak*

The meaning of activities in *Okolice Sztuki* – much went on at Strych

Introduction

I admit the following: I do not possess extensive academic, linguistic and psychological competences. Therefore, I can pose more questions than I can offer categorical statements. Additionally, my anxiousness and doubts are amplified by the reflection which links the state of my mind as an author with the uneasiness of Winnie the Pooh, the widely loved character of popular literature, who the harder he tried to notice honey in his jar, the more he could not see it there. By analogy, the state of my mind changed the more I tried to investigate the problem and the closer the time of the presentation became.

General reflections

The measure of meaning

“To coś nie ma większego sensu” [This doesn’t make much sense] But does it mean it has some sense? Usually, the expression “To coś nie ma większego sensu” means a complete lack of meaning, i.e. senselessness.

The expression “To ma ogromny sens” [This makes a great deal of sense] indicates acceptance of an action, approval, often in combination with a declaration of support. Not always in order to achieve a goal; sometimes to engage in its fulfilment.

So is it possible to define a unit of the measure of sense or meaning? Not likely. Mainly because there are no objective criteria for evaluating meaning.

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The relative nature of meaning

It seems that meaning, or sense, is a quality of a phenomenon and actions which justifies the utility, usefulness, rationality, and purposefulness of something. Also in this approach, meaning is a relative notion.

“The point of view (about meaning) depends on the point (place) occupied” by the person who evaluates meaning. The evaluation and measurability of meaning is subjective and available in personal terms – not always and not in a stable manner. That is because it is possible that an evaluation of meaning may change as a result of a verification of evaluation criteria, e.g. those associated with experience: “zrozumiesz, jak dorośniesz” [you’ll understand once you grow up]. Furthermore, one cannot assume that the objective value of meaning increases with the increase of the number of individuals who accept the same meanings. That is because, basically, it is then all about the goals and the modes of fulfilling them. The tyres burnt by farmers in Paris and Warsaw had meaning from the farmers’ point of view and they completely lacked meaning in the evaluations of most people stuck in traffic jams and getting somewhere late (because of that). The cycling *Critical Mass* events which gathered tens of thousands of people infuriated other road users and sometimes caused dramatic situations when ambulances were not able to get past.

Meaning in existential terms

Such reflections as: “Czy jest sens tak się męczyć?” [What’s the point in trying so hard?], “straciłem/straciłam sens” [I’ve lost purpose in life], “nie ma już sensu” [there is no point any more] usually lead people to stop activities aimed at achieving a goal, usually one of remaining in good condition, both physical and mental. An extreme situation of feeling there is a lack of meaning sometimes leads to suicide. And yet the realisation “odnalazłem/odnalazłam sens” [I have found meaning] becomes a factor which motivates and encourages people, and keeps their spirits high. Alas, it applies far too often to emotional and, sadly, not always durable exaltation.

Address – the origin of meaning

Meaning from the outside: “jesteś sensem...” [you are the meaning of...], “nadajesz sens...” [you add meaning to...], and “odebrałeś sens...” [you’ve taken meaning away from...] is an act of assigning others the state of one’s own emotions, whereas meaning from the inside: “odnalazłem sens” [I have found meaning], and “utraciłem sens” [I have lost meaning] expresses personal placement of the reasons for emotions and activities.

Pre-school awareness of meaning,

i.e. when does the sense of meaning first appear?

“Tato, co ty usiłujesz?” [Dad, what are you trying to do?] is a question I asked by my four-year-old son. He watched me for a while in silence and he struggled with understanding the meaning of my state of mind which he tried to read from by actions. By the way, since then I use the verb “usiłować” [to try, strive] to most aptly define/summarise my actions.

In response to the question addressed at the conference, I ask myself and those reading this text the following question: When does the awareness of meaning and the ability to verify meaning, not only in ourselves but also in the behaviour of others, first appear?

Especially the latter ability seems particularly important, as it applies to the evaluation of the emotional state of others.

Ad rem

Okolice Sztuki [The Circumstances of Art] is a term I devised for describing the location of the phenomena and activities that were only associated with the art emanating from Polska Łódź Strych.¹

Time: the final quarter of the 20th century.

Persons, i.e.: artists (who professed different forms of art, who were mainly engaged in visual arts: plastic arts, photography, film, and the so-called new media), people and institutions who capitalise on artists' activities, i.e. arts patrons (patrons and sponsors, dealers, gallery owners, museum administrators, critics, publishers), manufacturers of tools and materials for creating art items, technical aids and critics, and, finally, art consumers – viewers and participants; and artists' muses, family, friends, and neighbours.

The meaning associated with active or passive participation in *Okolice Sztuki* seems indisputable. For many, it defines the quality and level of their lives. It often offers a mental assurance of having been present within the area of art, close to artists. The seemingly obvious meaning in being an artist is not so unequivocal, as the practice of art may also be a torment (consider, e.g. Vincent van Gogh), even more so when one considers that fame does not always entail fortune. Finally, the meaninglessness of artistic activities is noticed by neighbours, whose peace is

¹ In the following years, the activities of the creators surrounding Strych also occurred outside Łódź or even the country. Those affiliated with Łódź Kaliska were the most active.

shattered by artists, and the families of artists to whom artists devote far less time and money than to their art. This mostly applies to the attitudes of those determined artists for whom life is art and art is life.

A few remarks on the art of the end of the 20th century in Poland and in Strych

Polish art of the 1980s developed in parallel: in official galleries and state-run culture institutions (sparingly). Some creators displayed their works in museums (the so-called regime artists) or in galleries run by Catholic churches (“the black” we used to call them)², while others met at independent venues: in private flats, workshops, etc., while yet others ceased their artistic activities altogether. The paths of those groups did not cross. They kept an eye on each other, but not intrusively, and they rather refrained from commenting on the others’ activities. The community of “independent” artists, sometimes also referred to as “alternative” artists, basically did not care less about the attitudes of other artists.

Strych [The Attic], located in a tenement house at 149 Piotrkowska St. in Łódź, was in 1979–1987 not only a place for drying laundry (Fig. 1). Before it was turned into an attractive flat (midway down Piotrkowska St., the showcase street of Łódź), it had been a private workshop and an independent gallery, and, I believe, a major location for people and events from *Okolice Sztuki* (Fig. 2), which was confirmed in several dozen academic studies, including master’s theses, doctoral dissertations, and habilitation dissertations on Polish art of the end of the 20th century.³ My personal satisfaction was that the location was reached by mail addressed to: “STRYCH Lodz Poland.”

I am reviewing the phenomenon of Strych for the following reasons: in the period under discussion I was the owner of the place (and I still am). I invited some of my students to *Strych*, along with newly acquainted artistically and intellectually original young people (Zbyszek Libera, the well-known and appreciated progressive artist, held his first exhibition in Strych). As a basic standard, I assured them a floor to sleep on and, rarely, board; I co-organised vernissages and events which gathered Polish and foreign artists; finally, I co-originated art phenomena of the final years of the 20th century, which today are considered as important (Fig. 3).

² Unofficial terms, used rarely, usually condescendingly.

³ See more: E. Nowina-Sroczyńska, “Uczty nomadów. Szkic do antropologicznej opowieści o łodzi Kaliskiej”, *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 2007, vol. 46, pp. 167–179.



Fig. 1. Artists' meeting in the attic. Source: own study.



Fig. 2. Poster from the Strych chronicles. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

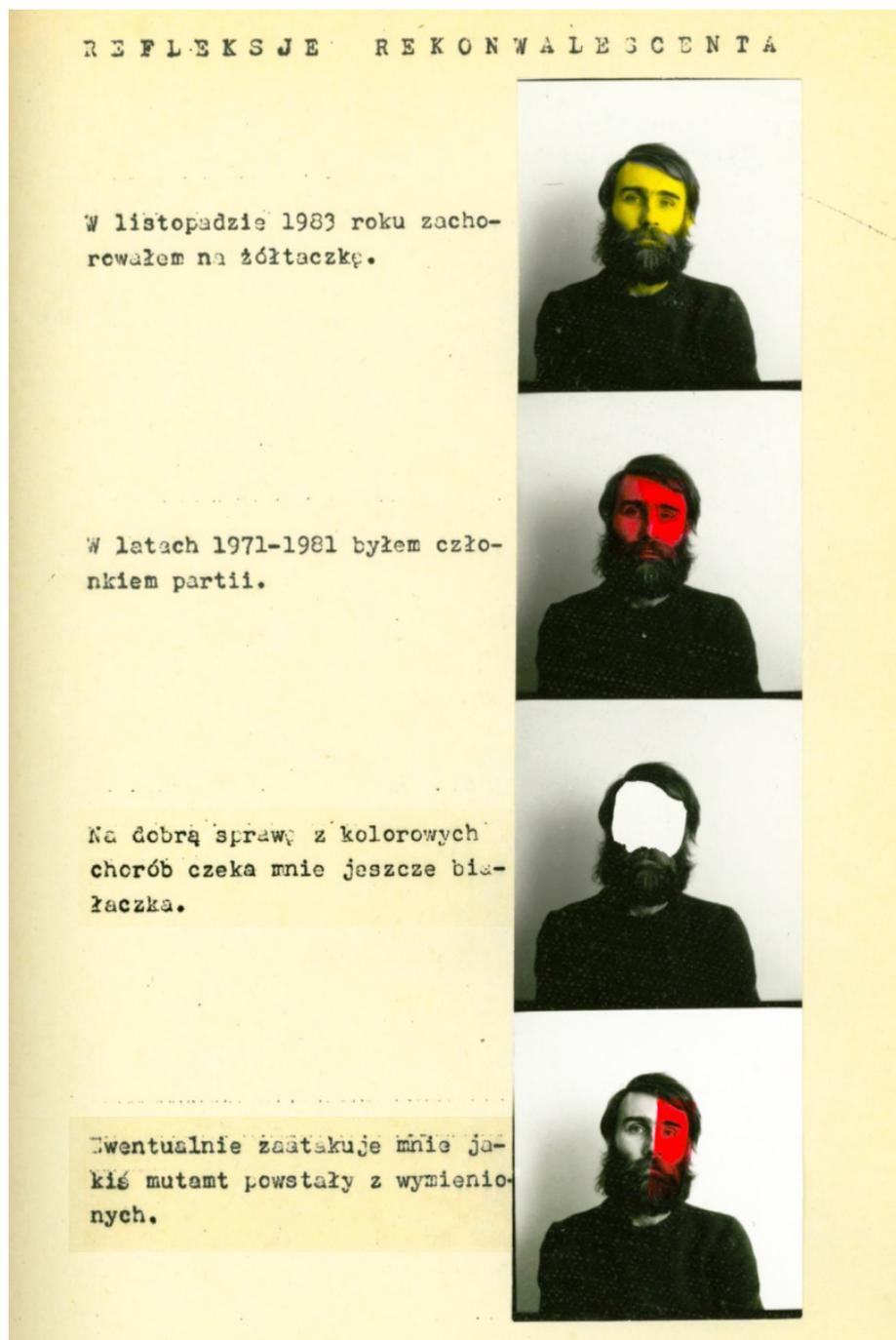


Fig. 3. Tango; author's page. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

The name *Kultura Zrzuty*⁴ immediately caught on among the members (Fig. 4). The presentations, vernissages, and events in Strych gathered dozens and sometimes even several hundred people and artists; mainly people from *Okolice Sztuki* (Fig. 5).



Fig. 4. Poster of *Kultura Zrzuty*. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

4 As defined by Zocha, i.e. Grażyna Łuczko: "In 1984, Jacek Józwiak came up with the name *Kultura Zrzuty* for a group of artists gathered around the Strych workshop in Łódź. The point was to put into one basket all ideas, concepts, and notions, but also to organise exhibitions, en plein air sessions and events together. Strych gathered a group of extremely interesting people, e.g. Łódź Kaliska (Marek Janiak, Andrzej Kwietniewski, Adam Rzepecki, Andrzej Świetlik, and Andrzej Wielogórski), Zbigniew Libera, Jerzy Truszkowski, Zbigniew Bińczyk, Grzegorz Zygiel, Zygmunt Rytko, Jacek Kryszkowski, Zbyszko Trzeciakowski; there were also young art historians, e.g. Jola Ciesielska and Krzysztof Jurecki, cinematographers from the Film School, e.g. Tomek Snopkiewicz and Jacek Józwiak, as well as older masters, e.g. Józek Robakowski and Andrzej Różycki." ("Łatwiej było działać w grupie. Rozmowa z Zofią Łuczko", *Dwutygodnik.com*, <https://www.dwutygodnik.com/arttykul/6135-latwiej-bylo-dzialac-w-grupie.html> [accessed on: 21.05.2019]).



Fig. 5. Debates in Strych. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

The peak of Strych gallery activity occurred during the period of Martial Law, and a few years after it was lifted (1981, 1987). That was preceded (from 1979) by meetings in my workshop of the students of architecture at Lodz University of Technology. Apart from design work, those meetings were focussed around debates on current civilisational problems. We opposed the aggressive modernisation of Łódź's urban space or of culture in general.⁵

Allow to me stress that the Łódź artistic community of *Okolice Sztuki* was, at that time, the most active and creative artistic community in Poland. In the first half of the 1980s, artists themselves organised in Strych a dozen or so original vernissages, presentations, performance-type shows, installations and concerts, and a dozen or so issues of the *Tango* journal was edited and published⁶ (Fig. 6–8).

⁵ One resounding outcome of those discussions was the project "Odślonięcie Pomnika Kamienicy" [Revealing of the Monument of the Tenement House] (7 May 1981).

⁶ An art journal with a circulation of 200 copies (censorship limitations) of original pages.

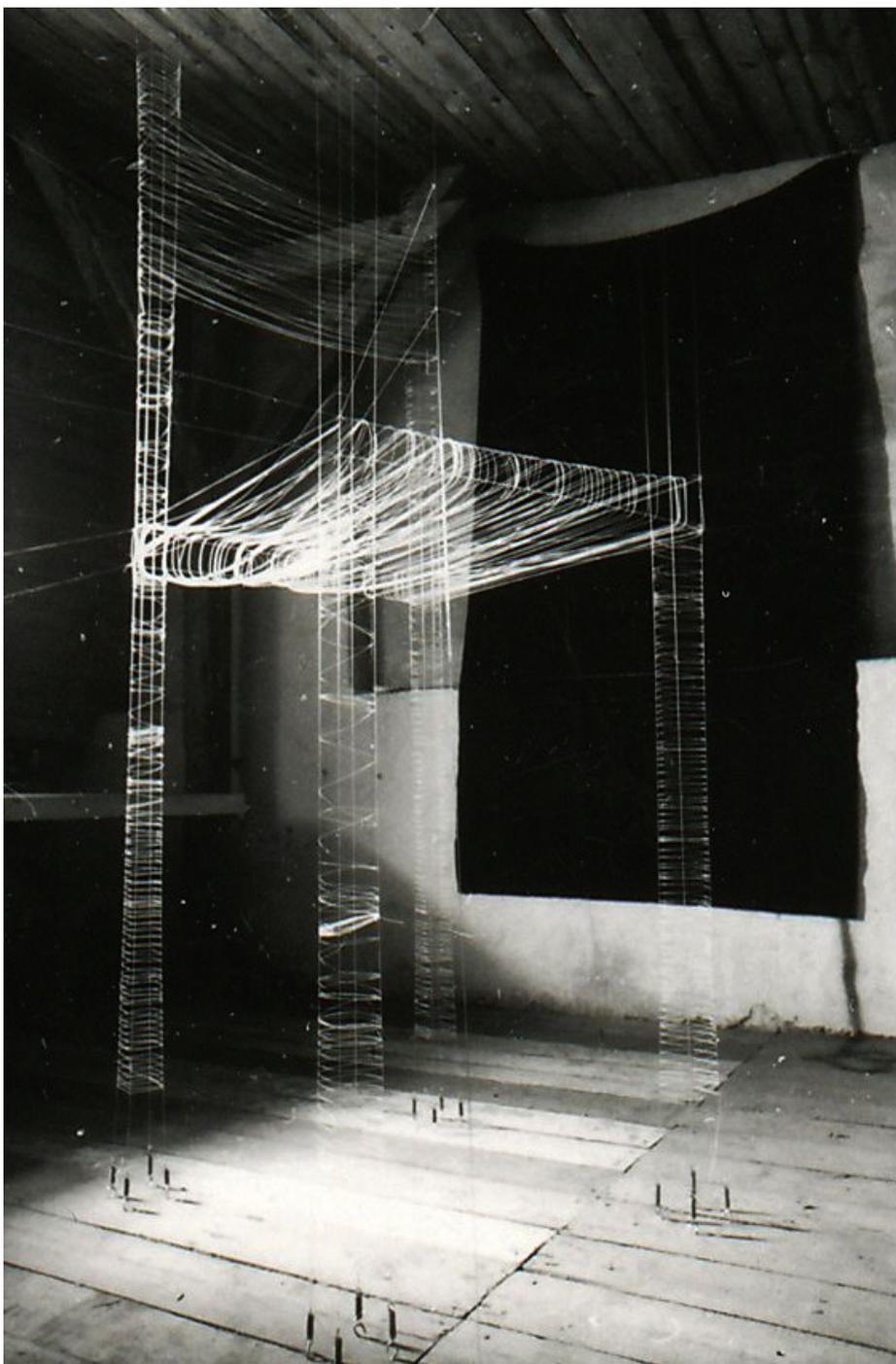


Fig. 6. Maja Gordon's chair. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

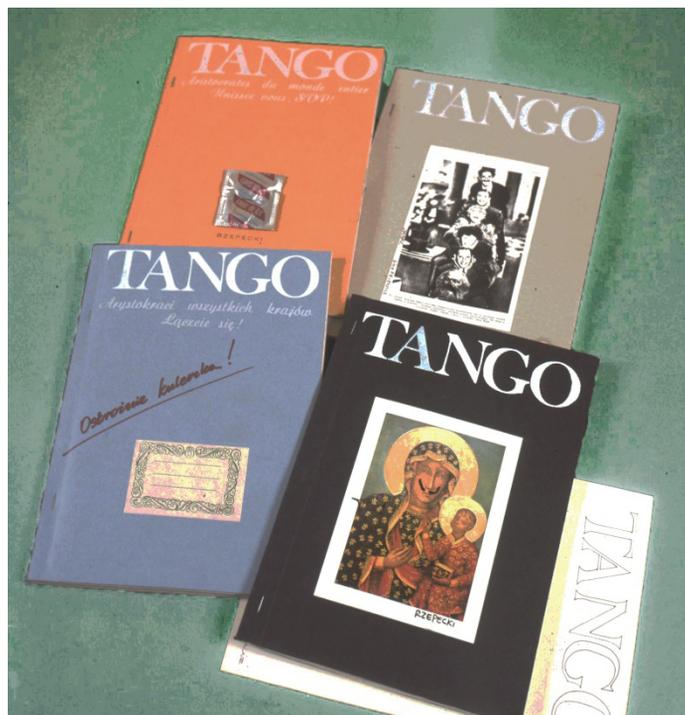


Fig. 7. Tango. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl



Fig. 8. Editing Tango. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

Several national festivals of Nieme Kino [Silent Movies] gathered independent cinema artists from Poland and the students and lecturers of the Łódź Film School (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. Poster of Nieme Kino. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

I attribute the greatest merit for the development and the course of later events in Strych to Marek Janiak⁷, the co-founder of the Łódź Kaliska group, which celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2019. Marek Janiak and Andrzej Kwietniewski tried to define the meaning of their activities by editing art manifestos, which became the hallmarks of their attitudes and existential meaning in the area of art⁸ (Fig. 10–12).

7 It was foolish of me to hand over for six months (in the autumn of 2001) the keys to my workshop in the attic to Marek Janiak.

8 After Marek Janiak:

“I am an avant-garde artist because I naturally jump into extremes [...] most importantly, I am fully aware of the fact that my activities are very important though unappreciated I constantly need to be brave, and that is very tiring I am sometimes afraid that the community might not accept me—that thought terrifies me I used to be a constructive artist, but I was not successful, now I create embarrassing art Either way, I will win the competition for the God of artists” (17/06/1982).

After A. Kwietniewski and M. Janiak: *FOR NEEDFUL ART*:

“to profess needful art one must sit comfortably, or even lounge, at lunch would be best [...] you need to eat bananas and many delicacies and pomegranates, meat cutlets, fish, frogs and snails, if that’s your thing, but not hearts.

satisfying sexual needs to excess

sense of social success, best in writing, devoted friends

it’s better to be a healthy and talented artist than sickly and inept

money is important only to be able to afford different whims [...]

you need to praise everyone, mainly those who either way receive infinite trust, so you do not need to pretend anything

all that makes art truly needful and commonly understandable

female artists must be beautiful (Abramowicz)

no trouble with communication, everyone must have warmth

some more bananas, unless someone prefers watermelons, for every artist to have big portfolios, be included in encyclopaedias and anthologies

every art should be needful, so that no one has to bow or make an effort

also, for not to necessarily write or read manifestos, only glance over, oh, and mainly not to make too much effort” (excerpts from manifestos, saved in my private collection).



Fig. 10. Manifestos. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl



Fig. 11. One of the slogans. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl



Fig. 12. Slogan – provocation. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

In the following years, the Strych community engaged in activities outside of Łódź organising, with the immeasurable kindness of Zbyszek Bińczyk and his mother, national private en plein air sessions in Teofilów near Spała⁹ (Fig. 13–14).



Fig. 13. En plein air session in Teofilów + illustration. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

⁹ The first of such activities was the weekly joint artistic activity of the artists from the urząd@miasta and Łódź Kaliska groups in Krakow. It was realized in the Krakow Market Square ("upadek zupełny" [complete downfall]) and in the yard of the small tenement house in Kanoniczna St.



Fig. 14. Meeting of artists in Teofilów. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

The associations of the artistic activities in Strych, during the en plein air sessions in Teofilów, and in Świetlica at Zofia's with Dada seem obvious. Allow me to quote some of my favourite bon mots created at that time, which gave us encouragement and a sense of freedom.¹⁰

You should take an artist's word.

Whoever has God in their heart, they are not afraid of death. /folk/

True art requires sacrifice. /Makary's cousin after the loss of accordion, a keepsake after a deceased father, during the shooting of the performance /film "Maszyny drżące, kominy dymiące"/

¹⁰ "The community of *Kultura Zrzuty* was a team of intelligent and witty people who kept exchanging bon mots, many of which became cornerstone expressions of *Kultura Zrzuty*. Tomasz Snopkiewicz recorded a large collection of those, and he published them in 4 collections *Nowa Sztuka-Zawołania*, others lodged in the still working, thank God, gracious memory, and others still were lost." (<http://www.kulturazrzuty.pl/hasla.php> [accessed on: 21.05.2019]).

God is envious of our mistakes! /Janiak, Sulima-Suryń, Bińczyk/
 Art cannot be too arduous. /Janiak/
 Fleeting forms in art fascinate me, so I go in and fart. /Janiak/
 We demand big boobs for little money! /Łódź Kaliska/
 Truth be told, there is one truth that there is one truth. /collective/
 Strych is the final refuge for pure art. /Rytka/
 It's not true that Łódź Kaliska is an eternal destroyer /Marcel Duchamp/
 Oye, Randy, how much's the candy? /folk, used by Makary/
 Thinking limits art. /Kwietniewski/
 Every woman is a fag because they love men. /E.K.?
 Laziness is the duty of every citizen of the PRL [Polish People's Republic].
 /Kryszkowski/
 Only you truly know your art. /Janiak, Snopkiewicz/
 Art, just like snot, comes from the brain. /Snopkiewicz/
 Art couldn't care less about you. /Łódź Kaliska/
 Art pollutes the environment. /Łódź Kaliska/

An artist should sit comfortable in an armchair and eat bananas. /Janiak/

The intentional careless form of the manifestos and most of the quoted maxims suggests the nonchalance of their authors and the entire community of *Kultura Zrzuty*, though, in my opinion, that is a simplification. Their obvious clear meaning was conveyed in the provocation towards the general standards of behaviour and rules. Between the participants of events and discussions there sometimes arose disputes thick with arguments about the foundations in art, especially about the honesty and authenticity of the presented attitudes, works, and opinions (Fig. 15–16).



Fig. 15. Art discourse. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl



Fig. 16. Fundamental questions. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

Anioł w piekle (rzecz o Strychu)¹¹

Professor Ewa Nowina-Sroczyńska, an anthropologist of culture, aptly defined the activities of the artists in Strych as “Karnalizowanie sztuki i życia” [Carnivalisation of art and life].¹² I am envious of the accuracy of the term. I myself see meaning in my own escape and in the escape of the artists of *Kultura Zrzuty* into alternate worlds when faced with the common emotional, ideological and artistic standards applicable at that time; I also view it as an expression of hidden helplessness, on the one hand, and of attitudes filled with determination combined with artistic nonchalance, on the other.¹³ Having stripped the meaning forced onto culture by norms and limitations, the artists found themselves at a crossroads. An extreme version of their helplessness was the public burning of copies of TANGO by Jacek Józwiak, their co-founder, and the total ban of Jacek Kryszkowski on propagating and commenting upon his works. Yet it must be said that JK should be considered as one of the major figures in establishing the intellectual foundation for the artistic

11 Title of a study by Jolanta Ciesielska *Anioł w piekle (rzecz o Strychu)* [Angel in hell (about Strych)] (Ciesielska Jolanta, “Anioł w piekle (rzecz o Strychu)”, [in:] *Co słycać: sztuka najnowsza*, ed. M. Sitkowska, Warszawa 1989, pp. 203–208.).

12 E. Nowina-Sroczyńska, *Mistrzowie ostentacyjnych transgresji: Łódź Kaliska z antropologiem w tle*, Łódź 2018.

13 “Strych became a place of various organised meetings as well as completely spontaneous ones, while Martial Law was a trigger which turned it into a 24/7 flophouse with a canteen supported with membership premiums. From the end of 1981 until the beginning of 1985 (or, in my opinion, 1987), it was the meeting place of people of various professions: professors and students, actors, biologists, musicians, film-makers, ethnographers, and art historians; professional plastic artists were the smallest group. They were the “discovered curiosities of human fauna,” as Jacek Kryszkowski, the most radical member of *Kultura Zrzuty* called them. [...] A major role in it was played by the artists of the new media originating from Warsztat Formy Filmowej (Józef Robakowski, Andrzej Różycki), as well as the Muses of Łódź Kaliska, women who were both beautiful and smart. The main task of the members of *Kultura Zrzuty* [...] was to create a sense of community and to eradicate any borderlines between professional and non-professional art leaving that taxonomy, as the members used to say, to museologists. Efforts were made to ensure that the borderline between the audience and artists presenting their works was not established. The community of play and spontaneity did not preclude disputes over art.

The main problem which emerged in the discussions and activities was the lack of acceptance of the norms applicable in culture. The problem of an artist's acceptance by society was being challenged. Members expressed their disbelief in items of art as the elements for multiplying cultural riches. They broke off from cultural habits. [...] Instead, they proposed a turn of colloquial reality. [...] They challenged all definitions, they continued to move around “marginalia”, “releasing themselves from the category of meaning.”. Vide: E. Nowina-Sroczyńska: “Uczty nomadów. Szkic do antropologicznej opowieści o Łodzi Kaliskiej”, *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 2007, vol. 46, pp. 167–179.

community of *Kultura Zrzuty*. Those artists made attempts to find meaning in their own activities by, at the same time, negating the meaning in creating works of art. Maybe that is what holds the mystery/conundrum of those *Okolice Sztuki?*” The canon of joint creative play became common and superior, which contested and provoked reality, but it also treated its own activity without inflating its significance. By negating the meaning of accepted and commonly applicable cultural standards, it offered the comfort of independence, virtually from everything (Fig. 17–18).



Fig. 17. Poster of *Sztuka bez sensu* [Meaningless art]. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

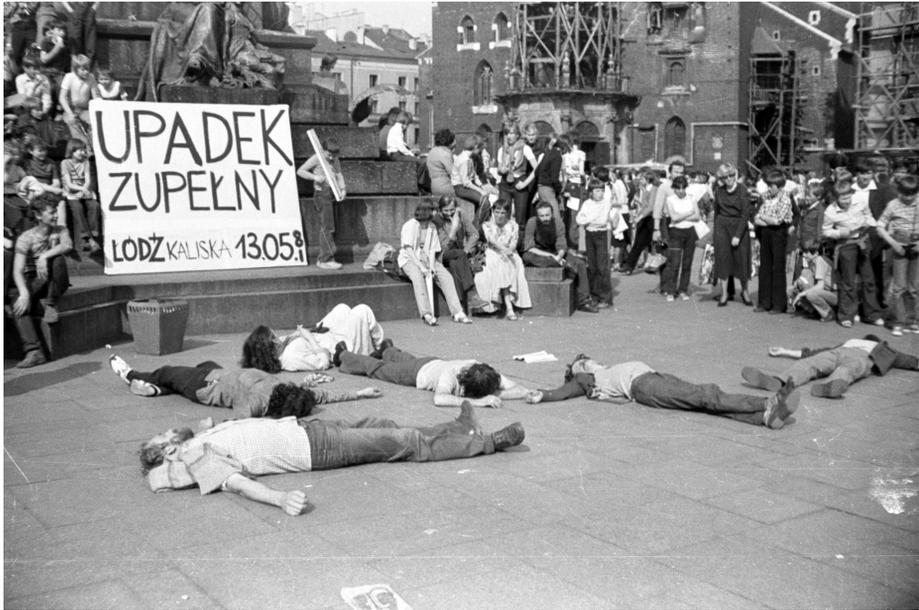


Fig. 18. Upadek Zupełny in the Market Square in Krakow. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

Conclusion

In confirming the lack of any noticeable goals of the discussed activities, I stress the obvious meaning of that persistence. I share the view of Jarek Guc, among others, that: “goals are pointless!” **I support the End of the culture of goals!**¹⁴

¹⁴ After Jarek Guc: “I have no life’s goals, year goals, month goals, or daily goals, and I’m fine with that. *Hello?* [...]. I make sure that my day, month, year, my entire life have meaning. That, of course, implies certain actions, steps, issues to be resolved, yet those are the outcomes of searching, defining and discovering meaning—they may seem like goals, but they are not. What will I do with this minute, hour, or day so they are meaningful? What is important, crucial, significant to me? What does my meaning filter indicate as that? What do I wish for, what do I dream of? Of fulfilling a goal? Of things? Of achievements? I dream of doing meaningful things. It is meaning that creates value and enables us to exist among values. Work in compliance with values is the search and fulfilment of meaning. Management through values is management compliant with meaning, doing things which are important and significant. A goal can be a trap—meaning releases you. [...] Meaning brings freedom, including to change a goal or a plan. Goals are secondary in relation to meaning. Plans are secondary in relation to goals. It is far too often that a plan becomes the golden calf of action obscuring the goal, while the goal is in the long run meaningless. **It is the optics of meaning that indicate the proper place of a goal and a plan.** People

I find meaning in having a full life and, if God's willing, decent life, contrasting it with the meaning of comfort measured based on the number of people Facebook-liking my things.

Contrary to Marek Janiak's views I stress the need to emphasise the community nature of the actions of *Kultura Zrzuty*, which occurred in Strych and in Teofilów (Fig. 19–20).



Fig. 19. Artist community. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

will follow you if they can see meaning in that. [...] We use far too often the rejecting expressions of “this is pointless” or “this is nonsense”. Why would anyone do anything which is meaningless or maintain meaningless relationships?

Let's be blunt about this: Mother Teresa, Gandhi, Dalai Lama – what do you see in the foreground of their actions? The fulfilment of a goal or meaning and actions filled with deep meaning? Which business people do we remember best and assign them to “the light side”? [...] **It is the sense of meaning of that which you have to do that gets you out of the bed in the morning full of energy** or the lack of that sense every now and again presses the snooze button on your alarm clock. Success, that real, deep, long-lasting success which does not trigger envy is a function of meaning, an outcome of its fulfilment, the added effect of nourishing meaning. [...] It is a good idea to push back in time **the short or medium-term goals to be able to fulfil meaning. Goals are secondary in relation to meaning. Goals not embedded in meaning are meaningless.**” (J. Guc, “Cele są bez sensu! Koniec kultury celów!”, *Facetpo40.pl*, <https://facetpo40.pl/wolne-mysli/cele-sa-bez-sensu-koniec-kultury-celow/> [accessed on: 21.05.2019]).



Fig. 20. Joint fulfilment of a piece of meat [play on words in Polish as “sztuka” denotes both “art” and “a piece”]. Source: kulturazrzuty.pl

Starting with a whip-round for food and vodka during meetings, through joint work, sleepless nights while editing *Tango*, to often collective designing of new art events. Apart from active creators, we gathered a considerable number of people, mainly the students of the University of Lodz, the Institute of Architecture, the Film School, the Plastic Arts School, and all other kinds of “friends-and-relations”. And simply to be near intellectual free artists, around free art. Neither can the years of *Kultura Zrzuty* be described as a minor event in my life’s experience. Those years which we experienced together continue to influence my favourable disposition towards people associated with the arts and my understanding approach to their activities in art. I must admit that never before (that is, before the Łódź period of *Kultura Zrzuty* and Strych) had I ever experienced so many stimuli moulding my awareness of art.

In my personal evaluation of the meaning of the actions in *Okolice Sztuki* in Strych, I assign the highest value to: the intellectual mingling, the uncompromising courage in contrast to doctrines, and most of all the **community** of action, not of goals! There was no common goal! If there even were some private ones, no one cared about them. What remains is satisfaction and good memories; for me, what

is important is the involuntary share in the successes of Z. Libera, Łódź Kaliska, and the ability to co-create *Kultura Zrzuty* and Tango.

Yet it is not true that all members retained in their consciences the conviction that those events had meaning. There was some meaninglessness, too, i.e. broken families, impeded relations with wives or children, and sometimes a lack of commercial results of actions, including those outside art. And, then, there were the minor stresses, e.g. squabbles with the communist police or waiters, and the internment of Z.L., a participant of the events.

The combination of the world of art and life, though formally attractive, was not obvious.

Individual choices assigned personal meanings.

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Włodzimierz Adamiak

Sens aktywności w *Okolicach Sztuki* – działo się na Strychu

Streszczenie

Tekst jest komentarzem do zjawisk w polskiej sztuce współczesnej końca dwudziestego wieku. Stanowi relację „z pierwszej ręki” współuczestnika wydarzeń i gospodarza miejsca. Miejszem tym była prywatna pracownia autora, na strychu łódzkiej kamienicy w centrum miasta, w kręgu artystów tworzących sytuacje, spotkania, wydarzenia i obiekty, które ustanowiły *Kulturę Zrzuty* – zjawiska opisującego działalność artystów niezależnych od struktur państwa i oficjalnych mecenatów w latach osiemdziesiątych dwudziestego wieku. Analiza zdarzeń z obszaru „Okolic Sztuki” niezależnej stała się inspiracją do przemyśleń autora na temat kondycji artystów tworzących na Strychu w niezmiennym konflikcie między fizyczną i społeczną egzystencją, a wolnością w sztuce.

Słowa kluczowe: *Okolice Sztuki*, *Kultura Zrzuty*, Strych

The meaning of activities in *Okolice Sztuki* – much went on at Strych

Summary

The text is a commentary to the phenomena in Polish modern art in the final years of the 20th century. It constitutes a “first-hand” account by a participant of the events and the host of the location. The location was the author’s private workshop in the attic of a Łódź tenement house in the very centre of the city, in the circles of artists creating situations, meetings, events and objects, which established *Kultura Zrzuty* [the Whip-round Culture], a phenomenon which described the activities of artists independent of state institutions and official patrons in the 1980s. The analysis of the events within the area of independent *Okolice Sztuki* inspired the author to discuss the form of other artists and his own, who created art in Strych

[literally: attic] in an unchanging conflict between physical and social existence and freedom in art.

Keywords: *Okolice Sztuki, Kultura Zrzuty, Strych.*

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At the end of the 1970s, he made his own workshop available for cultural events (which later, during the Martial Law period, became the Strych gallery). He is the co-originator of Fundacja Ulicy Piotrkowskiej (1989). For many years, he was the Foundation's board member, deputy president, and president in 2011–2015. Currently, he is the president of the Foundation's Council. He is the co-originator, member of the Chapter and a juror of the Najlepsze Wnętrze Roku [Best Interior of the Year] competition, which has been held for the last 25 years, and since 2007 he has been the juror of all editions of the Potęga Łodzi – Power of Łódź photo competition. He received awards (together with the urząd*miasta group) at national and international competitions. The most important ones include: 2nd International Architecture Biennale in Krakow in 1987 – 1st prize in the Exhibition and Grand Prix of the Biennale; Competition for a project for the modernisation of the Rubinstein alleyway in Łódź – 2nd award; Competition for a project for the modernisation of Piotrkowska St. – a joint 1st prize; National Competition for a Design for Adapting EC1, a CHP plant in Łódź, into the Energopolis Science and Education Centre – 1st award. Co-originator and co-author of the rules and regulations, and the juror of competitions: Ogólnopolski Konkurs Urbanistyczno-Architektoniczny Wielkomiejska Piotrkowska, Ogólnopolski Konkurs Architektoniczno-Plastyczny Piotrkowska Obiecana (for a design for the modernisation and equipping the street), Ogólnopolski Konkurs Architektoniczno-Plastyczny Łazienka dla Piotrkowskiej, Ogólnopolski Konkurs Architektoniczno-Plastyczny Kiosk dla Łodzi.

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Hidden meaning in art

*In the process of seeing it is not important what the eye sees
but what a person realises from their seeing¹.*

I understand the title phrase “Hidden meaning in art” to denote a search for narrative plots that can be detected between the perceived representational-figurative motifs and the formal notions of a work of art. I shall discuss this using the examples of two versions of the sculpture *Matka Ziemia* [Mother Earth] by Zbigniew Władyka. The first one was created in 1981, and it is a sculpture of a pregnant woman in a layer of soil placed in basalt depression; the other one, created in 1986, is a sculpture of the same figure on a travertine slate.

In this article, I would like to highlight the multi-faceted nature of the narrative construction of the sculpture entitled *Matka Ziemia*. My analysis is going to lead to an answer to the question: What is the hidden meaning of the presented sculpture?

Allow me to delve into the analysis. Right at the outset, I would like to stress the fact that what is important is, on the one hand, the meaning layer, i.e. the presentation of the woman as a future mother, and, on the other, the materials necessary for creating it – their combination and the composition applied in this context, and the applied means of expression. Władyka’s sculpting method was also interesting – it consisted of direct shaping of the material without using any other tools than his own hands.

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¹ W. Strzemiński, *Teoria widzenia*, Muzeum Sztuki, Łódź 2016, p. 53 [unless indicated otherwise, quotations in English were translated from Polish].



A



B

Figure 1. Zbigniew Władyka, *Matka Ziemia*, A. bronze, granite, soil, (65 × 65 cm), 1981; B. bronze, slate, (65 × 65 cm), 1986.

Source: own study.

The setting of the same bronze sculpture in different bases defines different stories about people. The purpose is not to present motherhood; the pregnant figure of a woman is a personification of people's relationship with the Earth. As the author himself put it: "it is Earth that is the mother, and man is its child. Earth/mother varies: sometimes she is gentle, warm, protecting people with her pillow against the cold block of granite, and sometimes she is sharp and inaccessible like a rock."²

Władyka's works from the 1980s were aptly defined by Heinz Emigholz, a German critic:

This art presents man actually walking on the earth and making it his; in it one can also see man nestling in the Earth trustfully, consciously and with a sense of security as a real-life Auteus. In Władyka's output one can also find a huge mental influence on the recipients through a careful choice and application of the sculpting materials, and often through combining various materials, which sometimes

² All of the recollections about Zbigniew Władyka presented in this article are based on never published notes by his daughter – the author of this article.

offers surprising results. [...] Man and nature exist in this art in a quite obvious and yet mysterious symbiosis.³

The dualism of the perception and interpretation of reality rooted in Władyka's works is also visible in the discussed sculptures. The 1981 *Matka Ziemia* embedded in earth evokes a strong association with calmness and harmony. When viewing it, one does not feel any dissonance or unrest. The later *Matka Ziemia* is not a mirror reflection of the earlier one. When contrasted with the cold stone and without the surrounding layer of earth, it seems cool, alien and indifferent.

Władyka was not interested in a simply statement of obvious truths. His sculptures are questions – those which he asked himself and those which he triggered in the viewers of his art. He also assumed that all those that were answered were good, though he respected those which offered a pretext for formulating new questions the most.

The essence of a sculpture

Erwin Panofsky developed a method of analysing the essence of a work of art by identifying iconographic and iconologic elements included in a particular work. He assumed that first one should identify individual communicational segments to be able to analyse their significance. In following Panofsky's assumptions in the analysis of the iconography of the sculpture of *Matka Ziemia* one should indicate the main formal device Władyka used: framing the woman at the borderline between realistic and abstract forms. That form, combined with other elements of the sculpture, i.e. earth and/or stone, constitutes the sculpture's main assumptions – it engages viewers in a conversation focussed on the question: What is the meaning of this sculpture? Viewers should grasp its multi-faceted nature, and discover the layers of hidden messages. They are forced to read two layers of references: one general, and the other addressed only to them, referring to their individual experiences and sensations. At the general level, only the actual components are noticeable. It is only after they are combined that they form the appropriate context for understanding the sculpture.

Panofsky assumed that to fully understand the message contained in a work of art, one needs to study its formal structure. In the case of the sculpture under discussion, this seems particularly important, even more so considering the fact that the repeated image of the woman in different sculptural arrangements defines her special role, which Władyka outlined when he created separate visual messages.

³ As quoted in: Z. Władyka, H. Koszaliński, B. Burchert-Perlińska, M. Koszalińska, *Brama sztuki Zbigniewa Władyka = Gate of art Zbigniew Władyka's*, Wydawnictwo Bilbo, Łódź 2000, p. 74.



Figure 2. *Pregnant woman.* View of sculpture: A. from the side, B. from the front, C. from the other side, D. from the back.

Source: own study.

Consider the sculptured woman without the context of the additional elements. Figure 2 presents various views of a photographed figure in a clockwise progression (A. from the side, B. from the front, C. from the other side, D. from the back). The woman's pose suggests the final moments prior to giving birth. The figure sitting on a flat surface, resting on one arm, was presented in the characteristic position of legs tilted outwards. The bulging abdomen and the telling curvature of the body trigger an unmistakable association. The connotation with giving birth is further emphasised by the arrangement of the body arching, with the neck and head tilted backwards. The future mother, clad in an airy gown, is not naked. When looking at her, it is impossible to tell the difference between the figure and the fabric. The only exception is the woman's feet, which the artist isolated from the rest of the body with the brim of the fabric. That line, clearly defined, divides the figure into two parts. It constitutes a borderline between the gentle and the realistic manner of sculpture interpretation.

NB, the mode of work discussed here was typical of Władyka. He shaped the form of a sculpture by pressing the clay with his hands thus leaving impressions, a kind of a signature. When discussing his art, he often emphasised that "the human hand is the perfect tool for a sculptor who works with clay,"⁴ a tool which offers the ability to develop even the most intricate of shapes. He always gesticulated when talking about this, grasping a portion of air as if he was holding clay in his hands. At that moment he would look at his hands as if monitoring the correctness of his gestures; next, he would shift his sight onto his interlocutor, as if checking whether he was being understood correctly. In his workshop, an exceptional sculpture has survived which he developed using only his hands. It is a figure in a 1-to-1 scale. He developed it in a very original manner, without relying on observations. He developed notes on the arrangements of his hands, which were then recorded as

⁴ Z. Władyka, according to his daughter's recollections.

a model and immediately transferred onto the sculpture. He first put a layer of clay onto his hand, then he searched for a shape on the human body to finally transfer it onto the sculpture. All those who visited his workshop were his models for this process. He first placed some clay in his palm, then he put it against the bodies of his guests, and, finally, he transferred it onto the sculpture being developed. Thus a **single** portrait was created which consisted of the images of **many**, a kind of proof that the human hand can reflect any shape there is.

When sculpting *Matka Ziemia*, Władyka applied two sculpting techniques. The first was based on a delicate yet dynamic guiding of the hand over the clay; the other consisted of defining the form using a metal sculpting tool. Soft hand strokes were reserved for the woman's body, the tool was used to shape the gown. Thus, direct touch was reserved only for the places where two bodies touched: that of the artist and that of the woman being sculpted. The described manner of shaping the form pushed Władyka's work away from the figurative interpretation of reality. What was important in it was the gesture outlining an undefined shape, and the more one focusses on a detail of his sculpture, the more clearly one sees the referential indefiniteness of the form. It is in that sense that I understand Władyka's shift away from realistic art and towards abstract art.

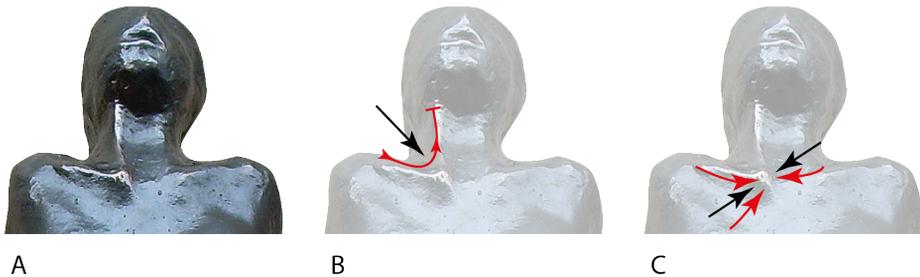


Figure 3. Bust – fragment of the *Matka Ziemia* sculpture. A. Original sculpture, B. and C. Analyses of the movements of the artist's thumb over the form of the sculpture.

Source: own study.

The fragment of the sculpture presented in Figure 3 illustrates the matters under discussion. In the general outline, one can see the shape of the head, but when looking from up close and studying the details, references to realism lose their meaning. The face lacks details – the nose, lips, chin are not realistic representations of a face. Expressiveness comes forward, revealing Władyka's emotional activities.

I propose that when viewing the *Matka Ziemia* sculpture one should focus on the manner of sculpting, and trace the movements and directions of the artist's thumb strokes over the form. I recorded and presented my own observations on

the third illustration in points 3B and 3C. The red arrows indicate the directions of movements, while the black ones indicate the direction of the visual factorial. Thanks to that experience, one can easily notice how the artist shaped the collar bone – the indicated fragment can be easily separated from the sculpture’s context. In reproducing Władyka’s gestures one can find the path the artist took when sculpting *Matka Ziemia*; it is also much easier to notice the referential layer produced using selected formal devices – the layer of the meaning of the departure from realism towards the art of gesture, or towards expressiveness.

A work of art is analysed at two layers: the referential/semiotic layer, and the formal layer. In this instance, it is necessary to combine both layers in a single visual message. In the article: “Rzeźby w Łódzkiej przestrzeni miejskiej” I stated that “semantic narration, a notion, cannot exist without a formal-compositional structure, that the dignity of those elements is the basis for creating a visual code clear for recipients.”⁵ The two voices emerging in that dialogue should complement each other, forming a matrix for recipients’ observations, and the more such relations there are, the more levels of strings of meaning can one find.

In order to find that relation in the case of the sculpture discussed here, I shall attempt an analysis of the formal structure.

Stanisław Witkiewicz in *Szkice estetyczne* defined the composition of a painting as follows:

We describe as composition, i.e. the arrangement of a painting, the relations between the constituent forms of that painting between each other and the relation between them altogether and a neutral form which is not a constituent of the internal forms, but only limits the painting from other objects, i.e. the frame. (...) Pure composition is an abstraction. For partial planes to be differentiable they must differ in terms of colour (...) or be separated from one another by very thin planes in relation to their sizes, i.e. lines or outlines. Therefore, a very elemental composition must include at least two different qualities.⁶

He also emphasised that:

The condition of a unity of a separated plane can be defined as a balance of divisions, uniformity of partial complications; then, any complication of composition as a multiplication of the divisions triggered by diverging from the symmetry of the whole and a part, and from balance. The unity of an entire plane depends on whether

5 Z. Władyka-Łuczak, “Rzeźby w łódzkiej przestrzeni miejskiej”, [in:] *Badanie i projektowanie komunikacji 4*, eds. A. Siemes, M. Grech, Wydawnictwo Libron, Wrocław 2015, p. 206.

6 S.I. Witkiewicz, *Nowe formy w malarstwie. Szkice estetyczne. Teatr*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1974, pp. 32–33.

larger dividing planes also constitute unities for themselves. The bigger the number of divisions and imbalances coupled with the need to integrate that multitude into unity is, the stronger the sense of unity will be, which is the goal of Pure Art.⁷

At this point one should consider whether the definition of painting composition can be transferred directly onto the definition of the spatial composition of a sculpture. Painting clearly differs from sculpting with the notion of shaping space. Such kinds of art as painting, drawing or graphics must offer references to spatial imagination. They acquire the right to spatial activities only within the two-dimensional approach. "Something" defined further or closer can be presented in reference to itself within a plane only once in one representation. When compared to a painter, drawer or graphic artist, a sculptor is in a much more convenient position. A sculptor has many more planes for building spatial relations. Their works can be viewed from an infinite number of perspectives. What they only need to remember while sculpting is that they must ensure the compliance or rather the unity of the assumptions resulting from the spatial contexts.

Another important aspect mentioned by Witkiewicz are the applied means of expression, e.g. colour, or lines dividing planes. Sometimes when using the means of expression taken from the world of painting, a sculptor adds such elements typical for their art as texture, or the structure and colour of the materials they use, yet they always have at their disposal surfaces (rounded or flat), folds in those surfaces, or a situation where one penetrates another.

The problem was also studied by the Łódź-based artists Katarzyna Kobro and Władysław Strzemiński, who understood the meaning of a sculpture as a dialogue between "the internal and the external spaces":

The basic right of three-dimensional plastic arts is their freedom in the lack of natural limits. A sculpture develops within an inorganic space [as opposed to paintings, which are enclosed in the limits of canvas]. A painting should not be related to anything which is outside it. It constitutes a world enclosed in itself, one which is separate, indifferent to its surroundings, and which constructs itself according to its own organic laws. A sculpture does not possess that pre-defined inherent limitation.⁸

According to Kobro and Strzemiński, limitless space and endless time form, by integrating one another, the space-time quality typical for sculptures. This enables a master sculpture to develop a strategy in the progressions of noticing selected shapes, which in turn defines the narration for the content being conveyed.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 33.

⁸ W. Strzemiński, G. Sztabiński, *Wybór pism estetycznych*, Universitas, Krakow 2006, p. 53.

Władyka was perfectly aware of the fact that composition is an abstraction, and that it can exist for its own sake and/or help develop the narration of content.

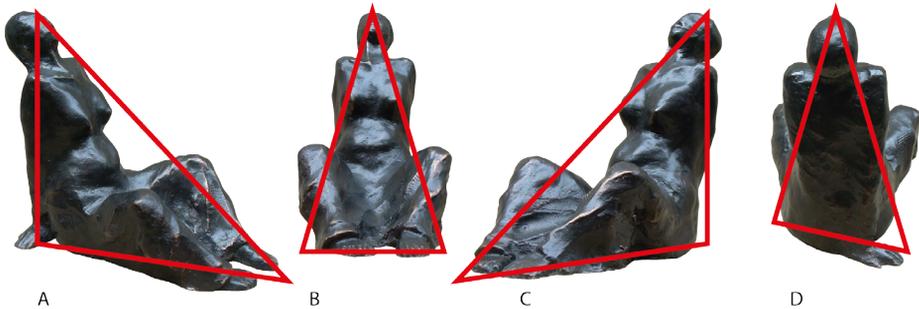


Figure 4. The main compositional assumptions of the sculpture. View: A. from the side, B. from the front, C. from the other side, D. from the back.

Source: own study.

Władyka based the composition of the *Matka Ziemia* sculpture, as indicated in Figure 4, on the classical triangular arrangement. From every side, it is enclosed within a triangular shape.

Considering the history of art, one could easily notice that this kind of composition is used by artists to maintain a static harmonious balance. Yet Władyka did not intend to achieve stasis, but rather to develop a composition which would depict the dramatic nature of the act of motherhood. The nature of the arrangement of all the elements leads to the emphasis of a rounded abdomen. That is the visual basis of the form; it supports the harmony of the sculpture. It is the remaining elements that are dynamic. How did he achieve that? To explain, allow me to use another fifth illustration with the image of the sculpture viewed from the front.

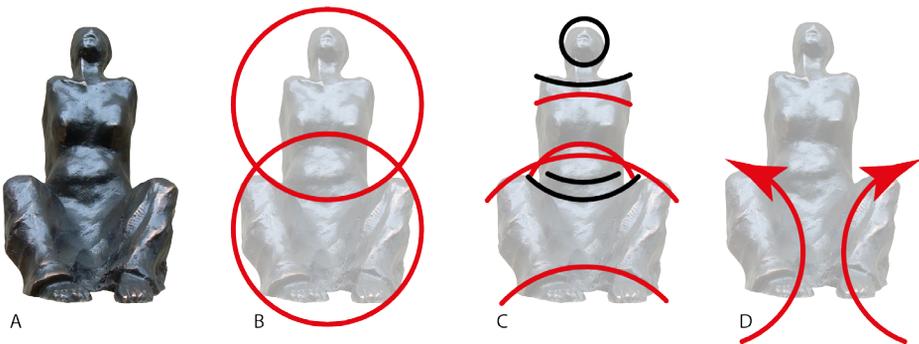


Figure 5. Dynamics of the sculpture. View: A. Original sculpture, B. Main compositional assumptions, C. Rhythm of repeating spherical compositional elements, D. Dynamic elements.

Source: own study.

The drawing superimposed on illustration 5B indicates the main compositional assumptions based on two oval patterns. This device helped Władyka maintain the enclosed nature of the sculpture. Moreover, circles overlapping at the abdomen enabled him to emphasise it and make it the main topic of the visual presentation. Thus the sculpture, enclosed within the framework of its contents, became a word: pregnancy. The unequivocal word is part of a sentence, developing multi-plot narrations. After identifying Władyka's creative assumptions, one can more easily understand the connections of the sculpture in other compositional arrangements and the artist's participation in his dialogue with his viewers.

Strzemiński supplemented the set of commonly used means of expression with one more: *architectonisation* [architektonizacja in Polish]. It was supposed to consist of "binding various shapes, various objects distant from one another, and creating their rhythmic relations – it consists of transferring some components of form from one object and merging them into the shape of another object."⁹

Architectonisation is a kind of an intentional perspective used to obtain a common denominator of the rhythmicisation of the shapes which form a work of art:

The process of architectonisation, i.e. of binding various shapes, various objects distant from one another, and creating their rhythmic relations, consists of transferring some components of form from one object and merging them into the shape of another object. Thus individual shapes somewhat lend each other specific components of form. Those components of form develop, by repeating themselves in a series of objects, a common bond of architectural rhythmicity.¹⁰

In Władyka's work, *architectonisation* did not borrow the shapes of one object from another. It was based on the extraction of the anatomical characteristics of the figure of the woman which enabled him to shape the visual arrangement of arches, the repetitions of which possess a special rhythm. The dynamics of the sculpture indicated in Figure 5B breaks down into two directions: upwards and downwards. The line drawn with the outline of the gown along the woman's feet begins the dynamics of the repetitions of *architectonisation* directed upwards, spreading through the abdomen, knees, and over the bust. It is finally stopped by the line drawn by the collar bones, which in turn defines a new rhythm of dynamics, this time directed downwards, towards the sculpture's centre, towards the abdomen. Clearly, the dynamics meet at the most important place for the sculpture, a place which emphasises its topic, its meaning: the pregnancy of the woman/mother – Earth.

⁹ W. Strzemiński, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

Witkiewicz assumed that the starting point for every shape was the regularity of its form. It is a circle in the case of painting, and a sphere in the case of sculpture. The notion of Pure Form seems important at this point, i.e. a form striving for perfection, multitude in unity. The point is not, of course, for every form to become a circle or a sphere. Neither is it about the outline of a painted or sculpted shape. It is about the aesthetic form which is “a composition of outline forms in an enclosed space.”¹¹

Władyka’s response to the call for developing *Pure Form* seems obvious. He created a sculpture based on an arrangement of forms which can be visually identified, and which Witkiewicz would have called *Pure*. The *architectonisations* of those I indicated earlier serve to amplify the compositional assumptions. If the sculpture’s forms had been limited to their already presented set, it would have lost its dynamics. The arrows indicated in photograph D in Figure 5 indicate the direction of the dynamising directional factorials. As they are distributed symmetrically, they, on the one hand, direct the dynamism outwards and, on the other, emphasise the curvature of its central part.

According to Wassily Kandinsky it was exactly those directional factorials that decides about the compositional assumptions of works of art. Similarly to Witkiewicz, he stressed that it was irrelevant what form was or whether it was abstract or representative; what was important were the internal tensions within it. In *Point and Line to Plane*, he wrote:

In fact, no materializing of external forms expresses the contents of a work of painting but, rather, the forces and tensions which are alive in it.

If by some magic command these tensions were to disappear or to expire, the work, which is alive at that very instant, would die. On the other hand, every accidental grouping of several forms could be called a work of art. The content of a work of art finds its expression in the composition: that is, in the sum of the tensions inwardly organized for the work.¹²

The form of *Matka Ziemia* was created in 1981. If it were placed on a classical rectangular plinth, it would constitute an enclosed topic of human birth, a monument to motherhood. Yet that was not Władyka’s intention. As I have already indicated, the essence of the sculpture exceeds the intimacy of human birth.

¹¹ S.I. Witkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

¹² W. Kandyński, *Punkt i linia a płaszczyzna. Przyczynek do analizy elementów malarskich*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1986, p. 29 [English version: W. Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane*, Dover Publications 1979.]

Its dramatic nature covers a broader circle of the artist's interests. He created a story about the birth of humans, whose Mother is Earth. Humans whose task is to care of their Mother.

Matka Ziemia

The 1981 *Matka Ziemia* is no longer anonymous; it steps out of the crowd and starts speaking with the strength of global notions. In the author's own words: "I would like us to consider what kind of children we are for the Earth on which we live." Out of respect for the author's intentions, allow me to leave the question unanswered. I remember the following statement far too well: "It is not about finding an answer but about searching for it."

The sculpture itself somewhat helps in this quest. The artist applied formal means of adding to the figure of a pregnant woman a black granite depression filled with earth. In pursuing the formal analysis of the sculpture, one should indicate the shape of the stone, which referred to the oval compositional assumptions of the female figure. This is made complete with a ring at the place where the earth comes into contact with the stone.

Therefore, one can find proof that in its assumptions (coming close to *Pure Form*) the sculpture invites cooperation, participation, and discovering the meaning hidden in it.

The 1986 *Matka Ziemia* is different. It was placed on a cool piece of travertine slate, so there was no soft support of earth. The figure does not come into contact with the perfect form; it clashes with the cool line of the stone. A line which Kandinsky defined as a cool line, arguing that:

In the human imagination, this corresponds to the line or the plane upon which the human being stands or moves. The horizontal line is also a cold supporting base [...] Coldness and flatness are the basic sounds of this line, and it can be designated as the most concise form of the potentiality for endless cold movement.¹³

The sculpture of a pregnant woman, emphasised with a cool passive line, is not an invitation to cooperation. It is rather a warning against the mindless actions of humans towards Earth. The sculpture was created thirty-three years ago. It is quite obvious in the era of global climate problems that Władysław's warnings have remained valid.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 57.

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Zofia Władyka-Łuczak

Ukryty sens w sztuce

Streszczenie

Autorka pochyla się nad zagadnieniem interpretacji dzieła sztuki. Wychodząc z założenia, iż sformułowanie „ukryty sens w sztuce” należy rozumieć jako poszukiwanie wątków narracyjnych pomiędzy postrzeganymi motywami przedstawieniowo-figuratywnymi a zagadnieniami formalnymi w dziełach sztuki, dokonuje analizy dwóch rzeźb autorstwa Zbigniewa Władyki pt. *Matka Ziemia*. W procesie interpretacji zwraca uwagę na fakt, iż z jednej strony istotna jest warstwa znaczeniowa, czyli przedstawienie kobiety jako przyszłej matki, z drugiej strony ważne są materiały niezbędne do jej powstania, jak i ich zestawienie, a w tym kontekście zastosowana kompozycja oraz użyte środki wyrazu, a także obrona przez artystę metoda rzeźbienia.

Słowa kluczowe: sztuka, rzeźba, komunikacja wizualna, interpretacja dzieła sztuki.

Hidden meaning in art

Summary

The author discusses the notion of the interpretation of a work of art. Starting with the assumption that the expression “Art’s hidden meaning” should be understood as a search for narrative plots that can be detected between the perceived spatial-figurative motifs and the formal notions in works of art, she analyses two sculptures by Zbigniew Władyka, both entitled *Matka Ziemia* [Mother Earth]. In her interpretation she emphasises the fact that, on the one hand, the meaning layer, i.e. the presentation of the woman as a future mother, and, on the other, the material necessary for creating it, their combination and the composition applied in this context, and the applied means of expression, as well as the method of sculpting chosen by the artist.

Keywords: art, sculpture, visual communication, interpreting works of art.

Zofia Władyka-Łuczak – Ph.D., sculptor, Department of Communication Theory and Practice, University of Lodz, and the Academy of Fine Arts in Łódź. She specialises in two areas. The first area is associated with sculpture; she is the creator of two monuments: a monument devoted to Rafał Bratoszewski, the founder of Aleksandrów Łódzki, and a monument devoted to Rajmund Rembieniński, a founder of Łódź. Her other major projects include: the “Swan” fountain in Sienkiewicz Park in Łódź, the fountain in Władysław Reymont Park, the Portrait of the Synagogue, in Łódź at Kościuszki Ave. The others are associated with documenting and studying the course of creative works discussed from the anthropological-autoethnographical perspective. She also studies the role of visual structures in perception processes, and the formal devices employed by creators in the context of viewing and perceiving visual communications. She has discussed these issues in 11 articles and two monographs: *Praca twórcy w relacji ze światem* (2018), and *Przestrzeń tworzenia* (2018).

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Tajemnice ASMR – perspektywa ogólna i lingwistyczna¹

1. Definicja pojęcia i stan badań

ASMR to skrótowiec, który rozszyfrowuje się jako *Autonomous Sensory Meridian Response*; w tłumaczeniu polskim: *samoistna odpowiedź meridianów czuciowych*. Barratt i Davis (2015: Abstract) opisują ASMR na podstawie relacji osób, które go doświadczają, jako zjawisko sensoryczne, polegające na odczuwaniu **mrowienia** (ang. *tingles*)² w okolicach skóry głowy, karku, a także sporadycznie na innych obszarach ciała w odpowiedzi na określone bodźce słuchowe i wzrokowe, któremu towarzyszy uczucie odprężenia i dobrego samopoczucia³. Określenie *meridiany* pochodzi z medy-

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- 1 Ponieważ na gruncie polskim nie ukazała się do tej pory żadna publikacja poświęcona zjawisku ASMR, artykuł zawiera uwagi zarówno natury ogólnej – wyjaśniające, czym jest owo zjawisko, jakie są jego źródła i jednocześnie poszerzające perspektywę opisu dostępnego w publikacjach zagranicznych, jak i natury lingwistycznej w zakresie przede wszystkim fonetyki, onomastyki i analizy dyskursu.
- 2 Wśród polskiej społeczności ASMR mrowienie to jest zwykle nazywane „ciarkami”.
- 3 Na jednym z forów internetowych, którego użytkownicy próbowali określić to, czego doświadczają, kiedy jeszcze termin ASMR nie został stworzony, jeden z uczestników napisał: „Chyba wiem, o czym mówisz. Szukałem odpowiedzi na podobne pytanie, kiedy znalazłem Twój post. Od dzieciństwa miewam takie dziwne uczucie w głowie. Odkryłem, że dzieje się to wtedy, kiedy pewne osoby do mnie mówią, szczególnie, kiedy mówią powoli, lub kiedy ludzie poruszają się powoli, lub nawet powoli prowadzą samochód... To takie mrowienie (tingling) na skórze głowy. Jedyne sposob, w jaki mogę to opisać, to coś jak srebrzysta iskra przenikająca moja głowę i mózg... prawie jak coś w rodzaju orgazmu głowy, ale nie ma to nic wspólnego z doznaniem seksualnymi... Co to jest? Czy to to samo uczucie, które Ty opisujesz?” (Smith, Snider 2019: 44, tłum. moje, K. O.).

cyny chińskiej. Redaktor pracy J. Needhama et al. (2004: 48), Ch. Cullen, wyjaśnia, że użycie terminu *meridian* w obecnym znaczeniu zawdzięczamy dziewiętnastowiecznym europejskim akupunkturzystom, którzy oryginalne słowo *ching*⁴, oznaczające trakty czy też aku-trakty (ang. *tracts* or *acu-tracts*), wzdłuż których rozmieszczone są punkty akupunkturu, tłumaczyli jako *meridian* poprzez błędną analogię do innego znaczenia *ching*, czyli długości geograficznej. Owo geograficzne znaczenie funkcjonuje zresztą we współczesnej angielszczyźnie, bowiem angielskie słowo *meridian* to przede wszystkim południk, czyli linia łącząca bieguny geograficzne. W tym kontekście możemy sobie wyobrazić tzw. **efekt ASMR** jako odpowiedź organizmu ludzkiego na pewne bodźce zmysłowe, opisywaną jako mrowienie („ciarki”), która przebiega w określonych punktach czuciowych umiejscowionych na liniach, zwanych przez autorkę terminu ASMR – Jennifer Allen⁵ – meridianami. Znaczenie terminu *meridian* nie jest tutaj rzecz jasna tożsame ze znaczeniem stosowanym w medycynie chińskiej. Termin ów wydaje się być wszakże zrozumiałą analogią.

Owa odpowiedź sensoryczna dotyczy jedynie pewnej grupy ludzi. Barratt i Davis przeprowadzili badanie ankietowe na grupie osób, które twierdzą, iż doświadczają efektu ASMR. Analiza pokazała, że 98% uczestników korzysta z ASMR **w celach relaksacyjnych**, 82% deklaruje, że ASMR **pomaga im zasnąć**, a 70% ankietowanych ASMR pomaga **radzić sobie ze stresem** (Barratt, Davis 2015: Results). Mimo, iż badania te zostały przeprowadzone na jednostkach, które doświadczają ASMR, ich rezultaty pozwalają wyjaśnić, dlaczego społeczność ASMR obfituje w wiele osób, które efektu ASMR nie doświadczają, bowiem subskrybenci kanałów ASMR wykorzystują filmy ASMR w tych samych celach, co jednostki owego efektu doświadczające, czyli do relaksacji, pomocy w radzeniu sobie z bezsennością, czy też ze stresem.

Autorzy artykułu twierdzą, że do chwili powstania ich tekstu nie spotkali się z „rzetelnym naukowym opracowaniem ASMR oraz uwarunkowań wywołujących czy też kończących stan ASMR” (Barratt i Davis 2015: Introduction, tłum. moje, K. O.)⁶. Środowisko naukowe niejednokrotnie poddawało w wątpliwość występowanie tego zjawiska. Steven Novella, neurolog kliniczny z Yale University School of Medicine, zaangażowany w ruch sceptycyzmu naukowego w 2012 roku napisał na NEUROLOGICAblog, iż ASMR „jest bodajże kolejnym zjawiskiem (...), które

4 Por. rozróżnienie *ching* (trakty) i *sui* oznaczające kanały (ang. *conduits*), Needham et al. (2004: 48, przypis redaktora wydania).

5 Jennifer Allen deklaruje, iż stworzyła termin ASMR w 2010 roku, <https://asmruniversity.com/2016/05/17/jennifer-allen-interview-coined-asmr/>

6 Dwa lata wcześniej ukazał się artykuł nawiązujący do filmów ASMR, w których wykorzystywane jest tzw. odgrywanie roli, a konkretnie roli lekarza (badanie lekarskie) jako punkt odniesienia do analizy przystawalności tego zjawiska do diagnostyki klinicznej w świetle tekstu *Love in the Ruins* (1971) Walkera Percy'ego – lekarza-pisarza. Artykuł ów nie stanowi wszakże badania zjawiska ASMR *per se* (Nitin K. Ahuja 2013: 442–451).

Internet przenosi ze sfery do tej pory osobistych i ukrytych doświadczeń do świadomości ogółu (...), nadając mu nazwę i pozostawiając ślad internetowy. Oczywiście takie zjawiska nie zawsze są realne – czasami z Internetu wyłania się schemat prawdziwy, a czasem schematy iluzoryczne lub błędnie identyfikowane, będące kulturowym odpowiednikiem pareidolii”⁷.

Artykuł Barratt i Davisa (2015) nie dowodzi *stricte* istnienia efektu ASMR, bowiem bazuje na metodzie ankietowej, zgodnie z którą wyniki badań oparte są na deklarowanych odczuciach ankietowanych. Jednakże w ostatnich latach ukazały się artykuły, które potwierdzają występowanie zjawiska poprzez obserwację aktywności mózgu w momencie ekspozycji na wyzwalacze ASMR za pomocą **funkcjonalnego obrazowania metodą rezonansu magnetycznego**. Metoda ta pokazuje, że obszary mózgu aktywowane w danej sytuacji mają większe zapotrzebowanie na tlen. Wzrost aktywności danego obszaru mózgu mierzony jest poprzez efekt BOLD (z ang. *blood oxygen level dependent*). „Należy (...) podkreślić, że wzrost aktywności nerwowej w danym obszarze mózgu powoduje nasilenie przepływu krwi przez tę okolice, któremu jednak nie towarzyszy proporcjonalnie zwiększone zużycie tlenu przez tkankę. W efekcie w pobudzonych obszarach znajduje się nieco więcej oksyhemoglobiny, będącej właśnie źródłem silniejszego sygnału” (Gut, Marchewka 2004: 36). Pierwszy z artykułów kontrastował grupy osób doświadczających ASMR z grupą kontrolną poprzez obserwację DMN (*default mode network*, pol. *sieć standardowej aktywności mózgu / sieć stanu spoczynkowego / sieć aktywności bazowej / sieć wzbudzeń podstawowych*). Badanie pokazało, że DMN osób z ASMR wykazywała znacznie mniej połączeń funkcjonalnych niż w grupie kontrolnej, a także zwiększoną ilość połączeń pomiędzy korami potylicznym, czołowymi i skroniowymi, co sugeruje, iż ASMR związane jest z kontaminacją wielu sieci stanu spoczynkowego (Smith, Fredborg, Kornelsen 2017: 361). Celem drugiego artykułu była obserwacja aktywności mózgu osób poddanych wstępnej ocenie wrażliwości na ASMR podczas oglądania filmów ASMR w momentach, w których deklarowały one szczególnie doznania mrowienia i relaksacji. Rezultaty badań pokazały, że w chwilach doświadczania ASMR u pacjentów obserwowana była znacząca aktywność w regionach związanych zarówno z ośrodkiem nagrody (jądro półleżące), jak i pobudzeniem emocjonalnym (obszar grzbietowy zakrętu obręczy kory mózgowej i wyspa / zakręt czołowy dolny). Aktywacja mózgu podczas ASMR wykazała podobieństwa do schematów obserwowanych uprzednio w dreszczach muzycznych (ang. *musical frisson*) oraz zachowaniach afiliacyjnych (Lochte, Guillory, Richard, Kelley 2018: 295). Na podstawie owych dociekań, a także innych opublikowanych badań⁸ można zatem przyjąć, iż efekt ASMR istnieje, mimo iż nie wszyscy ludzie mogą go doświadczać.

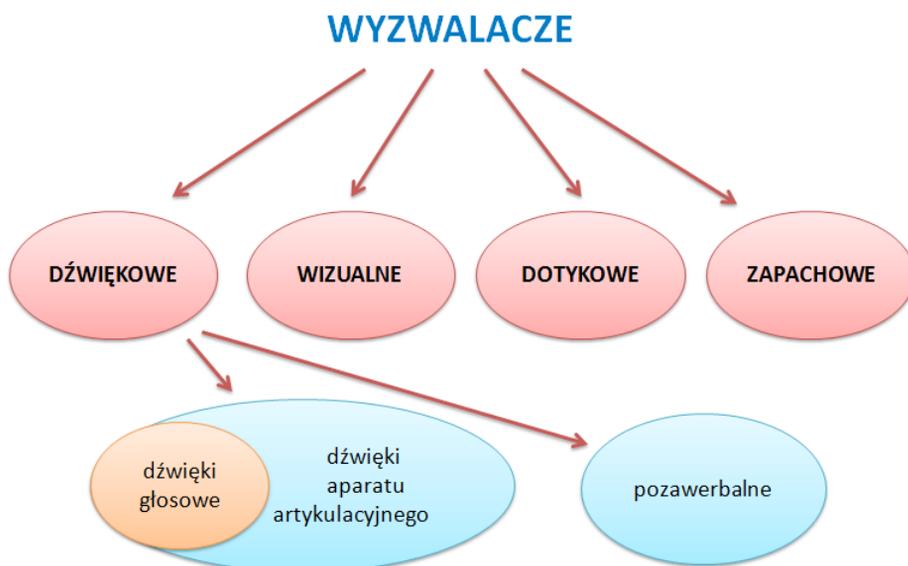
7 <https://theness.com/neurologicablog/index.php/asmr>, tłum. moje, K. O. [data dostępu: 20.04.2018].

8 Od roku 2017 powstało ponad 20 recenzowanych prac z zakresu medycyny, psychologii, neurobiologii i socjologii, badających ASMR z różnych perspektyw, np. korelacja z cechami

2. Wyzwalacze

2.1. Definicja i klasyfikacja

Wyzwalacze (z ang. *triggers*) to bodźce wywołujące efekt ASMR. Cytowany powyżej artykuł Barratt i Davisa (2015) wymienia dwa typy bodźców: wzrokowe i słuchowe. Proponuję jednak poszerzyć ich zakres o bodźce związane z dwoma z pozostałych pięciu podstawowych zmysłów. Ich bazową klasyfikację można przedstawić za pomocą wykresu:



Ryc. 1. Wyzwalacze ASMR. Źródło: opracowanie własne.

Barratt i Davis (2015) nie uwzględniają dotyku i zapachu jako sfer, w których może zachodzić efekt ASMR, bowiem media, poprzez które odbiorcy doświadczają kontaktu z artystami ASMR⁹, to współczesne odbiorniki filmów – komputer,

osobowości oraz empatią (Fredborg, Clark, Smith 2017; Janik McErlean, Banissy 2017), odpornością na stres (Williams, Johnson, Curtis, King, Anderson 2018: 156–165), terapią audiowizualną (Garro 2017: 395–402), efektem placebo (Ahuja, Ahuja 2019), intymnością w kontakcie warunkowanym technologicznie (Smith, Snider 2019: 41–48), etc. Powstał nawet przewodnik po ASMR napisany przez profesora fizjologii i biologii komórkowej (Richard 2018). Nie spotkałem się jednakże z opracowaniami ASMR z perspektywy lingwistycznej.

⁹ Twórcy filmików ASMR zwani są przez społeczność ASMR (ang. *ASMR community*) artystami ASMR (ang. *ASMRtists* – nazwa w języku angielskim stanowi blend poprzez nałożenie wygłosu i nagłosu leksemów *ASMR* i *artist*).

smartfon, tablet, itd.¹⁰ (por. Smith, Snider 2019). Ograniczeniem owych mediów jest fakt, iż uniemożliwiają one odczucia zmysłowe w zakresie dotyku i zapachu bezpośrednio. Istnieją jednakże argumenty przemawiające za włączeniem dotyku i zapachu w gamę bodźców ASMR.

Po pierwsze, filmy ASMR bardzo często wykorzystują zjawisko **synestezji**, czyli sytuacji, w której „jednomodalny bodziec zmysłowy wywołuje mimowolnie jednoczesne wrażenie w dwu lub więcej modalnościach zmysłowych” (Rogowska 2002: 465). Twórca filmu używa obiektu generującego zapach i przez jego wizualizację i opis oddziałuje na odbiorcę, np. *Little Clover Whispers* w filmiku „ASMR Lighting Candles & Incense Sticks”¹¹ zapala i pokazuje kadzidełka, a *Isabel Imagination ASMR* w filmiku „ASMR Aroma Therapy Session”¹² rozpyla zapach na wachlarzu, a następnie wachluje w stronę odbiorcy.

Po drugie, artyści ASMR usiłują wywołać u odbiorców efekt ASMR **indirecto**. W przypadku zapachu najczęściej sami na ekranie odbierają sygnały węchowe, a zadaniem odbiorcy jest wyobrażenie sobie percepcji woni. W przypadku dotyku, artyści zapraszają do współpracy przy tworzeniu filmu inne osoby i na przykład wykonują masaż na tych osobach jako na pacjentach. Towarzyszą temu rzecz jasna dźwięki, a bardzo często także opis wykonywanych czynności; czyni to np. artystka *itsblitzzz* w filmie „ASMR Head massage and energy healing on a new friend (soft spoken)”¹³

Po trzecie, mimo ukonstytuowania się terminu dopiero w 2010 roku poprzez popularyzację zjawiska w Internecie, można przypuszczać, iż doświadczanie mrowienia na meridianach czuciowych nie jest niczym nowym. W dobie przedinternetowej występowało ono (i nadal występuje) w bezpośrednim kontakcie z drugim człowiekiem, zatem nie wymagało synestezji, a podstawowymi bodźcami obok werbalnych i wizualnych, były przede wszystkim bodźce dotykowe. Pewnie niejedna osoba pamięta z własnego dzieciństwa¹⁴ zabawy, w których rodzice dzieciom

¹⁰ Por. digitally-mediated intimacy (Smith, Snider 2019: 41).

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HNBSJohzcno> [data dostępu: 11.04.2019].

¹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RDWKdgzYzsE> [data dostępu: 5.06.2018].

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=julm2C5OWW4> [data dostępu: 8.10.2018].

¹⁴ Inni badacze, poszukujący źródeł ASMR również wskazują na relacje osób, które z dzieciństwa pamiętają uczucie mrowienia, np. Smith, Snider (2019: 44) cytują wpis z forum, poświęconego identyfikacji zjawiska, określonego obecnie jako ASMR: “I get this sensation sometimes. Theres [sic] no real trigger for it. It just happens [sic] randomly...some examples of what it seems has caused it to happen before are as a child while watching a puppet show and when i was being read a story to. as a teenager when a classmate did me a favor and when a friend drew on the palm of my hand with markers (podkreślenie moje, K.O.). sometimes it happens for no reason at all that i can tell...”. Tu również pojawia się doświadczenie ASMR poprzez zmysł dotyku (vide podkreślony fragment cytatu).

lub dzieci sobie nawzajem „pisali/ły” po plecach, recytując wierszyki, które opisywały wykonywane przez nich palpacyjnie czynności, np.

Pisała pisarka na maszynie (udajemy pisanie na maszynie palcami na plecach)
przeszła pani na szpileczkach (idziemy w górę pleców dwoma palcami na zmianę)
plynie sobie kręta rzeka (wykonujemy slalom wierzchołkiem dłoni w górę pleców)
idą słonie (pomału piąstkami – raz jedna raz druga – idziemy w górę pleców)
biegną konie po betonie (intensywniej i szybciej uderzamy knykциями)
pada deszcz (opuszkami palców stukamy po plecach w różnych miejscach)
czujesz dreszczyk? (łaskoczemy kciukiem i środkowym palcem kark po lewej i prawej stronie)

Ostatnie pytanie w wierszyku stanowi bezpośrednią werbalizację odczuć opisywanych obecnie jako efekt ASMR. Podobnego typu twz. *wierszyki-masazyki* pojawiają się bardzo często na współczesnych blogach parentingowych (blogach poświęconych świadomemu rodzicielstwu)¹⁵.

Ponadto na blogach dedykowanych ASMR znaleźć można wpisy osób, które deklarują odczuwanie mrowienia na skutek bodźców zapachowych, np. *DanaG214* pisze: „Doświadczam tego, kiedy moja koleżanka z pracy stosuje balsam od Bath and Body Works, a także od zapachu jej perfum”¹⁶ (tłum moje, K. O.), a na innym forum użytkownik *Tim K* twierdzi: “Zauważyłem podobne opisy [ASMR] w innych miejscach i wydaje się, że ZAPACH jest w nich zawsze pomijany. Dla mnie (a także dla innych osób, z którymi rozmawiałem o ASMR) zapach jest BARDZO silnym wyzwalaczem. Czasem zapach cygara/fajki/papierosa z oddali lub sąsiedniego samochodu, a czasem czyjeś perfumy lub woda po goleniu same w sobie wyzwalają ciarki”¹⁷ (tłum moje, K. O.).

Nie pojawiają się natomiast żadne relacje o bodźcach smakowych, dlatego smak jako wyzwalacz ASMR nie został uwzględniony w klasyfikacji, co rzecz jasna nie wyklucza możliwości doświadczania przez niektóre osoby efektu ASMR w zakresie tego zmysłu. Powstają nagrania ASMR dotyczące smaku, np. *The French Whisperer* przedstawia film o degustacji wina: “ASMR – Wine Tasting (for dummies)

¹⁵ Na przykład: <http://wronek.pl/nasze-ulubione-wierszyki-masazyki>; <https://polki.pl/rodzina/rozmowy,zabawy-na-plecach-dziecka-quot-plynie-rzeczka-idzie-pani-na-szpileczkach-quot-kto-pamieta,978790,1,wypowiedzi.html>; <http://www.zabawyladzieci.com.pl/masazyki>.

W ostatnich latach podkreślane są walory terapeutyczne a także socjalizujące komunikacji przez dotyk, por. Ch. Knill (2009).

¹⁶ https://www.reddit.com/r/asmr/comments/46ck1v/question_has_anyone_experienced_asmr_through_smell [data dostępu: 29.04.2019].

¹⁷ <https://www.asmrtingles.com/what-is-asmr> [data dostępu: 5.05.2019].

– Show And Tell”¹⁸. Jednak smak stanowi tutaj wartość tematyczną nagrania, a głównymi wyzwalaczami są bodźce werbalne i wizualne, co zresztą potwierdza treść komentarzy odbiorców.

2.2. Dźwięki aparatu artykulacyjnego

2.2.1. Dźwięki głosowe

Mimo powyższych argumentów w świecie ASMR, funkcjonującym przede wszystkim w przestrzeni internetowej, podstawowymi wyzwalaczami pozostają te ze sfery dźwiękowej i wizualnej. Przyjrzyjmy się im nieco bardziej szczegółowo. Zacznijmy od dźwięków głosowych. W ich obrębie znajdujemy całą gamę bodźców wyzwalanych przez mowę, której stopnie wyodrębniane są nie tylko ze względu na **skalę głośności** dźwięków aparatu artykulacyjnego, ale przed wszystkim ze względu na **udział wiązań głosowych**¹⁹ w ich produkcji, czyli od szeptu do pełnego głosu²⁰:

- niesłyszalny/niezrozumiały szept (ang. *inaudible/untintelligible whisper*)
- na wpół słyszalny szept (ang. *semi-inaudible whisper*)
- delikatny szept (ang. *soft whisper*)
- delikatny głos, półgłos (ang. *softly spoken*)
- głos / [film] mówiony (ang. *spoken*)

Bardzo ciekawym wyzwalaczem jest pierwszy z wymienionych, bowiem wśród samych artystów ASMR funkcjonują dwa zasadnicze podejścia do tego bodźca²¹. Jedni²² utożsamiają pojęcia *inaudible* (niesłyszalny) i *untintelligible* (niezrozumiały) i rozumieją oba jako typ szeptu, z którego jesteśmy w stanie usłyszeć jedynie pojedyncze segmenty lub klasterzy zgłoskowe w wyniku czego bądź nie rozumiemy całości przekazu, bądź rozumiemy go dzięki ośrodkowi Wernickego, odpowiedzialnemu za rozumienie języka pisanego i mówionego, którego funkcje pozwalają na uzupełnienie nieusłyszanych ciągów fonicznych

¹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=evPXPSYy1Do> [data dostępu: 6.05.2019].

¹⁹ Por. tony vs. szumy, dźwięczne vs. bezdźwięczne, półotwarte vs. obstruenty (Wiśniewski 2001: 38, 40, 42).

²⁰ W nawiasach zwykle podaję wariant angielski, ponieważ wyzwalacze zarówno w filmach i ich deskrypcjach, jak i na forach dostępne są przede wszystkim w języku angielskim. Niektóre z nich są tłumaczone na polskich kanałach ASMR, jednak przekładu wielu z nich musiałem dokonać samodzielnie.

²¹ Por. dyskusje na ten temat na forach ASMR, np. https://www.reddit.com/r/asmr/comments/6ujie9/lets_settle_this_once_and_for_all_unintelligible [data dostępu: 4.05.2019].

²² np. WhisperAudios ASMR, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ryaNH6OwM> [data dostępu: 18.01.2019].

i leksykalnych (por. Harpaz, Levkovitz, Lavidor 2009: 1097–1103)²³. Z kolei inni artyści²⁴ stawiają wyraźną granicę pomiędzy tymi pojęciami i niesłyszalny szept definiują jak powyżej z zaznaczeniem, że winien on być produkowany w istniejącym żywym języku, a wariant niezrozumiały to szept będący artykulacją zbitek głoskowych nie tworzących sensu.

Oprócz wyżej wymienionych wyzwalacze w zakresie dźwięków głosowych charakteryzowane są czynnikami **suprasegmentalnymi** – mowa monotonna (ang. *monotone*) i **iteratywnymi**. Do tej drugiej kategorii należą zarówno reduplikacje leksykalne (tzw. *trigger words*), polegające na tym, że artysta powtarza przez pewien czas dane słowo-wyzwalacz, czyli wyraz, który zawiera określone zbitki głoskowe, np. *tingles tingles, tingles, tingles...*, jak i reduplikacje izolowanych klasterów głoskowych, często o charakterze onomatopei, np. *sk-sk...*, *tk-tk...*, *shoop- shoop*, *nom-nom*, *typ-typ*, *typy-typy*. Niejednokrotnie towarzyszą temu bodźce wizualne, np. powtarzanie sylaby dźwiękonaśladowczej *typ-typ-...*, przy jednoczesnej symulacji nakładania słuchaczowi kremu na twarz opuszkami palców (*SoftAnnaPL* w filmie “ASMR – Make Up Artist Role Play + Whisper and Soft Spoken in Polish”).

2.2.2. Pozostałe dźwięki aparatu artykulacyjnego

Obok dźwięków mowy popularne są także inne dźwięki aparatu artykulacyjnego:

- klikanie językiem (ang. *tongue clicking*)
- całowanie
- mlaskanie, *dosłownie*: dźwięki mokrych ust (ang. *wet mouth sounds*)
- żucie
- ssanie cukierków
- cmokanie (ang. *lip smacking*)

Mogą one być produkowane samodzielnie bądź w kombinacji z dźwiękami głosowymi, np. szepty z dźwiękami mokrych ust/mlaskaniem (ang. *wet mouth sound whispering*)

²³ Owe uzupełnienia foniczne warunkowane są semantyką. Por. przykład A.C. Gimsona: „...in any discussion about a zoo, involving a statement such as ‘We saw the lions and tigers’, we are predisposed by the context to understand *lions*, even if the *n* is omitted and the word actually said is *liars*” (Cruttenden 2013: 5).

²⁴ Np. Batala’s ASMR. W jednym ze swoich filmów artystka wyjaśnia różnicę: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RwqWBvSmvzw> [data dostępu: 3.02.2019].

2.3. Dźwięki niewerbalne

Druga zasadnicza grupa wyzwalaczy akustycznych to dźwięki niewerbalne, czyli dźwięki nieprodukowane przez aparat artykulacyjny. Zbiór ten obejmuje mnóstwo różnych typów dźwięków, które opisywane są w filmach ASMR ze względu na towarzyszącą im czynność. Wymieniam podstawowe:

- głośne oddychanie/wydychanie (ang. *breathing*)
- lizanie ucha (ang. *ear licking*)
- jedzenie ucha (ang. *ear eating*)
- masaż uszu (ang. *ear massage*)
- czyszczenie uszu (ang. *ear cleaning*)
- “dźwięki rąk” – pocieranie (ang. *hand sounds*)
- trzepotanie palcami (ang. *finger fluttering*)
- stukanie/opukiwanie (szybkie i wolne, agresywne i delikatne; ang. *tapping*)
- szeleszczenie (ang. *crinkling*)
- drapanie (ang. *scratching*)
- rysowanie (ang. *drawing*)
- pisanie (ang. *writing*)
- pisanie na klawiaturze (ang. *typing*)
- przewracanie kartek (ang. *page flipping*)
- ugniatanie/ściskanie miękkich przedmiotów, np. gąbki (ang. *soft objects squeezing*)
- pędzelkowanie mikrofonu (ang. *mic brushing*)
- drapanie mikrofonu (ang. *mic scratching*)
- rozpylanie sprayu (ang. *spraying*)
- tybetańskie misy dźwiękowe
- muzyka relaksacyjna

Trzy pierwsze znajdują się na granicy kategorii DŹWIĘKI APARATU ARTYKULACYJNEGO i DŹWIĘKI POZAWERBALNE, bowiem w ich produkcji biorą udział narządy mowy. Zaliczam je jednak do kategorii drugiej, ponieważ w przypadku oddychania mamy do czynienia z prymarną funkcją organizmu, a towarzyszący jej dźwięk jest efektem sekundarnym, a w przypadku lizania i jedzenia ucha dźwięki produkowane są nie przez same narządy mowy, ale poprzez ich kontakt z innym przedmiotem. Artyści używają w tym celu wyspecjalizowanych **binauralnych** mikrofonów²⁵ ze specjalnymi nakładkami w kształcie uszu (Ryc. 2):

²⁵ Więcej na temat kwestii technicznych – vide koniec sekcji 2.3.



Ryc. 2. Mikrofon binauralny z nakładkami w kształcie ucha²⁶.

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

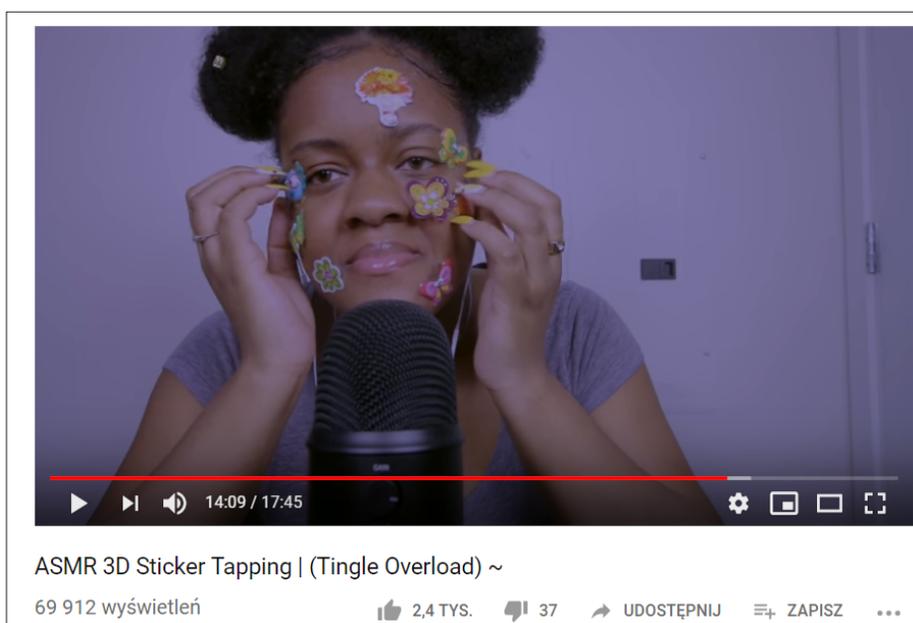
Mikrofony binauralne dają możliwość generowania dźwięków od ucha do ucha z bliskiej odległości (ang. *close-up ear to ear*, np. *GibiASMR* “[ASMR] Close-Up Ear-to-Ear Positive Affirmations | For Anxiety, Sleep”²⁷).

Odbiorcy filmów ASMR mają różne preferencje dźwiękowe. Ze względu na to powstają filmiki, które łączą mowę z dźwiękami niewerbalnymi, np. stukanie, któremu towarzyszy szept, ale także filmiki, które są tagowane jako NO TALKING. Wówczas wykonywanie wymienionych wyżej czynności jest jedynym źródłem dźwięku w nagraniu.

²⁶ Przyjemne dreszcze mózgu – Relaks Wieczorową Porą (ASMR po polsku) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qzl_czljDoE [data dostępu: 17.04.2019].

²⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pdE2Yws3MD4> [data dostępu: 20.02.2019].

Ponieważ wiele z tych czynności wywołuje różne dźwięki w zależności od obiektu, na którym są wykonywane, osobną kategorię stanowią tzw. przedmioty ASMR. Na przykład, jeżeli nagranie poświęcone jest odgłosom stukania, opukiwania, artysta próbuje zróżnicować dźwięki nie tylko poprzez tempo i natężenie dźwięku, ale także poprzez dobór przedmiotów, w które stuka. Mogą to być pudeleczka, opakowania, buteleczki z płynem, przedmioty metalowe, drewniane, itp. Niektóre artystki stukają we własne zęby (np. *Chynaunique ASMR* „ASMR Teeth Tapping”²⁸), paznokciami o paznokcie/tipsami o tipsy (np. *ASMR blossom* „ASMR – Tapping on Nails [Most Underrated Trigger]”²⁹), a jedna z artystek przykleja specjalne naklejki 3D na twarz i relaksuje odbiorców stukaniem w owe naklejki (*Batala’s ASMR* „ASMR 3D Sticker Tapping | (Tingle Overload) ~”³⁰; Ryc. 3)



Ryc. 3. Dźwięki niewerbalne. Stukanie w naklejki (*face stickers*).

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

Inne przedmioty często wykorzystywane w nagraniach ASMR to pałeczki, patyczki, pędzelki (do malowania, makijażu), gąbeczki, kłocuszki (drewniane, plastikowe), piórka, widelce silikonowe, narzędzia, szczoteczki, itd. Wiele z nich

²⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e9UVtmHVxZ8> [data dostępu: 3.02.2019].

²⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gl7qw_OcvX4 [data dostępu: 7.02.2019].

³⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dMdV_jr9Deo [data dostępu: 7.02.2019].

wiąże się ze specyficznym typem filmu ASMR, który omówiony jest w **sekcji 3)**, a mianowicie z odgrywaniem ról (ang. *role-plays*) np. rękawiczki gumowe, stetoskop (role-play: wizyta lekarska), błyszczak do ust role-play: makijaż), nożyczki, szczotka, grzebień (role-play: wizyta u fryzjera). Jeden z najbardziej znanych polskich artystów – Adrian Biskup alias *Relaks Wieczorową Porą* (ASMR po polsku)³¹ – wyprodukował specjalny role-play „Sprzedawca Przedmiotów ASMR – Odgrywanie Roli PL”³², w którym pokazuje przedmioty używane w swoich filmach i opisuje ich właściwości dźwiękowe.

Istotną kwestią dla wielu odbiorców jest **technologia** – jakiego sprzętu używa artysta, jakiej jakości są jego filmy. Filmy wysokiej jakości dźwięku i obrazu cieszą się rzeczą jasną dużą popularnością, jednakże dla niektórych słuchaczy efekt ASMR wywołują filmy *low-fi*, czyli nagrania o niskiej wierności dźwięku (np. *Tena ASMR* „ASMR Lo-Fi Personal Attention | Face Touching & Positive Affirmations”³³), o które specjalnie proszą artystów. Niejednokrotnie artyści eksperymentują ze swoim wysokiej klasy sprzętem, próbując różnych ustawień i prosząc słuchaczy o ocenę jakości filmu/dźwięku w komentarzach. Nie oznacza to oczywiście, że wszyscy artyści ASMR używają kosztownych urządzeń i że jest to aspekt decydujący o popularności kanału. Wielu artystów korzysta ze zwykłego iPhone’a oraz zestawu słuchawkowego z mikrofonem.

2.4. Wyzwalacze wizualne

Wyzwalacze oddziałujące poprzez zmysł wzroku dzielą się na trzy kategorie: **światło, kolor i ruch**. Dla niektórych odbiorców już sama sceneria ma olbrzymie znaczenie – na przykład poziom jasności tła, przedmioty znajdujące się w otoczeniu artysty. Podstawowym wyzwalaczem świetlnym jest latarka (ang. *flashlight*), którą artysta wodzi przed kamerą, zmieniając kąt padania światła. Najczęściej używane jest światło białe, ale stosowane są również światła kolorowe. Innym wyzwalaczem świetlnym są lampki o różnych kolorach i kształtach, np. lampki sensoryczne typu *lava lamp* (np. *doveASMR* „Lava Lamp ASMR [Male Whisper] feat. unintelligible whispering, tapping, crinkling”³⁴), lampki choinkowe, itd. Kolorom artyści działają na różne sposoby – najczęściej poprzez pokazywanie różnorodnych przedmiotów i pomalowane paznokcie lub kolorowe tipy; np. artystka *Brittany ASMR* w nagraniu „ASMR My Crystal Collection. MEGA Wet Mouth

31 Artysta prowadzi także kanał w języku angielskim SensorAdi ASMR, <http://sensoradi.com> [data dostępu: 7.05.2019].

32 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q9BtBRIQMEo> [data dostępu: 6.04.2019].

33 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NyRW5FyDRik> [data dostępu: 28.03.2019].

34 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOPokRszA2E> [data dostępu: 9.04.2019].

Sounds, Fake Eating Sounds, Tapping, Whisper, Soft Spoken”³⁵ pokazuje swoją złożoną z kilkudziesięciu egzemplarzy kolekcję kryształów o różnych kształtach i barwach, stukając w nie pomalowanymi na kolor indygo paznokciami (Ryc. 4). Komentarze pod filmem³⁶ pokazują, iż odbiorcy wychwycili te elementy jako istotne (np. ddrew1973: *Holy crap, magic nails! lol*; B Elise: *Loveeee the bright blue nails!!!*; Astrix: *I love crystals. Also that coating is definitely a part of the shell on your fossils. The finish is kind of described being like abalone which is really beautiful on (sic!) my opinion. Or like Aurora Borealis*³⁷).



ASMR My Crystal Collection. MEGA Wet Mouth Sounds, Fake Eating Sounds, Tapping, Whisper, Soft Spoken

Ryc. 4. Kolor jako wyzwalacz wizualny³⁸.

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

Najpopularniejszymi wyzwalaczami w zakresie ruchu są ruchy rąk (ang. *hand movements*), pędzelnictwo twarzy (ang. *face brushing*) oraz tzw. *tracing* (wodzenie, śledzenie – najczęściej palcem). Obok tego należą tutaj wszystkie ruchy związane

³⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6fzZ9eiulMc> [data dostępu: 6.12.2018].

³⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6fzZ9eiulMc> [data dostępu: 6.12.2018].

³⁷ ddrew1973: *O kurde, magiczne paznokcie! lol*; B Elise: *Kooooocham te jaskrawoniebieskie paznokcie!!!*; Astrix: *Kocham kryształy. A ta powłoka jest z pewnością częścią muszli na twoich skamielinach. Wykończenie to coś w rodzaju ucha morskiego, co moim zdaniem jest naprawdę piękne. Lub jak zorza polarna; tłum. moje, K. O.*

³⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6fzZ9eiulMc> [data dostępu: 6.12.2018].

z czynnościami wynikającymi z odgrywanej przez artystę roli w filmikach typu role-play – cięcie nożyczkami, pisanie, rysowanie, nakładanie kosmetyków na twarz, masaż głowy i ciała, wykonywanie origami, itp.

Filmy z wyzwalaczami wizualnymi w czystej formie tworzone są przez artystów bardzo rzadko. ASMR *Alysaa* nazywa swój film “VISUALS ONLY ASMR Challenge – Can you get Tingles From this NO SOUND Video? Un Reto”³⁹ wyzwaniem, co wynika z założenia, że większość nagrań ASMR łączy bodźce wizualne z dźwiękowymi. Najczęściej wyzwalacze wizualne towarzyszą dźwiękowym na dwa sposoby: (1) nie są z nimi powiązane tematycznie – dotyczy to przede wszystkim ruchów rąk i pędzelkowania (artysta najczęściej tworzy film mówiony, w którym owe bodźce wizualne są komponentem niezależnym, paralelnym w stosunku do mowy), lub (2) wynikają z odgrywanej roli, np. wodzenie latarką przy odgrywaniu roli „badanie neurologiczne/badanie nerwów czaszkowych” (ang. *cranical nerve examination*)” lub strzyżenie nożyczkami w roli „wizyta u fryzjera”.

3. Role-play i personal attention jako supra-wyzwalacze

Zaproponowana powyżej klasyfikacja (sekcja 2.1., Ryc. 1) nie uwzględnia dwóch rodzajów bodźców. Nazywam je supra-wyzwalaczami, ponieważ nie chodzi w nich jedynie o oddziaływanie na odbiorcę poprzez kanały zmysłowe i dobór odpowiednich efektów dźwiękowych i wizualnych, ale o sposób nawiązywania i utrzymywania kontaktu z odbiorcą na poziomie globalnej struktury komunikacji ze słuchaczem, co samo w sobie działa jak wyzwalacz/czynnik relaksacyjny.

Pierwszym z nich jest *personal attention*. Polscy artyści nagrywający filmy tego typu bądź zachowują w deskrypcji oryginalną angielską nazwę bądź tłumaczą ją jako *osobista uwaga*, co nie jest najtrafniejszym wyborem translatorskim ze względu zarówno na sens tej frazy jak i na jej warstwę stylistyczną. Bliższym ekwiwalentem tej kolokacji byłoby w moim przekonaniu słowo *atencja*, które występuje we współczesnym języku polskim jako anglosemantyzm (por. Witalisz 2007: 134), bowiem przyswoiło z języka angielskiego nowe znaczenie „okazywanie komuś uwagi, zainteresowania”. Wyzwalacz ów działa w ten sposób, że okazywanie odbiorcy zainteresowania poprzez personalizowanie wypowiedzi – traktowanie odbiorcy jak gdyby filmik był adresowany do niego osobiście, mówienie do niego, głaskanie – samo w sobie wywołuje bądź efekt ASMR bądź uczucie odprężenia.

Drugim supra-wyzwalaczem jest wspomniane już wcześniej **odgrywanie roli**. Ten sposób działania na odbiorcę wykorzystuje cały wachlarz przedmiotów ASMR

³⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7vWNqr1fGc4> [data dostępu: 6.05.2019].

oraz bodźców sonicznych i wzrokowych, których dobór warunkowany jest przede wszystkim tematycznie. Oto lista często nagrywanych role-play'ów:

- badanie nerwów czaszkowych (wzrok, słuch, węch, ang. *cranial nerve examination*)
- wizyta u lekarza
- makijaż
- aplikacja błyszczaków do ust (ang. *lip-gloss application*)
- malowanie paznokci
- fryzjer
- masaż głowy
- masaż twarzy
- troskliwy przyjaciel (ang. *caring friend*)
- rozpakowywanie i testowanie urządzeń i innych przedmiotów (ang. *unboxing*)
- sprzedawca
- pokazywanie kolekcji (ang. *show and tell*)
- pokazywanie zakupionych przedmiotów określonej kategorii (ang. *haul*, np. *make-up haul*)
- medytacja
- trening autogenny Schultza
- sposób na migrenę (ang. *migraine relief*), itd.

Oczywiście artyści, by wyjść poza ramy schematu i przyciągnąć więcej odbiorców, tworzą role-play'e o przeróżnej, czasami zaskakującej tematyce, np. artysta *IamCyr*: rola seryjnego mordercy „Serial Killer Victim Role Play (Cringey ASMR)”⁴⁰, artystka *Karuna Satori ASMR*: lunch w latach osiemdziesiątych „ASMR Lunch In The 80s | Your Best Friends Diner”⁴¹, rosyjski artysta *ASMRex*: kompletnie apteczki pierwszej pomocy „АСМР на русском – Ролевая игра „Медицинская аптечка” [спокойная речь | шелесты | шорохи] #60”⁴².

Specyfika role-play polega na tym, że artysta oddziałuje na odbiorcę poprzez quasi-dialog, poprzez traktowanie go jako obecnego „tu i teraz” w konwersacji, poprzez zadawanie mu pytań, traktowanie go jako swojego jedynego wyselekcjonowanego interlokutora, którego oczekiwania mają zostać spełnione (*Jak się dzisiaj czujesz? zbadam twoje oczy, zrobię ci makijaż, ostrzyżę Twoje włosy, Jaką fryzurę wybierasz? itd.), co skutkuje budowaniem określonej **przestrzeni dyskursywnej** (patrz **sekcja 5**).*

⁴⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d4hMipqGpYo> [data dostępu: 17.09.2018].

⁴¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bi8wo64l57U> [data dostępu: 17.09.2018].

⁴² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISFQIOFnU5Q&list=PLsT5FG3O_umngEvul7KEZDVwlozYM7Bej&index=15 [data dostępu: 20.09.2018].

4. Medioonomastyka – nazwy kanałów ASMR

Jak już wspominałem zjawisko ASMR ucieleśniło się w przestrzeni wirtualnej. Funkcjonuje ono w niej w ten sposób, że artyści ASMR posiadają swoje kanały – przede wszystkim w serwisie *youtube*, ale także na platformie crowdfundingowej *Patreon*, za której pośrednictwem za zamieszczane treści artyści pozyskują fundusze⁴³. Artyści, subskrybenci i inni odbiorcy kanałów tworzą tzw. społeczność ASMR (ang. *ASMR community*). Są kanały ASMR, które posiadają nawet ponad milion subskrybentów, np. Gentle Whispering ASMR subskrybuje 1 681 132 osób⁴⁴. Na swoich kanałach artyści zamieszczają filmy ASMR lub (rzadziej) nagrania audio, pod którymi słuchacze mogą dodawać publiczne komentarze. Obok gotowych nagrań artyści prowadzą także **transmisje na żywo**, tzw. *live'y/livestreamy*, podczas których dyskusja pomiędzy odbiorcami i artystą przebiega w czasie rzeczywistym⁴⁵. Niektórzy artyści podejmują współpracę i tworzą nagrania wspólnie, tzw. *collab*, np. *Relaxing Male ASMR* i *Tyson ASMR*⁴⁶.

W ostatnich latach wraz z rozwojem Internetu w onomastyce wyodrębniła się nowa subdziedzina – **medioonomastyka**, która zajmuje się „opisem – klasyfikacją, charakterystyką i oceną normatywną – zbioru nazw funkcjonujących współcześnie w przestrzeni cybernetyczno-medialnej.” (Rutkowski 2016: 172). Jej jednostkami są **medionimy**, do których należą, jako rodzaj chrematonimów, **nazwy kanałów ASMR**. W społeczności ASMR nazwy kanałów często funkcjonują z jednej strony jako rodzaj autoreklamy⁴⁷, z drugiej – jako rodzaj autocharakterystyki (por. Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2015: 427–436) – określiłbym fuzję tych funkcji jako **autoprezentację**, bowiem owe nazwy, będąc źródłem informacji o artyście, mają jednocześnie zachęcić odbiorcę do słuchania, oglądania, „lajkowania” i subskrybowania. Obok tych funkcji (informacyjnej i pragmatycznej) nazwy kanałów ASMR odzwierciedlają także pewne aspekty **konceptualizacji rzeczywistości ASMR** z perspektywy twórców.

W toku badania sporządzona została lista 131 kanałów ASMR, które podzielona została na 17 kategorii w zależności od tego, jaki aspekt funkcjonalny/znaczeniowy/

43 Zwykle filmy zamieszczane na Patreonie są dłuższe, posiadają lepszą jakość i należą do kategorii *custom videos*.

44 https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=asmr+gentle+whispering [data dostępu: 9.05.2019].

45 Więcej na ten temat w sekcji 5.

46 “ASMR Collab With Relaxing Male ASMR – Interesting Random Facts – Sleep Inducing Male Whisper”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CSG4zWx34Gk> [data dostępu: 9.05.2019]. Komunikacja pomiędzy artystami w obrębie nagrania stanowi interesujący odrębny problem badawczy.

47 Por. badania nad pseudonimami internetowymi A. Naruszewicz-Duchlińskiej (2003: 88): „Nick może być swoistą autoreklamą swego nosiciela i kreatora, informując o jego walorach i zachęcając do nawiązania z nim kontaktu”.

językowy profilowany jest przez nazwę kanału (Tab. 1). Lista zawiera 115 nazw kanałów anglojęzycznych⁴⁸, 12 – polskojęzycznych (oznaczone symbolem PL) oraz 4 – rosyjskojęzycznych (oznaczone symbolem RUS). Pojedyncze nazwy kanałów mogłyby zostać włączone do dwóch kategorii, np. *Cosmic Tingles* – do kategorii (6) i (8), *JustAWhisperingGuy* – do kategorii (8) i (9), *Relaxing Male ASMR* – do kategorii (5) i (9), *TheWaterwhispers* – do kategorii (8) i (14). Decyzja o zaliczeniu ich do danej klasy dokonana została w oparciu o wartość profilującą komponentów medionimu, np. w przypadku *Relaxing Male ASMR* za wartość dominującą uznano identyfikację płci. W klasyfikacji nie uwzględniona została graficzna reprezentacja medionimów, czyli sposób ich zapisu, np. „3” zamiast „e” w nazwie „Th3HazySea”. Kolejność grup warunkowana jest wyłącznie czynnikami technicznymi (rozmiarem tabeli).

Tabela. 1. Rzeczywistość ASMR odzwierciedlona w medionimach.

| <u>(1) Zabawy językowe na poziomie gramatyki</u> | <u>4) nomina lenitatis</u> | <u>(5) cisza/spokój/sen/relaks</u> |
|--|----------------------------|---|
| TranquiLily ASMR | accidentallygraceful | Audible Quiet |
| TingleTastic | DeesSofterSide | CJ & Chill |
| Tinglesaurus Rex | Feather Jo | Hushed Life ASMR |
| ASMRex (<u>RUS</u>) | Gentle Asmr | PeacefulMindASMR ASMR |
| Hailey Whispering Rose | GentleWhispering | peacefulslumber ASMR |
| TingleYouToSleep AMSR | Heather Feather | QueenOfSerene |
| Asmring | Mellow ASMR | QuietBiscuit |
| letmeASMRit | mysilkysounds | Relaxing Music |
| <u>(2) rodzaj wyzwalacza</u> | Slight Sounds | Relaxingsounds |
| taptap:asmr | ASMRSnowflakeASMR | Sensually Serene |
| Mouth Sounds | (Soft ASMR | ThePeacefulWhisper |
| Drops ASMR | Softly Sharry | Relaks Wieczorową Porą (<u>PL</u>) |
| | softlygaloshes | CichoSza ASMR (<u>PL</u>) |
| | SoftlyRelax | Silentia ASMR (<u>PL</u>) |
| | softlywhispered | Po cichutku, na paluszkach ASMR (<u>PL</u>) |
| | softsoundwhispers | |

⁴⁸ W niektórych wypadkach twórcy produkują filmy w różnych językach, np. artysta *Paris ASMR*, który jest rodzimym użytkownikiem języka francuskiego, nagrywa filmy po angielsku, po francusku i po niemiecku.

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p><u>(3) ASMR jako sztuka/ rozrywka</u></p> <p>Paul Artwork SOUNDsculptures The ASMR Circus Victorias Tingly Funland VIZZION ASMRtainment</p> | <p>SoftSugarClouds The Most Gentle Sounds SoftAnnaPL (PL) SubtleSounds ASMR</p> | <p>poCichu ASMR (PL) RelaxRob SleepyHeadC ASMR PJ Dreams ASMR</p> |
| <p><u>(6) świat kreowany dla odbiorcy</u></p> <p>albinwhisperland ASMRescape CalmingEscape ASMR The Cosmic Asimar Cosmic Tingles Czas po deszczu ASMR (PL) ASMR Хранитель (RUS) Clickmyworld ASMR ASMR Tingles Heaven</p> | <p><u>(7) role-plays/tematyka nagrań</u></p> <p>ASMR Therapist ASMR Barber MassageASMR PsycheTruth massage MedicalASMR HolisticTreatments360 SWITCHSCISSORS ACMP Рецепты ♡ ASMR Cooking (RUS) POLISHNOTES (PL)</p> | <p><u>(8) szept</u></p> <p>AuroraWhispers chelseamorganwhispers DollyWhispers Moon Sunwhisper ReadingWhispers sweetwhispers4u The Curly Whisperer Szepcząca w sieci (PL) Lily Whispers ASMR</p> |
| <p><u>(9) Typ postaci artysty/ identyfikacja</u></p> <p>Shinobi Rapunzel ASMR BlackMaleASMR Relaxing Male ASMR A Random Guy ASMR JustAWhisperingGuy</p> | <p><u>(10) lokalizacja</u></p> <p>Northern Whisper SiberianBeauty TheSwedishSnowflake Whitewinterwhispers SouthernASMR Sounds PARIS ASMR</p> | <p><u>(11) ciarki/zmysły</u></p> <p>Brain Tingles TingleBell Asmr TouchingTingles Late Night Tingles ASMR Tingting ASMR</p> |
| <p><u>(12) religijne</u></p> <p>TruthStudyASMR ASMR Psalter spirit.filled.tascam Glory ASMR</p> | <p><u>(14) metafora dźwięku/myśli/ etc.</u></p> <p>Deep Ocean of Sounds DeepThought Ephemeral Rift MissMindBuzz TheAbysswalker Th3HazySea</p> | <p><u>(15) Synestezja</u></p> <p>WhisperingHands4You WhisperingLight WhispersparklesASMR The Starlight Whisper</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| (13) Technologia/fizyczne cechy dźwięku/obrazu True Binaural & ASMR Polish ASMR Gleam (PL) ASMR Aga Vibes (PL) | asmr zeitgeist Vortex ASMR TheWaterwhispers SensorAdi ASMR Detected (RUS) asmrsongbird27 | |
| | | (16) Erotyka Sweetseductiveasmr seksi ASMR (PL) Gay ASMR |

Źródło: opracowanie własne.

W Tabeli 1 nie zostały uwzględnione medionimy, które zaliczyłem do odrębnej kategorii (17), fundowane wyłącznie na imieniu lub pseudonimie artysty, np. *ahska ASMR* (PL), czy *Tyson ASMR*, gdyż nie są one czytelne z perspektywy konotacji. Wiele z nich ma w świecie ASMR wartość **marki**, bowiem cieszą się ogromną popularnością w społeczności ASMR, np. *GibiASMR*, *asmr zeitgeist*, *ASMR Karuna Satori* i *Brittany ASMR*, które mają odpowiednio – 1 925 957 (prawie 2 miliony!), 1 117 881, 733 696, 109 340 subskrypcji. Przyjrzyjmy się bliżej pozostałym kategoriom.

Grupa (1) zawiera medionimy stworzone w oparciu o gry słowotwórcze. Cztery z nich stanowią blendy⁴⁹: *TranquiLily ASMR* stanowi niedokładny blend (*tranquility* + *Lilly*), *TingleTastic* – to kontaminacja *Tingle*+*fantastic* w oparciu o analogię do *Runtastic™*, *ASMRex* (RUS) to blend (zarówno z perspektywy wymowy angielskiej [eɪsɛmə:rɛ/ɪ/əks], jak i rosyjskiej [aɛsɛmɛrɛks]): *ASMR+Rex* (czyli król ASMR). *Tinglesaurus Rex* to także król, tym razem ciarek – medionim ten stanowi złożenie (*Tingle*+*saurus*) oparte na analogii do nazw popularnych gatunków dinozaurów. *Hailey Whispering Rose* jest nazwą, której jednoreferencyjną strukturę imienia i nazwiska rozbija leksem *whispering*, co stanowi nie tylko czynnik autoprezentacyjny, ale także grę słów wynikającą z prioprialnego charakteru nazwiska (*whispering rose* – szepcząca róża). Pozostałe trzy nazwy fundowane są na konwersji: w nazwie kanału *TingleYouToSleep ASMR* rzeczownik *tingle* ulega werbalizacji – staje się czasownikiem (dosł. *WyciarkujęCięDoSnu*⁵⁰), w medionimie *letmeASMRit* podobnemu procesowi ulega sam skrótowiec ASMR (dosł. *pozwołmitozaesemerowć*), a ostatnia nazwa *Asmring* jest rezultatem dwóch procesów – werbalizacji: rzeczownik ASMR staje się czasownikiem *to asmr* (dosł. *aesemero-wać*), który z kolei ulega kolejnemu procesowi – wtórnej nominalizacji – i staje się

⁴⁹ Definicja blendu (kontaminacji) patrz: Szymanek (1998: 99–100).

⁵⁰ tłum. moje, K. O. – decyzja o prefiksacji w tłumaczeniu wynika z rezultatywnego charakteru frazy „będę ciarkował tak długo, aż zapadniesz w sen”. Wszystkie zastosowane w analizie tłumaczenia medionimów są mojego autorstwa.

rzeczownikiem odczasownikowym (*gerundium/nomen actionis*): *asmring* (dosł. *aesemerowanie*).

Grupy (2), (7), (8), (11) i (13) profilują – wyprowadzają na pierwszy plan – określone fasety z całego układu sceny ASMR⁵¹. Grupy (2) i (8) wskazują na rodzaj wyzwalacza. W pierwszej z nich profilowane są: opukiwanie, dźwięki ust, krople, a w drugiej – szept, któremu w przypadku *ReadingWhispers* towarzyszy dodatkowa charakterystyka realizacji wyzwalacza. Grupa (7) wyodrębnia typ odgrywanej roli lub tematykę nagrań: terapeuta, fryzjer, fryzjer męski/golibroda, masaż, medycyna, leczenie/terapię holistyczne, kulinaria, notatki⁵². Dla grupy (11) składnikiem bazowym są ciarki (*tingles*), opatrzone w trzech przypadkach odpowiednimi atrybutami – ciarki mózgu (*Brain Tingles*), ciarki w połączeniu ze zmysłem dotyku (*TouchingTingles*), ciarki późną nocą (*Late Night Tingles*). Nazwa *Tingting ASMR* stworzona jest w oparciu o dwa zabiegi słowotwórcze – ucięcie (*clipping*; por. Grzegorzyczkowa et al. 1999: 364) oraz reduplikację, która odzwierciedla typ wyzwalacza (por. **sekcja 2.2.1.**), a medionim *TingleBell Asmr* stanowi fonetyczną grę słów w odniesieniu do nazwy postaci z bajki „Piotruś Pan”: Tinker Bell (pol. *Dzwoneczek*), co stawia go na granicy kategorii (11) i (9). Grupa (13) wyodrębnia technologiczne i fizyczne atrybuty dźwięku lub obrazu – binauralność (*True Binaural & ASMR*), blask/poświatę (*Polish ASMR Gleam*) oraz źródło powstawania fal dźwiękowych – wibracje (*ASMR Aga Vibes*; z ang. *vibes* = *vibrations*).

W grupach (4) i (5) podstawę nazwy stanowią określenia, które naturalnie wynikają z celu ASMR. W grupie czwartej są to leksemy konotujące łagodność i delikatność (*nomina lenitatis*): z gracją (*graceful*), miękki/cichy, delikatny – w stopniu równym i wyższym oraz w wariantcie przysłówkowym (*soft, softer, softly*), piórko (*feather*)⁵³, delikatny – w stopniu równym i najwyższym (*gentle, most gentle*),

51 Terminy *profilowanie, układ sceny* stosowane są w rozumieniu Langackerowskim (Langacker 1991: 5-7).

52 Nazwa kanału *POLISHNOTES* nie jest do końca przejrzysta, dopiero opis kanału i zamieszczone na nim nagrania informują, iż chodzi o tematykę organizacji pracy w trakcie studiów – sporządzania notatek, itp. Nazwa ta podchodzi także pod kategorię (10) – lokalizacja, gdyż wskazuje na narodowość artystki.

53 Ciekawym onimem w grupie (4) jest *Heather Feather*, bowiem nie tylko zawiera w sobie prioprialny pseudonim o znaczeniu *piórko*, ale istnieje prawdopodobieństwo, iż nawiązuje także do postaci z podręcznika do fonetyki pt. „How now brown cow?” (Ponsonby 1987: 48-49), w którym każdy z rozdziałów poświęcony jest odrębnemu dźwiękowi w języku angielskim. Po drylach wprowadzających w strukturze każdego rozdziału znajduje się tekst, którego istota polega na tym, że praktycznie każdy z użytych w nim wyrazów zawiera ćwiczony w tym rozdziale dźwięk. Bohaterką tekstu poświęconego dźwiękowi [ð] jest Heather Feather [ˈheðə ˈfeðə], a innym istotnym dźwiękiem dla obu członów nazwy jest dźwięk [e], który w języku angielskim jest dźwiękiem wąskim, krótkim, figuratywnie ujmując „lekkim”, zatem jego charakter wpisuje się w profilowane w omawianej grupie cechy.

łagodny/miękki/aksamitny (*mellow*), jedwabisty (*silky*), lekkie [dźwięki] (*slight [sounds]*), płatek śniegu (*snowflake*), subtelne [dźwięki] (*subtle [sounds]*). Z kolei w grupie piątej znajdują się leksemy nazywające ciszę, spokój, sen i relaks lub wywołujące związane z nimi asocjacje: spokój (*quiet*), spokój/relaks (*chill*), spokojny (*peaceful, serene*), lekki sen (*slumber*), senny (*sleepy*), sny/marzenia/marzenia sennie (*dreams*) wyciszony (*hushed; hush* – wyraz dźwiękonaśladowczy, którego polski ekwiwalent to *cicho! sza!*), relaksacyjny/relaksujący (*relaxing*), relaks, cicho sza, po cichu, po cichutku, na paluszkach, cisza (łac. pl. *silentia*). Interesująca jest w tej grupie nazwa z substantywizowanym przymiotnikiem *QueenOfSerene*, która, podobnie jak w przypadku omówionych w kategorii (1) onimów *ASMRex* i *Tinglesaurus Rex*, wyraża aksjologiczne profilowanie postaci: *królowa spokoju*).

Medionimy z grupy (3), (6) i (14) fundowane są na metaforach. W grupie (3) świat ASMR opisywany jest jako świat sztuki lub rozrywki: szata graficzna (*artwork*), rzeźby dźwięków (*sound sculptures*), cyrk (*circus*), lunapark (*funland*). Nazwa *ASMRtainment* stanowi niedokładną kontaminację *ASMR + entertainment* (rozrywka), dlatego przynależy także do klasy (1). W grupie (6) nazwy kanałów pomyślane zostały jako wykładniki kreowania swoistego świata lub przestrzeni dla odbiorców, co odzwierciedlają takie leksemy jak kraina [szeptów] (*whisperland*), [uspokajająca] ucieczka ([*calming*] *escape*), kosmiczny (*cosmic*), czas po deszczu, świat (*world*), niebo [ciarek] ([*tingles*] *heaven*). Ciekawą metaforą jest rosyjski *nomen actionis* *ASMR Хранитель*, bowiem ASMR jawi się w jej świetle jako przestrzeń, która wymaga troski (*хранитель* to protektor, obrońca, stróż). Grupa (14) zawiera onimy, będące rezultatem różnego typu metaforyzacji – dany kanał ASMR to: głęboki ocean dźwięków (*Deep Ocean of Sounds*), głęboka myśl (*Deep Thought*), ulotna rozpadlina (metafora jest nieprzejrzysta, opis kanału⁵⁴ sugeruje, że owa szczelina/rozpadlina stanowi drogę chwilowej ucieczki od rzeczywistości życia codziennego), gwar w umyśle (*mind buzz*), otchłani (*abyss*; artysta kreuje się na spacerującego w otchłani – *TheAbysswalker*), mgliste morze (*hazy sea*), duch czasu (*Zeitgeist*), wir (*vortex*), woda (wodne szepty, *water whispers*), [śpiew] słowika

54 „Rozpoczęcie działalności 9/2011, możecie uważać ten kanał za przedłużenie mnie samego. Jestem niezależnym, domorostym samoukiem à la ‘siedem fachów ósma bieda’, podobnym do szalonego naukowca pracującego w podziemnym laboratorium, tworząc unikatowe mikstury złożone z różnorakich składników takich jak ASMR, sztuka, relaksacja, przyroda, komedia (surrealistyczna, satyryczna, parodia, z użyciem rekwizytów, oparta o grę słów, etc.), filozofia (absurdyzm, cynizm, optymizm, egzystencjalizm, nihilizm, anarchizm, ateizm i in.), doświadczenia życiowe oraz wiele innych eksperymentów, wiele z nich nieortodoksyjnych i dających do myślenia, ale przede wszystkim z celem dostarczenia pewnej formy rozrywki lub ucieczki od jakże często stresującego, zapracowanego, poddawanego nieustannym testom życia (podkreślenie moje, K. O., tłum. moje, K. O.); <https://www.youtube.com/user/EphemeralRift/about> [data dostępu: 11.05.2019].

(*songbird*). Dwie ostatnie nazwy w tej kategorii są metaforą zdolności do wykrywania zmysłów, przez które doświadczane jest ASMR (*sensor* to czujnik) i wykrywania samoistnej odpowiedzi meridianów czuciowych jako takiej (*ASMR Detected* – ASMR wykryte).

Grupa (9) zawiera onimy identyfikujące – wskazujące na związek artysty z postacią ze świata folkloru czy fantastyki: *shinobi* to inna nazwa wojowników *ninja*, a *Rapunzel* to imię głównej bohaterki niemieckiej baśni ludowej o tym samym tytule, a także jej współczesnej animowanej adaptacji (pol. *Roszpunka*) lub wskazujące na pewne aspekty tożsamości artysty: wszystkie cztery nazwy: *BlackMaleASMR*, *Relaxing Male ASMR*, *A Random Guy ASMR* i *JustAWhisperingGuy* zawierają identyfikację płci (*male* – męski, *guy* – facet), a jedna z nich dodatkowo identyfikację antropologicznej odmiany człowieka (*black* – odmiana czarna)⁵⁵.

Do grupy (10) należą nazwy o charakterze referencyjnym – w sposób mniej lub bardziej dokładny lokalizują miejsce zamieszkania artysty. Najdokładniejszą wartość lokalizującą wykazuje wchodzący w skład nazwy toponim *Paris* (Paryż); następnie onim *TheSwedishSnowflake* (*Swedish* – szwedzki), który pozwala zidentyfikować narodowość artysty. Jeszcze mniej precyzyjna jest wskazująca jedynie na ogromną krainę geograficzną nazwa – *SiberianBeauty* (*Siberian* – syberyjski). *Northern Whisper* i *SouthernASMR Sounds* wskazują jedynie na kierunki świata i dopiero opis kanału ujawnia, iż w pierwszym przypadku chodzi o Norwegię (północ jako kraje skandynawskie), a w drugim o południe Stanów Zjednoczonych (opis ujawnia również, że chodzi o fonetyczny aspekt nagrań: „Będę zamieszczać na kanale filmy ASMR z południowym akcentem, ...”)⁵⁶. Nieprecyzyjna jest również nazwa *Whitewinterwhispers*, która może wskazywać na kraje, w których panuje zima (opis kanału i drugi język filmów ujawniają, iż artystka pochodzi z Finlandii).

Nazwy kanałów z grupy (12) odzwierciedlają ich religijną tematykę. Zawarte w nich słowa i wyrażenia: studia nad prawdą (*truth study*), Psalterz (*Psalter*), napełniona duchem (*spirit filled*), chwała (*glory*) są nośnikami konotacji związanych z wiarą. Potwierdzają to opisy filmów i kanałów, np. *spirit.filled.tascam* daje następujący komentarz do jednego ze swoich nagrań: „Jeżeli jest to pierwsze moje wideo, które oglądasz, należę do kościoła apostołskiego i tworzę te nagrania by połączyć moją miłość do ASMR z moją miłością do Jezusa w nadziei, że pomoże ci to w zasypianiu i złagodzi twoje zmartwienia⁵⁷ (tłum. moje, K. O.)

⁵⁵ Identyfikacja płci biologicznej jest oczywista w przypadku, gdy nazwa kanału zawiera typowe imię męskie lub żeńskie.

⁵⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCpw8ZudbxklOi73pWel6s9A/about> [data dostępu: 4.05.2019], (tłum. moje, K. O.).

⁵⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ckTHGd9Wig> [data dostępu: 7.05.2019].

Bardzo ciekawą kategorię stanowi grupa (15), ponieważ zawarte w niej nazwy fundowane są w oparciu o **synestezję**, a konkretnie w oparciu o powiązanie zmysłu słuchu ze zmysłem wzroku: szept (*whisper*) łączy się tutaj z ruchem rąk (*whispering hands*) i światłem (*light* – światło, *sparkles* – iskry, *starlight* – światło gwiazdy).

Grupa (16) to nazwy kanałów, których treści budzą spore kontrowersje w środowisku ASMR, bowiem większość osób doświadczających efektu ASMR uważa, że nie ma on nic wspólnego z doznaniem natury seksualnej (vide **przypis 3**: „...to coś jak srebrzysta iskra przenikająca moja głowę i mózg... prawie jak coś w rodzaju orgazmu głowy, ale nie ma to nic wspólnego z doznaniem seksualnymi...”)⁵⁸. Rezultaty analizy przedstawione w cytowanym wcześniej artykule Barratt i Davisa (2015: Results) wskazują, że 5% badanych używa nagrań ASMR do stymulacji seksualnej, podczas gdy ogromna większość badanych (84%) jest przeciwna łączeniu sfery ASMR z erotyką.

5. Dyskursywne wyznaczniki twórczości ASMR

W ramach analizy **dyskursu ASMR** na pierwszy plan wysuwają się dwa jego aspekty. Po pierwsze funkcja **fatyczna i socjalizująca** (Grzegorzczkova 2010: 50–51, 55) budujące więź w obrębie społeczności ASMR, których realizacja leży po stronie artysty ASMR, a po drugie – funkcja **ewaluatywna i perswazyjna**⁵⁹, które realizowane są przez odbiorców nagrań.

Artyści zacieśniają więzi z odbiorcami poprzez po pierwsze **personalizację komunikacji**, co czynią przede wszystkim w filmach typu *role-play* i *personal attention*. Jak wspominałem, w tego typu filmach artysta prowadzi pozorną konwersację z odbiorcą, zwraca się do niego w ten sposób, jak gdyby komunikacja z nim przebiegała w rzeczywistości i bliskości – stwarza iluzję realnego kontaktu z odbiorcą. Poprzez swoje wypowiedzi próbuje zniwelować dystans i wykreować sytuację komunikacyjną, w której obaj uczestnicy kontaktują się bezpośrednio – bez użycia medium internetowego. Na przykład w nagraniu “∞ Sleep-inducing Haircut ASMR | Shampoo | Page Flipping | Scissors” na kanale *Gentle Whispering ASMR* przedstawia się to w następujący sposób (podkreślone zostały frazy, personalizujące komunikację)⁶⁰:

- wprowadzenie iluzji komunikacji bezpośredniej:

Cześć, witaj w moim salonie fryzjerskim.⁶¹

(Hi, welcome to my hair salon.)

⁵⁸ Por. „Co to jest ASMR? Dla kogo? Po co? ASMR po polsku PL” na kanale *Relaks wieczorową porą*, min. 4.35-5.50.

⁵⁹ Por. emotywno-oceniające oraz nakłaniające akty mowy (Awdiejew 2004: 115–129, 134).

⁶⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gf_MqDBBMPI [data dostępu: 30.04.2019].

⁶¹ Wszystkie poniższe tłumaczenia moje, K. O.

- postawienie „ty” w centrum uwagi; czas ciągły profiluje duratywność – utrzymywanie kontaktu z odbiorcą:
Będę się dzisiaj tobą zajmowała.
(*I'm going to be taking care of you.*)
- zmniejszenie dystansu fizycznego:
Obiecuję, że będę ostrożna.
(*I promise that I'll be careful.*)
- zdefiniowanie aktywnej roli odbiorcy (artysta przyjmuje rolę pasywną – słuchacza, a odbiorcy zostaje stworzona przestrzeń do zwerbalizowania swoich oczekiwań):
... i będę słuchała Twoich życzeń...
(*...and that I'll listen to your wishes...*)
- akomodacja – dostosowanie się do potrzeb odbiorcy:
...i wystylizuję jedynie taką fryzurę, w której będzie Ci do twarzy...
(*...and only create the style that is going to be flattering on you...*)
- ewaluatywny akt mowy: pochwała – pozytywna ocena działań odbiorcy (por. Awdiejew 1987: 120–124):
O! Świetna robota! [w zakresie dbania o swoje włosy]
(*Oh, you're doing great job!*)
- komplementowanie⁶² o wysokim wysyceniu aksjologicznym – metafora fundowana na leksemie *angel* (anielski), wielki kwantyfikator – *anything* (wszystko, cokolwiek), przymiotnik oceniający *good* (pol. przysłówek: dobrze), komisyw⁶³ *I promise!* (Obiecuję!), modalizator ewaluatywny (operator interakcyjny) *just* (po prostu), superlativus – *the sweetest thing* (przeurocza):
Szczerze mówiąc, z twoją anielską twarzą wszystko będzie wyglądać dobrze. Obiecuję!
(*To be honest with your angel face anything will look good, I promise!*)
Jesteś po prostu przeurocza!
(*You're just the sweetest thing!*)

Artyści personalizują kontakt ze słuchaczami także poprzez filmy Q&A – (pytania i odpowiedzi, ang. *Questions and Answers*) oraz *livestreamy* (transmisje na żywo).

⁶² Por. strategie komplementowania opisane w monografii B. Drabik (2004).

⁶³ W terminologii Searle'a (1999: 234–235).

Nagrania Q&A bazują bądź na gotowych dostępnych w Internecie ankietach bądź – o wiele częściej – na pytaniach, kierowanych przez słuchaczy do artysty. Artysta zapowiada wcześniej plan realizacji filmu Q&A, zachęcając odbiorców do przesyłania pytań (np. via instagram), na które odpowiada w trakcie filmu. Pytania są różnej natury – od neutralnych np. *Co cię skłoniło do robienia filmów ASMR? Skąd takie zainteresowanie? Jaki jest twój ulubiony artysta ASMR, twój ulubiony dźwięk ASMR?*⁶⁴, poprzez osobiste, np. *Ile masz lat? (How old are you?) Ile masz wzrostu? (How tall are you?) Czym się martwisz? (What are you worried about?)*⁶⁵, aż po wkraczające w sferę intymności – dotyczące sfery seksualnej. Niektórzy artyści w tych kwestiach wypowiadają się otwarcie⁶⁶, a niektórzy stawiają granice personalizacji, np. *Tyson ASMR* w video pt. „ASMR – 10,000 Subscriber Q&A – Whispered (1 Hour)” mówi: *Dostałem mnóstwo pytań dotyczących sfery seksualnej, ale raczej nie odpowiem na nie wszystkie. (I got a lot of sexual question which I probably won't answer all of them)*⁶⁷.

Transmisję są formą kontaktu najbardziej zbliżonego do kontaktu bezpośredniego, ponieważ artysta prowadzi dialog z odbiorcami w czasie rzeczywistym *on-line* – dialog ów stanowi połączenie komunikacji pisemnej i ustnej, ponieważ słuchacze komunikują się z artystą na bieżąco, pisząc komentarze widoczne w tzw. **oknie czatu**, a twórca reaguje/odpowiada na nie w formie ustnej (Ryc. 5).



Ryc. 5. Mia ASMR livestream⁶⁸.

Źródło: opracowanie własne

64 ashka ASMR PL "ASMR*Q&A*1000 subskrybcji!*whisper*PL" min. 1.25-1.43 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=425f6iRn6oE> [data dostępu: 13.09.2018].

65 Relaxing Male ASMR "ASMR 20k Q&A and Ramble - Relaxing Male ASMR Whispered" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GPOSbD2yqeA> [data dostępu: 30.04.2019].

66 np. Slim Whispers „ASMR Q&A (Sexuality,Cuts etc)", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYrE89TiLuA> [data dostępu: 29.11.2018].

67 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jCC6fD1YwM> [data dostępu: 12.12.2018].

68 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6D53TcwaTsc> [data dostępu: 4.05.2019]. Artyści w większości przypadków zapisują swoje transmisje, które można potem wraz z czatem odtworzyć „na żywo”.

Oczywiście na czacie nieraz pojawiają się wypowiedzi nierelevantne, np. *World Conquer* podczas transmisji na kanale *Mia ASMR* pisze bez związku/odniesienia: *my girlfriend don't like me calling her princess (moja dziewczyna nie lubi, kiedy nazywam ją księżniczką, patrz także Ryc. 5. – okno czatu)*, ale wiele z nich stanowi próbę rzeczywistego nawiązania kontaktu z artystą. Nie na wszystkie wypowiedzi artysta jest zawsze w stanie zareagować. Uzależnione jest to od liczby osób biorących udział w czacie. Oto kilka przykładów komunikacji podczas transmisji z polskiego kanału *Czas po deszczu*⁶⁹ (pisownia oryginalna, z pominięciem emotikonów; transkrypcja ustnych odpowiedzi artystów moja, K. O.):

Cloperflejk *Jeste stresik na lajwie?*

Sue Aihara *Uf zdążyłam :D*

Małgorzata Piłat *jestem! jeszcze w tramwaju ale czatowałam z telefonem od 10min*

Young Gamers Team *pozdrawisz*

Odpowiedź artysty: *Young Gamers Team, oczywiście, pozdrawiam serdecznie!*

Weronika S *Dobry wieczór Bou!*

Odpowiedź artysty: *Dobry wieczór, Weroniko!*

paulas Game *NAGRAJ ROLEPLAY FRYZJER*

Odpowiedź artysty: *paulas Game – z role-play'em fryzjera to jest tak, że, wiecie, tak w zasadzie to jest tego bardzo dużo na sieci, a ja szukam takich tematów, które... których nie chciałbym tak bardzo mocno powielać, więc jeżeli robić fryzjera, to na jakiś swój własny odmienny sposób i zastanawiałem się nad tym, ale generalnie tego typu role-play'e trzeba czuć, bo nie ma nic gorszego, kiedy nie czujemy tematu i na siłę staramy się ten temat zrobić. Jest to zupełnie bez sensu. Takich materiałów nie chciałbym, żebyście zobaczyli u mnie na kanale i... pewnie nie zobaczycie. To znaczy, nie chodzi o ten temat, tylko takich, które ja wewnętrznie nie będę czuł i będę nagrywał na siłę, tak więc tego nie chciałbym robić.*

Drugim sposobem budowania więzi z odbiorcami jest nadawanie grupie swoich słuchaczy wyjątkowego statusu, co realizowane jest fatycznie w tzw. **intro** do filmu.

⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xZiHsaT4Jow> [data dostępu: 8.05.2019].

Artysta rozpoczyna film od **stalej frazy** – przywitania z odbiorcami – która jest nie tylko jego znakiem rozpoznawczym, ale ma także charakter **afiliacyjny**⁷⁰, bowiem wzbudza w słuchaczu poczucie przynależności do społeczności kanału poprzez zawarte w niej wyrażenia o pozytywnym ładunku aksjologicznym (*rodzina, bratnie dusze, moje życie, mój świat*), np.

- Slight Sounds ASMR⁷¹:

Witajcie moje „dźwiękowe bratnie dusze”.

Hello my “sound soulmates”.

- Karuna Satori ASMR⁷²:

Cześć, tu Karuna Satori! Witam wszystkich na naszym kanale, a jeśli jesteś tu nowy, witaj w rodzinie!

Hello, Karuna Satori here! Welcome to our channel everybody and if you are new here, welcome to the family!

- Batała’s ASMR⁷³:

*Witajcie moje jaskierki, moje życie, moja rodzino, mój świecie!*⁷⁴

Hello my buttercups, my life, my family, my world!!!!!!

We wspomnianych już komentarzach do filmów oraz dyskusji na czatach podczas livestreamów odbiorcy realizują funkcję **perswazyjną** i **ewaluatywną**, czyli z jednej strony werbalizują swoje oczekiwania wobec artysty, a z drugiej strony oceniają kanał i twórcę zarówno z perspektywy personalnej, jak i z perspektywy profesjonalnej. Przyjrzyjmy się wybranym wypowiedziom i sposobie w jaki zostały sformułowane:

- Oczekiwania odbiorców (perswazja)

- **polski kanał *Czas po deszczu***:⁷⁵

KokosiQ *Czekam z niecierpliwością na szkolenie IMDA*

- **polski kanał: *Relaks wieczorową porą***:⁷⁶

Bartek *pisanie na kartce*

⁷⁰ Por. definicje afiliacji w: Chudzicka (1998: 61).

⁷¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IXdj9lrH2I8> [data dostępu: 2.04.2019].

⁷² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHM-6P8NIWU> [data dostępu: 16.02.2019].

⁷³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3zgxAEuT1oM> [data dostępu: 28.03.2019].

⁷⁴ W oryginale angielskim następuje zachowanie dźwięczności i reduplikacja spółgłoski [d] w wygłosie.

⁷⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xZiHsaT4Jow> [data dostępu: 8.05.2019].

⁷⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQ8ci7yYqIQ> [data dostępu: 7.05.2019].

Uran *pisanie drewnem po drewnie*
 mikołaj bobowski *Błagam Cie weź gąbeczkę teraz*
 Chris Nudzęsię *może Pan trochę bardziej „stymulować” (lol nie wiem jak to nazwać) prawą stronę?*

– **kanal: Mia ASMR:**⁷⁷

Danika Salorio *Czy możesz powiedzieć moje imię?! (Can you say my name please ?!)*
 Artic void755 *Mia proszę zrób delikatne drapanie i stukanie na skórze perforowanej*
(Mia Please do a gentle scratching and tapping on textured leather)
 Reagan Miele *Czy mogłabyś zrobić swój codzienny makijaż proszę!!*
(Could you do a makeup routine please!!)
 Honey Blue ASMR *Czy możesz napisać (palcem przed kamerą) moje imię? (Can u trace my name?)*

Funkcja perswazyjna dotyczy tutaj – typu wyzwalacza (np. *tracing*), sposobu realizacji (np. stymulowanie prawej strony), role-play (np. *szkolenie, makijaż*) lub wywołania personalizacji kontaktu ze strony nadawcy (prośba o wypowiedzenie imienia). Jest ona realizowana przez całą gamę **form dyrektywnych: niebezpośrednich** – opisowych (*czekam z niecierpliwością na*), nominatywnych (*pisanie na kartce*), interrogatywnych (*może Pan, can you, could you*) oraz **bezpośrednich** – wykładników predykatów prośby (*błagam, proszę*) oraz trybu rozkazującego (*zrób, weź*)⁷⁸.

- wypowiedzi ewaluatywne:

– **ad personam**

kanal: Mia ASMR:⁷⁹

Raelin Maple *Co to za rozświetlacz?? Wygląda na tobie cholernie słodko*
(Which highlighter is that?? Looks hella cute on you)
 RCH 32 *Będę Twoim chłopakiem (ill be your boyfriend)*
 S.T. A.T *Jesteś piękna! (You're Beautiful!)*

Kanał: Relaxing Male ASMR:⁸⁰

Christian Ada *On jest taki przystojny! To powinna być zbrodnia sama w sobie!! (He's too damned Handsome!!! That should be a crime within itself!!)*

⁷⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6D53TcwaTsc> [data dostępu: 4.05.2019].

⁷⁸ Por. definicje i klasyfikacje dyrektywnych aktów mowy w Komorowska (2008: 24–40)

⁷⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6D53TcwaTsc> [data dostępu: 4.05.2019].

⁸⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFlpyR3cHHo> [data dostępu: 10.05.2019].

– dotyczące nagrania

Kanał: Mia ASMR:⁸¹

S.T. A.T Świetna zawartość! Tak trzymaj! (... *Keep Up The Great Content!*...)

Myrian BI *Niezmiennie kocham twoje niesłyszalne szepty. Nigdy się nimi nie znudzę.* (*always love your inaudible whispering. I never get tired of it.*)

Kanał: Relaxing Male ASMR:⁸²

Ricky Leyva

Już sam sposób, w jaki patrzysz na kamerę powoduje, że chce mi się spać. Wiem, że twoje nagrania mają świetne audio, ale aspekty wizualne są równie dobre. (*The way you look at the camera makes me want to fall asleep all on it's own. I know your vids have great audio but the visual aspects are really just as good.*)

Trevor

Mam nadzieję, że zdajesz sobie sprawę jak ważne są twoje nagrania dla osób, które mają kłopoty ze spaniem. Sen jest tak ważny, ale dla niektórych z nas noc jest czasem największej walki. Wkładasz w swoje nagrania tyle pracy i to widać i one napraaaawdę pomagają. (*I hope you realize how important your videos are for those of us who really struggle with sleep. sleep is so important but for some of us night time is our biggest battle. you put so much work into them and it shows and they are sooo helpful. thank you.*)

Komentarze słuchaczy obfitują w mnóstwo innych aspektów, np. dystansowanie się – mówienie o artyście w osobie trzeciej (Tierra: *Ona chodzi do college'u (She's in college)*), zadawanie pytań: (Mariono Griffin: *Uprawiasz jakiś sport? (You play any sports?)*)⁸³, opisywanie tego, co doświadczają, odtwarzając nagrania (Nikki G: *Czuję ciarki na kręgosłupie, poczawszy od prawego ucha, w kierunku szyi i w dół pleców. A potem dreszcze rozładowują napięcie* (*My spine is tingling starting from my right ear, to my neck and down my back. Then I shiver out the tension*)⁸⁴) itd. Ponadto komunikacja ta ma charakter wielokodowy (por. Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 8–9), ponieważ użytkownicy stosują emotikony. Jak widać, całościowe opracowanie dyskursu ASMR w ramach komunikacji na linii odbiorcy-artysta stanowi obszerne pole badawcze i wymaga odrębnego opracowania.

⁸¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6D53TcwaTsc> [data dostępu: 4.05.2019].

⁸² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFlpyR3cHHo> [data dostępu: 10.05.2019].

⁸³ Mia ASMR <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6D53TcwaTsc> [data dostępu: 4.05.2019].

⁸⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFlpyR3cHHo> [data dostępu: 10.05.2019].

6. Uwagi końcowe

Wychodząc poza ramy lingwistyki chciałbym zwrócić uwagę na trzy zagrożenia wynikające z medium, przez które ASMR jest odbierane, a jest to najczęściej telefon komórkowy lub podobnego typu urządzenie. Po pierwsze, urządzenia te generują światło niebieskie, na które ekspozycja jest szkodliwa dla ludzkiego oka: „promieniowanie światła niebieskiego jako czynnik fototoksyczny może prowadzić do poważnego uszkodzenia siatkówki ludzkiego oka.” (Hill-Bator, Pyziak 2015: 143), zatem częste oglądanie filmów ASMR – koncentracja na wyzwalaczach wizualnych – może mieć negatywne skutki oftalmologiczne. Po drugie, wielu współczesnych socjologów i pedagogów ostrzega, że „wirtualny świat staje się specyficzną alternatywą życia społecznego, zastępuje bowiem kontakty z bliskimi” (Kołomyjski 2013: 256). W przypadku budowania więzi społecznej i emocjonalnej, którą opisałem jedynie z perspektywy dyskursu, istnieje obawa, iż poszukiwanie doznań związanych z ASMR może zaburzyć potrzebę kontaktu w świecie rzeczywistym. W komentarzu do filmu na kanale *Relaxing Male ASMR* „Helping You Fall Asleep – Whispers, Music, Breathing, Hugs”, którego jednym z komponentów jest wirtualne przytulanie (ang. *hugs*), odbiorca Ash V. pisze: „Kocham, kiedy włączasz przytulanie do swoich nagrań, powoduje to, że mam poczucie bezpieczeństwa i opieki, ponieważ nie doświadczam zbyt wiele bliskiej relacji/interakcji w prawdziwym życiu”⁸⁵. I po trzecie, ponieważ cyberprzestrzeń jako taka stanowi pole do rozwoju uzależnień, również w tym przypadku należy liczyć się z ich potencjalnym wystąpieniem. Nie przeprowadzono w tym zakresie badań, lecz można znaleźć następujące wpisy na forach internetowych: „Bardzo niepokoję się z powodu mojego uzależnienia od ASMR. Dosłownie, za każdym razem, kiedy chcę coś zrobić, myślę o ASMR. Przestaję przez to grać w gry, odrabiać zadania domowe i zajmować się swoim życiem”⁸⁶. Wielu odbiorców ASMR regularnie odtwarza nagrania ASMR w charakterze remedium na bezsenność, a ta sfera pozostawia sporą przestrzeń dla tego typu zagrożeń.

Wymienione zagrożenia wynikają nie z samej istoty zjawiska, ale z cyberprzestrzeni, w której się ono rozwija. Samo w sobie jest ono zjawiskiem pozytywnym. Doświadczanie efektu ASMR, relaksacja, redukcja stresu, facylitacja zasypiania to namacalne korzyści płynące z tego zjawiska. ASMR jest fenomenem wieloaspektowym, który może być badany z różnych perspektyw – medycznej,

⁸⁵ „I always love when you include hugs in your videos; it makes me feel safe and cared for since I don't get much close interaction in real life”; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFlpyR3cHHo> [data dostępu 6.05.2019].

⁸⁶ „I'm Seriously Worried About My ASMR Addiction. Literally, everytime I want to do something I think of ASMR. It stops me from playing my games, doing homework and getting on with my life”. (tłum. na polski moje, K. O.) <https://steamcommunity.com/discussions/forum/12/494631967662059809> [data dostępu: 9.05.2019].

neurobiologicznej, psychologicznej, socjologicznej, a także – co próbowałem przybliżyć – językoznawczej. Powstaje coraz więcej kanałów ASMR, a liczba subskrybentów rośnie, co otwiera dla badacza szerokie spektrum empiryczne.

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Krzysztof Ozga

Tajemnice ASMR – perspektywa ogólna i lingwistyczna

Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje zjawisko ASMR (*Autonomous Sensory Meridian Response*, tłum. pol. *samoistna odpowiedź meridianów czuciowych*) z perspektywy ogólnej i lingwistycznej. Definicja pojęcia i zreferowanie stanu badań stanowią wprowadzenie do klasyfikacji **wyzwalaczy ASMR** ze względu na zmysły stanowiące źródło doświadczenia tzw. **efektu ASMR**. Autor przedstawia argumenty za włączeniem dotyku i zapachu do klasyfikacji wyzwalaczy. Lingwistyczna analiza zjawiska koncentruje się wokół **fonetycznych** właściwości wyzwalaczy głosowych, aspektów **onomastycznych** – analiza gramatyczna i konceptualna wyodrębnionych 17 klas **medionimów** (nazw kanałów ASMR) oraz **dyskursu** jako przestrzeni, w której realizowane są funkcje – **fatyczna** i **socjalizująca** (budujące więź w obrębie społeczności ASMR; ich realizacja leży po stronie artysty ASMR) oraz **ewaluatywna** i **perswazyjna** (ich realizacja leży po stronie odbiorców nagrań).

Słowa kluczowe: ASMR, neurobiologia, zmysły, synestezja, fonetyka, onomastyka, medionimy, konceptualizacja, dyskurs, funkcje języka.

The secrets of ASMR – a general and a linguistic perspective

Summary

The article presents the concept of ASMR (*Autonomous Sensory Meridian Response*) from a general and a linguistic perspective. The definition of the notion and a review on the state of research is followed by a classification of **ASMR triggers** based on the senses which constitute the source of experiencing **the ASMR effect**. The author argues that touch and smell be included in the classification of the triggers. The linguistic analysis focuses on the following issues: the **phonetic** properties of the voice triggers, **onomastics** – a grammatical and conceptual study of the 17 classes of **medionyms** (names of ASMR channels) which were distinguished in the present research, and the **ASMR discourse** as the space where **phatic** and **social** functions are carried out on the part of ASMRtists as factors developing bonds within the ASMR community and where **evaluative** and **persuasive** functions are prominent in the comments of the recipients.

Keywords: ASMR, neurobiology, senses, synesthesia, phonetics, onomastics, medionym, conceptualisation, discourse, language functions

Krzysztof Ozga – doktor nauk humanistycznych w zakresie językoznawstwa, specjalności: językoznawstwo ogólne, lingwistyka matematyczna, filologia rosyjska, filologia angielska. Adiunkt w Zakładzie Językoznawstwa Rosyjskiego w Instytucie Filologii Wschodniosłowiańskiej UJ. Jego zainteresowania naukowe, zorientowane na zagadnienia językoznawstwa współczesnego zarówno w aspekcie teoretycznym jak i praktycznym, koncentrują się wokół problemów z zakresu składni semantycznej, semantyki i pragmatyki, gramatyki komunikacyjnej, językoznawstwa kognitywnego, teorii tekstu i dyskursu, lingwistycznych teorii przekładu, tekstów wielokodowych oraz komunikacji interpersonalnej. Autor książki *On Isomorphism and Non-Isomorphism in Language*, Łódź 2011. Współredaktor serii „Język i metoda. Język rosyjski w badaniach lingwistycznych XXI wieku”. Mediator stały wpisany na listę Prezesa Sądu Okręgowego w Krakowie.

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Płomyczek's handbook on good manners as a manifestation of upbringing strategies under socialism

Problem specification

Fifty years ago, Stanisław J. Paprocki delivered in London a speech entitled “Oblicza ideowe młodzieży w kraju”¹ [Ideological faces of the youth of Poland]. The Polish emigrant community activist discussed with much severity the communist practices contemporary to him. Among the many objections he made, there were accusations of intentional unteaching of Poles of rational thinking, and promoting chauvinism, racism and xenophobia among the youth in order to turn them into accomplices in the authorities’ fight with a fictitious enemy.

[...] the communist regime in Poland is not wasting any time. The entire party and political apparatus with the communist party at its head, the entire school and education apparatus, the three monopolistic youth organisations Z.M.S., Z.M.W. and Z.M.P.², and the Polish Students’ Association closely controlled by the regime when there are no, currently forbidden, youth ideological or political organisations, and the entire complex of mass media, such as the Polish Radio, the television, the press,

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1 S.J. Paprocki, *Oblicza ideowe młodzieży w kraju: referat wygłoszony 2 grudnia 1967 r.*, Federacja Światowa Stowarzyszenia Polskich Kombatantów, London 1968 [unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

2 S.J. Paprocki was incorrect in his enumeration of youth organisations which operated in the People’s Republic of Poland (PRL) in 1967. ZMP no longer existed as it had been dissolved 11 years prior, while the group included ZHP, which he did not list.

Polish films and theatres drenched in regime attitudes are constantly mainly targeting the young. The regime is surely quite aware of the youth's mood (this is not the German occupation!) and tries to adjust their methods of influence to politically seize the youth for their goals and purposes [...]³

Thus, argued in 1967 the long-term editor-in-chief of the National Press Bulletin at Radio Free Europe, a correspondent of the Polish Scientific Society Abroad. Significantly enough, the speech preceded by a few months the events which caused a major deterioration of the image of Poland in world, which had already been questionable. The publication of the text coincided with an extreme intensification of anti-Semitic and anti-democratic rhetoric, which revealed the socialist plan for controlling the personal development of young people. The plan, under which the education of the youth was based on instilling in them the conviction "that man is the highest social value, that he possesses development capabilities and that he can shape his own fate and the conditions of social life"⁴ provided that he lived and acted in line with the assumptions of the socialist system. Any diversion from the building model of socialism was met with sanctions, be it social or legal. The model itself was formulated based on the principles of Marxist philosophy where it was socially desirable to produce:

- 1) [...] man who builds his view of the world on scientific foundations, who can independently think, formulate and justify his views and convictions, and prove them through his actions.
- 2) Through comprehensively developed personality he indicates the richness of his interests and creative activeness in professional work and community engagement, in further education, and in skilfully passing his free time.
- 3) The correct image of the world and creative activity entail a high level of self-knowledge and the autonomy of the motivations of his behaviour. He defines himself in relation to the most highly praised values in the socialist society and in relation to constantly expanding social circles, and he can, while fulfilling various social roles, defend himself against the disintegration of his personality and become a "social force".⁵

In socialism, the presence of propaganda in every aspect of social life was an undeniable fact. To shape the civil attitudes of pupils, the authorities intervened

³ Ibidem, p. 15.

⁴ Z. Zaborowski, *Podstawy wychowania zespołowego*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1967, p. 19.

⁵ R. Miller, *Proces wychowania i jego wyniki*, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, Warsaw 1966, p. 32.

in cultural life. They imposed on the youth the way in which they could spend their free time, they carefully selected their set books, films and stage plays, and they organised discussion meetings. As a result of those activities, children were supposed to crystallise a world view thanks to which they could differentiate truth from falsity, and they could learn to transform nature for the benefit of man and a perfect social life.

It is debatable whether those practices should be evaluated exclusively in negative terms, as the large discrepancy between the experience of everyday life in the People's Poland and the theory communicated by the mass media cannot entirely negate the latter. Therefore, certain doubts arise: Did the Party, which seized the right to “train” citizens obedient to it, fail to produce (either intentionally or by accident) valuable people? Was the presented content not also filled with desirable behavioural patterns? Did the media fail to promote good upbringing, the basis of which is kindness to others? Did the verification and selection of content, subject to the applicable ideology, not amplify the educational role of the media?

Case study

In the 1960s, young readers⁶ could choose from only a handful of periodicals.

Table 1. Children's periodicals

| Title | Frequency of publication | Target group | Themes |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--|
| <i>Miś</i> | bi-weekly | children aged 3–6 | Picture magazine, illustrations supplemented with simple prose and poetic texts. |
| <i>Świerszczyk</i> | weekly | children aged 7–9 | Simple poetry or prose texts about the immediate surroundings of children, and tales. |
| <i>Płomyczek</i> | bi-weekly | children aged 9–12 | Literary material, simple popular science articles. |
| <i>Płomyk</i> | bi-weekly | children aged 12–14 | Themes related to current events. |
| <i>Świat Młodych</i> | Twice a week | scouts aged 10–14 | Articles, poems, satire, novellas and novel instalments, and a rich field section. For younger children, a supplement entitled <i>Zuch</i> . |

⁶ Additionally, the youth could also choose: *Dookoła świata* – a weekly, *Filipinka* – a bi-weekly, *Młody Technik* – a monthly, *Mówią wieki* – a monthly, *Na przetaj* – a weekly, *Nowa Wieś* – a weekly, *Walka Młodych* – a weekly, *Poznaj swój kraj* – a monthly, *Poznaj świat* – a monthly, *Radar* – a monthly, *Sztandar Młodych* – a daily.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|---|
| <i>Młody Technik</i> | monthly | children aged 10–15 | Science and technology magazine devoted to various domains of knowledge: from industrial technology to the automotive industry. |
| <i>Horyzonty Techniki dla Dzieci</i> | monthly | children aged 9–14 | Articles in technology, short stories about the lives of learned people. Rich section with DIY projects, simple experiments, easy constructions, and technical tidbits. |

Source: own study.

In order to conduct a moral evaluation of the promoted models of behaviour, I analysed the content of the *Płomyczek* periodical. I chose the periodical due to the topics raised by the bi-weekly (*Miś* and *Świerszczyk* were too infantile) and the broad target group for which it was intended (*Świat Młodych* was intended for scouts, while *Horyzonty Techniki dla Dzieci* was intended for young DIY enthusiasts), as well as its lack of any references to current affairs, which was why it was devoid (unlike *Płomyk*) of the ideological basis related to specific situations. I analysed 24 issues from 1968. At that time, the periodical's editor-in-chief was Stanisław Aleksandrak, and it was published by Instytut Wydawniczy Nasza Księgarnia. The bi-weekly had a circulation of over 500,000 copies and a national reach.

Inside, young readers could find not only literature *sensu stricto* (novels in instalments, short stories, tales, fairy tales and poems) and quasi-literary texts (fictionalised reports), but also purely journalistic texts. The periodical introduced the first column forms⁷, a popular science section, and small items of news. It also featured much fictionalised news with commentary and letters from readers. The section of brain twisters was also rich; it included: riddles, charades, puzzles, crossword puzzles, sometimes descriptions of games and plays, song lyrics with notes, and picture stories. While fulfilling its educational, aesthetic and entertainment functions, the periodical evolved towards popular periodicals in which the prerequisite of being current consisted of celebratory texts related to the rhythm of a syncretic calendar: natural, anniversary/historic, and school calendars.⁸ In line with state policy, *Płomyczek* did not publish any content related to Catholic holidays, thus promoting the liberation of the mind from religious prejudice and superstitions. In following the social and moral changes which caused the loosening of family bonds⁹, the order of the family calendar was also rejected (exclusion of Children's Day, Mother's Day, Grandma's Day, etc.)

7 W. Gust, *Płomyczek, Płomyk i Świat Młodych jako środki dydaktyczne w procesie kształcenia językowego w szkole podstawowej*, Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, Poznań 1990, p. 11.

8 B. Olszewska, *Literatura na łamach „Płomyczka” (1945–1980)*, Uniwersytet Opolski, Opole 1996, p. 14.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 138.

Płomyczek strived to control the behaviour of the young generation by promoting the model of democratic upbringing, based on the socialist principles of coexistence. Similarly to other periodicals intended for children, it fulfilled the function of a social upbringing institution¹⁰ shaping the characters and world views of its readers. It combined content used for patriotic and moral education with propaganda motifs. Propaganda tones resonated loudly both in the selection of the content and its presentation. Some obvious examples of manipulating young minds included: aggressive promotion of the Soviet Union (issue 3: article about the EXPO fair in Montreal; issue 15: the achievements of engineers in telecommunications), promotion of other socialist states (issue 5: entire issue devoted to Yugoslavia), and pompous celebration of state holidays (issue 6: Victory Day; issue 14: the National Day of the Rebirth of Poland; issue 19: entire issue devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Polish People's Army). Indoctrination efforts also echoed in the never-fading memories of the Second World War, e.g. texts devoted to the genocide conducted in Polish villages, with particular focus on the atrocious murders of children.¹¹ What seems excessive was not only the intention to shock with the atrocities of the war, but also the exaggerated pompous style:

Podczas drugiej wojny światowej w Warszawie zginęło ponad 700 tysięcy ludzi, a miasto, zburzone w czasie walki i spalone przez hitlerowców po zakończeniu działań wojennych, przedstawiało obraz ruin i gruzów. Taki właśnie, jak widzicie na naszej fotografii. Wy tego zniszczenia nie widzieliście, ale wiedzieć o nim i pamiętać musicie.

[...] musicie też wiedzieć i pamiętać, że Warszawę z ruin i gruzów dźwignęły i odbudowały ręce naszych robotników i inżynierów, ręce tysięcy murarzy przy wspólnym wysiłku całego narodu.

[During the Second World War, over 700,000 people died in Warsaw. After being turned to rubble during the fighting and burnt down by the Nazis after the war efforts had ended, it was a landscape of ruins and rubble. Just as you can see in the photograph. You did not see that destruction, but you must know and remember about it.

[...] you must also know and remember that Warsaw was raised from ruin and rubble and rebuilt by the hands of our workers and engineers, the hands of thousands of masons in a joint effort of the entire nation.]¹²

¹⁰ J. Papuzińska, *Wychowawcza rola prasy dziecięcej*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1972, p. 70.

¹¹ *Płomyczek* featured, side-by-side, infantile short stories or light reportages and mature realistic fiction.

¹² *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 18.

Texts devoted to the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) were another manifestation of propaganda that should be mentioned. Here are a few examples:

Pracownicy stoczni polskich dla uczczenia V Zjazdu Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej podjęli zobowiązania przyspieszenia produkcji.

[To celebrate the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, the shipyard workers made a commitment to accelerate production.]¹³

Partia jest siłą kierowniczą całego narodu i jego przewodnikiem. To jakby lokomotywa prowadząca pociąg, w którym jesteśmy my wszyscy.

[The party is the directing force of the entire nation and its guide. It is like a locomotive leading a train, and we are all on board.]¹⁴

Chcemy wyrazić swoje podziękowanie dla Partii i Rządu za piękną, nowoczesną szkołę.

[We wish to express our thanks to the Party and the Government for a beautiful modern school.]¹⁵

The main goal of the media, enforced completely by the authorities, was to influence the general opinion and convince recipients to assume the socialist attitude. Periodicals and radio and television shows intended for children combined the educational and entertainment purposes with the persuasive function. Their task was to shape young people into responsible participants of the collective life of the PRL. That influence was obvious, though one should remember that the content not only included propaganda, but was also filled with ideologically neutral basic devices of educational influence. They defined the whole of the proper behaviour in professional, neighbourly and friendly contacts, and the approach to others and strangers in everyday situations. That also applied to *Płomyczek* which, apart from promoting socialist doctrines, promoted ideologically neutral upbringing models and those will be the focus of my study.

Upbringing strategies

Under the notion of upbringing strategies, I understand the conscious selection of the themes presented in *Płomyczek* used for shaping the desired system of broadly understood moral values. That framing of the term diverges significantly from

¹³ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 18.

¹⁴ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 23.

¹⁵ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 11.

the socialist definition in which upbringing strategies were supposed to lead to a complete acceptance of communist perspectives of the dynamic development of the People's Republic of Poland.

The socialist upbringing strategy was a system of purposeful, planned and intentional activities having a major significance on the shaping of fundamental views, convictions, attitudes and values, which have a deciding significance on the shape of a person's personality, and which are related to the society-related needs of the social system in its individual stages of development.¹⁶

The above definition suggests that the Party-controlled process of raising the young generation did not cover the teaching of culture and basic good manners. However, to the contrary, the media of the PRL promoted kindness towards others, equality among people, respect for the dignity of both oneself and others, responsible approach to work, and the strive for creating a good atmosphere among friends. The notion of personal culture included also knowledge of various domains of life promoted among the youth: literature, history, art and technology.¹⁷

It appears that, if one were to strip *Płomyczek* of its socialist doctrine, the periodical would resemble a timeless universal guide on good manners. The notions and principles of proper behaviour promoted in it covered a series of ethical attitudes considered fundamental in relations with other people.¹⁸ I classified them under three categories: respect, kindness, and knowledge.

Respect principle

The respect principle is one of the universal principles which has led humanity since prehistoric times.¹⁹ It covers such "lesser" norms of good manners as: tolerance, respect for one's privacy, discretion, and punctuality. It is the kind of politeness which belongs to everyone. Disrespecting another person is always a violation of good manners or even the elemental principles of humanity.

In *Płomyczek*, the motif of respect assumed various forms. It was present in literary and quasi-literary texts, as well as in every type of journalistic content. Young readers learnt that respect is due to older people, women, people who have

¹⁶ W. Pomykało, *Socjalistyczna strategia wychowawcza*, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1973, p. 10.

¹⁷ In 1968, the Chief Council of Educational Programs at TVP began broadcasting a show: lessons in civil education.

¹⁸ T. Orłowski, *Protokół dyplomatyczny*, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, Warsaw 2010, p. 82.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

fought against the enemies of the state, teachers, and public figures, including politicians, doctors and artists. Those texts where a seemingly “normal” person, not outstanding in everyday life, often not devoid of various flaws, eventually proved to be someone important and worthy of respect were typical for this motif.

The “Ostatni posterunek” [Final post] short story showed how expansive the category of the so-called ‘persons of merit’ was. Józef Walenda, a janitor, ignored by all pupils, was eventually revealed to have been a corporal who participated in the assault on Berlin. Only after being recognised during a school celebration by Jan Różga, a former comrade in arms, did he have a chance to tell the children the extraordinary story of his life.

Popłynęła opowieść najciekawsza, jaką kiedykolwiek słyszeli, opowieść o wielkim żołnierskim trudzie, o dzielności i poświęceniu, o koleżeństwie, niezłomnej wierze w zwycięstwo i wreszcie o samym zwycięstwie.

[They listened to the most interesting story they had ever heard, a story of a huge soldierly effort, about bravery and sacrifice, about camaraderie, unrelenting faith in victory and, finally, about the victory itself.]²⁰

That event helped the pupils realise that all soldiers deserved respect regardless of whether, in the fight for freedom, they fulfilled the leading functions or were just minor participants. A similar moral was offered by short stories in which nameless workers and peasants, through their work for the good of the Nation, gained respect in the eyes of school children. The community-focussed thinking was the basis of yet another text, in which admiration applied to a great artist despite his being an extremely absent-minded person.

Przestaliśmy się śmiać i rozmawiać. Zadarliśmy ku górze głowy i – w skupieniu – słuchaliśmy czarodziejskich skrzypiec. Trudno było uwierzyć, że to gra ten sam pan Smyczek, który nosi otwarty parasol przy pogodzie i śpi we fraku. A jednak to była prawda. Słuchaliśmy więc tej muzyki i myśleliśmy, że podlewanie sztucznych kwiatów nie przynosi ujmy, jeśli się tak cudownie gra na skrzypcach.

[We stopped laughing or talking. We peered up and, in silence, we listened to the magical violin. It was hard to believe that the person who was playing was the same Mr. Smyczek [Mr. Fiddlestick] who would carry an open umbrella in fair weather or sleep in his tailcoat. And yet that was the truth. So, we listened to the music and we thought to ourselves that watering plastic plants does not discredit someone if they play the violin so wonderfully.]²¹

²⁰ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 19.

²¹ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 11.

That amusing story taught children good manners and also, which was typical for the PRL, it showed them the path for personal development, as no one reproached the characters for making jokes at the musician – the boys themselves noticed how inappropriate their behaviour was.

Płomyczek short stories argued that respect for older people was based on the respect for their life experiences. They made children aware of the fates of lonely people and encouraged them to offer neighbourly aid. They taught them to trust and be kind to others and warned them against jumping to unfounded conclusions about strangers. They also combated, as indicated in the following example, the practise of parents scaring children with older and lonely people. The “Baba Kata” short story revealed the educational backwardness of mothers and fathers who made their children believe that an elderly woman living in the suburbs was a witch. Younger children were taken aback with fear, older ones picked on the woman. The protagonist of the short story had similar feelings until the elderly woman helped the girl find her way back home during a blizzard.

Moje oczy zetknęły się ze spojrzeniem baby Katy, która patrzyła na mnie, jakby czegoś ode mnie oczekując. I nagle w oświetleniu lampy naftowej ujrzałam tę twarz taką, jaką w istocie była. Dobrą, łagodną i strasznie smutną. Znikł gdzieś strach przed garbatą staruszką. Przytuliłam mocno swoją zziębniętą twarz do jej kolan, które pachniały jabłkami i pigwami. Od tamtego dnia często dostawałam od niej jabłko.

[My eyes met the sight of baba Kata, who was looking at me as if she was expecting something of me. And suddenly, in the light of the kerosene lamp, I saw that face as it truly was. Kind, subtle and terribly sad. Suddenly, the fear of the hunched old lady vanished. I hugged her tightly pressing my cold face to her knees, which smelled of apples and quince. From that day, I often got apples from her.]²²

The notion of respect inseparably entailed the principle of respecting one's privacy. *Płomyczek* condemned all forms of meddling in other people's lives. It warned against fingering, quite popular in the PRL; it recommended caution in revealing other people's secrets, and it did not commend spying even for a noble cause, not to mention for pure curiosity, as in the short story “Tajemnica Pana Gołąbka” [Mr. Gołąbek's Secret], where two pupils watched a retired teacher. It eventually turned out that he was giving secret private lessons to failing students.

Bo oto w cichym, uśpionym budynku szkolnym zaczęła się niezwykła lekcja. Prowadził ją pan Gołąbek, nauczyciel stary jak świat, który nie mógł żyć bez szkoły

²² *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 5.

i przychodził do niej wieczorami, żeby pomagać słabszym uczniom. Schylał się nad nimi troskliwie i cierpliwie tłumaczył im tajniki zadań tekstowych i zawiłe zasady pisowni.

[There, in the quiet dormant school building, an exceptional lesson started. It was conducted by Mr. Gołąbek, a teacher as old as the world, who was not able to live without school and came to it in the evening to help failing students. He worked with them with care and patiently explained to them the secrets of textual problems and the complicated rules of spelling.]²³

When Mr. Gołąbek's secret came out, the boys were seized by a huge sense of shame and they felt as if they had betrayed him. The best pupil in class got into even greater trouble as he mindlessly, without getting to know the whole truth, publicly revealed the history of a new boy in class by writing on the blackboard:

Czy wiecie, kim jest Pitula? Chuliganem i wagarowiczem! Przenieśli go karnie z innej szkoły, bo za dużo rozrabiał. Teraz u nas próbuje...

[Do you know who Pitula is? A hooligan and a truant! He was relocated as a punishment from another school because he was making too much trouble there. Now he's trying that here...]²⁴

In fact, the troublemaker was a good child, and only through his family problems did he lose his way for a moment, and the hostile attitudes of his new peers did not help him straighten up. The short story offers an excellent example of how empty talk can destroy someone's life. The detrimental influence of gossip on interpersonal relations was also raised by epigrams:

Tęgi z Jacka „matematyk”,
wciąż do plotek ma tematy.
[Jacek is quite the “mathematician”,
he continues to have topics to gossip on.]²⁵

Epigrams also became a weapon in the fight with the lack of punctuality:

Kiedy spóźniam się do szkoły,
każą mi się wstydzić.
A że pierwszy wciąż wychodzę,
tego nikt nie widzi.

²³ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 22.

²⁴ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 18, 19.

²⁵ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 2.

[When I come late for school,
I should be ashamed of it.
But when I leave first,
No one sees me do it.]²⁶

Though it often seems a trivial matter, punctuality is a major element of good manners. *Płomyczek* presented it as the attribute of mature and sedate people. “Punctuality is commonly, and quite incorrectly, associated with avoiding being late. In reality, punctuality also means not coming too early.”²⁷ Unless in exceptional circumstances:

Tak, u dziadka – maszynisty wszystko musiało być ściśle według rozkładu. Nawet kanapki, jabłka i czekolada. Tyle że na stację dziadek nie przyszedł punktualnie. Pierwszy raz w życiu sprzeniewierzył się rozkładowi jazdy. Był tam już o całe pół godziny wcześniej. Na wszelki wypadek. Żeby nie spóźnić się po wnuka.
[Yes, at grandpa’s, the locomotive driver, everything had to be to a strict timetable. Even sandwiches, apples and chocolate. But grandpa did not come to the station on time. For the first time ever, he violated the timetable. He was there a whole 30 minutes early. Just in case. So that he would not be late for his grandson.]²⁸

Even though punctuality is sometimes referred to as “the politeness of kings”, children learnt that it applied to everyone, both old and young, superiors and subordinates. If a person arrives at a meeting at the agreed time, it means they respect the person whom they were supposed to meet, and it proves their dependability and reliability.²⁹

The biggest display of respect for another person is to respect their convictions, beliefs and customs, as well as being tolerant of their weaknesses and imperfections. Originally, tolerance was associated with consent to the practice of a selected religion. “That is how it was understood by the lawmakers in the Sejm when in 1573 they passed one of the first acts of religious tolerance in Europe: the Warsaw Confederacy.”³⁰ Nearly 400 years later, the Polish government violated the principle by spurring in March 1968 the darkest of forces dormant in the society: intolerance, anti-Semitism, racism and extreme nationalism. During a session of the Sejm in April 1968, Jerzy Zawieyski strongly objected to those practices proclaiming the Christian vision of dialogue, a condition of which is “an attitude of respect for other

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ T. Orłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

²⁸ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 8.

²⁹ T. Orłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 88.

people's differences, the willingness to understand other people's reasons, a special kind of transcendence onto another person whom we do not wish to absorb, seize or change, but with whom we wish to seek out something."³¹ Acceptance, thus understood, means completely safe consideration of someone else's otherness, which does not necessarily have to mean supporting it.

As one might have expected, *Płomyczek* during the anti-Semite campaign refrained from publishing texts which openly encouraged people to respect different views, inclinations or convictions. One exception was a reportage from a January issue, i.e. prior to the massive propaganda attack on people of "Stalinist" or "Jewish" roots. The article discussed the fortunes of a Roma family which settled in the village Zaborze. The Roma, accepted warmly by the local population, having rejected their nomadic lifestyle, started living according to the norms and rules applicable in the village. They took up jobs and their children went to school. Despite the change of their lifestyle, they did not forget their traditions and customs. The youngest taught their friends in Zaborze how to dance like the Roma do, while the black-bearded Bazyl gave rides to all the children to the school located 3 kilometres away on a horse-pulled Roma wagon.

Bazyl powozi. Czarną brodę pobielił mu śnieg, ale stary Cygan jest zadowolony. Kłania się z dumną miną spotkanym po drodze znajomym i nieznanym, jakby chciał powiedzieć: „A co? przydał się na coś stary cygański wóz?”.

[Bazyl was driving. His black beard became white from the snow, but the old Gypsy was pleased. He nodded proudly to passing friends and strangers as if trying to say: "Well, now. The old gypsy wagon did come in handy after all."]³²

The respect principle was also one of the most emphasised principles in *Płomyczek* and one of the least used in everyday life in the PRL. Young people, taught how to critically assess their reality, noticed that they happened to be living in conditions far from those promoted in the periodical. They noticed that the humanistic attitude instilled in them, which consisted of respect for others, was only applied in relation to people who followed the socialist system of values.

Reciprocity principle

Prawdziwie dobre wychowanie – jak słusznie zauważą Konstancja Hojnacka, autorka „Kodeksu towarzyskiego” – to nie szereg wyuczonych gestów codziennych, to nie bezduszna tresura, ale przede wszystkim na wskroś życzliwe ustosunkowanie

³¹ A. Radziwiłł, W. Roszkowski, *Historia 1956–1997*, Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, Warsaw 2000, p. 126.

³² *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 2.

się do ludzi, wyrażające się w przestrzeganiu tego, aby nikt w naszej obecności, a zwłaszcza z naszego powodu, nie doznał przykrości.

[Truly good manners, as Konstancja Hojnacka, the author of *Kodeks towarzyski*, aptly noted, do not only consist of a series of acquired everyday gestures nor mindless training, but rather an utterly kind approach to people expressed through one's making sure that no one in one's presence, especially because of one, would experience any distress.]³³

Respect is part of the notion of personal culture, while kindness belongs to the culture of the heart. Presumably that is why it is so rarely discussed in handbooks on good manners. While politeness, tact and courtesy are treated as components of etiquette; goodness, kindness and cordiality remain within the domain of the conscience. The reciprocity principle covers both. Its core has been perfectly grasped in Aleksander Fredro's maxim: "do not do to others what is unpleasant to you" often understood in reverse.³⁴ That was why examples which illustrated "such behaviour towards others which one would expect to be used towards them"³⁵ are rare both in the real world and on the pages of *Plomyczek*.

An excellent example of selfless care for another person was provided in a Yugoslavian story "Meeting in a clearing". A young partisan met a tired elderly woman at the break of dawn seeking her son. She helped the woman by indicating the place where the boy was. However, before the woman went on her way to the partisan camp where her child was, she devoted her time to the girl giving her a mother's love.

Staruszka popatrzyła na mnie, patrzyła, a potem zaczęła głaskać mnie po twarzy i po rękach. Zdjęła mi z głowy czapkę partyzancką, rozplątała jasne warkoczki i, wyciągnąwszy z kieszeni grzebień, zaczęła mi rozczesywać splątane pasma włosów. [...] Masz, tu są jeszcze orzechy i serek wędzony – staruszka wtykała mi w ręce i do kieszeni prezenty przeznaczone dla syna. A ja stałam speszona i było mi tak ciepło w sercu jak nigdy.

[The old lady looked at me, she stopped, and then started stroking my face and hands. She took my partisan hat off my head; she untangled my light braids and with a comb she took out of her pocket she began combing the tangled strands of my hair. [...] Here, have these nuts and smoked cheese," the old lady pushed the gifts

³³ As quoted in: M. Barbasiewicz, *Dobre maniery w przedwojennej Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2012, p. 14.

³⁴ T. Orłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

intended for her son into my hands and pockets. And I stood there bemused and felt such a warmth in my heart as never before.]³⁶

Care and motherly love were motifs often used in *Płomyczek*. Older, often lonely, women were the positive characters of many stories and fairy tales. They protected the hearth and home, they offered support and aid to those who needed it, and they even, as in the legend *Sunken city*, protected people against destruction.

According to a story told for many a century, where now there is a lake near the town of Pszczew, there once lay a rich city. Its inhabitants denied a poor tired wanderer shelter or food. It was only an old lady who lived alone on the outskirts of the city that shared her food with him. In reward, the old man gave her a beautiful expansive linden and warned her that as long as the tree lived, the city would exist. After the old lady's death no one watered the tree even though she often reminded the people about the consequences of neglecting that obligation.

I tylko czasem starzy ludzie w tamtej okolicy, gdy zaczną się wśluchiwać w ciszę wieczorną – twierdzą, że słyszą bicie dzwonów w jego kościołach i gwar rozmów na podwodnych ulicach.

[And only sometimes old people from those parts, when closely listening to the evening silence, claim they can hear the city's church bells ringing and the buzz of the voices in the streets under water.]³⁷

From the very first handbook on good manners by Giovanni della Casa³⁸, all such codes outlined etiquette as a series of rules which should be observed in interpersonal relations. However, those do not cover people's approach to animals. One exception was "*Płomyczek's* handbook on good manners."³⁹ In almost every issue from 1968, there were texts which promoted animal care. Even though in their case it would be difficult to talk about the classical reciprocity principle, I believe that the significance of the problem entitles me to indicate at least a few examples.

Płomyczek's readers wrote letters to the editors about how they took care of birds in winter:

³⁶ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 5.

³⁷ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 2.

³⁸ In 1550–1555, Giovanni della Casa, Papal nuncio to Venice, wrote to his friend Bishop Galeazzo Florimonte about the ethical principles which every human should follow. The correspondence was first published in 1558 as *Galateo ovvero de'costumi*.

³⁹ I used this symbolic manner to define the content of *Płomyczek*, removing from it the set of socialist views.

Zrobiliśmy dużo domków dla ptaków i zawiesiliśmy je na drzewach przy szkole i w parku.

[We made many bird houses and we hung them in trees by the school and in the park.]⁴⁰

Children maintained rest houses for forest and field creatures, and they took care of their safety, e.g. by taking them out of snares. Even the son, according to “Krakowska legenda”⁴¹ [Krakow legend], of King Casimir IV Jagiellon bought birds from the hands of fowlers to set them free.

Even the biggest urchins had sympathy for animals:

Bliźniacy coś knują. To jest pewne. Inaczej nie mieliby takich tajemniczych min. Jeśli się idzie z taką tajemniczą miną do lasu, to na pewno ma się jakieś niecne zamiary. Zresztą bliźniacy broją codziennie. [...] Gaweł sięga do kieszeni i wyjmuję z niej niewielki, prostokątny kartonik. Podchodzi z nim do grabu i wyciąga rękę w stronę gniazda. Pisklęta ufnie otwierają dziobki, matka przeskakuje z gałęzi na gałąź... Gaweł tymczasem wspina się na palce i – wiesza kartonik tuż pod gniazdem. Potem jeszcze raz odczytuje wykaligrafowany na kartoniku napis: „Gniazdo jest pod naszą opieką. Biada temu, kto by je zniszczył! Paweł i Gaweł”.

[The twins are up to something. That's for sure. Otherwise their faces would not be so mysterious. If you go with such a face to the woods, you surely have some despicable intentions. In fact, the twins are up to mischief every day. [...] Gaweł reached into his pocket and took out a small rectangular piece of cardboard. He came with it closer to the hornbeam and reached towards a nest. The baby birds opened their beaks trustingly, the mother jumped from branch to branch... While Gaweł tiptoed and hung the piece of cardboard right underneath the nest. Afterwards, I once again read the carefully written sign: “This nest is under our care. Woe betide him who destroys it! Paweł & Gaweł.”]⁴²

Coming back to interpersonal relations: patterns of behaviour, especially the moral norms expressed in the various models promoted in *Płomyczek*, taught children how to establish and develop proper interpersonal contacts. However, the texts more often condemned any instance of indifference to others than explained that one should reciprocate for something one received. The need to reciprocate either the smallest of gestures or time spent was not a popular theme raised in the periodical during the period of the minor stabilisation.

⁴⁰ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 3.

⁴¹ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 3.

⁴² *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 11.

Open mind principle

In line with the principle that every researcher may propose a convention when defining a term or classes of objects which they intend to discuss, I developed this division which covers three basic sets of elements which, when combined, ensure good manners. I decided that apart from the commonly discussed principles (respect, reciprocity), knowledge should also be included. The open mind principle in my understanding constitutes one of the pillars of good manners combining all human strivings to expand their mental horizons. That includes gathering, maintaining and skilful utilisation of extensive general knowledge in various fields. A well-mannered person is someone well read, and who, in various social situations, can initiate and manage a conversation on interesting, non-controversial topics. Similar conclusions could be drawn from reading contemporary codes of good manners, the authors of which stress the major role of conversation.⁴³

Płomyczek, associated with school education and the curriculum, did not avoid scientific issues. Even a semantic analysis of the title, which emphasised the motif of fire and light, underlined the informative function of the periodical. Fixed sections (*A to ciekawe!* [Now that's interesting!]; *Kącik ciekawej książki* [Interesting book corner]; *Nasz kraj, nasza ojczyzna* [Our country, our homeland]), and the frequent mentions, reports, accounts, bio-sketches, reportages, interviews, letters to the editors and answers to them, and journalistic photography were devoted to expanding the general knowledge of young readers. The themes, matching the general trends and focus of the time, covered a wide range of news, which, for clarity of description, I classified into categories with illustrative examples.

1. Interesting facts about this issue

From the September issue, pupils could learn that school years around the world did not begin on the same day as in Poland. And so: in Indonesia, children start the school year on 1 January, in Brazil on 1 March, in Japan on 1 April, in India on 15 July, and, in Afghanistan, holidays are related to a moving holiday and occur at different times each year.⁴⁴ The April issue included a short note on unique holidays celebrated that month. In Ypern there is a cat holiday, while in Nice, appropriately to the name of the month, there is a flower holiday [in Polish the name of the month of *kwiecień* (April) was derived from the blooming flowers (*kwiaty* in Polish)].⁴⁵

⁴³ Cf. P. Kuspys, *Savoir-vivre. Sztuka dyplomacji i dobrego tonu*, Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, Poznań 2012, pp. 85–87.

⁴⁴ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 17.

⁴⁵ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 7.

2. Interesting facts from around the world

In the vein of unique customs, it seems worth mentioning an illustrated reportage entitled “Co ludzie noszą na głowie?” [What do people carry on their heads?] It presented the unique way of carrying loads.⁴⁶ Even more exotic are the tombstones of the Malagasy people from Madagascar. There are figures in the shape of people, animals or even vehicles placed on carved colourful columns.⁴⁷

3. Earth in the cosmos

The 1960s marked the birth of the space age. *Płomyczek*, up to date with current news, published the first colour photograph of the entire Earth made by an American satellite.⁴⁸ Three months later, it reported on the first flight of a human in space thus celebrating Yuri Gagarin, who had died in a tragic accident.⁴⁹

4. Natural environment – interesting facts in geography

Young readers could learn that volcanoes were dangerous and yet very beneficial. Weathered lava constitutes extremely fertile soil in which the most demanding plants can be cultivated. Additionally, some rocks of volcanic origin include gold, platinum and precious stones. And one more interesting fact from the issue: The Okavanga River is the only river with an estuary in the hot sands of a desert.⁵⁰

5. Natural environment – plants

Here are a few details about record-breaking plants: the oldest and the largest trees on Earth (reaching 150m in height and living 4,000 years) are Californian sequoias,⁵¹ while the sweetest plant in the world grows in Nigeria: a red berry (1,500 times sweeter than sugar).⁵²

6. Natural environment – animals

That section also provided readers with a handful of interesting facts: the koala bear never drinks water⁵³, in Kazakhstan there are 26 species of ants⁵⁴, storks

⁴⁶ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 8.

⁴⁷ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 7.

⁴⁸ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 2.

⁴⁹ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 8.

⁵⁰ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 20.

⁵¹ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 14.

⁵² *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 19.

⁵³ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 18.

⁵⁴ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 2.

sleep in flight⁵⁵, herrings have the best hearing among all fish⁵⁶, while the tails of Japanese cocks reach up to 7 metres in length.⁵⁷

7. Industry

Various articles arguing that children could be proud of the fuel and power industry as Poland ranked 6th in the world in terms of exploitation of black coal.⁵⁸ Also the food industry, confectionery in particular, guarantees a good position in the market. Each year, we export 9,000 tons of chocolate for a total sum in excess of 11 million zlotys.⁵⁹

8. Technological novelties

One more piece of information about sweets, this time rather unique: in Japan sugar was produced out of crude oil.⁶⁰ And, in contrast, a piece of news on an invention constructed by the English which became popular: an electronic thermometer which measures temperature at the touch of skin.⁶¹

9. Large constructions

Płomyczek informed young readers not only about how the infrastructure of Polish towns and villages was changing, but also offered them knowledge about foreign investments. Among the many examples, two were most noteworthy. Those were the water system in Libya being built by Polish engineers and workers,⁶² and the utopian vision of a town in Siberia which was supposed to be enclosed under a huge dome to protect the inhabitants against the cold.⁶³

10. Cars

Płomyczek eagerly promoted the Polish automotive industry, discussing in detail the manufacturing process and the advantages of Fiat 125P passenger cars⁶⁴, STAR trucks⁶⁵ and Ursus tractors⁶⁶.

55 Ibidem.

56 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 8.

57 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 16.

58 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 23.

59 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 13.

60 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 22.

61 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 3.

62 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 7.

63 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 3.

64 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 18.

65 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 10.

66 *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 13.

11. Sport

The theme of sport, due to the 1968 Olympic Games, was present in nearly every issue of the periodical. It included descriptions of new sporting disciplines⁶⁷, information on specific athletes⁶⁸, and discussions of past tournaments and the medals won⁶⁹. Most texts were of an information-educational nature:

Zastanówcie się przez chwilę nad tym, co pisaliśmy o sportowcach, nad ich umiejętnością walczenia z różnymi słabościami – z chorobą, z przeciwnikiem. Chciałbym, abyście w swoim życiu wzorowali się na magistrze Waldemarze Baszanowskim, na Józefie Szmidzie, i równie jak oni uważnie podchodzili do swoich obowiązków w szkole i na boisku. A wówczas, za parę lat, może i Wy staniecie się bohaterami Igrzysk Szkolnych, Igrzysk Olimpijskich.

[Consider for a moment what we wrote about athletes, and their ability to combat various weaknesses – illnesses, their opponents. I would like you to follow in your lives the examples of Waldemar Baszanowski, M.A. or Józef Szmidt and just like them approach your duties at school and in the field with attention. And then, in a few years' time, maybe you too will become the heroes of a School Olympiad or the Olympic Games.]⁷⁰

12. Literature

Every other week, the authors of the “Kącik ciekawej książki” section recommended several titles to young readers. Most common were books by Polish authors, in which both boys and girls could find something interesting. Apart from the “Ważne sprawy dziewcząt i chłopców” [Important issues for girls and boys] series, the section was filled with reviews of historical novels, adventure novels, novels of manners, travel novels, and war novels, fairy tales, fables and legends for younger readers. *Płomyczek* encouraged its readers to read poems, and it also inspired them.

The educational and upbringing strategy of *Płomyczek*, which consisted of a scientific recognition of the world, was supposed to ensure a diverse development of children. The periodical educated enterprising creative young people, curious about the world not only “through learning and playing”, but also by clearly defining requirements for them, and it was unbecoming to not meet those:

Chcę, żebyś wiedział Przyjacielu,
Ty, Który czytasz ten „Płomyczek”,
że spośród Czytelników wielu

⁶⁷ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 3.

⁶⁸ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 9, 11, 15, 16.

⁶⁹ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 14, 20.

⁷⁰ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 18.

na Ciebie przede wszystkim liczę.
 [...]

Lecz, pamiętajcie, Przyjaciele,
 Wy, co „*Płomyczek*” ten czytacie,
 że się spodziewa po Was wiele
 Polska – Największy Wasz Przyjaciel.
 [I want you to know, my Friend,
 You, who are reading this *Płomyczek*,
 that among the many Readers
 I count on You the most.
 [...]

But remember, Friends,
 You who read *Płomyczek*,
 that much is expected of You
 by Poland, Your Greatest Friend.]⁷¹

Conclusion

“In the project of raising «the new man», from the very start the communist authorities had assigned a major role to public communication.”⁷² The analysis of the content of *Płomyczek* indicated that the activity of managing the development of the young generation occurred at two functionally different ethical levels: at an engaged level and an ideologically neutral level. On the one hand, the content of the periodical prepared young people to actively participate in social and political life. It developed in young readers attitudes which led to the acceptance of socialist perspectives of the development of both the country and individuals. On the other, it promoted timeless moral values by teaching culture and the principles of good manners.

A separate discussion applies to content which shaped patriotic attitudes based on an affirmative approach to the existing reality. In order to be able to discuss the influence on the periodical’s readers as a whole, it would be necessary to extend the analysis to include such topics as: the heroic struggle for liberation, sacrifice for the good of the homeland, the glory of the Polish People’s Army, the progressive nature of tradition, and the extent of remarkable achievements in culture, science and industry. The “trend” for patriotism in the era of the minor stabilisation remains to be studied.

⁷¹ *Płomyczek* 1968, issue 14.

⁷² K. Kunicki, T. Ławecki, *Kronika PRL 1944–1989. Wychowanie w szkole i w domu*, vol. 20, Bellona SA, Warsaw 2016, p. 94.

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Anita Grzegorzewska

„Płomyczkowy” podręcznik dobrych manier jako przejaw strategii wychowawczych w socjalizmie

Streszczenie

Artykuł podejmuje tematykę dobrych manier i wychowania w okresie PRL na przykładzie ówczesnej prasy dziecięcej i młodzieżowej. Autorka przeanalizowała 24 numery pisma *Płomyczek* z 1968 r. przy użyciu literatury z zakresu dydaktyki, strategii wychowawczych, a także etykiety i *savoir-vivre*. Abstrahując od zagadnień propagandy i ideologii, wzbogaciła swą analizę o historię polityczną Polski z okresu „małej stabilizacji”.

Słowa kluczowe: Dobre maniery, wychowanie, prasa dla dzieci, PRL, polityczna historia Polski

Płomyczek's handbook on good manners as a manifestation of upbringing strategies under socialism

Summary

The article raises the topic of good manners and upbringing in the People's Republic of Poland using the example of children's and young adult press from the period. The author analysed 24 issues of *Płomyczek* from 1968 considering literature in education, upbringing strategies, and etiquette. Leaving aside the issues of propaganda and ideology, she enriched the analysis by considering the political history of Poland during the period of the “minor stabilisation”.

Keywords: good manners, upbringing, children's press, the People's Republic of Poland, Poland's political history.

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Rhetorical strategies in the anti-alcohol propaganda of Polska Kronika Filmowa

Introduction

The themes of alcohol and alcoholism were common in the propaganda campaigns of the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) throughout all four decades of its existence. Yet, quite obviously, the propaganda devoted to the issues were only a façade. In his monograph entitled *Historia pijaństwa w czasach PRL*, Krzysztof Kosiński concluded:

In the 1950s, the network of the spirit trade (mainly vodka; beer and wine could be bought in ordinary grocer's shops) continued to expand. By the end of the decade, the number of outlets selling spirits, including restaurants with a licence to sell spirits, exceeded 39,800. It was decreased upon the introduction of the Anti-Alcohol Law of 1959, though the number again increased in the second half of the 1960s. [...] In an OBOP survey of 1974, which was intended to emphasise the general availability of groceries, 78% of respondents indicated that vodka "was available always" (though 3.1% complained that "very often there was none").¹

The state monopoly on the spirit trade was restored by the authorities of the PRL in 1944, and they continued developing and reshaping it until 14 October 1948. The authorities also announced they would continue to upgrade and increase the

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¹ K. Kosiński, *Historia pijaństwa w czasach PRL*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warsaw 2008, p. 33 [unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

production of spirits.² The main purpose of those activities was to ensure a steady regular income for the State Treasury. A summary of prices in 1959, as quoted by Kosiński, indicated that the selling price of alcohol was several times higher than the price of its production and distribution: the turnover tax was between 82,7% and 90,6%. It was maintained at a similarly high level in the following years. In combination with the widespread availability of spirits and cheap wine (even when basic groceries were not available on the market), that resulted in the percentage of state income from the alcohol trade being, on average, around 10–11% (in 1980 it even exceeded 14%).³ That level of income was so considerable that it was not possible to plan the state budget for the following years without considering it.

As Kosiński indicated, “not only the state budget benefited from the mass-consumption of alcohol. It was also a source of major income for various institutions and circles [...] generally referred to as the «alcohol lobby».”⁴ It included trade co-operatives, directors of some State Agricultural Farms (PGR), foreign trade and commerce companies, restaurants, and entrepreneurs. National councils also profited from it. And then, there was the “grey economy”.⁵ Alcohol was exported to countries of the Socialist Bloc and outside it. However, the poor quality of the product and of its packaging posed major problems. When entities were not able to sell abroad the amounts of alcohol assumed by the planned economy, it was necessary to “increase the absorption” of the domestic market.⁶ A completely absurd solution when viewing it from the point of view of a modern free market economy (yet understandable in the economic reality of the PRL) was the sale of spirits made in Poland through the Pewex trade network, which was established in the mid-1970s. The vodka available there had an “export”, i.e. better, quality than the spirits sold in normal off licences (and was considerably more expensive). The main purpose of those procedures, somewhat aside from “the increase of the absorption of the domestic market”, was to gather the foreign currency savings of the citizens. The authorities also applied the social engineering device where Pewex customers were considered by other citizens as richer, and they eagerly flaunted that quality in their communities.

However, drunkenness in the PRL was not only economically conditioned. It was common in everyday life, in the documents of social life, and in the broadly understood cultural texts (in literature, film, posters, music lyrics, etc.) The themes of alcohol and drunkenness could be found in short stories by Polish writers and in films based on them (cf. novels by Leopold Tyrmand, short stories by Jan

2 Ibidem, pp. 20–21.

3 Ibidem, pp. 47–48.

4 Ibidem, p. 51.

5 Ibidem, pp. 525–581 (chapter *Alkoholowa szara strefa*).

6 Ibidem, p. 36.

Himilbach, films by the Himilbach Maklakiewicz duo, or the cinema of social anxiety). Scenes with drunkards were common in Polish comedies and television series of the PRL (e.g. the productions directed by Stanisław Bareja). The reality of drunkards was framed in song by many bands, and in literature by poets and prose writers. Alcohol appeared in the biographies of artists (e.g. those of Z. Holdys, Z. Laskowik), in the stories of actors, comedians, and stage performers. Apparently, alcohol was consumed in large amounts by state officials at all levels of power, drawing inspiration from the leaders and politicians of the “brotherly” USSR⁷ who organised many lavish receptions and alcohol-soaked libations.

Thus, there emerges the boozy image of the whole society of the PRL, including the state’s top echelon⁸ and with their support.

Selection of the material

All of the facts mentioned above indicate that anti-alcohol propaganda of that time could have been treated by the authorities only as a tool for a cynical distortion of reality. That was also the purpose of the content developed by Polska Kronika Filmowa [Polish Film Chronicle], which was established in 1944; which had a diverse use in different periods in the history of the PRL, depending on the changing influence the authorities had over PKF and the applicable policy towards the editorial team at individual periods. When studying the history of PKF, Marek Cieśliński identified nine periods:

- 1) formation of the principles of the information weekly (1944–1948),
- 2) Stalinist indoctrination (1949–1954),
- 3) the thaw (1955–1957), including, in particular, the moment of the Polish October,
- 4) artistic explorations and election-campaign-oriented satisfaction of the expectations of the authorities (1958–1970),
- 5) propaganda of success (1971–1980),

7 Cf. S.S. Montefiore, *Stalin. Dwór czerwonego cara*, trans. M. Antosiewicz, Wydawnictwo Magnum, Warsaw 2004; W. Taubman, *Chruszczow. Człowiek i epoka*, trans. Ł. Witczak, Wydawnictwo Bukowy Las, Wrocław 2012.

8 One exception was the cabinet of Wojciech Jaruzelski, who avoided alcohol and did not allow it to be served during receptions or celebrations (apart from having the proverbial glass of wine). The general’s associates (J. Urban, W. Zakrzewski, and army officials), as well as L. Kowalski, his biographer, mentioned his aversion to alcohol. Jaruzelski himself in documentaries in which he appeared used to state: “I despise drunkards.” Cf. T. Zakrzewski, *Byłem reporterem generała*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 2002; H. Piecuch, *Byłem gorylem Jaruzelskiego*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Reporter, Warsaw 1993; L. Kowalski, *Jaruzelski. Generał ze skazą*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, Warsaw 2012.

- 6) disorientation in the face of breakthrough systemic changes (1981–1989),
- 7) decline in the new economic reality (1990–1994).⁹

Of course, not in every period identified by the historian could one identify the relevant styles and modes of shaping information specifically in the content on alcohol. Nonetheless, there were some regularities which I shall indicate in the rhetorical text analysis. The analysis will apply to content devoted to the theme of alcohol included in the *Propaganda PRL-u. Najzabawniejsze polskie kroniki filmowe* series.¹⁰ Those are currently the most popular and the most accessible version of fragments of PKF chronicles, which are available on DVDs and VCDs. They can also be found on YouTube, where they have reached between 700 000 and 1 000 000 views.¹¹ Internet users and television viewers also have access to full broadcasts of PKF (broadcast after 2000 by the Kino Polska channel, in an individual form or as collections, aired on a regular basis and commented upon by Michał Ogórek, a comedian), though it is clear that the indicated edition was the most common in modern Poland.

Discs with the chronicle include a total of 11 features devoted to the theme of alcohol: *Wódka* (turn of the 1950s; edition not specified); *Jubileusz* (as above); *Pije Kuba...*, (as above); *Wóda!* (35/57); *Akcja bimber* (49/58), *Święte krowy* (the 1960s, not specified), *Wstąp na piwko na przeciwko* (16/68), *Małe jasne* (45A/72), *Ale suszy* (18B/78), *Salonowa edukacja* (8/85), *Pod osłoną nocy* (50/84). Those usually constituted fragments of entire editions of PKF from specific years. They can be defined as mini-reportages or film commentaries.¹² Sometimes, however, series editors decided to include film content developed separately by the editorial team of PKF without specifying the date when it was produced, only assigning it to a decade). In terms of themes, those could be categorised as follows:

- a) consumption of alcohol and drunkenness;
- b) drinking alcohol at work and its consequences;
- c) moonshine production and speculation.

⁹ M. Cieśliński, *Piękniej niż w życiu. Polska Kronika Filmowa 1944–1994*, Wydawnictwo Trio, Warsaw 2006, p. 144.

¹⁰ Cf. *Propaganda PRL-u. Najzabawniejsze polskie kroniki filmowe*, Wydawnictwo Wprost i Grube Ryby 2006, discs 1–8.

¹¹ Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmrWH7CVI8o&t=6s> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OBdDIJSDliw&t=301s> [accessed on: 2.01.2019]. Watching content I considered a viewing from start to end.

¹² In terms of genre, the content mostly matched the criteria of a column/commentary ['felieton' in Polish] as defined by Edward Balcerzan. Cf. E. Balcerzan, "W stronę genologii multimedialnej", [in:] *Polska genologia literacka*, eds. D. Ostaszewska, R. Cudak, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2007, pp. 269–287.

From the point of view of the previously mentioned alcohol policy of the PRL, the true intentions of the senders of the texts seemed to have been conveyed by two features in the third category: *Akcja bimber* [Operation moonshine] and *Pod osłoną nocy* [Under the cover of night]. Those mainly differed in terms of the style of linguistic expression. While the first one, from the late-1950s, displayed a clearly moralising approach (though by using typical slogans and designators, e.g. “moonshine, the grim social detriment”), the other, recorded in the 1980s, had a clearly sarcastic tint (the rumblings of drunkards in the background and the stychomythia: “Gdzie pędzisz? U kolegi na siódmym piętrze!” [the Polish word “pędzić” can mean either “to rush somewhere” or “to produce moonshine”, hence the humorous effect in the question and answer combination: “Where are you rushing to?/Where do you distil?” “To/At my friend’s place on the seventh floor!”]). The topic of moonshine production was presented in the material in a condescending manner as yet another problem of the declining PRL.

However, from the research perspective, what seems most interesting is to find the answer to the question: how was propaganda content intended to distort reality, and divert people’s attention from it, developed? What devices and tricks were used to influence, or maybe just create the appearance of having influence on, the mass audience? The analysis, in this short text due to space limitations, covered four selected reports: *Wódka* (Socialist realism), *Wstąp na piwko na przeciwko* (“minor stabilisation”), *Ale suszy...* (Edward Gierek’s decade), and *Salonowa edukacja* (the decline of the PRL in the decade of Wojciech Jaruzelski’s government). Those were representative for the identifiable periods of the PRL¹³ and they indicate the changing styles of PKF as defined by Cieśliński.¹⁴

Tools for analysis

In the study of the verbal and audio-visual layers of the content, I decided to apply three methods of rhetorical text analysis: the metaphorical method (which examines the application of tropes and figures), the neo-rhetorical method (which focusses on a text’s argumentative apparatus), and the political method (which consists of identifying ideological elements in a text).¹⁵ In my analyses, I used both the tools

¹³ Cf. A.L. Sowa, *Historia polityczna Polski 1944–1991*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 2011.

¹⁴ M. Cieśliński, *op. cit.*, p. 144; the author devoted individual chapters of the study to individual periods, defining them in stylistic and factual terms, and by studying the influence of PRL authorities and censorship on the editorial team of PKF based on surviving documents.

¹⁵ J.Z. Lichański, “Retoryka a/i media: próba określenia pól wspólnych”, [in:] *Styl – dyskurs – media*, eds. B. Bogotębska, M. Worsowicz, Łódź 2010, pp. 383–396.

of classical rhetoric, and of modern rhetoric.¹⁶ The audio-visual content created by Polska Kronika Filmowa, which consisted of not only reporting shots, but also the distinctive music, text, and even the persuasive voice of the readers, changing throughout the decades, could, in fact, be treated as a rhetorical collective entity and, as such, be examined similarly to television political shows.¹⁷ That means the application of the tools available in the studies of persuasion and manipulation¹⁸, manipulative discrediting, and propaganda.¹⁹ Apart from the content of the audio-visual pieces, the interpretation of the texts by the readers had a major influence. The study of the notion of communication prosody by Anita Sz wajkowska proved most useful.²⁰

The most common form of PKF's content was a film illustrated with music and the voice of the reader reading a text. Content in the form of the so-called *setka* (one hundred) was rare initially. It started appearing significantly more often in the 1970s. By the end of its existence, PKF produced content similar in terms of structure to the modern reporter pieces in the main editions of news shows.²¹ However, the chronicles chosen for the analysis were mainly a combination of images, music and text read by a reader.

Analysis of the reports

*Wódka*²²

The report from the socialist realism era opened with an ironically sounding commentary by Andrzej Łąpicki: "Zabawna ta gazetka, co? Jestem osłem, co się zowie, piję wódkę na budowie!" [This brochure is amusing, isn't it? I am an ass, day

¹⁶ Cf. Ch. Perelman, *Imperium retoryki*, trans. M. Chomicz, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2004.

¹⁷ Cf. K. Grzegorzewski, *Homo rhetoricus w telewizyjnym dziennikarstwie politycznym (programy z lat 2005–2007)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2014.

¹⁸ E.g. *Mechanizmy perswazji i manipulacji*, eds. G. Habrajska, A. Obrębska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2007; M. Karwat, *Sztuka manipulacji politycznej*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2001.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Pratkanis, E. Aronson, *Wiek propagandy. Używanie i nadużywanie perswazji na co dzień*, trans. J. Radzicki, M. Szuster, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2005; C. Bredemeier, *Czarna retoryka. Siła i magia języka*, trans. J. Miron, Wydawnictwo Studio Emka, Warsaw 2007; B. Dobek-Ostrowska, J. Frasz, B. Ociepka, *Teoria i praktyka propagandy*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 1997.

²⁰ A. Sz wajkowska, "Wstęp do prozodii komunikacyjnej", [in:] *Rozmowy o komunikacji 6*, ed. G. Habrajska, Łódź 2013, pp. 117–166.

²¹ Cf. W. Godzic, *Telewizja i jej gatunki. Po Wielkim Bracie*, Universitas, Krakow 2004.

²² *Propaganda PRL-u...*, disc 1 – the 1940s/50s. [Vodka].

and night, who drinks vodka at the construction site!] The words were illustrated with workers dressed in *vatniki* grinning while pointing to a poster with an information brochure inserted in it. The slogan itself, just like the entire poster, was very simple in terms of the message, lacking any sophisticated rhetorical devices in the text layer, and not leaving much to interpretation in the visual layer: it presented the hunched figure of a drunkard with a wry face. The beginning, structured thus, virtually excluded any intellectual independence of viewing. Its authors communicated with the audience using directly formulated orders, bans and categorical statements: “Spójrz na tę dziewczynkę. Popatrzcie na te dzieci! To dzieci alkoholików” [Look at this girl. Look at these children! They are children of alcoholics] shouted the reader commenting on images from an orphanage or a psychiatric hospital. The show offered a simple and unequivocal classification, the over-simplified black-and-white evaluation typical for totalitarian systems: all children of drunkards are either sick or mentally deficient. The audience was not offered any statistics, figures or other evidence (though sometimes such elements were used by PKF).

What is interesting in the show is the role of the questions posed in it: “Czy chcesz skazać swoje dziecko na kalectwo, na epilepsję, na niedorozwój umysłowy?” [Do you wish to sentence your child to being a cripple, or to suffering from epilepsy, or mental retardation?] Those were fundamentally rhetorical. They were intended to amplify the previous message and emphasise for the audience the consequences of drunkenness and their inevitability. NB: in contemporary public discourse, it would be unacceptable and offensive to use such terms as “mental retardation” or “cripple” (in Polish, the word “kaleka” [a cripple] functions as a cacophemism or even an insult²³). To further amplify the message and make it even more obvious, its author used simple emotionally-loaded expressions in the form of slogans:²⁴ “Alkohol to wróg społeczeństwa! Alkohol niszczy człowieka, jego organizm i jego wolę.” [Alcohol is the enemy of the people! Alcohol destroys man, his body and will] At the level of content mechanisms, the authors used the socialist realism figure of the enemy in reference to the chemical substance personified for that end, with the concurrent hyperbole (alcohol is the enemy not of a person, but of the entire society).

23 Examples of that could be found in the social-awareness campaigns for the mentally disabled conducted since 2004, e.g. “Niepełnosprawni intelektualnie – pełnosprawni w pracy” [Intellectually disabled yet fully able to work] or the media reaction to what Janusz Korwin-Mikke, a Polish extreme right politician, said in September 2012 comparing the Paralympic Games to “szachy dla debili” [chess for retards]. Vide <https://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/opinie/artykuly/403217,korwin-mikk-obraza-paraolimpijczykow-moze-szachy-dla-debili.html> [accessed on: 2.01.2019].

24 M. Kochan, *Slogany w reklamie i polityce*, Wydawnictwo Trio, Warsaw 2007.

It is noteworthy that as a background to the text, there is a cutaway shot of a notice board at a health clinic and a moment later, a shot of the clinic's waiting room with patients waiting in line to a doctor's surgery. Just as the ominous slogans pass, PKF editors suggested the solution to the problem to the audience: the PRL operated "poradniami przeciwalkoholowymi, które pomagają w zwalczaniu tego strasznego nałogu" [anti-alcohol clinics, which help in fighting this terrible addiction]. The show's audience was supposed to be convinced that the state had the power and means for the fight, and that it could counter that social calamity. The use of such arguments helped build the image of a state which was strong yet caring, resourceful, and capable of combating various hazards. The notion of alcohol, already amplified (verging on farce), as the enemy of society was used to paint the extent of the threat that needed to be combated.

The fact that the argumentation was ideological in nature is visible in the following quotes: "Rozpijały społeczeństwo rządy przedwojenne, alkohol był w rękach okupanta hitlerowskiego narzędziem do wyniszczenia narodu. Dziś alkohol to broń w rękach wroga klasowego." [Pre-war governments induced society to drinking, in the hands of the Nazi occupation forces alcohol was a tool for ravaging the nation. Today, alcohol is the weapon in the hands of the class enemy.] Further arguments about the destruction of family life and the increasing number of accidents, though obvious, lost their expressive power when faced with the coarse device of comparing pre-WWII governments to the Nazis and later to the class enemy. Through the use of a rhetorical syllogism, the broadcast suggested that pre-WWII intelligentsia, capitalists, landowners, the clergy, Home Army soldiers, and anyone opposing the communist system were just like the Nazis. The audience did not even have to make any conjectures about the enemies: they were often mentioned in other chronicles, and in various media content and culture texts. This time, though, they were accused of causing alcoholism, which, as Kosiński mentioned in his monograph, was mainly caused by the PRL authorities. The show closed with the slogan: "Walka z pijaństwem to obowiązek społeczny" [The fight against drunkenness is society's duty.] It framed the show: it cemented the message using the previously applied metaphor of war, so common in PRL propaganda.

In the visual layer, one could identify collective condemnation and ridicule, characteristic of the Stalinist era; the function was fulfilled by the workers laughing at the brochure. In the following scene, the mood changed: the audience saw mentally ill children with wry faces and the typical absent looks, intended to clearly indicate mental disability. Today, the use of images of children with psychological conditions for propaganda purposes would be considered unethical (with the exception of the already-mentioned social awareness campaigns or announcements by charities raising money for treatment or maintenance of disabled children).

In the above-mentioned anti-alcohol clinic, aid was delivered in an efficient and respectful manner, i.e. completely contrary to the common image of the living conditions in the PRL as a social system.²⁵ The doctor's office featured a young man wearing a clean white coat – shaved, his hair neatly organised and he was smart (a tie was clearly visible over the top of the coat) – filling out a patient chart with a professional facial expression. In front of him, there was a patient sitting confiding his health problems. In the same examination room, another doctor (older, experienced) examined the abdomen of another patient. The following shots presented a focussed nurse administering an injection, and a smiling relaxed patient stretching out his arm with trust. The sequence of the images formed an obvious course of events: a trivial poster, a serious social problem and an effective cure for the evil: patients in a well-organised line, competent doctors examining them, and, finally, remedies in the form of medical treatment.

The rhetoric devices applied there, be they linguistic, visual or even sound in the form of the pompous symphonic music common at that time, can only be evaluated as primitive. The applied metaphor of war, numerous hyperboles and the figure of the enemy were common in all the content of those times. Alcoholism itself was not a social phenomenon which could be framed in statistical data or even a cause and effect sequence. In the content, the author indicated only one cause and culprit: the class enemy.

Wstęp na piwko na przeciwko (16/68)²⁶

The broadcast was developed in the final moments of the “little stabilisation”; it was shot after the events of March 1968. The difference is evident, e.g. in the choice of music, which used to be filled with pathos, sadness or exaltation, but in this show it is amusing, cheerful and lively, performed by an entertainment or jazz band contemporary for the Chronicle.²⁷ It was a reflection of a general trend present in the musical illustration of PKF at that time. In that way, it also heralded a departure from the moralising style of social awareness campaigns and the beginning of use of the comic convention.

“Nieodłączny element krajobrazu naszych miast i miasteczek! Duże jasne na stojaka, najczęściej jako utrwalacz po ćwiartce,” – czyta Włodzimierz Kmicik. [An inseparable element of the landscapes of our cities and towns! A large beer while standing, usually as a fixer after half a pint of vodka] As early as the first

²⁵ Such a depiction was offered many times in various culture texts, feature films in particular (cf. television series and comedies directed by S. Bareja).

²⁶ *Propaganda PRL-u...*, disc 5 – the 1960s, part 2 [Step in for a beer next door].

²⁷ Similar music was also used in the comedy *Nie lubię poniedziałku* directed by Tadeusz Chmielewski (1971).

two sentences, one can identify a wealth of rhetoric devices: first a stylisation of an explorer narration, followed by a lexicalised ellipsis (“duże jasne” [large beer]), a colloquialism (“na stojaka” [while standing] – it will come in handy later on), next a metaphor (“utrwalacz” [fixer]), and, finally, a common metonymy (“po ćwiartce” [after half a pint of vodka]). The verbal layer of the chronicle itself was already proof of a greater freedom in terms of the means of expression, and the evident artistic explorations and considerable skills of PKF creators at that time, as indicated by Marek Cieśliński.²⁸ The language of expression became efficient, witty and convincing. The voice-over was accompanied by a clear visual suggestion: a beer stall (shot with the huge grey wall of an ugly tenement house in the background) appeared like an underworld meeting place; where someone would actually come after having drunk “half a pint”.

The role of questions had also changed. “Co tam piszą w gazetach o alkoholizmie? Co alkoholizm, jaki alkoholizm, co to, już piwka nie można sobie strzelić?” [So, what’s new in the papers about alcoholism these days? How alcoholism, what alcoholism, what, can’t you have a beer anymore?] One should note Włodzimierz Kmicik’s exceptional prosodic abilities; sometimes while delivering the voice-over he even displayed the skills of a parodist. The questions fulfilled the function of quasi-quotations: they were articulated in a stress line which sounded strong, resolute, common, stylised to imitate a person irritated at some newspaper ravings (the shot presented a crowd of men drinking beer straight out of bottles). A few seconds later an answer appeared to the quasi-quotation, delivered as if sneeringly and with emphasis on the final word, stressed with a derisive twitch to the voice: “Bo też w Polsce piwo służy nie co picia, lecz do upijania.” [Because in Poland beer is not used for drinking, but for getting drunk] The statement thus organised becomes more emphatic, and, as a result, more convincing (though just as before, the audience would not find proof for the posed thesis). The derisive nature was amplified further in the film with an image of drunkards staggering or lying on the ground, and with the commentary: “najpierw na stojaka, potem na kiwaka, i wreszcie na leżaka” [first standing, then wobbling, and, finally, lying]. The author of the text referred to a popular colloquialism and matched to it later colloquial verbal nouns with a distinct epistrophe in the final syllables.

Similarly to previous films, that one also required a solution to the problem. “Teoretycy problemu twierdzą, że całe zło w budkach! Że należy otwierać chędogie piwiarnie, gdzie będzie się piło w sposób cywilizowany.” [Theoreticians of the problem claim that the stalls are the source of the whole evil! That it is necessary to open neat and tidy beer rooms, where people would drink in a civilised manner.] The archaism of “chędogi” already suggests some spite, but what is most interesting is the realisation that there existed some theoreticians. They remained undefined,

²⁸ M. Cieślińska, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–114.

yet the phrase enabled the author to use the eristic device with an authority figure in the text. Therefore, the PKF film crew visited “taki kulturalny piwozdrój” [such a cultured beer fountain] – in this instance, the neological compound was used clearly in a sarcastic manner. The combination with the adjective “kulturalny” [cultured] and the actual shot could be treated as an oxymoron. The commentary: “Wszystko jak przed budką, tyle że pod dachem” [Everything like in front of the stall, only here it’s indoors] displayed care for the rhythm of expression. The diagnosis, and the punch line of the broadcast, was also ironic in nature: “Naszym zdaniem metoda zadziała dopiero wtedy, gdy pijalni będzie więcej, niż budek!” [In our opinion the method will only work when there are more drinking rooms than stalls] as the displayed shots indicated the contrary. An interesting reversal of the situation occurred: in the previously discussed film, the authors had to prove the effectiveness of the PRL as a state fighting with alcoholism. In this case, however, state activities in the form of the opinions of the “theoreticians of the problem” were rather ridiculed – they were certainly not successful. The problem existed, it was identified, and condemned in a satirical manner, yet there was no solution.

The video layer mainly included men drinking beer, sometimes seriously intoxicated, yet there were no related drastic outcomes: mental illnesses, serious road accidents, etc. The authors of the feature placed emphasis on ethical issues. Those men, at various ages, sometimes young, were usually ill-mannered. They drank beer straight out of bottles, they thronged and pushed one another, their faces were twisted which indicated that they had just burped, or they suffered from drunkard’s hiccups. There were many of them, just like the empty bottles. The manner of consuming beer itself was boorish, devoid of any culture of consumption – it was that lack that was the main theme of the show. It was further amplified by close-up shots of the faces of the beer drinkers. The ironic punch line was illustrated with a corresponding shot: a bulldog and its owner with fat pudding face skewed in a telling manner and 7–8 empty beer bottles in front of him, ostentatiously wiping his face with his hand and shrugging after drinking.

Clearly, the message of the chronicle was constructed in a much more careful manner: with evident elements of linguistic humour, irony or sarcasm even, with an intentional use of stylistic devices, rhythmical, read skilfully and professionally in prosodic terms. The shots were also selected in such a way as to amplify the comic effect. The resulting message was much more emphatic.

***Ale suszy...* (18B/78) [Boy, he’s thirsty]**

The report was created during the decline of Edward Gierek’s decade, i.e. in a period of a serious and growing economic crisis caused by the state’s policy. Various maladies of the system became evident then: numerous examples of careless

management, excessive bureaucracy, and the overwhelming absurdity of how the economy functioned. The show began with a commentary read by Czesław Seniuch: “Powszedni dzień, godzina jedenasta. Po otwarciu sklepu monopolowego przy ul. Pustola w Warszawie tłoczno jak przed stacją z paliwem!” [A weekday, 11 a.m. After the off-licence in Pustola St. in Warsaw is opened, there are as many people there as at a petrol station] That seemingly neutral comparison indicated economic difficulties, in that case: with acquiring petrol. The words perfectly matched the shots: various vehicles arriving at the shop, mainly lorries and construction vehicles. Two devices stood out: the fact of placing the story in a specific place and time (to indicate the problem of consuming and abusing alcohol at work), and the fact of using shots of lorries carrying no load. PKF authors thus indicated yet another malady: the so-called “puste przebiegi” [empty rides]. The music used throughout the report (*Light Cavalry* by Franz von Suppe) was elevated, pompous, yet cheerful and maintained in the major scale, heralding some grand and important event. In combination with shots of lorry drivers drinking alcohol, it offered a comical effect. The reader’s statements were similarly sneering and ironic: “Nie ma się co dziwić – przerwa śniadaniowa. Trzeba przecież kupić coś na pokrzepienie.” [No wonder – it’s lunch time. You obviously need to buy something for reassurance]

The author of the text carefully avoided using the word “alcohol” or any names of specific alcoholic beverages. Instead, there appeared “coś” [something] or “to” [that] pronouns functioning as euphemisms: “Ale będzie niespodzianka, kiedy chłopakom przywiesie się TO zamiast cementu” [Imagine the guys’ surprise, when you get them THAT instead of cement]; “Nyska z zakładu pogrzebowego. Idziemy dopełnić smutnego obrzędu. Aaa, gdy się TO posiada, łatwiej będzie świadczyć usługi dla ludności!”. [A van from a funeral home. We’re going to fulfil the sorrowful rite. Oh, when you have THAT, it will be easier to provide services to the people!] In the final example, viewers could hear the reader’s voice getting clearly sadder when talking about the “sorrowful rite”, though the theatrical quality of the prosodic gesture could be sensed. His voice became immediately cheerful again when talking about alcohol. Further in the report, the reader went on: “Tuż obok zakładów i placów budowy taki sklep – cóż za wygoda!” [Such a shop right next door to industrial complexes and construction sites – imagine the convenience!] One could understand the text as an ironic preface to a solution which, though in a different context, had already been utilised in the free Poland by legally defining the acceptable distance of off-licences from public transport stations, schools, religious sites, etc. Further fragments of the commentary referred in a sarcastic manner to the slogans of the period of the propaganda of success: “Porządek i organizacja! Wszystko musi być na właściwym miejscu!” [Order and organisation! Everything must be in its place!] In the background, one could see a worker hiding three vodka bottles under his vatnik. Though there were some less successful inclusions (e.g. the “popój” neologism [act of

drinking in a vulgar manner]), what stood out was the structuring of irony mainly through combining the verbal layer with the contrasting visual layer, thus achieving the comical effect resembling scenes from the film *Miś* by Stanisław Bareja.

The punchline had a clearly mocking nature: “To nic, że nie trzymamy pionu! Grunt, że domy, które się nieopodal buduje, mają proste ściany”. [It’s not a problem he can’t stand straight! All that matters is that nearby houses have straight walls] The statement was clearly contrary to the everyday experiences of the residents of blocks of flats built in the PRL, in which both floors and walls were strikingly crooked. From the 1960s, the editors at Polska Kronika Filmowa had reported on the botchery of builders; similar “maladies” were mocked in Polish comedy films and television series.

The visual communication was typical for the era of the propaganda of success: the set included many heavy vehicles like HGVs, lorries, delivery trucks, tractors and construction vehicles, which brought to mind the photographs with multiple tractors in a field, at some point mocked by Rudi Schubert, a comedian, and the Poznań-based Tey comedy group. That setting was filled with workers drinking beer or vodka straight out of the bottle who would hide the bottles in any available pocket. The commentary saturated with ostentatious irony complemented the image presenting the problem in a comical and somewhat grotesque manner.

Salonowa edukacja (8/85)²⁹

The last of the analysed reports was developed halfway through the decade of Wojciech Jaruzelski’s government, i.e. in the decline of the PRL and its almost total economic collapse. It was styled to resemble an official account of a celebratory event. Jerzy Rosołowski read: “Wspólnymi siłami kilku warszawskich hoteli Komitet Kultury Picia urządził pokaz i degustację napitków niskoprocentowych”. [Through the joint efforts of several Warsaw hotels, the Committee for Civilised Drinking organised an event of display and tasting of low-proof beverages] All remaining passages were formulated in a similar official manner: the narration was impersonal, and it avoided the use of personal forms. Sometimes, it was combined with colloquialisms, a fact which was supposed to evoke a comical effect: “Z dezaprobatą odniesiono się do wszelkich form odbijania przed przystąpieniem do konsumpcji, jak również samego aktu spożywania na tzw. rurę”. [All forms of knocking the bottle prior to consumption were discouraged, just like the very act of consumption in the so-called pipe]

Other identifiable features of the official style included the numerous analytical structures, the use of lexis typical for higher Polish (“consumption” instead of “drinking”, “prior” instead of “before”, etc.) The style was used quite consistently, and

²⁹ *Propaganda PRL-u...*, disc 8 – the 1970s/80s. [Parlour education].

the text acquired its rhetorical quality only after being combined with the images, as the report did include shots from the official event but they were intertwined with shots from a drinking den. When “zebrani krytyczni wyrazili się o wyrobach konkurencji” [the guests aired their critical remarks on the products of the competition], the report featured a shot of salicylic and birch spirit and windshield washer liquid. The following shot included a smartly dressed bartender preparing cocktails with condensed milk and very expensive liqueurs. The shot was contrasted with a still image of some people pouring Warka wine and Wistula vodka into a filthy bar mug (with the typical narrowing at the base) placed on a newspaper-covered board in a filthy room. The scene was combined with a commentary: “Uchwała jest otwarta na nowe idee koktailowe”. [The official act is open to new cocktail ideas] Allow me to quote also the final fragment of the text: “Organ kultury picia, tygodnik *Veto*, stwierdza, że najskuteczniejszą drogą walki z pijaństwem jest uczenie rodaków picia kulturalnego. Nic to, że na razie ustami najwybitniejszych przedstawicieli.” [The agency of civilised drinking, the *Veto* weekly, concluded that the most effective way of fighting drunkenness is to teach Poles how to drink in a civilised manner. No matter that, for now, it’s through the lips of the most prominent representatives]

The entire report seemed to be a grotesque, verging on mockery.³⁰ In fact, it was proof of the almost complete detachment of the PRL authorities from reality. The characteristic counter-point construction was visible not only in the shots (a serious event with expensive alcoholic beverages contrasted with drinking cheap vodka, wine and industrial alcoholic liquids in the basest and most boorish of ways). It was also clearly marked by the music: the musical theme resembling a tango was supplemented with dissonant mixed electro-acoustic sounds, resembling the ramblings of a drunkard. Those were most prominent at the end of the report which featured a shot of staggering extremely drunk men. Juxtaposed with that, the final remark seems to be a sneer.

Conclusions

The four analysed shows somewhat captured the essence of the PRL system, starting with the Stalinist years all until the “agony of the system”.³¹ Similar conclusions could be drawn by examining PKF shows devoted to other social matters (the editors had always maintained the official propaganda-guided tone when discussing

³⁰ I was not able to prove the existence of Komitet Kultury Picia – it might have been concocted by the authors of the Chronicle. Tygodnik Każdego Konsumenta *Veto* [the *Veto* All Consumers’ Weekly] did exist and it was circulated in 1982–1995. Vide [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Veto_\(czasopismo\)](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Veto_(czasopismo)) [accessed on: 3.01.2019].

³¹ A term by Hanna Świda-Ziemia. Cf. H. Świda-Ziemia, *Młodzież PRL. Portrety pokoleń w kontekście historii*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow 2010.

political topics, though even in such shows one could find differences caused by the transformations in the language of the PRL propaganda). In terms of composition and the stylistic devices applied, the Stalinist years proved the most primitive and coarse. The rhetorical devices were unoriginal and predictable and on top of that they were imposing, and they violated ethical limits. During the October thaw, the editors of the Chronicle sought out new means of expression as well as a new idea for their presence within the public discourse. They found their way in the 1960s. The commentary was inventive, often very well-edited, and it was often filled with cleverly applied tropes and figures and a sense of humour. They made sure the texts had their rhythm and dynamics; the illustration with images and music gave the impression of being thoughtful, it aligned with the verbal message well, and it was not rare that it complemented the message in a surprising manner. The 1970s, marked by the primitive propaganda of success and much greater compliance of the editors expected by the state, featured an accumulation of grotesque images which were caused by, on the one hand, the gigantomania typical of that time, and, on the other, the increasingly evident signs of various illnesses of the system, which heralded its erosion and impending disintegration (mainly in economic, but also social and political terms). In the 1980s, the period when PKF itself had considerable trouble with ensuring distribution and displaying their films, there appeared works visibly critical of the reality which surrounded Poles: saturated with irony or even blatant derision. Those reports could, paradoxically, seem the most pungent, which made them the most interesting in reception.

In factual terms, however, a completely opposite process existed. In the 1950s, PKF presented an image of the PRL where some maladies did exist, but the state's expected attitude of the society was supposed to be unequivocal: it was necessary to fight the enemy. In that fight, citizens could count on the effective socialist state which had the power and the resources (which it was able to use in a ruthless manner), but which, at the same time, was caring, efficient and convinced about the legitimacy of its actions. A decade later, in PKF films which featured a more relaxed and detached approach to the topic, the previously devised monolith began to show some cracks. The subtle irony of the authors of the Chronicle did not yet indicate a clear mocking of the state, though that did not mean that the Chronicle did not include some instances of lecturing. However, that was expressed in a different manner, following the principle of "teaching through amusement". During the period of the propaganda of success, the images that existed were grotesque. The propaganda system acted somewhat against itself: it showed the images of construction workers who were, mind you, a vital element of a major sector of the economy, i.e. the country's development and industrialisation, but who were also plagued by alcoholism. The authorities had absolutely no control over the situation. So, no wonder that the last of the analysed reports, though

developed in an interesting and witty manner, proved the complete detachment of the authorities and the opinion-making elite from the reality of the PRL. The absurd resolution of a similarly absurd Committee for Civilised Drinking were the perfect examples of that. If one were to compare other Chronicles from that time (cf. *Kronika małżeństwa*, *Życie na talony*, *Fantastycznie*, or *Polak przed zimą*), the extracted image would be that of a state in complete economic ruin, which was extremely inefficient and managed by authorities utterly hated and discredited in the eyes of the citizens. That image could no longer be saved by the broadcasts of Wojciech Jaruzelski's speeches, accounts of visits by "brotherly" countries or reports on the special teams of the Polish People's Army travelling throughout Poland. The propaganda of the PRL in decline, achieving results contrary to those intended, was a clear indication of the "agony of the system".

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Krzysztof Grzegorzewski

Strategie retoryczne w propagandzie antyalkoholowej Polskiej Kroniki Filmowej

Streszczenie

Trzonem tekstu jest retoryczna analiza propagandy antyalkoholowej w przekazach Polskiej Kroniki Filmowej, produkowanej przez WFDiF. Autor wybrał cztery felietony z popularnej serii Propaganda PRL-u. Najzabawniejsze polskie kroniki filmowe i poddał je trzem typom analizy tekstu: metaforycznej, neoretorycznej

oraz ideologicznej. Artykuł został wzbogacony o wiedzę w zakresie historii politycznej PRL, a także jej szczegółowe aspekty, jak historia pijaństwa w tej epoce. Autor uwzględnił również medioznawcze opracowanie na temat PKF, a także teorie w zakresie propagandy, perswazji i manipulacji.

Słowa kluczowe: perswazja, manipulacja, propaganda, film, kronika filmowa, dziennikarstwo, komunikacja masowa

Rhetorical strategies in the anti-alcohol propaganda of Polska Kronika Filmowa

Summary

The core of the text is a rhetorical analysis of the anti-alcohol propaganda in the films by Polska Kronika Filmowa produced by WFDiF. The author selected four reports from the popular series: *Propaganda PRL-u. Najzabawniejsze polskie kroniki filmowe* and analysed them using three types of textual analysis: metaphorical analysis, neo-rhetorical analysis, and ideological analysis. The article was complemented with facts from the political history of the People's Republic of Poland in some specific aspects, e.g. the history of drunkenness in that period. The author also included a media research study regarding PKF, as well as theories of propaganda, persuasion and manipulation.

Keywords: persuasion, manipulation, propaganda, film, newsreel, journalism, mass communication

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The City of Man and the critique of fascism: The perspective of Hermann Broch

*Your name is a number, your story's a case,
your need a request, your hopes will be filed, come back next week.*
(Gian Carlo Menotti, *The Consul*)

*Theatre relies on the public more than any other field of art
[...] It must act at once or not act at all.*
(Hermann Broch, *Theoretische Vorbemerkungen zum Manuscript¹*)

*Morals will have the primacy over economics,
not economics over morals.*
The City of Man, New York, p. 58

Introduction

The City of Man initiative, a conscious reference even in its title to Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, was deeply rooted in the desire to build a system that would ensure people's free and unfettered development after the First World War. The initiative was undertaken by both immigrants from Europe and eminent American intellectuals: they all hoped that a realized democracy in the classical Greek sense of the word would not only give us peace, but also open the perspectives

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¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are those of the translator.

that, among other things, had been closed by socialism in its fascist and Bolshevik variants².

Why do I open, however, an article devoted to this somewhat forgotten initiative with remarks on Hermann Broch, who, though he played an important role in the work of this group, was simply “one of many” (exactly one of the seventeen members of the group)? This is due to the fact that his voice was weighty and not because this is my whim or due to the fact that I follow the suggestions of Paul Michael Lützeler, but because the issues raised in the manifesto of the aforementioned group were of great interest to the writer and philosopher from the very beginning of his activity, i.e. from his debut in 1931. It is therefore worth looking at how the artist solved the same problems, which he then “tried” to describe and analyze as a philosopher and theoretician of economics.

Hermann Broch – a few facts

Hermann Broch (1886–1951)³ is a writer and philosopher whose *de facto* absence from Polish literature and culture is difficult to explain. This is despite the fact that his major works were translated into Polish: *The Death of Virgil* (translated as *Śmierć Wergilego* by Maria Kurecka and Witold Wirpsza, Polish editions 1963 and 1993), *Der Versucher* [The Seducer] (translated as *Kusiciel* by Edyta Sicińska, Polish edition 1970), *The Sleepwalkers* (translated as *Lunatycy* by Sławomir Błaut, Polish

2 *The City of Man. A Declaration on World Democracy*, ed. G.A. Borgese, ed. 4, New York, The Viking Press 1941; P.M. Lützeler, “Donkiszotożuaneria. Hermann Broch o sobie samym”, [in:] *ibidem*, *Autobiografia duchowa*, transl. S. Błaut, Czytelnik, Warsaw 2005, pp. 147–148; L. von Mises, *Ludzkie działania. Traktat o ekonomii*, transl. W. Falkowski, Instytut von Misesa, Warsaw 2007, pp. 61–63, 224–225 nn., 606–608 nn.; P.M. Lützeler, *Nur eine Weltdemokratie kann uns retten*, <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/nur-eine-weltdemokratie-kann-uns-retten/4453704.html> [accessed on: 17.02.2017].

3 Broch was trained as a textile engineer, he was a specialist in cotton manufacturing and a co-owner of a patent on the cotton blending machine; he worked as a director a textile mill, was a chairman of the supervisory board of a spinning mill; he ran a military hospital (having done his military service), was a member of the Austrian Textile Industry Association and the industrial court mediatory board settling disputes amicably between workers and entrepreneurs (he received the title of counsel for this work). He was, however, chiefly a writer and philosopher whose position and significance in the history of literature, culture and philosophy of the 20th century are not to be overestimated. Broch's essays reveal him to be a philosopher struggling to preserve and perpetuate the traditional system of humanistic values which are deeply rooted in Plato's ideas and the Christian tradition, and also as a researcher of phenomena such as kitsch or contemporary novels. He believed that a work of art does not only have aesthetic values but also must perform ethical tasks. Cf. H. Arendt, “Einleitung”, [in:] H. Broch, *Dichten und Erkennen. Essays, Band I*, Rhein Verlag, Zürich 1955 (Gesammelte Werke, Vol. 6, pp. 5–42).

editions 1997 and 2005), *The Guiltless* (translated as *Niewinni* by Wanda Jedlicka, Polish edition 1961), *Heimkehr des Vergil* [The Return of Virgil] (translated as *Powrót Wergilego. Opowiadania* by Anna Maria Linke, Polish edition 1981) as well as an extremely modest collection of essays which consists of two short volumes: *Notes on the Problem of Kitsch* (translated as *Kilka uwag o kiczu i inne eseje* by Danuta Borkowska, Jan Garewicz, Ryszard Turczyn, Polish edition 1998) and *Psychische Selbstbiographie* [Mental Biograph] (edited by Paul Michael Lützel, translated as *Autobiografia duchowa* by Sławomir Błaut, Polish edition 2005). These translations often did not attract much attention, failing to spark any bigger discussions or disputes. Also staging the monodrama entitled *Zerline's Tale* (*Die Erzählung der Magd Zerline*) in the Ateneum Theatre in 1992, starring the excellent Anna Seniuk, passed almost unnoticed. Hermann Broch's literary output also includes three "normal" plays: *Die Entsühnung* (1932), *Als der Luft gegriffen oder die Geschäfte des Baron Laborde* (1934) and *Es bleibt alles beim Alten: Schwank mit Musik* (1934), "a burlesque with music". *Zerline's Tale* may be found, however, among other plays in Hermann Broch's Archive at Yale University, which may come as a surprise. It is worth recalling that the French version of this monodrama was performed with great success by Jeanne Morreau (in the years 1986–1988); moreover, the monodrama was also put on in Germany in the 1980s and in Poland in the 1990s.

As Maciej Ganczar recalled in his introduction to a recently published selection of plays⁴:

[t]he first Polish theatre production is an adaptation of the short story *Zerline's Tale* (translated into Polish as *Zwierzenia służki Zerliny* by Anna Maria Linke, directed by Kazimierz Kutza and staged in the Ateneum Theatre in Warsaw in 1992). Three years later Hermann Broch's prose inspires Krystian Lupa, who puts on *Die Schlafwander. Esch; oder, die Anarchie* (translated into Polish as *Lunatycy. Esch, czyli Anarchia* by Sławomir Błaut) in the Helena Modrzejewska National Stary Theatre in Krakow in 1995. He reaches out for another part of the novel in 1998, staging *Die Schlafwander. Hugenu, oder die Sachlichkeit* (translated into Polish as *Lunatycy. Hugenu, czyli Rzeczywistość* by Sławomir Błaut) in the same theatre. A year earlier Krystian Lupa puts on *Dama z jednorożcem* on the basis of Hermann Broch's short story entitled *Hanna Wendling* (translated by Sławomir Błaut) in the Polish Theatre in Wrocław and a short story by Robert Musil "The Temptation of Quiet Veronica" [*Die Versuchung der stillen Veronika*] (translated into Polish as "Kuszenie cichej Weroniki" by Zofia Rybicka). The short story *Hanna Wendling* directed by him is turned into a screen adaptation at the TV Theatre in 2001. Also Marek Fiedor uses Broch's pro-

4 H. Broch, *Rozgrzeszenie. Z powietrza wzięte. Dramaty*, translation and introduction by M. Ganczar, Wydawnictwo ADiT, Warsaw 2010.

se staging *The Guiltless* (transl. Wanda Jedlicka) at the Jan Kochanowski Theatre in Opole in 2000 and *The Spell* [Die Verzauberung] (translated as *Oczarowanie* by Edyta Sicińska) at the STUDIO Theatre Gallery in Warsaw ten years later.

Therefore Broch was known in Polish theatre yet again not so much for his original dramatic works as through stage adaptations of his prose works. What is more, I suppose it was not until his theatre plays had been published that we remembered that Broch is the author of a short yet very interesting essay “Theoretische Vorbemerkungen zum Manuskript” (Teoretyczne uwagi wstępne do „Rozgrzeszenia”), which, despite its somewhat misleading title, is in a way the writer’s theatre *credo*. Theatre, or rather tragedy, is for the writer a kind of form of recognizing the human condition in the contemporary world; Broch sees the revival of theatre in a return to the “grand theatre”, the theatre of human problems. He points here to the tradition of Sophocles; as this is all about placing man in the world, which is generally hostile to him, and where the Fate looms over humanity.

And indeed the position and importance of Broch in 20th century literature, culture and philosophy are not to be overestimated.

The writer belongs, as was suggested as early as in the 1920s by Franz Blei, to the five major literary figures in Austria, alongside Franz Kafka, Albert Paris Gütersloh, Robert Musil and Heimito von Doderer. His novels are extremely important in the history of shaping the world’s modern prose; the pole position is obviously occupied by *The Sleepwalkers* and *The Death of Virgil*, with reference to which Witold Gombrowicz wrote terrible nonsense, unfortunately. *The Sleepwalkers* is a display of Broch’s literary artistry which allowed him to combine a novel and a philosophical essay into a coherent linguistic whole, while encompassing a range of different styles, such as those typified in the novels of Theodor Fontane, Marcel Proust and James Joyce. *The Death of Virgil*, in turn, remains an unsurpassed model of the authentic epic, in the classical meaning of this word. This is not just a “tale about the last eighteen hours in the life of Virgil”, but a sum of knowledge on the contemporary world, our fate, the discrepancy between ideals and the so-called normal life and about our destiny.

Two novels are vitally important for our reflections: *Die Schlafwandler* (The Sleepwalkers) (known in Poland as *Lunatycy*) and *Der Versucher* (The Seducer) as they both touch upon, surprisingly, problems concerning economics and politics, as well as rhetoric. In the former, contrary to appearances, the author is not content with the conventionally malicious picture of “the ruthless capitalist” (Hugonau), he also relies on certain “matter-of-factness” characterizing a certain way of thinking about economics and politics. The latter, in turn, deals perceptively with the problems in question, since it depicts how ideology is beginning to take over

the good sense of the “economic” outlook on reality (here economics is understood as a person’s attitude to economic issues, free from any ideological intrusions). Both novels, nevertheless, show – in an artistic mirror – issues connected with the human social behaviour.

A pessimistic outlook on life and the human condition in this world is connected with Broch’s view on contemporary times, which he considered to be devoid of the feeling of stability. As Erich von Kahler said in his commentary to *The Sleepwalkers*, as early as the 1930s: “[...] our world [...] has lost its stability. This is a drifting world, a world of crisis, a world of permanent transformation.”⁵

The reason for this was the ongoing degradation of values, which was shown most vividly in his novel *The Sleepwalkers*. World War I put a definite end to this degradation and demise, yet beneath it was the ongoing breakdown of value systems and the omnipresence of the culture of kitsch (which was ingeniously described by, for instance, Waclaw Berent in *Próchno* [Rotten Wood]). In his study entitled “Hugo von Hofmannsthal and His Time” (a fragment attached to the selection of plays) Broch shows how and why Europe at the end of the 19th century was becoming the “European value vacuum”, which eventually had to lead to the catastrophe of war and the demise of the grand European tradition⁶.

Broch’s protagonists in his tragedies resembles a little the protagonists of his novels; as stressed by Maciej Ganczar:

The output of Hermann Broch the dramatist revolves around man dominated, if not enslaved, by the world of economy, which makes us merely its puppets. Consequently, it takes away the pole position from politics. In a world governed by economic principles there is no room for emotions and feelings. This is a man’s world, they usually do not live up to challenges they are faced with, and they see their salvation in suicide, or an escape from problems in the world of fantasy and memories. Broch’s world of economics is the world of machinations, or plots fueled by men, as he depicts it in his comedy *Aus der Luft gegriffen oder Die Geschäfte des Baron Laborde*. Women in Broch’s plays appear somewhat on the margin from which they look at men’s struggles. But they are ready any minute to receive them, listen to them, understand and love them. The world depicted in Broch’s tragedies is a world of the eternal struggles of different parties for survival but also privileges. This incessant struggle for survival, tossing and turning in economic mechanisms, is stopped from time to time by a temporary crisis which demands victims in the form of human life.

5 Cited in: M. Durzak, *Hermann Broch*, Rowohlt Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1966; also J.Z. Lichański, *Hermann Broch*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warsaw 1994, p. 15.

6 See: H. Broch, “Hofmannsthal i jego czasy. Studium”, [in:] *ibidem*, *Rozgrzeszenie...*, pp. 185–191 (transl. R. Turczyn).

In turn, Broch's scientific works devoted to the psychology of masses/the crowd (or, as we tend to put it now, the psychosis of the masses) and political problems, or his philosophical studies, are practically unknown in Poland. And it is worth enumerating at least those subjects which were of interest to him and which he wrote about, including: practical work and military service, the theory of values, the theory of the League of Nations, the theory of democracy, economic impetus for *the City of Man* and finally the theory of the psychosis of the masses.⁷ It was not until recently, however, that Broch's scientific studies were analyzed more in depth; these are works by Paul Michael Lützel, Monika Kluger, Thomas Eicher, Hartmut Steinecke and Manfred Welan.⁸ Let us focus, however, on the City of Man, since information on this initiative is, to say the least, scarce.

***The City of Man* – introduction**

The term “the City of Man” needs to be explained; as Broch says: “[this was] a group whose aim was to research the conditions of re-strengthening the democratic thought and casting light on them, taking into account all possible aspects [...]”⁹ Its leader was Giuseppe Antonio Borgese, an Italian writer and journalist, opponent of fascism, who emigrated to the US and was professor at the University of Chicago. Apart from Broch, the group included, for instance: Thomas Mann, William Yandell Elliot, a historian and political advisor of six US presidents; Frank Aydelotte, the director of the Institute for Advanced Study (1939–1947); Christian Gauss, a linguist and literary scholar, one of Woodrow Wilson's tutors; and Alvin Johnson, the founder and director of the New School of Social Research in New York¹⁰. The efforts of the scholars centred around it led to the publication of

⁷ Some scholars use the term “madness of crowds”.

⁸ P.M. Lützel, “Donkiszotożuaneria...”, pp. 150–151; Th. Eicher, P.M. Lützel, H. Steinecke, *Hermann Broch. Politik, Menschenrechte- und Literatur*, Athena Verlag, Oberhausen 2005; M. Welan, *Das Menschenrecht Hermann Brochs*, WPR, Wien 2004 (*Diskussionpapier* 2004, No. 102-R-04).

⁹ H. Broch, *Autobiografia...*, p. 89; P.M. Lützel, “Donkiszotożuaneria...”, pp. 147–148. Also important remarks in: D.L. Wallace, *The Death of Civilization. Ethics and Politics in the Work of Hermann Broch*, University of California, San Diego 2006, p. 82 nn. (doct. diss.); cf. also P.M. Lützel, *Nur eine Weltdemokratie kann uns retten*, <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/nur-eine-weltdemokratie-kann-uns-retten/4453704.html> [accessed on: 17.02.2017].

¹⁰ The aforementioned P.M. Lützel describes in detail the group's composition and activity in the cited paper: “Diese Gruppe traf sich zu zwei Arbeitstagen vom 24. bis 26. Mai 1940 in Atlantic City (New Jersey) und vom 24. bis 25. August 1940 in Sharon (Connecticut). Den Sitzungen gingen Einladungen mit genauen Arbeitsplänen voraus, ihnen folgten briefliche und telefonische Abstimmungen. Im November 1940 erschien das Ergebnis, „The City of

The City of Man. A Declaration on World Democracy in 1940, which was reissued four times.

It is worth quoting the opinion of the aforementioned Paul Michael Lützeler, who years later would describe the project called *The City of Man*¹¹ in the following way:

Was sind die Forderungen der „City of Man“? Die USA, heißt es, müssten mit ihrer demokratischen Staatsform eine humane Alternative zum Terror Hitlers bieten. Wie jene Europas befinde sich aber auch die Demokratie Amerikas in einer tiefen Krise, und nur eine erneuerte Demokratie sei in der Lage, dem Totalitarismus entgegenzutreten. Amerika solle sich für folgende Ziele einsetzen: Im Gegensatz zur Kriegsverherrlichung der Nazis sei das Postulat des universalen Friedens zu verteidigen. „Die Demokratie lehrt“, heißt es, „dass alles durch, nichts gegen und nichts außerhalb der Menschlichkeit zu geschehen hat. Die Diktatur der Humanität auf der Basis des Gesetzes zum Schutz der Menschenwürde ist die einzige Herrschaft, von der die Hoffnung für unser eigenes Leben ausgeht und von der die Wiedererstehung jener Nationen zu erwarten ist, die sich an der Humanität vergingen.“

Die Aufgabe der USA bestehe darin, die Welt für eine neue Ordnung zu gewinnen. Freilich könne das jetzige Amerika diese Rolle noch nicht übernehmen. Zu den „Fehlern, welche die Erfüllung ihrer Aufgaben gefährden“, werden gezählt: „die geringgeschätzte Bildung, die korrupte Politik und die öde Effizienz der Spekulanten“. Amerika müsse sich besinnen: „Die amerikanische Verfassung muss Wirklichkeit werden.“ In diesem Zusammenhang wird postuliert: Erstens müssten in einer Verfassungsreform die Rechte und Pflichten des Einzelnen dem Staate und des Staates dem Einzelnen gegenüber genauer formuliert werden. Zweitens sei die Trennung von Kirche und Staat klarer herauszustellen. Drittens seien Wirtschaftsreformen anzustreben, welche die Ansätze des New Deal weiterführen. Viertens sei ein internationales Gesetzbuch auszuarbeiten. Nach diesen Reformen könne, sobald Hitler besiegt sei, auch das Projekt einer Weltdemokratie mit einer Weltverfassung angestrebt werden. Das war ein Lieblingsgedanke Borgeses.

Die Wirkung einzelner Bücher ist schwer einzuschätzen. Jedenfalls leistete das Intellektuellen-Konzil etwas, dem man Realitätstüchtigkeit nicht absprechen kann: Es trug dazu bei, in der amerikanischen Öffentlichkeit eine Bereitschaft zu schaffen, militärisch gegen Hitler vorzugehen und nach dem Krieg die demokratische Staatsform im europäischen Einflussbereich der USA durchzusetzen. Mit seinen universalistischen Perspektiven wurde bereits fünf Jahre vor der Etablierung

Man. A Declaration on World Democracy“, bei der Viking Press.“ (P.M. Lützeler, *Nur eine Weltdemokratie...*).

¹¹ Ibidem.

der Vereinten Nationen und acht Jahre vor der Verkündung der Internationalen Menschenrechte die globale Durchsetzung demokratischer Grundsätze ins Auge gefasst. Es war eine Pionierarbeit. [...]. [What are the assumptions of “the City of Man”? The USA, as it is said in this document, should create a human alternative of a democratic state to the proposal offered by Hitler’s terror. Like in Europe, democracy in America is in deep crisis, yet only renewed democracy is capable of opposing totalitarianism. America should strive to achieve the following goals: it has to defend the postulate of universal peace as opposed to the glorification of war by the Nazis. “Democracy teaches”, as we read in the declaration, that “everything must be within humanity, nothing against humanity, nothing outside humanity. The dictatorship of humanity, on the basis of a law for the protection of human dignity, is the only rule from which we may hope for life for ourselves and resurrection for the nations that have fallen”.

[The task of the US will be to conquer the world for the new order. Naturally, it may be said that current America cannot take on this role. “The blemishes that endanger the fulfillment of her tasks” include “the degraded education, the corrupted political machines, the efficiency of the dollar-hunter”. America must remember that: “the American constitution may become reality.” As a result, firstly, constitutional reform is demanded, in which the rights and obligations of the individual be adjusted to the given state, but also the state should define its duties towards individuals in greater detail. Secondly, the separation of church and state should be clearly stated (clearly defined). Thirdly, economic reforms should be accomplished in such a way as to use the experiences known from the New Deal.¹² Fourthly, the international code (of

¹² The problem of assessing the New Deal is rather complex. It is often pointed out that it is not easy to evaluate the consequences of the New Deal. It is commonly believed that it brought about an improvement in the economic situation and contributed to an increase in the standard of living of American society. President Roosevelt’s policy met, however, with harsh criticism from the liberal circles. Most of all, the issue of its huge costs was raised. The comprehensive measures taken as part of the New Deal triggered an increase in global demand. It is particularly worth stressing its humanitarian aspect, which was manifested predominantly in the social sphere. Assistance granted to the unemployed increased their spending power, which enhanced the country’s economic activity. The Public Works Administration constructed 122 thousand public buildings, over 1 million km of roads, 77 thousand bridges and 285 airports. In 1933 the government spent 500 million dollars on helping the unemployed. By 1942 the administration had spent 13 billion dollars on public works. As a huge experiment, the New Deal helped the capitalist economy to reach maturity. Changes in legislation, the transformation of financial and credit institutions, increasing the supervisory functions of central authorities – all these actions brought positive social and economic consequences in the years to come. And, most importantly, there was an improvement in the social atmosphere and increased trust in the state, institutions and entrepreneurs.

cooperation) should be elaborated. After these reforms maybe one day Hitler will be defeated and the project of world democracy and global constitution will be put into practice. This was Giuseppe Antonio Borgese's favourite idea.

The impact of individual books is difficult to evaluate. Anyway, the Council's intellectuals contributed to something which undeniably "gave impetus" to the reality: it may have contributed to creating some readiness in American society to undertake military activities against Hitler and enforcing democratic rule in the US sphere of influence in Europe after the war. Surely its universal perspective helped to implement democratic principles globally five years before the United Nations came into being and eight years before the announcement of international human rights. This was pioneering work. [...]

What was Broch's contribution to this project? He stressed already at that time that in economics it was necessary to initiate a dispute with socialism (for him Russia was *the embodiment of international power of socialism*). Broch drew attention to the fact that socialism, contrary to appearances, does not accept democracy, as "[...] in the case of either a Nazi or radically socialist victory, the firing squad will be waiting for the defenders of democracy."¹³

This sentence, uttered in 1940, received its terrifying confirmation a few years later. It suffices to say that in his study *Human Action. A Treatise on Economics* (1949; third modified edition 1966) Ludwig von Mises, an eminent Austrian economist, attempted to analyze socialism as an economic proposal in a systematic way and indicated what havoc it wreaks in both economic and, even more importantly, social life.

The writer's subsequent ruminations show a very disturbing phenomenon, which we know all too well, as man turns from being a subject into being the object of activities by the state obsessed with the idea of socialism, *especially communist breeding*. It is also important to point to Hermann Broch's remark on the theory of

The New Deal temporarily stopped the negative consequences of the economic crisis, yet it failed to prevent another recession in 1937 (this time the Cabinet of the United States intervened decisively, through lowering interest rates and extending the programme of public works). Yet after this, especially because of World War II, the country entered a path of long-term economic growth. Roosevelt gained widespread public support and was re-elected three times in 1936, 1940 and 1944. The New Deal opponents pointed to the fact that some investments within this programme were initiated still by Hoover. One of Roosevelt's closest associates admitted later that "practically the whole New Deal was extrapolated from programs that Hoover started." The achievements of the New Deal inspired John Maynard Keynes to devise the concept of state interventionism in his work *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936). Cf. https://mfiles.pl/pl/index.php/New_Deal [accessed on: 17.02.2017].

¹³ H. Broch, *Autobiografia...*, p. 90.

value as it suggests that there are no major discrepancies between environmental and humanistic cognition. He based his reflections on the assumption that¹⁴:

[...] there are “deeds” of I (or man) and these deeds lead to “results” (to formations of the world), that should be both included in the category of values as a result of certain epistemic assumptions which, in turn, may be justified by the function of aiming for truth characteristic of thinking and that [...] the first one is subject to “ethical evaluation” whereas the latter – the “aesthetic one”, despite the fact that it is impossible to ever separate the two category aspects.

This way of thinking seems to be worth not only noting but also investigating further. As Broch himself says, “original works were mostly damaged as a result of the detention and inspection conducted by the Gestapo”¹⁵. Thus his words about the fate of those who struggle for freedom and democracy came true in the case of the writer.

Presentation of the problem

The monumental study by Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action*, refers to a number of issues, the most important of which are connected with economics. For me, however, the most interesting problems in his work concern attempts to analyze the reasons why people take certain decisions, as this is the place where the two scholars meet. As the views of von Mises are well known, these issues will only be outlined from the perspective of Broch the writer and philosopher.

Before outlining Broch’s views, it is worth analyzing one extremely important fragment from the work by von Mises. He draws attention to the fact that¹⁶:

There are two patterns for the realization of socialism.

The first pattern (we may call it the Lenin or the Russian pattern) is purely bureaucratic. All plants, shops, and farms are formally nationalized (verstaatlicht); they are departments of the government operated by civil servants [...].

The second pattern (we may call it the Hindenburg or German pattern) nominally and seemingly preserves private ownership of the means of production and keeps the appearance of ordinary markets, prices, wages, and interest rates. There are, however, no longer entrepreneurs, but only shop managers (Betriebsführer in the terminology of the Nazi legislation). [...] But in all their activities they are bound to obey unconditionally the orders issued by the government’s supreme

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 68–69.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 79; P.M. Lützel, “Donkiszotożuaneria...”, pp. 141–142.

¹⁶ L. von Mises, *The Human Action...*, pp. 606–607.

office of production management. [...] This is socialism under the outward guise of the terminology of capitalism [...]. It is necessary to point out this fact in order to prevent a confusion of socialism and interventionism. The system of interventionism or of the hampered market economy differs from the German pattern of socialism by the very fact that it is still a market economy. [...] The system of the hampered market economy or interventionism aims at preserving the dualism of the distinct spheres of government activities on the one hand and economic freedom under the market system on the other hand.

As we may see, therefore, socialism, as a certain economic proposal, leads to an acute conflict between the state and the individual, as was pointed out by Broch. Hence the problem to be described here is clear: this is the fundamental conflict between man and his free decisions as one of the sources of disparate reflection, including, on the one hand, on economics, but, on the other, *a priori* ideological assumptions¹⁷ which, *in summa*, deprive man of the freedom of decision. The reason for this second situation may be found in external factors, mainly in the breakdown/decline of values, yet the source of it is, to a large extent, in ourselves. Broch portrays an artistic vision of this issue in nearly all his novels and plays. The writer seems to suggest that the personal responsibility of the protagonist in a work of art and his freedom of decision become a model of behaviour for the masses, and the work of art is supposed to remind us of the importance of this model. This issue is depicted most powerfully in the heated discussion between Virgil and Augustus in part three of *The Death of Virgil*.

In his novels *Die Schlafwandler* and *Der Versucher / Die Verzauberung* Broch analyzes situations in which people lose the freedom to decide, due to the influence of somebody or something, or in which that freedom is taken away from them, e.g. by force, or finally, situations where there is a mixture of these two “ways” of losing freedom. Yet, according to Broch, each of these situations also often results from the fact that the individual / subject loses the sense of durability or of being rooted in a stable system of values, since according to the writer the *sine qua non* condition of freedom is at the same time its voluntary restriction, perhaps connected with the Platonic-Christian idea of *kalokagathia*.

Both novels show protagonists in situations where, having lost the feeling of stability, they are forced to take decisions which in many cases are of fundamental

17 Cf. S.K. Foss, *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice*, Waveland Press Inc., Long Grove, Ill. 2004, p. 239 [she refers mainly, but not solely, to the concept of Teun van Dijk]: ideology is “a set of beliefs which determine interpretations of certain aspects of the world by a certain group. These beliefs express the fundamental social, economic, political and cultural interests. They represent: “who we are, what we support, what we represent and what our relations with other groups are like”.

importance. The protagonists of both *Die Schlafwandler* and *Der Versucher / Die Verzauberung* look to ideology to provide grounds for the decisions which will change their lives. Only those who live in freedom are capable of taking such decisions in a proper way which does not violate anyone's freedom. Consequently, Esch must die [he threatened, by accident, the "matter-of-fact" Huguenau], the same goes for the beloved of the narrator of *Der Versucher / Die Verzauberung*, who becomes misled by the communist ideology and dies during an unsuccessful putsch [this is based on the authentic putsch in Vienna in 1934], and the peasants of Kuppron fall into the trap of Marius, who lures them with a mirage of getting rich easily. This happens due to the fact that: "Morals will have the primacy over economics, not economics over morals."¹⁸

When one forgets about this principle, one may fall into the hands of someone who, like Marius from *Der Versucher / Die Verzauberung*, resorted to many clichés, but in reality wished to become a member of the local council. Both novels warn that democracy and monarchy are equally prone to abuse, especially when they are not deeply rooted in a stable system of clearly defined values. How does this refer to the issue of economics? If this is perceived narrowly, mainly as a practice of running a household, then not much, in fact. But if we look at it from a broader perspective, as both the theory and practice of each of us taking decisions which lead to serious changes in both our situation in the world and in the world itself, then the issues indicated by Broch take on a fundamental significance. The peasants of Kuppron, Esch, or the beloved of the narrator of *Der Versucher / Die Verzauberung* take decisions which *de facto* put an end to their self-reliance, take away their freedom and, in the case of at least two of them, lead to self-destruction.

Economy – Literature – Philosophy

I will begin by quoting a bitter comment by Broch which explains why both communist and fascist ideas win so easily¹⁹:

For a socialist, especially of communist provenance (same as for a fascist), this democratic freedom is nothing but sheer hypocrisy, luxury for the possessor and a useless adornment for the poor, [...] as man needs economic security and fulfilment of emotions, but does not need freedom; it will be possible to talk about freedom one day when there is classless [society] and each stomach is full.

It is worth remembering that the author of these words also dealt with the issue of the psychosis of the masses and the aforementioned reflection is also probably

¹⁸ *The City of Man...*, p. 58.

¹⁹ H. Broch, *Autobiografia...*, p. 90.

partially a result of that research. When we consider, therefore, strictly economic issues it is necessary to pay attention not only to man's space of freedom but, above all, to teach this man to use this "space of freedom". Only then is it possible to accomplish what Broch called a "decapitalized private economy". The writer is, however, a realist and he sees the first stage of work which is supposed to take years simply in the acceptance of private economy, and the state's activity should consist in inhibiting big business. It must be remembered, however, that Broch's analyses concern the 1940s when, on the one hand, the positive effects of Roosevelt's New Deal were clearly visible and, on the other, the bright picture of the economic situation in both the US and the world obscured the economic growth resulting from the upturn in the economy caused by the war.

Yet the outlook of the City of Man members on issues concerning democracy is more important²⁰:

[...] Universal and total democracy is the principle of liberty and life which the dignity of man opposes to the principle of slavery and spiritual death represented by autocracy. [...] Democracy, therefore, is an ancient hope of man calling for fulfillment in the coming age of man. Its unity rests upon three principles.

The first is universal participation in government, through the direct expression of referendum or town meeting, or through electoral mandate, or even-when the stress of the times so commands-through the delegation of all authority to a responsible chief executive freely chosen by the people for a limited term. This is the government of the people by the people, the foundation of law.

The second principle emphasizes that the state is the agent of collective human purposes, the servant of the common good, and that the demos, the unity of the people, is the permanent source of power behind those who temporarily hold it. Therefore a democracy must be always ready to rise not only against the self-appointed usurpers of power, but "against the never-ending audacity of elected persons" as well. This is the government of the people for the people, the foundation of equality.

The third principle, fundamental to the other two, establishes that a democratic community is a community of persons. Democracy, therefore, cannot be run by robots and automatons, by serfs and slaves. Its vigor rests upon the cultivation and discipline of the person, as a self-acting and self-controlling agent. Its quality is the quality of the education which it imparts to its citizens and exacts from them, in the balance of private interest and public service that makes the substance of the social contract. This is the foundation of justice.

²⁰ *The City of Man...*, pp. 27-30.

These simple principles are, however, very difficult to implement, as the period following World War II demonstrates. This is due to the fact that both Broch and the other members of the *City of Man* pointed out a certain problem which is connected with democracy, for²¹:

[democracy has] Janus faces [...] From its principle of freedom democracy looks toward capitalism, which it envisions as natural, even if not unqualifiedly necessary; while from its principle of justice democracy looks toward collectivism, which it considers as necessary, even if not so conformant to nature.

It is particularly important to see that the “naturalness” of capitalism is far from obvious (this results from, among other things, the fact that a definition is needed of what is understood by capitalism, and as analyses show, this is not so obvious; see the comments of the authors of the *City of Man* on the New Deal). Also the second observation is essential; the principle of fairness which is connected with equality and, consequently, certain understanding of collectivism, is not natural in itself. This is not about legal matters, as the principle of equality may not be questioned; in social life, however, collectivism is not a good principle and we experienced its rather terrifying consequences in the years of the People’s Republic of Poland. It is interesting to see the following comment of the manifesto authors:²²

Man, recovering from his guilty blindness, must become aware at last that the problem of production, which was a problem of power, has been virtually superseded by the problem of distribution, which is a problem of justice [...]. Economy can be pluralistic and flexible, with its primary centers transferred from the metropolitan cities to the villages, close to the friendlier suggestions of nature. Federal aggregations [...] could collect around focal points the energies radiating from the smaller communities.

The authors argue that the matters of production, distribution, fairness and power are closely connected with one another. It is also striking to see the concern about ecology and the indication that the bond between workers (trade union members) and local communities should be strong and mutual.²³ The authors go on to stress that it is only the development of democracy that will ensure the freedom of individuals and guarantee that economics will not be subordinated

²¹ Ibidem, p. 90.

²² Ibidem, pp. 56–57.

²³ I suppose the indicated solutions were probably suggested by Broch, who used his own experience, see note 2.

to any ideology.²⁴ The economy understood as an uninhibited activity of man²⁵, as Broch argued a few years before Popper, should belong to an open rather than closed social system.

When we talk about democracy one should remember about the indicated dangers and steer clear of them. These issues were most comprehensively analyzed by Hans-Hermann Hoppe and it is worth looking more closely at his comments.²⁶ He points to, what are, in his view, important limitations of democracy; some of them are also addressed by Broch. Hoppe, however, presents a very important limitation which threatens democracy, in his opinion. One of them is the imminent concentration of power in democratic systems:²⁷

In contrast to the internal and external moderation of a monarchy, a democratic (publicly owned) government implies increased excess, and the transition from a world of kings to one of democratically-elected presidents must be expected to lead to a systematic increase in the intensity and extension of government power and a significantly strengthened tendency toward decivilization.

Hence, in Hoppe's opinion, democracy will not be the fulfilment of hope, as it is threatened by exactly the same things which were indicated by the authors of the City of Man. Thus does democracy have to fail as well? Probably not, and here Broch enters with his positive proposal. Being fully aware of the aforementioned limitations of the description of the current economic situation, Broch sees the essence of this project in two proposals:²⁸

[...] firstly, is it possible that the scientific analysis of the phenomenon of crisis and its history will point to a new way (different from communist or fascist solutions) leading to liberation from crisis?

Secondly, having adopted this assumption, is it possible within the democratic system to win over social groups which are sufficiently strong politically to accomplish it ?

The first one has been partially solved (I believe that von Mises's work plays an important role here), yet the latter, at least partly, is still a task for us.²⁹

24 *The City of Man...*, pp. 57–58 nn.

25 L. von Mises, *The Human Action...*

26 H.-H. Hoppe, *Democracy. The God that Failed. The Economics and Politics of Monarchy, Democracy, and Natural Order*, transl. W. Falkowski, J. Jabłęcki, Fijorr Publ., Warsaw 2005.

27 *Ibidem*, p. 30.

28 H. Broch, *Autobiografia...*, p. 100.

29 *Ibidem*, pp. 69–70, 87; P.M. Lützeler, "Donkiszotożuaneria...", pp. 141, 147.

In addition, *the City of Man* includes two excellent remarks concerning the relation between ethics/morality and economy: “Morals will have the primacy over economics, not economics over morals [...] A real *Realpolitik* is applied ethics.”³⁰

This last remark is of great importance since failing to take into account ethics in politics (and, consequently, in economics) leads, or may lead, to put it cautiously, to unfortunate consequences.

These issues were also presented by Broch in his plays; using his professional experience he shows in *Die Entsöhnung* certain economic mechanisms and their impact on man, especially in a crisis situation. The Filsmann factory must undergo restructuring, as we would put it today; this means redundancies, which sparks protest among workers and trade union members who represent them. The protest becomes only a means for achieving the goal, i.e. power over the masses; this will be ensured by spreading panic. Here Broch is considering the theory of mass madness, which was developed later. Murdering the chairman of the shop council becomes a way of causing panic; it is perceived not so much as a crime as a factor causing panic, hence as a blessing for the future leader.

The drama *Als der Luft gegriffen oder die Geschäfte des Baron Laborde* is a picaresque comedy which, leaving aside the plot of deceitful pseudo-businesses, in reality focuses on love affairs. The plot revolves around a crisis which affects almost all protagonists, and the reason for it is, naturally, the lack of money. Each of them tries to commit suicide in an extremely inept manner. As Grażyna Kwiecińska writes, the play's innovative character does not consist so much in placing the stock exchange in the play as in noticing how detached it is from the real and material world.³¹ Broch makes a reference in his play to one of his main themes: the fall of the bourgeois. Against the background of slightly grotesque farce based on love affairs, the writer shows a kind of parallel plot consisting of stock exchange intrigues, speculations on equity using gossip and alleged transactions, falsified promissory notes or dealing in worthless shares. All this, as Maciej Ganczar says, is at the expense of other shareholders. The last element in this chain is the state, which is ready to make a sacrifice (or rescue bankrupts). But also society seems to accept fraud since, as the director of the hotel where the action takes place says: “We always tolerate a few eccentric figures who absorb the guests' fantasies”.

Thus Broch remained, also as a playwright, loyal to his main topics, which include: the breakdown of the European culture, the fall of the bourgeois and the demise of values. But also, as he says in *The Guiltless*, “pushing away any responsibility for one's life”. As well as, let us add teasingly, economics, and all these topics are interwoven with one another into a tangled knot.

³⁰ *City of Man...*, pp. 58, 88.

³¹ G. Kwiecińska, *Hermann Brochs Engagement für die Demokratie, Literatur und Politik*, Ekochem – Agencja Poligraficzno-Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1999.

Conclusion

“Beautiful tradition finished”, he wrote in his poem from the cycle *Voices 1913*. He was looking for something which would allow him and us rebuild the shaken sense of the world’s stability; I suppose it was the belief that, as he said in his essay “Leben ohne Platonische Idee” [Life without the Platonic Idea], reason and freedom are inseparably connected. And life without *kalokagathia*, the Platonic idea, is impossible. In his plays, perhaps with the exception of *Es bleibt alles beim Alten: Schwank mit Musik*, he also remained faithful to this message. This is why in the ending of *The Atonement* he lets women speak, and Old Mother, whose speech crowns the play, says:

we, voices of the future, carry stars,
we call the farthest distance,
we call unity that we feel,
oh, see the divine circle of love.

In conclusion, a seemingly banal truth may be told: the freedom of decision has been always extremely inconvenient for “the great skippers”; the dream of all tyrants is perfectly expressed by the quotation opening these reflections from the opera libretto by Gian Carlo Menotti. An analysis by Broch and his companions from the City of Man ideally complements the penetrating description by Mises. It shows, in an artistic nutshell, the consequences of violating the foundations of free will in the social behaviour of man.

The causes of the crisis may be found, according to Hermann Broch, in the fact that the system of values, with its twofold foundations: religious and philosophical, as well as economic and political, lost its stability. This was accompanied by the disappearance of the sense of freedom in social life for an individual. At the same time the writer sees a threat of “extortion” with regard to stability in social life through different forms of the state’s enslavement of man.

Yet, according to Broch, man’s personal freedom is threatened not so much by the breakdown of the stability of the previous value system (e.g. resulting from external pressures) as by the lack or decay of the sense of connection with this system in an individual; “life without the Platonic idea” turns out to be impossible, in fact. This is due to the “spiritual laziness the result of which is not only disappearance of individual responsibility for anything but also, most importantly, waiting for Messiah to arrive and do something for us.”³² The latter represents all of our voluntary resignations from personal responsibility, both for our deeds and their

³² H. Broch, *Kilka uwag o kiczu i inne eseje*, translation in collaboration, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1998, p. 166 (selection from vol. 9.1–2, and 10.1 Kommentierte Werkausgabe).

consequences [Broch describes this problem in detail in both *The Sleepwalkers* and *The Guiltless*].

At this point, von Mises and Broch meet – they both assign quite an easy task for us – we cannot let ourselves resign from our subjectivity, since as Broch reminds us “freedom and reason are always chained to one another.”³³

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Jakub Z. Lichański

The City of Man i krytyka faszyzmu: perspektywa Hermanna Brocha

Streszczenie

Inicjatywa *The City of Man*, mimo świadomego odniesienia do dzieła Świętego Augustyn *De civitate Dei*, pragnęła, aby po wojnie zbudować system, który zapewniłby wolny i nieskrępowany rozwój ludzkości. Inicjatywę tę podjęli emigranci z Europy i wybitni amerykańscy intelektualiści: wszyscy mieli nadzieję, że urzeczywistniona demokracja w klasycznym greckim znaczeniu tego słowa nie tylko da nam pokój, ale otworzy także perspektywę, która, między innymi, zlikwiduje socjalizm w wersjach faszystowskich i bolszewickich.

Dlaczego jednak artykuł poświęcony tej, dzisiaj nieco zapomnianej inicjatywie, otwieram uwagami na temat Hermanna Brocha, który choć odegrał ważną rolę w pracy tej grupy, był po prostu „jednym z wielu” (dokładnie jeden z siedemnastu członków grupy)? Wynika to z faktu, że jego głos był ważki. Podążam także za sugestiami Paula Michaela Lützelera; trzeba pamiętać, że kwestie poruszone w manifestie wspomnianej grupy, zostały podjęte przez pisarza i filozofa, od początku jego działalności, czyli od debiutu w 1931 roku. Warto przyjrzeć się, jak artysta rozwiązał te same problemy, które następnie „próbował” opisać i zanalizować jako filozof i teoretyk ekonomii.

Słowa kluczowe: *The City of Man*, Hermann Broch, Paul Michael Lützeler, Ludwig von Mises, faszyzm.

The City of Man and the critique of fascism: The perspective of Hermann Broch

Summary

The City of Man initiative, with a conscious reference to Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, wanted to build a system after the First World War that would ensure free and unfettered human development. This initiative was undertaken by emigrants from Europe and eminent American intellectuals: they all hoped that a realized democracy in the classical Greek sense of the word would not only give us peace, but also open a perspective that, among other things, would eliminate socialism in its fascist and Bolshevik variants.

Why do I open, however, an article devoted to this somewhat forgotten initiative with remarks on the subject of Hermann Broch, who, though he played an important role in the work of this group, was simply "one of many" (exactly one of the seventeen members of the group)? This is due to the fact that his voice was weighty. I also follow Paul Michael Lützeler's suggestions; it must be remembered that the issues raised in the manifesto of the aforementioned group were taken up by the writer and philosopher, from the beginning of his activity, i.e. from his debut in 1931. It is worth looking at how the artist solved the same problems, which he then "tried" to describe and analyze as a philosopher and theoretician of economics.

Keywords: *The City of Man*, Hermann Broch, Paul Michael Lützeler, Ludwig von Mises, fascism.

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pendium retoryczne (2012). Author of many papers published in, e.g. “Literatura i Kultura Popularna”, and in the collected volumes of the “Fantastyczność i cudowność” (Zielona Góra, Poznań) and “POPkultura – POPLiteratura” (Uniwersytet Wrocławski) series. One of the authors of the Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik group. Member of the Polish Philosophical Association, Association of the Friends of History, International Society for the History of Rhetoric, editor-in-chief of Forum Artis Rhetoricae.

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Culture in the service of politics. The German question and relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic

The politics of memory in the Polish People's Republic was from the outset characterized by concern about international recognition of the border on the Oder and the Neisse. The politics of memory in the Polish People's Republic was from the outset characterized by concern about international recognition of the border on the Oder and the Neisse. It was not until 1970 that this problem disappeared, as a result of the policy of *détente* pursued by Willy Brandt's government. The most important propaganda activities of the Polish People's Republic in the 1960s undoubtedly revolved around the issue of the border. Their traces may be found in editorial policy and generally in the intellectual climate of those years: it is with reluctance that Poles recall the era of Gomułka, which was characterized by insularity and doctrinarism. Unfortunately, in the field of cultural life for obvious reasons there were no historical treatises or media studies which attempted to make reference to the main trends in the European thought of that time, which dealt with fascism and its traditions, or which developed areas of media theory and culture characterized by reflections on the essence of power. It was in the 1960s that such intellectuals as Derrida, Foucault, Bourdieu, Deleuze, Guattari or Giddens pursued their activities and gained popularity in Europe. The Polish People's Republic, however, saw a proliferation of papers on the imperialist conditionings of fascism.

The historical discourse in the Polish People's Republic was determined by the politics of memory. Attempts were made to account for this problem on the

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European level, often through spontaneous editorial activities which seemed to have entered into relations with the German *Ideologiekritik* of the sixties. *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* by George L. Mosse was translated and published.¹ This French historian addressed the concept of *Volk* in German literature and culture, trying to diagnose fascism by means of notions close to “criticism of ideology”.

The spiritual foundations of the nation include race and a metaphysical impulse. The neo-Romantic spirit-driven attitude is possible only in individuals deeply rooted in the nation [*Volk*]. This rootedness is perceived through the category of a privilege given by the fate. A true community consists of those who live united by the spirit, here Mosse quotes Eugen Diederichs, a well-known publisher and editor of the Weimar Republic.² Diederichs uses the notion of mystical powers which unite the nation, representing a kind of fanatic idealism.³

In the Polish People’s Republic this leads to criticism of the fundamental notions of the European intellectual tradition and all this takes place, ironically, in the spirit of characteristic mystical and fanatic, to cite Mosse, neo-Romantic presentation of the course of history in the Marxist utopia. The birth of fascism is explained through the idea of imperialist expansion and the doctrine of the revolution. Fundamental studies are written on the occupation of Poland by Nazi Germany: *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*⁴ by Czesław Madajczyk published by the Commission for the Prosecution of Hitler’s Crimes in Poland and the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites, the encyclopedia guide *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945*⁵, or *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa lat wojny 1939–1945*⁶ published by the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites, as well as *Zbiór dokumentów polskich i niemieckich z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej Zamojszczyzna – Sonderlaboratorium SS*⁷ edited by the aforementioned Czesław Madajczyk.

1 G.L. Mosse, *Kryzys ideologii niemieckiej. Rodowód intelektualny III Rzeszy*, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1972. The book waited its turn in the queue in the publishing house, which is why it was not published until 1972.

2 Ibidem, p. 83.11

3 Por. E. Diederichs, *Politik des Geistes*, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Jena 1920.

4 Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vol. 2, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1970.

5 *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945*, ed. Cz. Piłichowski, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1979.

6 *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa lat wojny 1939–1945*, ed. Cz. Czubryt-Borkowski, 4th ed., Wydawnictwo Sport i Turystyka, Warszawa 1988.

7 *Zbiór dokumentów polskich i niemieckich z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej Zamojszczyzna – Sonderlaboratorium SS*, ed. Cz. Madajczyk, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1977.

The overriding political principles of the Potsdam Agreement included not allowing any national and socialist activity or propaganda on the territory of Germany, punishing war criminals and removing their associates from public offices as well as enabling the development of democratic ideas. The democratic ideas in question were understood in East and West Germany differently. The criticism of fascism in the Federal Republic of Germany took place through public media discussions, debates on the essence of Germany's political demise, e.g. the aforementioned discussion referred to as *Ideologiekritik*, the activities of Adorno and the Frankfurt School or the movement of 1968. In the German Democratic Republic, in turn, denazification activities consisted in unquestioned accomplishment of directives and guidelines of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Activities directed against the Nazi as criminals were rather forcible and hard-line and they initially seemed to bring good results yet later there was no room for public theoretical discussion, which is seen as ostensible from the perspective of today. Till 1965 as many as 16, 572 people were tracked and sentenced (118 criminals were sentenced to death and 83, 952 of the accused were acquitted).⁸ Moreover, the German Democratic Republic adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and inscribed in its constitution that these crimes are not subject to statutes of limitation. The interest in Nazi crimes among vast masses of the society of the Federal Republic of Germany is illustrated by the example of the camp in Dachau, which was visited by a relatively large number of tourists in the sixties but only 60% of them were Germans.⁹ (in the German Democratic Republic the exhibition entitled 'Auschwitz Children' was visited by over 100, 000 people in just 2 months.) It was until 1979 that Hitler preserved his honorary citizenship on the area of the Federal Republic of Germany Hitler in 150 localities, whereas Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a Lutheran pastor, did not have a street of his name until the late 1970s. Eugeniusz Guz appreciates the efforts of the German Democratic Republic in combating fascism, recalling a fact in 1978 when there was a Nazi prank by a few students in one of the Berlin schools. The answer to the incident consisted in re-issuing the Swiss brochure of 1934 which contained letters to families written by first German anti-fascists sentenced to death. It became, as it is described by Guz, the basic material for meetings of all field Free German Youth organizations often held with the participation of veterans of struggles with fascism. The letters had a circulation of one million copies in *the Neues Deutschland*. Guz argues that "It is doubtful whether anti-fascist publications

8 E. Guz, *Łaba dzieli*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1982, p. 9. In the Federal Republic of Germany only 6, 464 criminals were sentenced till the end of 1979, and only 14 of them were sentenced to death. The overwhelming majority of the accused obtained 'a denazification certificate' or the so-called 'Persilschein' In: *ibidem*, pp. 9, 15.

9 *Mausoleum in Dachau* (without author), *Die Zeit* 1979, 6 April. p. 4.

released in the Federal Republic of Germany in the whole post-war period had in total the same circulation as the letters of anti-fascists” in the German Democratic Republic.¹⁰ Some Polish authors were permanently ironic about the fact of anti-fascist cleansing of the German Democratic Republic and doubted the efficiency of such activities. Henryk Piecuch does so in his sensational novel *W smudze śmierci*.¹¹ He writes about the coup against the communist party members meeting in Szklarska Poręba in 1947 which the French intelligence was planning with the help of *Wehrwolf* members in the following way¹²:

The war was conducted by several million Germans. Yes indeed, several million Germans having at their disposal the most terrible weapon invented by the human kind before the atomic bomb. We were very close to having the bomb as well. There is a great deal of uranium here at our feet. There were some properly prepared plants in the Western Sudetes, scientists were working, they were successful. Are you trying to convince me that a group of people centred around Hitler could have terrorize millions? It was like a drug which captured the whole nation.

‘But in the end these millions understood what they were taking part in.’

‘They understood it late. It wasn’t until we began to get our asses kicked. It was then that anti-fascists began to proliferate. Today you’ll find loads of them. Every other elderly man in the German Democratic Republic is an anti-fascist. That’s ridiculous.’¹³ (own translation)

A freeze in the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany took place after the Berlin wall had been erected on 18 August 1961 and inspections on the border with West Berlin became tighter. In its politics of memory the German Democratic Republic intended to shape, through building socialism, a sense of East German identity as a citizenship in the socialist country of workers and peasants, which was also reflected in the cultural policy. This was also an attempt to go in the direction of some undefined German-German differences visible in the works of many East German authors, such as, for instance, Christy Wolf or Stephan Hermlin. These endeavours were supported by works by theoreticians of literature and culture including Dieter Schlendstedt, Klaus Jarmatz or Klaus Träger. A question remains whether it was possible to preserve this different identity in the face of critical attitude of the majority of major German intellectuals, including those of communist provenance (Wolf

¹⁰ E. Guz, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹¹ An author of sensational novels, including *Portret szpiega*, *Desperat* and *Szpiegowski syndrom*.

¹² Cf. J. Bartosz, *Fanatycy. Werwolf i podziemie zbrojne na Dolnym Śląsku 1945–1948*, Agencja Wydawnicza CB, Warszawa 2012.

¹³ H. Piecuch, *W smudze śmierci*, Studencka Oficyna Wydawnicza ZSP, Warszawa 1989, p. 246.

Biermann). In his book *Łaba dzieli* Eugeniusz Guz notices, citing the newspaper *Welt der Arbeit* (21 December 1978), that the ideological dispute about the identity of the German Democratic Republic does not find understanding in Poland although it is worth acknowledging. As a matter of fact “are there any other ‘new’ people in the German Democratic Republic? Rather not. There are, however, certain differences as compared to the Federal Republic. Both here and there one may see aspirations to welfare, though in the German Democratic Republic human values seem to be more important.”¹⁴ (own translation)

In his book *Za murami Sodomy*¹⁵ Andrzej Szczypiorski undertakes to analyze the mentality of a contemporary German: the main protagonist in his relations with the contemporary world. He may not reconcile with the world and suffers as a result of memories from the past. In the final scene the protagonist of the novel tries to clear his conscience in a conversation with a Security Service officer:

We need silence. There is nothing that burdens this country more than the memory of the past. I’m completely frank. We conducted war. Not always the way it should be. I also took part in this war and also not always the way it should be. Each German of our age has some black mark from those years. What is it that you want? That the whole nation should beat their breasts? This will never happen.¹⁶ (own translation)

It was already in the 1950s that some German literary works were translated in the Polish People’s Republic.¹⁷ The authors from the German Democratic Republic occupy a separate position on this list. The authors of German emigration literature published in the German Democratic Republic were widely read between 1948 and 1956, particularly Willi Bredel, Anna Seghers or Friedrich Wolf but also Lion Feuchtwanger and Arnold Zweig. As many as 34 authors and 54 titles were published in 1951.¹⁸ Typical works of socialist realism absorbed by Polish readers include the cycle *Verwandte und Bekannte. Die Väter, Die Söhne, Die Enkel* by

¹⁴ E. Guz, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁵ A. Szczypiorski, *Za murami Sodomy*, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1963.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

¹⁷ Between 1946–1948 only pre-war re-issues were published, mainly literature for children and youth: the Grimm Brothers and Karl May, as well as the novel *Heidi* by Johanna Spyri. It is worth noting the fact of translating E.M. Remarque’s novel *Arc of Triumph* by Wanda Melcer as *Łuk Triumfalny* in 1947.

¹⁸ E. Połczyńska, C. Załubka, *Bibliografia przekładów z literatury niemieckiej na język polski 1800–1990*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań, vol. 3: 1945–1990, p. 9.

Bredel in the translation of Anna Linke¹⁹, the novel *The Seventh Cross*²⁰ from camp literature, *The Revolt of the Fishermen of Santa Barbara*²¹, a collection of short stories by Anna Seghers or a novel by Bruno Apitz *Naked Among Wolves*, which was published in the translation of Jerzy Rawicz in 1960.²² An important role was played by the critics and reviewers of this literature, including Wilhelm Szewczyk, Jan Koprowski, Witold Wirpsza, Egon Naganowski or Marcei Ranicki, who published over 100 reviews of German-speaking authors in the most popular magazines such as *Twórczość* or *Świat* as well as in *the Trybuna Ludu* between 1951 and 1956. The reception of Brecht's literary output was extremely characteristic of this period in Poland. His *Threepenny novel*²³ was translated by Marcei Tarnowski in 1949 and the play *The Good Person of Szechwan*²⁴ by Włodzimierz Lewik in 1956. Considered an author of the European avant-garde, Brecht became an object of attacks and accusations of formalism in the German Democratic Republic. His play *Mother Courage and Her Children*²⁵ staged in 1952 provoked huge discussions. German literature was popularized thanks to Warsaw publishing houses such as PIW and Czytelnik as well as Wydawnictwo Poznańskie and Wydawnictwo Literackie in Krakow. It is also worth recalling the following publishing houses: MON, Iskry, Nasza Księgarnia or Ossolineum as well as Śląsk. 60 titles by 45 writers were translated in 1957.²⁶ Poets, such as Mieczysław Jastrun, Julian Przyboś or Stanisław Jerzy Lec played an important role in translating lyrical poetry from the German Democratic Republic. As it may be presumed, in the face of the deficiency of the working class culture and demand for the working class literature in the fifties, the Polish People's Republic tried to offer the Polish reader the literature of the German Democratic Republic in its whole. This literature was sponsored by the state, authors were instructed and educated in special writing schools, and there were attempts to transfer this model to Poland yet they failed. After the formation of the German Democratic Republic there was a lot of heated discussion on political, cultural and literary subjects in two magazines, *Kuźnica* and *Odra*. Erwin Axer, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Leon Kruczkowski went to

¹⁹ W. Bredel, *Krewni i znajomi. Ojcowie, Synowie, Wnuki*, PIW, Warszawa 1950 (vol. 1), 1951 (vol. 2), 1955 (vol. 3).

²⁰ A. Seghers, *Siódmy krzyż*, transl. M. Wołczacka, J. Marecka, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1950.

²¹ A. Seghers, *Bunt rybaków i inne opowiadania*, transl. Z. Petersowa, A. Sowiński et al., Czytelnik, Warszawa 1953.

²² B. Apitz, *Nadzy wśród wilków*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1960.

²³ B. Brecht, *Powieść za trzy grosze*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1949.

²⁴ B. Brecht, *Dobry człowiek z Szechuanu*, PIW, Warszawa 1956.

²⁵ The play was translated into Polish in the 1960s. B. Brecht, *Matka Courage i jej dzieci. Kronika wojny trzydziestoletniej*, transl. S.J. Lec, PIW, Warszawa 1967.

²⁶ E. Połczyńska, C. Załubska, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

the fourth Cultural Association Congress to Berlin and the writer Friedrich Wolf became the first ambassador of the German Democratic Republic in Poland. The remaining East German authors published in the 1950s include Eduard Claudius *Menschen an unserer Seite*, Louis Fürnberg *Die Begegnung in Weimar*, Stephan Hermlin *Die Erste Reihe* or Hans Marchwitza with his novel *Die Kumiaks*. Works by Christe Wolf, Johannes Bobrowski, Hermann Kant and Günter Kunert were translated into Polish in the sixties.²⁷ Publishing *Der Aufenthalt*, a novel by Hermann Kant, in 1983²⁸, sparked a discussion in the Polish People's Republic on the topic of the attitude of Poles to German people after World War II, and both the form and the content of the work were criticized. Similar discussion was triggered by the publication of *Patterns of Childhood*, a novel by Christy Wolf.²⁹ Not only the classics were rendered into Polish. The translation of *The Hunt For The Scarface*³⁰ by Julius Mader, the East Berlin author, was published in 1966. In his sensational book Mader describes the escape of Otto Skorzeny, the last leader of the SS intelligent service, from an internment camp in Darmstadt, suggesting that intelligent services helped the Obersturmbannführer to escape, allegedly using the economic, intelligence and smuggling routes to America and Western Europe organized still by Himmler. The book once again supports the thesis advanced in the Polish People's Republic from the 1950s about "imperialist conditionings", or interests of the German heavy industry represented by the fascists. As Julius Mader writes, Adolf Eichmann, the murderer of Jews, regularly received remuneration from the Argentinian Mercedes-Benz factory, a branch of the Flick conglomerate, until he was arrested, whereas Josef Mengele, an Auschwitz doctor, was supported financially by the IG Farben conglomerate.³¹ A similar thing happens to Skorzeny, who flees to Austria after his escape. The inhabitants of Vienna, as Mader writes, read in *the Neuer Kurier* one day that:

Austria's largest nationalized company, the United Austrian Iron and Steelworks (VÖEST), has been employing for years now, as we now find out, Otto Skorzeny, a former prominent SS officer and rescuer of Mussolini, as an ingenious representative of the Austrian steel industry for Spain and South America. Interestingly, this has been kept in secret up till now. The Madrid-based Steinbach company was the official VÖEST representative, but it turned out that Skorzeny is the sole owner of the Steinbach company. It seems that after the war Skorzeny found influential protectors

27 Ibidem.

28 H. Kant, *Pobył*, transl. S. Błaut, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1983.

29 Ch. Wolf, *Wzorce dzieciństwa*, transl. S. Błaut, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1981.

30 J. Mader, *Śladami człowieka z blizną*, transl. W. Piwowarczyk, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1966.

31 Ibidem, p. 152.

abroad but is also looks as if he had them also in Austria. When Skorzeny set up the Steinbach company in Madrid, VÖEst made him its general representative for Spain and South America. This brought Steinbach millions.³² (own translation)

The year 1963 marks the Polish debut of another writer from the German Democratic Republic, Horst Beseler, who gained popularity in the fifties with his volume of short stories *Im Schatten des grossen Jose* and the novel *Im Garten der Königin*, which brought him the Theodor Fontane prize in 1957. It is published in Poland under the title *W ogrodzie królowej* in the translation of Irena Naganowska.³³ The novel is one in an array of books dealing with the Wehrmacht. The topic is discussed in the literature of the ally, the German Democratic Republic, which does not question the existing European borders and is politically correct about the war. The plot of the novel is set in France and the protagonists are Wehrmacht soldiers fighting there. The principles which they believe in are simple at the beginning. Having obtained a gold badge for his wounds received in battle with partisans, heroic Harry Salandt arrives at a conclusion that “Each war is harsh. Some hit, others strike back. That who strikes harder is the winner”³⁴ or “war is not entertainment.”³⁵ (own translation) Harry puts into practice his Hitlerjugend war philosophy, which came down to uncomplicated relations with the world:

Earlier at school or in Hitlerjugend he always believed that it is best to make excuses rather than rebel. He often made excuses and then he was left in peace. His consciousness was trained in such a way that he saw law in authority. Harry was not, in fact, a coward. But things would have to get really far so that he started to defend himself, bursting in an uncontrolled manner.³⁶ (own translation)

Yet, with time, after the death of two brothers of a friend called Eisermann³⁷ and another partisan attack, Harry says: “In those hours even the most stupefied private was paralyzed by fear. A new strong blow was delivered to the sense of superiority of the nation of «masters and commanders». It was delivered by the fist of the legal master of this country. It was invisible, which made it even more terrifying.”³⁸ (own translation)

³² Ibidem, p. 153.

³³ H. Beseler, *W ogrodzie królowej*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1966.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 44.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 107.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 121.

³⁷ An aptronym meaning ‘a man of iron’ (M.O.).

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 200.

The novel ends with an equally simple conclusion formulated by a priest in a conversation with the aforementioned Eisermann: "Murderers must be recognized early enough."³⁹ (own translation)

In October 1959 a book on a similar topic was published in Warsaw. The author is Richard Gross, another writer from the German Democratic Republic,⁴⁰ and the title of the novel is *Die Flucht*.⁴¹ The protagonist named Rett⁴² reflects on soldier life, which sums up the state of mind of many German soldiers who are fighting and dying in the unfair war:

'Was my struggle something wrong?', Rett ponders, 'Why is the same struggle of the opponent, the enemy, not essentially wrong? Why is it murder if a German kills the enemy but it is a praiseworthy deed if a German is murdered? (...) Are heroes these two small soldiers who do not always shoot just because their armies are struggling on the streets of Berlin? How could a German question the news spread by his own government? Even if it was impossible to verify it? Wasn't he supposed to believe when he didn't lack bread or home? Somebody whose stomach is full does not oppose his government! Was there anyone who said this and this when it was necessary, and this is precisely what the danger of war has in store? Somebody who would scream that this war is wrong, murderous, that it is a barbaric attack, a figment of insane imagination?'⁴³ (own translation)

Another military novel by Dieter Noll, a popular East German novelist, entitled *Die Abenteuer des Werner Holt*⁴⁴, was published a few times in the Polish People's Republic. Fritz Erpenbeck is a writer from the German Democratic Republic whose name is known in the circles of theatre theoreticians as he participated in the discussion on Brecht who was accused of formalism. In the early 1950s Fritz Erpenbeck was known in Poland for his ideologizing novel *Gründer*.⁴⁵ With time he abandons political subjects for the benefit of detective literature. In his detective novel *Der Fall Fatima* published in Poland in 1973, the protagonist, lieutenant Becker, belongs to the party and the main accused is an artist, a Bronto, whose

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 346.

⁴⁰ Born in Królewiec in 1921, he emigrates from West to East Germany and devotes his life to writing.

⁴¹ R. Gross, *Ucieczka*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1959.

⁴² An aptronym evoking associations with the word "rat" or "Ratte" in German (M.O.).

⁴³ R. Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁴⁴ D. Noll, *Przygody Wenera Holta*, cz. 1: *Historia pewnej młodości*, MON, Warszawa 1962; D. Noll, *Przygody Wenera Holta*, cz. 2: *Historia pewnego powrotu*, MON, Warszawa 1966; both parts were published together in the same publishing house in 1968.

⁴⁵ F. Erpenbeck, *Spekulanci*, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1950.

name evokes associations with Brecht.⁴⁶ Also other valuable books of less known authors from the German Democratic Republic were translated and published, such as *Franziska Linkerhand*, a novel by Brigitte Reimann.⁴⁷

Works devoted to the German Democratic Republic are written in numerous research institutions of the Polish People's Republic during the whole period of its existence. Numerous analyses are conducted by the Polish Institute of International Affairs, the Silesian Scientific Institute, the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Western Affairs in Poznan. The topic becomes the subject of works of Polish specialists in German literature, such as literary analyses in the book entitled *Profilę Współczesności* by Norbert Honsza, Zbigniew Świątłowski and Bernard Wengerek.⁴⁸ In the 1980s there is an attempt to sum up Polish and German relations in a work entitled *RFN i NRD wobec problemu niemieckiego (1949–1982)*. This is a collection of papers departing from the simple thesis that there is the so-called “German question” in the relations of the Polish People's Republic with other countries. In chapter one entitled *Postawienie problemu* [Presentation of the problem] we may read that:

At the core of the German question, colloquially understood as a threat to European safety, lies historically justified and constantly recurring fear of the Germans. In 1965 General Charles de Gaulle, the President of France, showing the broader context of these fears said, among other things: “(...) since time immemorial German people experience anxiety, and sometimes they fall into a passion because they are not certain themselves what their borders are, they do not have certainty over their unity, their political system and their international, as a result of which their future continues to bother the whole continent, and especially so as it is still in question”.⁴⁹ (own translation)

The German question, as the writers put it: “continues to doom international affairs and makes an impression as if there was some insurmountable discrepancy between German interests and interests of its neighbours.”⁵⁰ (own translation) The volume deals with the origins of shaping the German state during the

⁴⁶ F. Erpenbeck, *Sprawa Fatimy*, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1973.

⁴⁷ B. Reimann, *Franciszka Linkerhand*, Czytelnik, Warszawa 1978. Brigitte Reiman is the laureatte of the East German Heinrich Manna prize. The novel was published after the author's death in 1973.

⁴⁸ N. Honsza, Z. Świątłowski, B. Wengerek, *Profilę współczesności. Literatura NRD*, Wydawnictwo Śląsk, Katowice 1979.

⁴⁹ *RFN i NRD wobec problemu niemieckiego (1949–1982)*, ed. G. Bożek, Śląski Instytut Naukowy, Katowice 1987, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

period of partitions when “a hegemonistic model based on violence or a threat that violence will be used was imposed initially on Germany’s neighbours in the south and east and then almost the whole continent.”⁵¹ (own translation) The essence of the problem of contemporary Germany is perceived as an issue of international coexistence whose contradiction resides in the discrepancy between being a nation state (*Nationalstaat*) and a nation existing in a certain form of unified state (*Staatsnation*). The editorial board of the volume states in the introduction that:

for the last forty years the Soviet Union, Western powers, NATO and the Warsaw Pact are not in agreement about the revival of Germany as a homogenous, democratic and peace-keeping nation state. The evolution of the aforementioned German question is therefore discussed in the volume “W świetle koncepcji politycznych i praktycznych działań RFN oraz NRD podejmowanych w latach 1949–1982” [in the light of political concepts and practical activities undertaken by the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic between 1949 and 1982]⁵² (own translation)

There is also no agreement concerning the issue of overcoming the contradiction between *Nationalstaat* and *Staatsnation* as well as the possibility of restoring state unity. The authors are aware that the German question represents a subject of rivalry between the Eastern and Western blocs about the future shape of the continent. This also results from the excessive growth in economic potential of both German states and their roles in their political and military blocs. The survey conducted by a magazine called *Capital* in 1975 shows, according to the authors of *RFN and NRD wobec problemu niemieckiego*, that 52% of French people, 48% of Italians, 47% of Swedish people, 46% of the Dutch, 42% of the Greeks, 41% of the Americans were strongly against the peaceful reunification of West and East Germany.⁵³ In the introduction the authors quote the theoretical works by M. Malinowski and J. Wiatr⁵⁴ only to arrive at the following conclusion:

Those interpretators who used well-known fragments of *The Communist Manifesto* on the thesis that workers have no country as an argument for the concept of ‘two

51 Ibidem, p. 8.

52 Ibidem, p. 9

53 Ibidem, p. 18.

54 M. Malinowski, “Kilka uwag na temat ujmowania kwestii internacjonalizmu i patriotyzmu przez Lenina”, [in:] *Współczesny kształt patriotyzmu i internacjonalizmu*, ed. J. Kantyka, Warszawa 1976; J.J. Wiatr, *Naród i państwo. Socjologiczne problemy kwestii narodowej*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1973.

states and nations' should be reminded of the truth that the fact that the proletariat has its state as part of the nation before it manages to win power for itself is not the same as an undocumented thesis that there is nothing like nation as a homogenous whole in a class state. It is the proletariat that is national but not in the bourgeois sense, argues J. Wiatr, commenting the standpoint of Vladimir Lenin who condemned nationalism. It is typical that the authors of the publication confirm the thought that the idea of the nation may be found among proletariat masses: "Patriotism was formed together with the nation in the conditions of division of the society into hostile classes and it never existed in the abstract nation-wide form".⁵⁵ (own translation)

This shows the appreciation of the idea of the national path to communism in the political thought of the Polish People's Republic. The authors stress the research by J. Chlebowczyk *Procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu*, claiming that transformations in the consciousness bursting the proletariat's hermetic attitude opened the opportunities for vertical, or national, integration. Then the proletarian masses began to understand and accept the nation's historical continuity.⁵⁶ The belief of J. Chałasiński⁵⁷ is also cited about folk dimensions melting into the national culture and their nationalization.⁵⁸ On the basis of the discussion on Marxist dogmas the volume attempts to assess the development perspective of the reunification of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and development of the situation in mutual relations between these two countries.⁵⁹

The tone of discussion on the German Democratic Republic in the Polish People's Republic is well reflected in the works included in the publication entitled *PRL-NRD. Sojusz i współpraca*, written to mark 30 years of the Polish People's Republic and 25 years of the German Democratic Republic and published by the Editorial Board under the supervision of Jerzy Sułek and Werner Hänisch.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁵ J.J. Wiatr, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁵⁶ M. Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ J. Chlebowczyk, *Kultura i naród. Studia i szkice*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1968.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁹ It is worth realizing that the propaganda of the German Democratic Republic did not acknowledge the notion of German nationality and was striving to come up with 'East German nationality' as the aim of national and ideological identity within the communist movement. Cf. "Kształtowanie się zachodnio- i wschodniemieckiej świadomości narodowej", [in:] *RFN i NRD...*, p. 254.

⁶⁰ J. Sułek, W. Hänisch, *PRL - NRD. Sojusz i współpraca*, the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs, Staatsverlag der DDR, Warszawa 1974, with a preface by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic Stanisław Trepczyński and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Herbert Krolkowski.

issue of the existence of the German Democratic Republic is raised in the categories of strengthening the unity and solidarity of socialist countries within the alliance with the Soviet Union and the collaboration of the Polish United Workers' Party with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as the foundation for shaping mutual relations. The authors of the Polish People's Republic continue reminding in their publications that the Potsdam Agreement forms basis for the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic. It is also the case with these treaties which the German Democratic Republic signed as an independent state. This is what is said in the publication by Sułek and Hänisch. The settlement of the border issues between the two countries is believed to have been the most important treaty. The agreement on the border on the Oder and the Neisse of 6 July 1950 is of key importance. The Polish People's Republic recognizes the provisional government of the German Democratic Republic in the agreement of 18 October 1949 as a natural consequence of this agreement (previous statement by Otto Grotewohl of 12 October 1949). Consequently, the recognition of the Polish Western border has a considerable impact on the way the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic were shaped. This is also a reason for maintaining constant international relations with the German Democratic Republic by Władysław Gomułka. In the context of tense relations with the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s the German Democratic Republic was a guarantor of stability of Polish borders. We may read in the publication that:

Signing the treaty (of 6 July 1950) was a testimony of social and political transformations in the German Democratic Republic, and an essential turnaround in the foreign policy of the German state located east of the Laba River being the function of these transformations. The preamble to the treaty stressed that cooperation between the Polish nation and the German nation was possible due to a complete defeat of German fascism by the Soviet Union and development of democratic forces in Germany. It pointed to the responsibility of Hitlerism for the tragic experiences of World War II and referred to the treaty alone as a foundation of amicable and good neighbourly relations between the Polish nation and the German nation as well as a prerequisite for stabilization and strengthening of mutual relations "on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement setting borders on the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse."⁶¹ (own translation)

The publication discusses not only the vast economic as well as technical and scientific collaboration with the German Democratic Republic but also cooperation in culture. One guideline in this field is Brezhnev's report at the Congress of the

⁶¹ Ibidem, p. 62.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1971 on “a cohesive and strong family, in which the people of the world will see the prototype of the future world community of free peoples”⁶². The cultural policy naturally highlights the class character of culture and art and its basis is formed by

the more and more dynamic process of rapprochement in understanding the basic aims and principles as well as the social function of culture and art. (...) The chauvinist ideology of German imperialism led, according to Brezhnev, to ignoring the cultural accomplishments of the Polish nation through continual attempts to negate them or even the Hitlerian policy of genocide. The greatest historical strengths of both countries’ working class include initiation and perseverant continuation of the process of overcoming this overwhelming legacy of the past.⁶³
(own translation)

In addition, it is worth mentioning the journalistic cooperation between the Polish People’s Republic and the German Democratic Republic. Decisions were made with regard to intensifying the cooperation between editorial boards of partner magazines so as to boost the efficiency and propaganda impact of mass press. The GDR Union of Journalists (VDJ) makes an assessment of contact between editorial boards in April 1973. It shows that under the agreement between the Polish Journalists *Association* (SDP) and the GDR Union of Journalists (VDJ) of 28 July 1972, 46 newspapers and magazines from the German Democratic Republic entered into collaboration with 50 titles in the Polish People’s Republic in the early 1970s. East German journalists stressed that “the news from the Polish People’s Republic occupies one of the major places in all mass media in the German Democratic Republic, following news reports from the Soviet Union. The same may be said with regard to information from the German Democratic Republic in Poland.”⁶⁴ There was close collaboration between many institutions from the Polish People’s Republic and the German Democratic Republic at that time. Cooperation was established by party organizations, universities, the Polish Writers’ Union and the Writers’ Union of the German Democratic Republic. The share of East German literature in the mass culture of the Polish People’s Republic was relatively high.

Józef Fiszer’s publication entitled *Niemiecka Republika Demokratyczna 1945–1949* from 1984 includes and copies almost *verbatim* all the dogmas of initiating mutual relations between the Polish People’s Republic and the German Democratic

⁶² L.I. Brezhnev, *Otoczony dokłada CK KPSS XXIV Sjezdu KPSS*, Moskwa 1971, p. 16., as cited in J. Sufek, W. Hänisch, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, pp. 159–160.

⁶⁴ J. Sufek, W. Hänisch, p. 188.

Republic. Also for Fiszer “the destructive role of the German question”⁶⁵ is decisive for the evaluation of the position of Germany in Europe. This involves a necessity of shaping the situation in the post-war world in such a way that Germany will lose the capability to wreak a new war. That is a prerequisite for permanent peace. Christian democratic governments, according to Fiszer, have been putting forward a thesis for many years that Germany will not represent any threat to the peace in Europe if nationalistic desiderata of restoring the fully sovereign Reich within the boundaries of 1937 are fulfilled.⁶⁶ Fiszer stresses that:

The division of Germany into two countries represents now a permanent element of Europe’s political and economic structure, with implications going beyond our continent. Each of them is a sovereign subject of international law and international relations and an important element of the social and political system whose member it is.⁶⁷ (own translation)

One thesis is often regurgitated in the context of giving rise to the German Democratic Republic, saying that three Western powers are responsible for breaking the unity of the German nation and state as a result of abandoning the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement and giving rise to the Federal Republic of Germany.⁶⁸ As Fiszer argues, the rise of the German Democratic Republic was just another element of the progressing revolutionary process on the European continent.⁶⁹ The author fails to see the complexity of the process of social transformations in the German Democratic Republic, writing from the characteristic propaganda perspective represented by the Polish People’s Republic, e.g. about the agricultural reform, or depriving East German peasants of land. This difficult process riddled with crisis situations and personal tragedies was depicted in the literature of the German Democratic Republic e.g. in the novel *Ole Bienkop* by Erwin Strittmatter. Fiszer, in turn, writes:

65 J. Fiszer, *Niemiecka Republika Demokratyczna 1945–1949*, Instytut Krajów Socjalistycznych PAN, Warszawa 1984.

66 *Ibidem*, p. 5.

67 *Ibidem*.

68 This is exactly what Fiszer does: “The process of giving rise to the separatist West German state was not stopped by either the Soviet–American compromise on West Berlin reached on 4 May 1949 or the conference of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs convened in Paris as a result of the above in order to discuss the German issues which was held between 23 May and 20 June 1949” (own translation), *op. cit.*, p. 104.

69 *Ibidem*, p. 8.

Political life revived in the course of preparations for the agricultural reform and its accomplishment in the Soviet occupation zone. The Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) kept growing, the cooperation between these two parties and radical peasant organizations became tighter. (...) The Soviet Military Administration and Red Army soldiers contributed greatly to the efficient accomplishment of the agricultural reform, ensuring safety to parcellation commissions (...).⁷⁰ (own translation)

The rise of the two German states is associated in the Polish People's Republic with the notion of the cold war. It is treated by states of the Eastern Bloc unequivocally as the policy "from the position of strength" by imperialist world powers closely connected with military pacts, political sabotage and economic discrimination aimed at "hampering the revolutionary processes of our epoch." (own translation)⁷¹ In this context the propaganda of the Polish People's Republic uses the term of "the struggle for Germany". Western European countries wished to include the potential of Germany into the western orbit and make it an anti-communist bastion in Europe whereas the Soviet Union was striving, as it is claimed by political scientists in the Polish People's Republic, to regulate the issue of Germany after the war in order to prevent "the revival of German imperialism, ensure safety and people in Europe." (own translation)⁷² The national thought appears in the context of reflection of the German states as stressing the endeavours of communists from the German Democratic Republic to improve the theory of Marxism-Leninism through giving rise to a county without a defined national identity – creating "DDR-Bürgerschaft" or East German citizenship.⁷³ In the context of reflections on the essence of the national ideology with regard to the Federal Republic of Germany, referred to as the German Federal Republic till the treaty of 1970, "revisionism", "nationalism" and "conservatism" are referred to as phenomena which are ideologically hostile. The propaganda of the Polish People's Republic unanimously places them at the other end of the spectrum, creating a division into WE and THEY. Anna Wolff-Powęski's work, *Polityczne i filozoficzne nurty konserwatyzmu w Republice Federalnej Niemiec*,⁷⁴ is devoted to conservatism. According to Wolff-Powęski, conservatism voices the need for

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 68.

⁷¹ R. Frelek, *Historia zimnej wojny*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1971.

⁷² Ibidem, p. 43.

⁷³ Cf. H. Wuttke, *RFN i NRD wobec problemu niemieckiego (1949–1982)*, chapter: *Koncepcja socjalistycznego narodu niemieckiego na tle normalizacji stosunków z RFN w latach 1970–1982*, Śląski Instytut Naukowy, Katowice 1987, pp. 167–218.

⁷⁴ A. Wolff-Powęska, *Polityczne i filozoficzne nurty konserwatyzmu w Republice Federalnej Niemiec*, Instytut Zachodni, Poznań 1984.

and sense of order and social relations based on private ownership of production means, as for the historical perspective it advocates a selective attitude to the past in which it accounts for imminence of certain changes and consequently accepts only the recognized elements of it, it assumes in the social sphere that society is an organic and hierarchical structure in natural development, is it for the strong state of authority and it trusts such institutions as monarchy or church.⁷⁵ The political situation after world War II changed the landscape of German conservatism, the author writes. Fascism and its legacy permanently transformed the nation's mentality and forced conservatism to evolve. It is best manifested in political programmes of Christian democracy which manager to "break through the traditional division into Catholics and Protestants and unite them in one political force."⁷⁶ This gave rise to new "Christian democratic" conservatism which tries to win public opinion with such issues as noise in urban agglomerations, protection of the natural environment, protection of man in the era of scientific and technological revolution or the issue of the German nation, social policy or the dialogue between the East and the West. The focus of this political programme also consists in the problem of spiritual and moral revival of aesthetic and religious forms.⁷⁷ The author tries to unambiguously diagnose the attitude of conservatism in Germany:

The situation of post-war Germany only created seemingly unfavourable climate for the restoration of conservative ideology and policy. Hostile and critical attitudes towards nazism were commonly considered synonymous with the option for democracy. The directions of Christian and democratic thought paved their way the label of declared distance towards fascism. Supported by conservative circles they acted as the ideological back-up of anti-communism.⁷⁸

The book, written after signing the treaty on the normalization of relations and accepting the borders on the Oder and the Neisse by the government of Willy Brandt, highlights the anxiety which appeared in Germany at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s. "Fears arose with regard to the durability of the economic and social system"⁷⁹ (own translation). It seems that the propaganda of the Polish People's

⁷⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

⁷⁷ As the author writes, *Neues Abendland*, a conservative German magazine comes into being already in 1946. The first issue includes declarations concerning the reconstruction of conservatism in Germany to protect the endangered unity of Christian culture in Germany. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 18.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

Republic deliberately stressed fears of politicians from the Federal Republic of Germany concerning democratization of life as a threat of revolution and anarchy. The author quotes Ludwig Erhard, who is in favour of law and order in the face of the anxieties:

Anyone who really wants to protect democracy and strengthen it from the inside should come up with something better than democratization as a means of recovery. (...) Anyone who wants to oppose the developing collectivist forms of life must oppose the state intervening into private life and reject the centrally planned policy.⁸⁰ (own translation)

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⁸⁰ L.E. Erhard, "Demokratie heißt Freiheit, Recht und Ordnung", [in:] *Grenzen der Demokratie? Probleme und Konsequenzen der Demokratisierung von Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, eds. von L. Erhard, K. Bruess, B. Hagemeyer, Econ-Verlag, Düsseldorf–Wien 1973, pp. 24–25, as cited in A. Wolf-Powęska, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

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Marek Ostrowski

Kultura w służbie polityki. Problem niemiecki a relacje NRD – PRL

Streszczenie

Z przyczyn polityczno-strategicznych jednym z głównych partnerów PRL, wobec którego jest w stanie realizować wytyczne swej polityki w wymiarze kulturowym jest NRD. Następuje intensywne wymiana kulturalna między tymi krajami. Na podstawie strategii wydawnictw PRL publikujących niemal każdy utwór literacki napisany przez pisarzy NRD można by sądzić, że kultury obu krajów rozwijają się równolegle. Jest to jednak oczywisty wytwór propagandowy.

Słowa kluczowe: Polityka kulturalna, stosunki NRD – PRL, propaganda, literatura.

Culture in the service of politics The German question and relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic

Summary

The politics of memory and culture of the Polish People's Republic alludes to Ideologiekritik in its idiosyncratic way characterized by Marxist utopianism. In reality, this leads to reversing this theory. The causes of fascism are seen in "German imperialism". For political and strategic reasons the German Democratic Republic becomes one of the main partners of the Polish People's Republic, with regard to which it is capable of accomplishing the guidelines of its policy in the cultural dimension. This is accompanied by an intensive cultural exchange between the two countries. In the language of official politics manifested, for instance, in the strategy of publishing houses of the Polish People's Republic the culture of the two countries develop in a parallel fashion, which is an obvious product of the propaganda.

Keywords: Cultural policy, GDR – Polish People Republic relations, propaganda, literature studies.

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Henryk Sienkiewicz's output and literary censorship in the DDR

As one could discover, based on the DDR censorship documents stored in German archives, one of the first attempts at publishing Henryk Sienkiewicz's works in the still relatively young East German state was undertaken by the Neues Leben publishing house. It began its operations in 1946 and was one of the first publishing houses created by the new state authorities. Formally, it was part of the Free German Youth (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*) organisation, and from its very beginning it was associated with major communist activists, e.g. Erich Honecker, from 1971 the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) who later became the chairman of the FDJ. The political and propaganda profile of the publishing house and its social-educational functions were clear. Paradoxically, though, such a strong position in the DDR's publishing environment did not actually guarantee an easy path to publication for the respectable and widely read work *W pustyni i w puszczy* by Henryk Sienkiewicz. On the contrary, the experiences of Neues Leben editors who prepared the most widely read young adult novel by one of the best known (in the 19th century!) Polish writers could offer a classic example of censorship in a socialist state.

When, by the end of 1955, the publishing house's employees were developing the publishing plan for the following calendar year and included Sienkiewicz's novel in it, they probably did not suspect that their efforts to familiarise young East German readers with the courageous character of Staś Tarkowski and his lovable companion Nelly Rawlison would face such obstacles put in place by officers who yielded the power of ideological and political censorship. The story of *W pustyni i w puszczy* and the East German censors could be considered as a model example of that.

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However, its model nature was not determined by the ever-extending publishing procedure or the attempts by the publishing house to acquire publication permits, or even the excessive complexities of those procedures. The publication procedure, in that case, was short. It took under 6 weeks, from 20 December 1955 (when the publishing house submitted to the censorship office an application for a print permit) to 1 February 1956 (the final decision of the office).¹ The model nature of the story consisted in the fact that the publishing house's internal reviewer, who as per the assumptions of the DDR's censorship system was the initial censor, presented a completely different opinion from that offered by the reviewer of the ministry of culture, i.e. a censorship officer. Since the decision of the internal reviewer was decisive, Sienkiewicz's novel was removed from the production plan of the publishing house for 1956.

The editorial board of the publishing house, which submitted titles for the procedure of issuing a print permit, had to fill out a specific form, which changed over the years. The form valid in the mid-1950s included a box for a short description of the content of the book being submitted (*Kurze Inhalts-Charakteristik*). In the case of *W pustyni i w puszczy*, the editorial board of the Neues Leben publishing house included the following remarks in the box:

During the Mahdist War in Sudan, Staś and Nell were kidnapped and held hostage. After many unsuccessful attempts, the boy and the persons under his care manage to escape and return to their parents. Apart from Staś's moving love for his little companion and the friendship between man and animal, the book includes rich descriptions of the African plant and animal worlds.²

Apparently, the publishing house expected a good level of sales of the book as they applied for 20,000 copies. The publishing house's reviewer noticed in Sienkiewicz's work certain "ideological flaws", yet he failed to discuss these in his evaluation of the novel. One could even conclude that he intentionally, out of caution, included that remark in the final paragraph of his evaluation. Such a structure of the review fulfilled, clearly, two functions. On the one hand, it was supposed to protect the reviewer against any possible accusations of overlooking the novel's ideological problems. On the other, though, the fact that he included the line "which force one to turn a blind eye to the ideological flaws"³ in a paragraph in which he mentioned only the positive aspects of the novel cannot be interpreted other than as intended

1 Vide: BArch, DR 1/5077, Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Durch Wildnis und Wüste*, Verlag Neues Leben, Berlin 1956, Druckgenehmigungsbogen, k. 127–128.

2 Ibidem, k. 128 [unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

3 Ibidem, Verlagsgutachten dated 17.12.1955, k. 134.

to draw the censors attention to the novel's positive aspects. It is hard to resist the feeling that the closing paragraph of the internal review entitled "Evaluation" stemmed from the publishing house's tactic or, at least, attempt at avoiding any possible difficulties in publishing the planned titles:

The presentation of the boy Staś is wonderful and humanly touching. He is a protagonist who will become a role model for every young person. His courage, persistence and readiness to make sacrifices are admirable. It is moving how delicately and movingly the author presented with much skill the boy's love and his sense of duty all the way until giving himself up. Such a presentation (of the character) includes grand and wonderful human values of the work, which undoubtedly, **force one to turn a blind eye to the ideological flaws** [emphasis – M.R.] Furthermore, the book becomes exceptionally valuable thanks to its vivid presentation of the plant and animal life of Central Africa. The continent, the desert, wild areas, the jungle, and the animals that live there are not only the backdrop for, but rather a part of, the narrative. They participate as a major factor in the storyline and they make their impression on it. That is not only because the descriptions are extremely vivid and visual, but also because [the novel] also teaches readers something and evokes in them compelling and strong emotions, especially regarding the continent, the people, the animals and the climate of a distant part of the Earth. The structure of individual scenes is extremely fascinating and makes a huge impact. The entire narrative is based on tension which takes your breath away. We highly recommend the book.⁴

Nothing indicated that the external reviewer from the censorship office read the internal review quoted above. When reading his opinion, one could rather conclude that a different work of literature was being reviewed, or that in his review he followed completely different criteria.⁵ The external reviewer did admire the "author's fable fantasy" and his empathy for alien nature, and he evaluated the novel itself as "engaging" and "interesting", despite considering it one of "the worse works by the author."

There were two main points where both reviews, of the publishing house and of the censorship office, differed considerably and arrived at divergent evaluations of the text. The first one was the general message of the novel or the "ideological concept", if one was to follow the wording of the external reviewer, while the other was the world of the characters and the features of character of the protagonists, mainly Staś Tarkowski, central for the narrative, who came from Poland. The internal reviewer saw *W pustyni i w puszczy* exclusively as an interesting adventure novel, which offered, in an attractive manner, knowledge on the geography of Africa,

4 Ibidem.

5 Ibidem, Außengutachten dated 3.01.1956, k. 130–132.

and was able to charm young readers with such values as prowess, relentlessness, the ability to make sacrifices, a sense of duty, etc. However, the novel's political-historical background, i.e. the Mahdist War in Sudan in 1881–1885 and the related circumstances, which were almost entirely omitted from the review, constituted a major starting point for the discussion by the external reviewer. In the first paragraph of his three-page-long review, he made the following remarks:

The ideological concept of the work includes support for the colonial system. Generally speaking, the novel could be summarised as: the English colonial authorities are good, the population of Sudan are a wild mob, Negroes in the south are pitiful creatures who should, first and foremost, be baptised and “civilised.”⁶

Regardless of whether the thesis of the apotheosis in Sienkiewicz's novel of English or European colonial dominance in Africa could be justified, the external reviewer made it the central element of his evaluation. He did not condemn the alleged apotheosis of the colonial system in itself, but he assumed the novel might have influenced contemporary DDR readers, and, even if it was not expressed in the review explicitly, he contrasted it with the Marxist–Leninist world view. To prove his argument, he included the following short quotation in his review:

The final page concluding the book presents the following image of a colonial idyll: “Staś finds out there that Kali (the native) remains in very good health; under English protection, he governs the entire country south of Lake Rudolf, and he has brought missionaries to the country, who spread Christianity among the native tribes.” By the end of the 19th century, when the novel was written, the understanding of the essence of colonialism was, of course, limited. Yet in the case of such a major matter, that cannot be taken into consideration.⁷

The external reviewer accused the author of not describing the Sudanese uprising as a mutiny against the oppression of the English, but rather as a rebellious attempt at destroying the existing order without considering, apart from some minor critical allusions, the cruel methods of their colonial rule.

The other point at which the two reviews diverged, applied to the novel's protagonist: Staś Tarkowski. The internal reviewer described him as a character who “will remain in the memory of every young person as a role model.”⁸ The external reviewer described Staś thus:

⁶ Ibidem, k. 130.

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Ibidem, Verlagsgutachten of 17.12.1955, k. 134.

In his contacts with the native people of southern Sudan, the character of young Staś embodies not only positive qualities, but also the **racial arrogance** [emphasis – M.R.] of white masters. Staś behaves like a **little coloniser** [emphasis – M.R.], visiting his “lands” (326). The fourteen-year-old boy makes Kali, the native, feel his complete superiority as a “white master” (252). He continuously emphasises that “white people from Europe always keep their word” (66, 100). “White people do not murder prisoners” (395).⁹

As one could infer from the external review, Staś’s “wayward” arrogant attitude was supposed to be reason enough to prevent the novel from being published. The external reviewer, serving the role of a representative of the state’s cultural policy, saw a problem in publishing it within a broader political context, i.e. in relation to the political situation in the world at that time and the attitude of the DDR towards the issue of colonialism. Using that context, he also objected to Staś Tarkowski serving as a role model for the youth of his country:

Despite all his wonderful skills, the protagonist Staś cannot be a role model for our youth, not to mention the fact that many of his heroic deeds are too incredible. The publication of the manuscript would stand in extreme conflict with the current situation in the world and our position on the issue of colonialism.¹⁰

The external reviewer’s opinion was decisive for the decision regarding the print permit. The decision was made to temporarily withdraw the title. To fill the gap in the production plan for 1956, the Neues Leben publishing house decided, upon consulting the Office of Literature and Publishing Houses, to re-issue the novel *Der Kellerschlüssel* by Karl Veken. According to a 1975 list by the Ministry of Culture of the DDR entitled “Polish fiction from 1945 in the DDR”, Henryk Sienkiewicz’s novel *W pustyni i w puszczy* had never been published.¹¹

The Poznań June events of 1956 and Władysław Gomułka’s rise to power caused in Poland some loosening of political, social and cultural life. As a result of the period of the “Thaw” which lasted for some time, there emerged on the publishing market many publications which could not have been published earlier for ideological reasons. In an effort to protect their society against the alleged negative ideological influence from Poland, East German authorities restricted contacts between authors from the two countries and cultural exchange considerably. In the publishing market that was visible in that there were far fewer translations

⁹ Ibidem, Außengutachten of 3.01.1956, k. 131–132.

¹⁰ Ibid., k. 132.

¹¹ Vide: BArch, DR 1/7145, Polnische Belletristik erschienen seit 1945 auf dem Gebiet der DDR, without page.

of Polish literature. The situation lasted for a few years, and it finally changed for the better in 1963. However, since, officially, both countries remained in brotherly relations and, formally, it was necessary to indicate the results of their cultural cooperation, East German publishing houses used the trick of printing classical Polish literature.

By the end of the 1950s, two publishing houses had undertaken to publish anthologies of Polish prose works from the 19th century: the Berlin-based Aufbau-Verlag publishing house, the best-known publisher of *belles lettres* in East Germany, and the Weimar-based Volksverlag publishing house. Both houses were created in 1945 and thus belonged to the group of the oldest publishing houses which operated in the DDR. The priorities within their operations included not only the publication of classical and contemporary German literature, but also familiarising East German readers with world literary heritage.

The Aufbau-Verlag publishing house planned a publication in 1958 and applied to the Ministry of Culture of the DDR for a print permit. The volume being prepared included works by: Adolf Dygasiński (*Bracia Tatory*), Eliza Orzeszkowa (*Obrazek z lat głodowych, Tadeusz, Dobra pani*), Maria Konopnicka (*Mendel Gdański, Miłosierdzie gminy*), Bolesław Prus (*Powracająca fala, Antek*), Aleksander Świętochowski (*Chawa Rubin*), and Henryk Sienkiewicz (*Janko Muzykant, Latarnik, and Szkice węglem*). Sienkiewicz's novella *Janko Muzykant* was included in the planned publication with a German translation of the title shortened by the name of the protagonist (*Der Spielmann*), yet, as the surviving documentation indicates, the editors intended for the novella to occupy a special place within the anthology. Initially, it was planned to be published under the title *Der Spielmann. Polnische Meistererzählungen*, or at least that was the title the publishing house included in the application for the print permit filed with the Ministry of Culture.¹² The anthology was eventually published under the slightly shorter title of *Polnische Meistererzählungen*, but not in 1958, as had been planned, but a year later.¹³

The short stories by Henryk Sienkiewicz intended to be published in the anthology and submitted for review did not include, according to authorised officers, any fragments which should be changed or deleted. The internal reviewer included in his opinion a short summary of the stories of all three works by Sienkiewicz and only in the case of *Szkice węglem* did he add a commentary which positive under the DDR's cultural policy. He applauded the fact that in his work Sienkiewicz applied fierce criticism to the backward interpersonal relations which had existed in the 19th century countryside, and were manifested in the fact that peasants had no rights and, as a result of their ignorance, they were at the mercy

¹² Vide: BArch, DR 1/5126a, *Der Spielmann. Polnische Meistererzählungen*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin 1958, Druckgenehmigungsbogen, k. 332.

¹³ Vide *Polnische Meistererzählungen*, K. Harrer, H. Loppe, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin 1959.

of the representatives of the educated: officers, authorities or the gentry.¹⁴ The external reviewer who received the anthology's manuscript for review also did not notice in Sienkiewicz's short stories any content, just as in the case of all the other works included in the anthology, which could have exerted an adverse influence on East German readers.¹⁵

The censorship office at the Ministry of Culture issued the print permit for *Polnische Meistererzählungen* on 16 April 1958. Three months later, the afterword by Wolfgang Grycz, once verified, was also released for printing.¹⁶

A similar anthology of Polish prose was prepared a little later by the Weimar-based Volksverlag publishing house. It was developed in cooperation with Polish literary scholars from the University of Warsaw: Prof. Jan Zygmunt Jakubowski wrote the foreword and Anna Milska, Ph.D., prepared bio-sketches. According to the publisher, that was supposed to facilitate East German readers' understanding of the individual works included in the anthology. The publishing house planned to publish it in 1959 and submitted the appropriate application to the Ministry on 9 February of the same year.¹⁷ The working title of the anthology was: *An einem Winterabend. Eine Anthologie polnischer Meistererzählungen*. Eventually, the anthology was published under nearly the exact same title as the volume published at that same time by the Aufbau-Verlag publishing house. Presumably in order to differentiate the two publications, publishers added the title of a short story by Eliza Orzeszkowa (*Ogniwa*). Thus, the anthology prepared by Volksverlag in Weimar with the contributing Polish literary academics was eventually entitled: *Die Kette. Polnische Meistererzählungen*.¹⁸

The collection included works by former masters of Polish prose and examples of novels by contemporary Polish authors. It included the following works: *Nasza szkapa* and *Miłosierdzie gminy* by Maria Konopnicka, *Siłaczka* and *Rozdziobią nas kruki, wrony* by Stefan Żeromski, *Orka* by Władysław Reymont, *Przy torze kolejowym* by Zofia Nałkowska, *Brzezina* and *Ikar* by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, *Rodecki* by Jan Parandowski, *Noc ponad światem* and *Ksiądz Filip* by Maria Dąbrowska, *Wniebowstąpienie* by Adolf Rudnicki, *Złoty lis* by Jerzy Andrzejewski, *Z legend starego Egiptu* by Bolesław Prus, *Dobra Pani*, *W zimowy wieczór*, and *Ogniwa* by Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Latarnik* and *Orso* by Henryk Sienkiewicz. The

14 Vide: BArch, DR 1/5126a, *Der Spielmann. Polnische Meistererzählungen*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin 1958, Verlagsgutachten, k. 336–343 (336–337).

15 Vide: ibidem, Außengutachten, k. 344–345.

16 Vide: ibidem, k. 334.

17 Vide: BArch, DR 1/5113, *An einem Winterabend. Polnische Meistererzählungen*, Volksverlag 1959, Druckgenehmigungsbogen, k. 112–113.

18 *Die Kette: Polnische Meistererzählungen*, eds. J.Z. Jakubowski, A. Milska, A. Hermann, Volksverlag, Weimar 1959.

external reviewer did not find in the submitted typescript any ideological or political problems which would require interventions in the text. He did indicate, though, certain motifs in specific works, which, in his opinion, proved the need to publish the anthology. The element which, according to him, was a major argument in favour of publishing Sienkiewicz's novella *Orso* was the criticism of racial discrimination included in it.¹⁹

In 1965, a total of two editions of Sienkiewicz's *Krzyżacy* (The Teutonic Knights) were published on the East German publishing market. Despite its unequivocally anti-German message, the novel was quite popular and the two editions sold 51,000 copies. Such popularity of the novel in the DDR was a result of, on the one hand, the reading habits of the country's citizens, educated to a large extent on reading historical novels of educational and entertaining nature, and, on the other, Aleksander Ford's adaptation featured in East German theatres in 1962.²⁰ However, before the novel could be published and reach so many readers, it had to pass through the rather dense sieve of East German censorship, ill-disposed in the past several years (from 1956) towards Polish literature. Apparently, Sienkiewicz's *Krzyżacy* passed through it without any major problems, and if one reads the documentation from the censorship office carefully, one can even ascertain that the publication of the novel accompanied with the right historic interpretation matched the geopolitical and propaganda expectations of the authorities of the DDR.

While the struggles of *W pustyni i w puszczy* are interesting for the reasons due to which, nearly ten years earlier, the authorities had decided to prevent the novel's release in the DDR, the case of *Krzyżacy* offered a completely contrary situation: the book's example is interesting considering the arguments which were used to justify the need for its publication.

Sienkiewicz's *Krzyżacy* was prepared for print in the mid-1960s by two East German publishing houses: Union Verlag and the already mentioned Neues Leben. The Union Verlag publishing house was established in 1951 and it belonged to the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (*Christlich Demokratische Union*), a party which operated in the DDR and which was subordinate to the communist SED.

The editors of the Union Verlag publishing house included the novel in their production plan for 1965. The application for the print permit was filed with the Ministry of Culture on 1 September 1964. It was approved relatively quickly, i.e. on

¹⁹ BArch, DR 1/5113, *An einem Winterabend. Polnische Meistererzählungen*, Volksverlag, Weimar 1959, Außengutachten, k. 116–123 (117).

²⁰ H. Olschowsky, "Das Ähnliche und das Andere. Polnische Literatur in der DDR", [in:] *Die Rezeption der polnischen Literatur im deutschsprachigen Raum und die der deutschen in Polen 1945–1985*, eds. H. Kneip, H. Orłowski, Deutsches Polen-Institut, Darmstadt 1989, p. 54.

12 October.²¹ As the internal reviewer confirmed in his opinion, the publication was supposed to be a completely new translation of a novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz which was already known to German readers. The minor abridgements in the German translation introduced by the editors were supposed to only apply to those fragments which included repetitions and enumerations of Polish place names. In the editors' opinion such abridgements were supposed to facilitate reading for the German audience.²²

The internal reviewer began his opinion with a short presentation of Henryk Sienkiewicz as an excellent representative of Polish literature and the recipient of the 1905 Nobel Prize, and summarised the novel in a few sentences. Significantly enough, in the second paragraph of his opinion he included a remark which stated that *Krzyżacy* was included in the production plan of the publishing house, apart from the undeniable artistic value of the novel, for its ideological value. The editors decided that Sienkiewicz accurately presented the struggle of the Polish state as a defensive war against the "aggressive and expansive German Order of the Teutonic Knights."²³ Through a rather complicated train of historical thought, the author of the internal opinion claimed an extremely simple and direct relationship between the politics and the actions of the Teutonic Order:

The conceit and brutality of the Order in relation to the Slavic nations and neighbouring countries it oppressed, as well as the shameful acts by its members seem today a foreshadowing of that which was repeated in Poland in 1939–1945 during the fascist occupation in such a horrifying manner. The national socialist regime tried to put into action an attempt to ravage the Polish nation, as declared by some members of the Order using many barbaric methods.²⁴

The train of thought and, which might prove even more accurate, manner of argumentation thus outlined in the internal opinion led the reviewer to assign Sienkiewicz supernatural abilities of foretelling the future and anticipating in the novel future events which would occur several decades later. According to him Sienkiewicz, who experienced the Germanisation operations in the Polish lands under the Prussian partition, included many retrospections, referred to his times, and looked into the future, foreshadowing the imperialist goals of German fascists, who in history books glorified the Teutonic Order as their originator.²⁵

21 BArch, DR 1/2423, *Die Kreuzritter*, Union Verlag, Berlin 1965, Druckgenehmigungsbogen, k. 244.

22 Vide: *ibidem*, Lektoratsgutachten, k. 251–253 (252).

23 *Ibidem*, k. 251–253 (251).

24 *Ibidem*.

25 *Ibidem*.

Another statement in the internal opinion of the Union Verlag publishing house seems very interesting in view of modern research into literary censorship, the cultural policy of the DDR and the Polish-German (literary) relations; in it, the reviewer discussed the prospective readers of the planned publication. In line with the publishing house's intentions, the book should mainly attract older readers, who acquired at school a positive image of the Teutonic Order, and it should force them not only to correct the image, but also to reflect on the question of what German fascism was and where its roots could be found.²⁶

The external reviewer wrote in a similar tone to that of the internal review, though one should note that he stressed other elements of the novel and its potential reception more. It seems somewhat surprising that the censorship office assigned the task of developing the external review to the same person who was tasked by the publishing house with writing the afterword. That might indicate that the office did not expect any publication problems. The external review and the afterword to the novel were written by dr. Alois Hermann, a researcher of the Slavic Institute at the Humboldt University in Berlin, a specialist in Polish literature.²⁷

In the review commissioned by the censorship office, Alois Hermann described Henryk Sienkiewicz's output, indicating that, at some point, having been recognised as a representative of epic realism, Sienkiewicz departed from contemporary social themes and undertook historical themes creating "heart-raising" literature for his compatriots.²⁸ The reviewer's explanation of the choice of the topic of the novel was that after Sienkiewicz's public protests against the Germanisation pressure of the Prussian state (the writer published, e.g. an open letter to Wilhelm II), *Krzyżacy* was supposed to constitute a literary protest. That was why, despite its historical setting, the novel became a story of emphatic political influence, which was enthusiastically accepted by the author's readers. The very successful depiction of the Battle of Grunwald of 1410 had a major symbolic significance for Sienkiewicz's contemporaries.²⁹

According to the reviewer, a few major elements of the novel, related to both its content and form, determined its high value. He included among these: the novel's depiction of the conflicts with the deceitful Teutonic Order, the just defensive struggles of the Poles, the dynamic development of the progressive, still at that time, Polish-Lithuanian feudal state [!]; the colourful, easy to remember diverse descriptions of individual social groups [the king's and prince's courts, the knight castle, the highroad, a military camp, tournaments, etc.]; diverse character

²⁶ Ibidem, k. 252.

²⁷ Vide: ibidem, k. 253.

²⁸ Vide: ibidem, Außengutachten, k. 246–250 (246).

²⁹ Vide: ibidem, k. 247–248.

depictions; which all proved Sienkiewicz's writing mastery, and the beauty of the language of the novel.³⁰

Right before the conclusion of his opinion, according to which the publication of the novel should be supported without any reservations, both for aesthetic and ideological reasons, Alois Hermann included an argument which officials who decided whether to issue the print permit could not have rejected:

[...] in the face of the growing revisionist intentions in West Germany, one cannot overlook the current political significance of the novel for our struggle for friendship among nations and to maintain peace in the world.³¹

That remark should not be underestimated as yet another hollow slogan repeated mindlessly on various occasions in states governed in the totalitarian manner by communist parties. The DDR's situation after the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the reinforcement of the border between the German states was not easy. As if through its own doing, both the country and the governing party were becoming increasingly isolated in the international arena and were engaged in an aggravated conflict with West Germany. The search for, and the reinforcement of, international contact, especially with neighbouring states which belonged to the same political bloc, even if their cultural policies raised considerable doubts amongst the DDR authorities, became, in the 1960s, a major element of foreign policy. It seems that the above-quoted argument from the external review of the planned edition of *Krzyżacy* by Henryk Sienkiewicz should be also viewed in these terms.

The edition of *Krzyżacy* prepared by the Union Verlag publishing house was released in 1965 in two volumes.³² The publication of the novel was also planned for the same year by the Neues Leben publishing house, which mainly released children's and young adult literature. Since the publishing house undertook activities towards that end a few months later than the Union Verlag publishing house and, as a result, the work had already been verified in ideological terms, the question of whether the censorship office would permit the print was only a formality.³³

³⁰ Vide: *ibidem*, k. 249.

³¹ *Ibidem*, k. 250.

³² H. Sienkiewicz, *Die Kreuzritter*, Bd. 1, VOB Union Verlag, Berlin 1965; H. Sienkiewicz, *Die Kreuzritter*, Bd. 2, VOB Union Verlag, Berlin 1965.

³³ At this point one should note that *Krzyżacy* was planned to be released in a series entitled *Spannend erzählt*. The publishing house planned to release "Extremely interesting stories" in it. The publisher had planned to publish *W pustyni i w puszczy* in the series, ten years earlier,

The internal review of the publishing house indicated the same advantages of the novel as those indicated by the reviewers of the publication prepared by the Union Verlag publishing house. It emphasised Henryk Sienkiewicz's writing skills, which compensated for some historical inaccuracies to such an extent that "the major aspects and processes are presented basically correctly."³⁴ The author of the review noted that the main themes of the novel were, on the one hand, the massacres, pillaging and intrigues of the Teutonic Knights, and, on the other, the defensive measures by Poles, who, together with Lithuanians, were forced to defend their homeland.³⁵ The novel *Krzyżacy* by Henryk Sienkiewicz was published by the Neues Leben publishing house in 1965 in 25,000 copies, which could be considered as a form of redress for the failure of the Polish Nobel Prize winner and his other novel *W pustyni i w puszczy* in their encounter with the DDR's censors ten years earlier.³⁶

The above-discussed examples of the treatment of the works of Henryk Sienkiewicz by the DDR's censors offer a basis for conclusions on the functioning of literary censorship as a whole and the literary censorship in communist states using the example of the special case of East Germany. Those mainly indicated that censorship was an instrument of exacting power and was applied in each instance for more or less precisely defined interests and goals of the authorities. The work of censors often consisted of severing a work of literature from its original meaning and assigning it new meanings through re-interpretation within a specific political reality and depending on the current (ideological) needs. That was accompanied by the conviction that through works of literature it was possible to influence readers and develop in them desired attitudes and trigger expected actions. That was a result of the general political-cultural assumptions of the communist party, according to which, art should influence its recipients in an educational manner. In that sense, censorship constituted a mirror image of propaganda: it applied different means and methods, yet the objectives remained the same.

yet, due to ideological reasons which I discussed at the beginning of the article, the novel was not released.

³⁴ BArch, DR 1/5077, *Die Kreuzritter*, Neues Leben, Berlin 1965, Verlagsgutachten, k. 124–126 (126).

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ H. Sienkiewicz, *Die Kreuzritter*, Neues Leben, Berlin 1965.

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Marek Rajch

Twórczość Henryka Sienkiewicza a cenzura literacka w NRD

Streszczenie

Utworky Henryka Sienkiewicza, polskiego pisarza i laureata literackiej nagrody Nobla z 1905 roku, zostały poddane kontroli aparatu cenzury w NRD kilkakrotnie. Za pozycje pożądane i godne przybliżenie wschodnioniemieckim czytelnikom uznano jego nowele, które poruszały dziewiętnastowieczną problematykę społeczną. Nawijającą do tematyki średniowiecznej powieść *Krzyżacy* spotkała się z dużą aprobatą wydawnictw i urzędu cenzury z tego względu, iż pozwalała na krytyczne rozliczenie się z narodowym socjalizmem w Niemczech, od którego NRD się dystansowała. Sporego zagrożenia ideologicznego dla młodych

czytelników wschodnioniemieckich dopatrywano się natomiast w powieści dla młodzieży *W pustyni i w puszczy* i z tego powodu została ona wycofana z procedury wydawniczej.

Słowa kluczowe: cenzura literacka, literatura polska, polityka kulturalna, NRD

Henryk Sienkiewicz's output and literary censorship in the DDR

Summary

Works by Henryk Sienkiewicz, a Polish writer and the winner of the 1905 Nobel Prize for Literature, were subjected to verification by the DDR's censorship apparatus several times. Censors considered his novellas which discussed 19th-century social issues as desirable and worth promoting among East German readers. His novel *Krzyżacy*, which was set in the Middle Ages, was accepted eagerly both by publishing houses and the censorship office as it enabled national socialism in Germany to be viewed in critical terms, as the DDR distanced itself from the system. Reviewers did, however, find a major ideological threat for young readers in East Germany in a young adult novel entitled *W pustyni i w puszczy*, and for that reason it was withdrawn from the publishing procedure.

Keywords: literary censorship, Polish literature, cultural policy, the DDR.

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Propaganda content in the Polish sports press of the 1950s

The aim of this preliminary study is to discuss, on the basis of selected examples, how the sports press of the 1950s covertly introduced content of a political and propaganda nature. It was a period of severe politicisation of sports and sports journalism, which was mitigated gradually in the following decades. What was particularly interesting was the act of intertwining into magazines messages the purpose of which was to present physical culture as something strongly bound with the development of the socialist state. I analysed selected sports periodicals, e.g. *Przegląd Sportowy*, *Głos Sportowca*, *Sport*, and *Sportowiec*: the study material consisted of ten randomly selected issues of the indicated periodicals from 1950–1959.

Physical culture in Poland developed relatively slowly. At the turn of the 20th century, any attempt at being physically active was considered as unbecoming of a serious person, or even as detrimental to one's health. Therefore, the activities of such social activists as Henryk Jordan were extremely important as they strove to increase people's knowledge on the topic of the development of the human body. Thanks to such efforts, by the outbreak of the Second World War, society's interest in sports had increased steadily. Activists were able to convince both politicians and some citizens that sport is the drive of the physical development of the nation and a method for gaining greater prestige in the international arena.¹ Today, it is even the subject of research. As Richard Espy noted, sport is a tool of diplomacy² used by most countries. Sports delegations sometimes preceded and facilitated the

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1 Cf. R. Siekiera, *Początki polskiej publicystyki sportowej w ujęciu genologicznym*. „Przegląd Sportowy” w latach 1921–1925, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2016.

2 R. Espy, “The Role and Importance of Sport in International Relations”, [in:] *Sport politics: An Introduction*, ed. J. Grix, Palgrave-Macmillan, London 2016, p. 17.

establishing of diplomatic relations. That is possible due to the assumed relationship between a country's sports potential and its political and economic strength.³ Since, in principle, sport features political neutrality, international rivalry in that field enables states to achieve symbolic victories which do not entail any serious political consequences. That is at least the theory, because, as Epsy indicated, at the turn of the 1970s, a series of football matches between El Salvador and Honduras led to many tensions, breaking off of diplomatic and economic relations between the neighbours, and, eventually, to a war.⁴

After the Second World War, in the People's Republic of Poland, the mass promotion of sport became a goal of the authorities.⁵ In September 1949, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) issued a resolution on physical culture and sport giving the ruling party full control over the development of sports clubs and youth education. That was supposed to support further development of the socialist system. A vital element of that was the obedience of the masses, which, according to Marcin Moskalewicz, "constitute the subject and the world view basis of a regime."⁶ The resolution on physical culture posited that all forms of activities related to physical activity, from school gym classes to elite sports competitions, were supposed to serve the purpose of building a strong society composed of obedient citizens.

The sports press became a tool of influence. In the 1950s, it developed quickly, stimulated by the PZPR's keen interest in it. The creation of any new periodical required consent from the Ministry of Information and Propaganda, yet that posed no problem whatsoever. In 1949, a new illustrated periodical was created intended for the young: *Sportowiec* (before that, from 1945, *Start* was already in circulation). Thanks to state support for the promotion of physical culture, other periodicals emerged on the market, e.g. *Sport* and *Piłka Nożna*. After the Second World War, such periodicals as *Przegląd Sportowy*, *Wychowanie Fizyczne* (re-named in 1951 to *Kultura Fizyczna*), and *Taternik* renewed their activities. Other themed periodicals included *Piłkarz* (later *Głos Sportowca* and from 1959 *Tempo*), *Sport*

³ Ibidem, p. 18.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 17.

⁵ As Bogdan Tuszyński noted: "at the beginning of all grand changes only just starting, there existed the conviction that physical culture would serve biological and mental regeneration of the society the best, the education of the youth in particular" (B. Tuszyński, *Prasa i sport 1881–1981*, Sport i Turystyka, Warsaw 1981, p. 285). To learn more about the role of sport in shaping a political system vide: A. Pasko, *Sport wyczynowy w polityce państwa 1944–1989*, Wydawnictwo Avalon, Krakow 2012, or: L. Szymański, *Kultura fizyczna i turystyka w polityce Polski Ludowej 1944–1989*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Wychowania Fizycznego, Wrocław 2004.

⁶ M. Moskalewicz, *Totalitaryzm, narracja, tożsamość. Filozofia historii Hannah Arendt*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2013, p. 131 [unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

Śląski, *Wychowanie Fizyczne i Sport*, *Sport Dla Wszystkich*, *Koło Sportowe*, *Sport i Wczasy*, and special-interest periodicals, e.g. *Boks*, *Szachy*, *Lekka Atletyka*, *Żagle i Jachting Motorowy*, *Koszykówka*, *Piłka Ręczna*, *Siatkówka*, and *Brydż*.⁷ Individual periodicals fitted more or less the programme of the ideologisation of both public and private lives. Mostly that was caused by sports officials, but also party officials who were invited by the editorial boards to collaborate with the periodicals. As Tuszyński noted, the representatives of all groups associated with the press agreed that the democratisation of physical culture and the successes of Polish sport would only be possible within the framework of the people's state.⁸

The orientation towards political goals did not prove beneficial for all periodicals, as professionalism and keen interest in sports was replaced by care for pretences and issues not directly related to the rivalry at stadiums. Especially in the initial years after the Second World War, some titles filled their pages with reports from the meetings and congresses of various bodies. Even *Przegląd Sportowy* was one of those periodicals. In the early-1950s, as Józef Hen reminisced, "the level of «Przegląd» was [...] very uneven. There were periods when journalists turned into dour reviewers who made sure that, God forbid, no report was «depoliticised». And since everything could be politicised and not everyone had the gift of political vigilance, that attitude led to the inclusion of many clichés, banalities, and unfounded formulations."⁹

As a result of that avoidance of depoliticisation, as Hen put it, journalists framed sports rivalry within a political-historical context. They mainly emphasised the co-occurrence of the dates of sports competitions with historical events, e.g.:

Tegoroczny sezon sportowy obfituje w wiele atrakcyjnych imprez niemal we wszystkich dyscyplinach sportu. W całym kraju sportowcy prowadzą intensywne przygotowania, aby dzień 22 lipca – Święto 10-lecia Polski Ludowej powitać jak największymi osiągnięciami.

[The current sports season is filled with many attractive events in almost every sport. Throughout the country, athletes are preparing intensively to celebrate the 22nd of July, or the 10th Anniversary of People's Poland, with their greatest achievements.]¹⁰

7 To learn more about the periodicals circulated in Poland in the discussed period, vide also: M. Jasińska, *Bibliografia czasopism sportowych w Polsce 1881–1981*, Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Warsaw 1983.

8 B. Tuszyński, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

9 J. Hen, *Jeden z tysięcy*, [as quoted in:] B. Tuszyński, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

10 *Głos Sportowca* 1954, issue 19, p. 2 [hereinafter: GS].

or

Przybycie kolarzy z 12 państw, biorących udział w Wyścigu Pokoju do Morawskiej Ostrawy, zbiegło się z szóstą rocznicą oswobodzenia tego miasta przez Armię Radziecką.

[The arrival in Moravska Ostrava of cyclists from 12 countries participating in the Peace Race occurred on the sixth anniversary of the liberation of the city by the Soviet Army.]¹¹

Further in the second of the quoted articles (with the telling title “Łączy nas wspólna wola utrzymania pokoju” [We are unified by the common intention to maintain peace]), the author discussed the banners which appeared along the route of the race:

Na Zimowy Stadion Sportowy, udekorowany flagami państw, biorących udział w Wyścigu oraz transparentami, na których m. in. czytamy: „Żądamy zawarcia paktu pokojowego pięciu mocarstw”, „Walczcie o pokój z taką zaciętością, z jaką walczyliście na trasie Wyścigu Warszawa–Praga”, przybyli kierownicy drużyn i zawodnicy, biorący udział w Wyścigu.

[Into the Winter Sports Stadium, decorated with the flags of the countries taking part in the Race and banners which read, for example: “We demand a peace accord between the five superpowers”, “Fight for peace as fiercely as you fight in the Warsaw–Prague Race”, there arrived team managers and athletes participating in the Race.]¹²

The publications often included implicit political content in the form of stressing the goal of organising a tournament. Usually, this appeared as statements of intent to fight for peace and equality of all nations. Sometimes it was also perceived as proof of the legitimacy of the socialist ideology (e.g. the democratisation of sport) and the engagement of the masses in the sports movement. Consider the following example:

Pełniąc niestrudzenie zaszczytną rolę agitatorów pokoju, zorganizowali członkowie LZS pow. krakowskiego kolarski Raid Pokoju na trasie 100 km z Libertowa [...] do Swoszowic. [...] Szczególnie imponująco wypadły te manifestacje pokojowe w Wieliczce, gdzie na rynku zgromadziły się nieprzejrzone tłumy, młodzież

¹¹ *Przegląd Sportowy* 1951, issue 36, p. 3 [hereinafter: PS].

¹² *Ibid.*

szkolna i górnicy z tamtejszej żupy solnej [...] i [w] Skawinie, gdzie do zebranych przemawiała córka zamordowanego w Oświęcimiu więźnia hitlerowskiego [...] Pelagia Suder.

[While tirelessly fulfilling the honourable role of proponents of peace, the members of LZS of the Krakow district organised a 100 km bicycle Peace Rally from Libertów [...] do Swoszowice. [...] Particularly impressive were those peace manifestations in Wieliczka, where in the town square a dense crowd of school children and miners from the local salt mine [...] gathered, and in Skawina, where the crowds listened to the speech of Pelagia Suder, the daughter of a murdered prisoner of the Nazi camp in Auschwitz [...].]¹³

Such a report offered virtually no information on how the race proceeded. The reporter focussed entirely on reporting on the crowds, marches and performances, forgetting about the sports aspect of the event. The very title of the text indicated the author's focus point: *Podpisy na karcie plebiscytowej to skuteczna broń w walce o pokój* [Signatures on the plebiscite card are an effective weapon in the fight for peace].

Naturally, one cannot omit the fact that many sports competitions in countries of the people's democracy were planned specifically as a mode of ideological and political demonstration. The results were unimportant (though in the case of international competitions, victories over capitalist countries were treated as proof of the legitimacy of socialist principles). In the Polish context, political significance applied not only to the Peace Race, but also to various cycling rallies, runs and marches along the routes of the "Resurgent Polish Army and the invincible Soviet Army"¹⁴ (the so-called Autumn Marches along the Paths of Victories).

The admiration for both the socialist system and the achievements of USSR athletes sometimes reached grotesque proportions in the Polish press and by today's standards it could be considered as preposterous. An example of that was a text by Jerzy Zmarzlik published in the 89th issue of *Przegląd Sportowy* of 1951. The author described in it the parade organised at the Berlin stadium opening an international athletics tournament:

Defilada młodych bojowników o pokój, którzy zjechali do Berlina, by zmanifestować swą wolę walki z imperializmem anglo-amerykańskim, z podżegaczami wojennymi na całym świecie, zbliżała się do końca. Przemaszerowali przedstawiciele kilkudziesięciu państw, owacyjnie witani przez wielojęzyczną, blisko stutysięczną widownię.

¹³ PS 1951, issue 41, p. 4.

¹⁴ PS 1951, issue 89, p. 2.

[The parade of young fighters for peace who assembled in Berlin to manifest their eagerness to fight against Anglo-American imperialism and with war mongers throughout the world was coming to an end. The representatives of several dozen countries marched, greeted enthusiastically by a multinational crowd of nearly 100,000 people.]¹⁵

The biggest applause accompanied, of course, the representatives of the USSR (“indescribable enthusiasm which could not be expressed in words spread through the Walter Ulbricht Stadium”¹⁶). Their appearance in the sports arena triggered in the audience a sudden influx of feelings towards the leader of the Soviet State:

Stalin, Stalin, Stalin!!! Okrzyki płynące z serc, z duszy, obiegały cały Berlin, rozbrzmiewały głośno i radośnie na ulicach i placach. Przebijała w nich pewność i wiara, wiara w zwycięstwo ideałów, myśli i celów narodu, który prowadzi od zwycięstwa do zwycięstwa – Józef Stalin.

[Stalin, Stalin, Stalin!!! The cheers flowing from the hearts and souls spread through all Berlin, resonating loudly and cheerfully in the streets and squares. They carried trust and belief, belief in the victory of the principles, thoughts and goals of the nation being led from victory to victory by Józef Stalin.]¹⁷

The author’s zeal in embellishing the scene was also visible further in the text when he quoted his interview with Otto Kramer, a young worker from Leipzig. The 19-year-old German supposedly stated that:

Nie tylko ja mam tak wiele uczucia dla ludzi radzieckich. Wszyscy w naszej fabryce nauczyli się cenić radzieckiego robotnika, artystę, sportowca, cały naród. Opowiadano u nas dużo o metodach pracy ludzi radzieckich, o ich osiągnięciach, o stachanowcach. Byli tacy, co nie bardzo wierzyli, by można osiągać takie sukcesy produkcyjne.

[It is not just me who has so much passion for the Soviet people. Everyone at our factory has learnt to appreciate the Soviet worker, artist, athlete, the entire nation. We were told often about the methods of work of the Soviet people, about their achievements, about udarniks. There were some who couldn’t believe it was possible to achieve such production results.]¹⁸

¹⁵ PS 1951, issue 89, p. 3.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

Apparently, the sceptics were convinced when faced with a show of the skills of one Bykow, a Soviet turner, who before the perplexed Germans' eyes perfectly turned a perfectly even piece of metal for a machine which even the best German turners were not able to produce. As per Kramer's account:

– To cud! – wykrzyknął jeden z młodych robotników – to prawdziwy cud!

Bykow poprosił, by mu przetłumaczyć, co powiedział młody robotnik.

– To nie cud – odpowiedział – to dlatego, że mam dobrego, najlepszego na świecie nauczyciela – Józefa Wissarionowicza Stalina.

[“It's a miracle!” shouted one of the young workers. “It's a true miracle!”

Bykow asked for someone to translate for him what the young worker said.

“It's no miracle,” he responded, “it's only because I have a good teacher, the best one in the world: Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin”.]¹⁹

Zmarzlik's article, full of similar enthusiastic anecdotes, concluded with a similarly pretentious paragraph:

I dlatego sportowcy Związku Radzieckiego cieszyli się takim samym szacunkiem, jak Bykow wśród lipskich robotników, jak artyści radzieccy, jak cały naród radziecki otoczony jest miłością i szacunkiem przez uczciwych ludzi na całym świecie.

[That is why the athletes from the Soviet Union enjoyed the same respect as Bykow among the Leipzig workers, like Soviet artists, like the entire Soviet nation, surrounded by love and respect by the fair people of the world.]²⁰

Though the sports press of the 1950s was not entirely filled with only such praise of the Soviet lifestyle, especially in the initial years of the decade it was common to find articles, or entire issues, devoted to political issues. Similar importance was assigned to history, which was recalled especially in celebration of anniversaries of events important from the ideological point of view.

Following Arendt, Moskalewicz posited that “scientific rationalisation means the creation of history as an intentional project in such a way that the entire world together becomes the intentional product of *homo faber*. Reality becomes fabricated

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Ibidem.

as per specific rules, according to a model. [...] As a result, the mental fiction constitutes part of the reality.”²¹ Such fabrication of history existed in the case of PZPR propaganda. Its evident traces could also be found in the sports press of the 1950s. An historic event, filtered through the Stalinist ideology, acquired a new interpretation in which it was the Soviet Union that gave the world peace:

Bez Rewolucji Październikowej nie byłoby zwycięstwa nad faszyzmem w drugiej wojnie światowej, nie byłoby wyzwolenia z potwornego, faszystowskiego ucisku narodów Polski i Czechosłowacji, Węgier, Rumunii, Bułgarii i Albanii. Niemożliwe byłoby zrzućenie imperialistycznego jarzma przez półmiliardowe masy chińskiego narodu, niemożliwe byłoby odrodzenie się narodu niemieckiego.

[Without the October Revolution, there would be no victory over fascism in the Second World War, there would be no liberation from the horrible fascist oppression of the nations of Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. It would not be possible for the 500-million strong mass of the Chinese nation to shatter the imperialist shackles, or for the German nation to become reborn.]²²

And he continued:

W obecnej sytuacji międzynarodowej, kiedy anglo-saski imperializm grozi światu nową pożogą wojenną, coraz wyraźniej widoczna jest wielka rola Związku Radzieckiego, jako głównego obrońcy pokoju, coraz powszechniej rozumiany jest przez cały postępowy świat sens wielkiej Październikowej Rewolucji, jako naszej rewolucji, w naszym interesie dokonanej. [...] Szczególnie głęboko odczuwają to polskie masy pracujące, które mogą budować u siebie socjalizm, właśnie dzięki Rewolucji Październikowej, dzięki Związkowi Radzieckiemu.

[In the current international situation, when the imperialism of the English-speaking world threatens the world with the fire of a new war, the grand role of the Soviet Union as the main defender of peace is becoming ever so clear, the progressive part of the world is beginning to widely understand the grand meaning of the October Revolution as our revolution, completed for our benefit. [...] It is particularly strongly sensed by the Polish working masses, who are able to build their socialism precisely thanks to the October Revolution, thanks to the Soviet Union.]²³

²¹ M. Moskalewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

²² PS 1950, issue 88, p. 2.

²³ *Ibidem*.

Through indoctrination readers were being convinced of the role which the athletes of the Soviet Union had played in the fight for peace, and continued to play in the building of the new order based on work:

Radzieccy sportowcy w czasie wojny dawali tysiące przykładów bohaterstwa i wytrwałości, a w czasie pokoju przodują w twórczej pracy. Za ich przykładem polscy sportowcy dają dowody, że kultura fizyczna rzeczywiście przyczynia się do zwiększenia obronności kraju i wydajności pracy.

[During the war, Soviet athletes offered thousands of examples of bravery and resilience, and during the time of peace they lead in building. Following their example, Polish athletes give evidence that physical culture truly helps increase the country's defence capabilities and work performance.]²⁴

Texts also offered a false-mirror image of the period of the Second Polish Republic, treated with aversion by the communist authorities. Those mostly emphasised the insufficient focus on the democratisation and promotion of sport, and development of infrastructure. An example of that was an article published in *Sport* entitled “W 8 rocznicę wyzwolenia” [On the 8th anniversary of liberation]²⁵ devoted both to the liberation of Katowice by the Red Army and the reconstruction of the entire area of Silesia by the people's government. As the author stated:

troska Państwa Ludowego o zdrowie i bezpieczeństwo świata pracy stworzyła warunki, o jakich w przedwrześniowej Polsce nie myślano. Bujnie rozkwitło życie kulturalne i sportowe. Masowy wszechstronny sport świata pracy stał się faktem.

[...] Drugim wspaniałym przykładem stylu budownictwa socjalistycznego dla dobra wszystkich mieszkańców przemysłowego okręgu jest Wojewódzki Park Kultury i Wypoczynku. Czołowe miejsce zajmują w nim inwestycje sportowe. Stadion-gigant na 80.000 widzów jest obiektem, na który ślący sportowcy czekali od wielu lat, a którego budowa w międzywojennym dwudziestolecu była nieziszczalnym marzeniem.

[the care of the People's State for the health and safety of the working world created conditions which had never been considered in the pre-September Poland. The cultural and sports life has blossomed. The mass multi-directional world of sports became a fact.

[...] The Voivodship Culture and Recreation Park is another wonderful example of the style of socialist construction for the good of all inhabitants of the industrial

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ *Sport* 1953, issue 8, p. 1 [hereinafter: SP].

district. Sports investments occupy a major place in it. The giant stadium for 80,000 spectators is an arena for which Silesian athletes have waited for many years, and the construction of which in the interwar period had been an impossible dream.²⁶

On occasion, one could find historically-themed articles which outlined and emphasised the legitimate version of events (e.g. the text “Przeciwko wrogom i zdrajcom narodu o szczęście ludu polskiego walczyła Polska Partia Robotnicza”²⁷ [Against the nation’s enemies and traitors, the Polish Workers’ Party fought for the happiness of the Polish nation], which discussed the creation of the People’s Guard and its activities in the occupation years).

On special occasions, entire issues of periodicals devoted to history were released, especially in celebration of the anniversaries of the October Revolution and the end of the Second World War. Issues published after Stalin’s death included both announcements by the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the PZPR, a resolution regarding the continuity of rule in the USSR, the typescripts of the speeches by Edward Ochab and Włodzimierz Reczek (president of the Main Committee of Physical Culture), comments by Polish athletes (e.g. Stanisław Maruszak), appeals by the Main Committee of Physical Culture and by the Council of State to the citizens, and other texts which in various ways related to the death of the president of the CPSU. Pages 2 and 6 of *Przegląd Sportowy* of 9 March 1953 included headlines which in a few words summarised the contents of the issue: “Zmarł Wielki Stalin – Jego nauka żyje i zwycięża” [The Great Stalin is dead – His teachings live and remain victorious] and “Wieczysta chwala Józefowi Stalinowi wyzwolicielowi narodu Polskiego” [Eternal glory to Joseph Stalin, the liberator of the Polish nation], respectively. Then, issue 20 of *Sport* from the same day, featured articles with such titles as: “Cała postępowo ludzkość składa hołd u trumny Józefa Stalina” [All progressive humanity pays tribute at Joseph Stalin’s coffin], “Sprawa Józefa Stalina jest nieśmiertelna” [Joseph Stalin’s purpose is immortal], and “Sport polski w żałobie” [Polish sports world in mourning].

Political engagement was displayed by the sports press also at election time. Though seemingly the issue is in no manner connected with sport, editors made sure to include statements of support for the righteous cause. The dedication of Polish athletes to socialist principles was an element in building an impression of general unity among the citizens. All sports activities were presented as efforts for the glory of the homeland and reinforcing the position of the PZPR. Polish athletes were supposed to be role models of a responsible patriotic attitude. As was argued in the press, the sporting masses had lifted and carried on their shoulders the load as they realised the gravity of the moment:

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ PS 1952, issue 8, p. 3.

W tym historycznym okresie przed wyborami do Sejmu, sportowcy Polski Ludowej zdają egzamin swej politycznej dojrzałości. I można powiedzieć z niemalą dumą, że wśród czołowych zawodników, wśród działaczy i wszystkich obywateli uprawiających sport [...] wszędzie panował duch jedności, zrozumienia wagi chwili, świadomości zbliżającego się wielkiego momentu – powszechnego głosowania.

Polski sportowiec odda swój głos za Frontem Narodowym, będąc głęboko przeświadczony o słuszności tej decyzji. Dziś, realizując swe zobowiązania przedwyborcze i na cześć XIX Zjazdu KPZR sportowcy polscy czują się na śmierć i życie związani z budową socjalizmu, z walką o pokój i szczęście narodu.

[In this historic period prior to the Sejm election, the athletes of People's Poland passed the exam in political maturity. And one could say with considerable pride that among the leading athletes, among the sports officials and all the citizens practising sports [...] there was everywhere the spirit of unity, an understanding of the gravity of the moment, recognition of the coming grand moment: the popular vote.

Polish athletes will cast their votes in favour of the National Front, having a deep conviction in the justness of the decision. Today, fulfilling their pre-election commitments and in celebration of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Polish athletes feel bound for life or death with the building of socialism, with the fight for peace and the happiness of the nation.]²⁸

Publications which seemed to be entirely devoted to sporting events also sometimes included political reports, though on a much smaller scale. Apart from the obvious commendations for teams and athletes from socialist states, the attitude towards western countries is noteworthy. Even though the press did not have a problem with complimenting their athletes, their cultures and the socio-political conditions were usually presented in not the best of lights. Authors mainly indicated instances of social inequality:

Na okładce amerykańskiego czasopisma „Ring” jest przedstawiony w aureoli błyszczącego dolara były bokserski mistrz świata Joe Louis. [...] Do czego doszedł Louis – dobrze wiemy. A inni „bogacze” sportowi? Fred Jets, były mistrz Anglii w szachach, umarł z głodu, Al Brown, były bokserski mistrz świata w wadze koguciej, umarł w nędzy, Gertruda Ederle, pierwsza kobieta, która przepłynęła kanał La Manche, umarła w przytułku dla starców. Jak w każdej dziedzinie życia, także w sporcie, społeczna nierówność w krajach kapitalistycznych jest normalnym zjawiskiem. [...] Jaki by nie wziąć rodzaj sportu, na każdą, wysokoopłacaną znakomitość, znajdują się dziesiątki tysięcy sportowców-biedaków.

[The cover of the American *Ring* periodical features the boxing world champion Joe Louis in a halo of the dollar. [...] What Louis got from all that – we know well enough.

²⁸ *Sportowiec* 1952, issue 42, p. 6 [hereinafter: SPC].

What about other “richmen” athletes? Fred Yates, the former English chess master, died of hunger, Al Brown, a former bantamweight boxing champion, died in poverty, and Gertrude Ederle, the first woman to swim across the English Channel, died in an old people’s home. In sports, just as in any other domain of life, social inequality in the capitalist states is something normal. [...] Whichever sport you consider, for every highly-paid personality there are tens of thousands of beggar athletes.]²⁹

Polish sports journalists also reported with aversion on the policies of capitalist countries, trying to humiliate them or present them as detrimental and threatening world peace. One could say that it was part of the socialist strategy of shaping the geopolitical system. The Soviet Union and its allies occupied a central place in it as the main forces striving to maintain order, international balance and the respect for the rights of all nations, while the Western Bloc caused, through its ill-considered actions, tensions in world politics, which increased the threat of another war of global reach. Even seemingly minor incidents related to athletes could be used as a pretext for such suggestions, e.g.:

Stosowana obecnie w USA tzw. Ustawa Mc Corrana, na mocy której zabrania się rybakom zawijać do portów USA bez specjalnych wiz wjazdowych i przesłuchań – dotknęła piłkarzy austriackich, udających się niedawno na tournée po Ameryce Południowej.

Tajna policja FBI zatrzymała w areszcie drużynę sportową, przeprowadzając szczegółowe dochodzenie, prawdopodobnie w sprawie... połowu bramek na kontynencie Ameryki Łacińskiej. [...] W Anglii sportowa opinia publiczna zaniepokojona jest coraz wyraźniejszym zaniedbywaniem sprawy rozbudowy urządzeń sportowych [...] prasa londyńska, pisząc o kosztach utrzymania naczelnego dowództwa tzw. Armii Renu, wylicza, że za tę rujnującą kwotę 12 milionów funtów można by wybudować 5.000 nowych domów, 115 boisk piłkarskich [...]. Można by, tak jak można by również nie aresztować i nie przesłuchiwać sportowców udających się na mecz, ale inne są rozkazy atlantyckich dyspozytorów, którzy ustalają swoją „linię postępowania” wszędzie tam, gdzie widzą możliwość walki z postępem, możliwość podsycania „zimnej wojny”.

[The US so-called McCarran Act, under which fishermen are prohibited from entering US ports without special entry visas and interrogations, affected Austrian football players recently *en route* for a tour of South America.

²⁹ SPC 1952, issue 41, p. 12. In fact, neither Yates, who worked as a journalist, nor Ederle, who went on the stage, ever made any money from their achievements. Yates died from asphyxiation due to a gas leak, while Ederle, only in her 40s at the time of publication, did, ironically, end her life in an old people’s home, but did not die until 2003.

The FBI secret police held the sporting team in jail and conducted a detailed investigation into what might only seem as fishing for goals in the Latin American continent. [...] In England, the opinion of the sports public has become alarmed by the increasingly visible neglecting of the issue of expanding sports facilities [...] when discussing the costs of maintaining the headquarters of the so-called British Army of the Rhine, the London-based press calculated that for the ruinous amount of 12 million pounds it would be possible to build 5,000 new houses, 115 football pitches [...] It would be possible, just as it would be possible not to arrest or interrogate athletes *en route* to a match, but that is a matter of different orders by Atlantic marshals who define their "line of action" everywhere where they see an opportunity to oppose progress and fuel the "cold war".]³⁰

Another form of politicisation of the sports press was their condemnation of the behaviour of western fans and the media. Their reactions to various occurrences or their general attitudes were eagerly used by editorial officials, as indicated in the following examples:

Stanowisko publiczności i fachowców angielskich do tenisistki, która „tak brzydko wygląda i tak dobrze gra w tenisa” było różne. Ideologia rasistowska nigdy nie znajdowała w Anglii podatnego podłoża. Tym niemniej nie można zaprzeczyć, że Brytyjczycy, twórcy potężnego nie tak dawno systemu kolonialnego mają dumę władczego narodu i niechętnie widzieli sukcesy Murzynki, stanowiące wyłom w dotychczasowej tradycji Wimbledonu.

[The attitudes of the audience and English specialists towards the tennis player who "looks so poorly yet plays tennis so well" varied. The racist ideology had never found a good environment for growth in England. Despite that, it would be difficult to negate the fact that the British, the creators of the not-so-long-gone powerful colonial system, possess the pride of a ruling nation and were unwilling to see the successes of the Negro, which constituted a crack in the existing traditions of Wimbledon.]³¹

and

W Anglii nie wszyscy wiedzą o Wyścigu Pokoju. Bojkot prasy kapitalistycznej działa. Ale kto już o nim wie, ten się nim bardzo interesuje.

[In England, not everyone knows about the Peace Race. The capitalist press boycott works. However, anyone who knows about it, is keenly interested in it.]³²

³⁰ SPC 1953, issue 1, p. 3.

³¹ SP 1957, issue 82, p. 2.

³² SPC 1954, issue 18, p. 6.

Such remarks remained outside the main course of propaganda activities, though they clearly complemented it well. Even though, as research has shown, the quoted words of Józef Hen, that editors made sure that no report was depoliticised, could be considered somewhat exaggerated, there was truth in it, as even informative texts sometimes included such political interjections.

Reports from sports competitions sometimes began with an outline of the situation frame, in which the most important element was the cordial welcoming of the arriving teams, emphasising the joy among the hosts at their visit, and the statement on the genuineness of the friendship between the nations:

Serdecznie witali opolanie młodzieżową reprezentację ZSRR w piłce siatkowej, która w piątek przybyła do Opola. [...] Gości radzieckich serdecznie powitał w imieniu Opolszczyzny sekretarz WKKF – Romańczyk, wręczając im pamiątkowy proporczyk. Kierownik drużyny radzieckiej w odpowiedzi na powitanie podkreślił, że pobyt siatkarzy radzieckich przyczyni się do dalszego jeszcze zacieśnienia więzów braterstwa i przyjaźni między obu narodami.

[The inhabitants of Opole cordially welcomed the youth volleyball team of the USSR which arrived in Opole on Friday. [...] The Soviet guests were cordially welcomed on behalf of the entire Opole region by Romańczyk, secretary of WKKF [Voivodeship Committee of Physical Culture], presenting them with a commemorative burgee. In response, the manager of the Soviet team emphasised that the Soviet volleyball players' visit will help further tighten the brotherly and friendly bonds between the two nations.]³³

Periodicals also eagerly quoted Polish athletes, who described displays of heroic attitudes and said how big a pleasure for them the very thought of the visit of the friends from Czechoslovakia, the USSR or the DDR was. Sometimes, the sporting aspects of such meetings were considered as secondary (though even then authors stressed, e.g. the benefits of having the opportunity to compare Polish teams to their opponents, worthy of imitation).

The celebrations of Polish-Soviet friendship months were usually accompanied by celebratory texts in which journalists appealed to people to demonstrate their sympathy for the eastern neighbour and stressed how much the Polish nation owed to Stalin. They also promoted a further promotion of physical culture among the masses and the need to capitalise on the Soviet experience. They reported on the contributions of Polish sports to such celebrations:

[...] rozpoczynający się miesiąc Pogłębienia Przyjaźni Polsko-Radzieckiej ma w tym roku szczególnie doniosłe znaczenie. Sport polski zamanifestuje swą przyjaźń

³³ PS 1952, issue 101, p. 2.

i łączność ze sportem radzieckim przez popularyzowanie jego wielkich osiągnięć i metod na polu umasowienia i podniesienia poziomu kultury fizycznej, przez pogadanki, imprezy, gazetki ścienne.

Najlepszą formą zmanifestowania przyjaźni polsko-radzieckiej będzie właściwe wykorzystanie doświadczeń i dorobku radzieckich sportowców w budowie socjalistycznej kultury fizycznej, w przygotowaniu młodzieży do pracy i obrony.

[...] the month for the Deepening of the Polish-Soviet Friendship which has just started is particularly important this year. Polish sport is going to declare its friendship and connection with Soviet sport by promoting the latter's grand achievements and methods of popularising and improving the level of physical culture during chats, events, and in brochures.

The best form of declaring the Polish-Soviet friendship will be to properly apply the experiences and achievements of Soviet athletes in the building of socialist physical culture, and in the preparation of the youth for work and defence.]³⁴

As visible in the quoted fragment, physical culture, just like other domains of life, was supposed to be socialist in nature. Therefore, the point was not to simply promote physical activity – it had to be closely associated with the only legitimate ideology.

For that purpose, authors also, apart from the already-mentioned devices, used Soviet sport as a role model (cf. the rather straight-forward title: “Socjalistyczny sport w Związku Radzieckim wzorem dla naszych sportowców”³⁵ [Socialist sport in the Soviet Union as a role model for our athletes]). The perfect model of a successful hero was a Soviet athlete – utterly devoted to striving for perfection, but also someone who works very hard. Even the advancements in individual disciplines in Poland were sometimes associated with the influence of Soviet sport. Domestic successes might have been inspired by Russian training methods, visits of coaches and sports officials from the USSR, friendly games or even demonstration events with athletes from the Soviet State:

Międzynarodowe sukcesy polskich ciężarowców zwróciły uwagę na tę niedocenianą do niedawna dyscyplinę sportu. Od występów sztangistów radzieckich datuje się u nas rewolucyjny przełom i skuteczna pogoń za czołówką światową.

[The international successes of Polish weightlifters drew focus onto this once underappreciated sport. The revolution and the successful pursuit of the global leaders began with events which featured Soviet weightlifters.]³⁶

³⁴ PS 1950, issue 88, p. 2.

³⁵ PS 1950, issue 88, p. 3.

³⁶ SP 1957, issue 5, p. 2.

In the case of international tournaments, the press not only reported on the results of Polish athletes, but they also emphasised Soviet successes:

Kuc nie jest jednak jedynym przedstawicielem lekkoatletyki radzieckiej, która w ciągu tego roku zrobiła ogromny skok naprzód, ugruntowała zdecydowanie swoją przodującą pozycję w Europie oraz wyrosła na groźnego już partnera dla bezkonkurencyjnych jeszcze przed dwoma laty Amerykanów. Oczywiście mowa tutaj o konkurencjach męskich, gdyż w kobiecych prymat zawodniczek radzieckich został od dawna ugruntowany.

[Kuc is not, however, the only representative of Soviet athletics, which within the last year has made a huge leap forward, reinforced its leading position in Europe, and grown to become a formidable opponent for the Americans, who, as little as two years ago, were still unchallenged. Of course, this applies to men's disciplines, as in women's disciplines, the supremacy of Soviet female athletes has long been established.]³⁷

The press was also eager to publish reports on the stages in the development of various disciplines in the USSR. Obviously, those were devoid of any criticism or objectivity and everything that was discussed from the infrastructure, through training methods, to the results being achieved was considered commendable and worthy of imitation. Such texts referred to the project of the development of the socialist system – the ability to fit individual disciplines into that project was considered a feature of the organisational-state structures of the USSR:

Przeglądając pisma radzieckie „Sport” poświęcone wszystkim odmianom sportów oraz „Koniowódstwo” (Hodowla Koni), wyspecjalizowane w dziedzinie hodowli koni, nie możemy nie zauważyć, że sport konny w Związku Radzieckim zajmuje miejsce wcale nie na szarym końcu długiego szeregu innych uprawianych tam sportów [...]

Jak i w innych dyscyplinach sportowych, radziecki sport jeździecki wyłania co roku swoich mistrzów płci obojga, co jest jeszcze jednym dowodem, że w Związku Radzieckim stosunek do jeździectwa jest traktowany poważnie, a jego podstawy budowane są planowo. Oprócz tego, przykład Związku Radzieckiego udowadnia, że sport jeździecki odpowiednio zorganizowany doskonale harmonizuje się z układem życia socjalistycznego.

[When browsing the Soviet *Sport* periodical, which discusses all forms of sport, and *Koniowódstwo* (horse breeding), which specialises in the theme of horse breeding, one cannot omit the fact that equestrian sports in the Soviet Union do not actually occupy the last places in the long list of sports practised there [...]

³⁷ PS 1954, issue 83, p. 6.

Similarly to other sports disciplines, Soviet equestrian sports produce champions of both sexes every year, which is yet another proof that in the Soviet Union the approach to equestrian sports is treated seriously and its basis is being developed with a pre-determined plan. Additionally, the example of the Soviet Union proves that properly organised equestrian sports perfectly match the arrangement of socialist life.]³⁸

Sporadically, after a tournament marked by the USSR's successes, the press released short reviews of the foreign press including, obviously, only the highest praise, e.g. after the 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki, Polish periodicals quoted the British, French, Japanese, Italian and Brazilian press. *Sportowiec* even published a centrefold with the heading: "ZSRR – sukcesy XV Igrzysk Olimpijskich" [USSR – successes at the 15th Olympic Games], which included the photographs of Russian athletes with the descriptions of their achievements.³⁹ At the same time, the press was eager to indicate that the keen interest in Olympic events was triggered not only by the excellent achievements of athletes, but also by the very participation of the Soviet team.

The image of the world painted by the contemporary press was dominated by a conviction that all honest nations admired the socialist system and followed the example of the states of people's democracy. The fixation on Soviet solutions was also manifested in systematic reporting on the results of league matches in the USSR, while it would be a futile effort to seek similarly periodically appearing texts devoted to events held in countries located west of the Iron Curtain. Another focus point were the changes in training methods, tactical modifications and alterations to the systems of play in team sports (e.g. text *Piłkarze radzieccy modyfikują system W-M*⁴⁰ [Soviet footballers modify W-M system]).

A considerable place in the sports press of the 1950s was occupied by the propaganda of success, within which even minor events if successful had to be complimented and elevated to the status of a major achievement of Polish sport. That was particularly visible in titles, which emphasised selected positive aspects of the events being discussed: "Rekordowa obsada zimowego turnieju piłki ręcznej w Katowicach"⁴¹ [Record participation in the winter handball tournament in Katowice], 'Grad nowych rekordów na II Letniej Spartakiadzie OW Kraków'⁴² [Hailstorm of new records at the 2nd Summer OW Krakow Spartakiad], "Na znak solidarności z Wyścigiem Pokoju dziesiątki tysięcy kolarzy w całym kraju wzięło

38 PS 1950, issue 53, p. 2.

39 SPC 1952, issue 31, pp. 8–9.

40 SPC 1956, issue 21, p. 7.

41 PS 1951, issue 104, p. 4.

42 PS 1952, issue 67, p. 4.

udział w wyścigach powiatowych”⁴³ [In solidarity with the Peace Race thousands of cyclists throughout the country took part in poviast races], “Koszykarze na najlepszej drodze do dalszych postępów”⁴⁴ [Basketball players on the best path to further progress]. Allow me to add that journalists also strove to notice the successes of foreign athletes, of course those representing other states of the Eastern Bloc, e.g.:

Zeszłoroczny turniej przynosi więc reprezentacjom krajów demokracji ludowej poważny sukces sportowy. Na 6 uczestniczących drużyn 4 zajęły w swoich grupach pierwsze miejsca, jedna (Polska) – trzecie i jedna (NRD) – czwarte. Sukces ten jest tym większy, że 4 z tych zespołów brały udział po raz pierwszy w ogóle, a tylko drużyna NRD – grała po raz drugi, a Węgry po raz trzeci.

[Therefore, last year’s tournament ensured for the national teams of the countries of people’s democracy a major sports success. Out of the 6 teams which participated in it, 4 took first places in their groups, one third (Poland), and one fourth (DDR). The success was even greater considering the fact that 4 out of those teams took part in the tournament for the first time ever, and only the DDR’s team were playing in it for the second time, and the Hungarian team for the third time.]⁴⁵

The sports press was similarly eager to report on the fulfilment of the commitments and activities for the development and reinforcing of the socialist system. To celebrate various state holidays or congresses of the PZPR, athletes usually committed to improve their personal bests—they promised that they would run faster, defeat more opponents, or break another record. Then, when they actually managed to achieve an intended result, journalists, in turn, wrote about that as if they wrote about some grand achievements and depicted the athletes as citizens worth imitating (or *udarniks*), e.g.:

Po przemówieniu przew. Reczka [...] głos zabrał rekordzista Polski [...], ślubując w imieniu braci sportowej dotrzymania zobowiązania złożonego Prezesowi Rady Ministrów Bierutowi w czasie Zlotu Młodych Przodowników Budowniczych Polski Ludowej, że sportowcy staną do walki o jeszcze większe i lepsze osiągnięcia na polu kultury fizycznej. Za przykładem przyjaciół swoich z ZSRR sportowcy polscy dążyć będą do podwyższenia swych kwalifikacji, polepszenia rekordów, do powiększenia aktywu sportowego, zrealizowania również na odcinku kultury fizycznej hasła łączności miasta ze wsią i pomocy dla LZS oraz spółdzielni produkcyjnych.

⁴³ PS 1952, issue 34, p. 2.

⁴⁴ PS 1959, issue 43, p. 2.

⁴⁵ PS 1956, issue 38, p. 4.

Upowszechniając kulturę fizyczną, sportowcy polscy z honorem wypełnią testament Wodza ludzkości Józefa Stalina.

[After the speech by president Reczek [...] the Polish record breaker [...] took to the stage to pledge on behalf of his fellow athletes to keep the commitment they made to Chairman Bierut during the Congress of Young Construction Udamniks of the People's Poland that athletes will take up the fight for even bigger and better achievements in the area of physical culture. Following the example of their USSR friends, the Polish athletes shall strive to elevate their qualifications, improve their personal bests, expand the ranks of the sporting community, as well as to fulfil within the area of physical culture the slogan of the connection between the city and the countryside, and to aid People's Sporting Associations and production co-operatives. By promoting physical culture, Polish athletes shall honourably fulfil the testament of Joseph Stalin, the leader of mankind.]⁴⁶

They also reported on the commitments undertaken in terms of the expansion of the infrastructure or the fulfilment of production plans at their industrial plants, e.g.:

Meldunki o podejmowaniu zobowiązań przez sportowców wsi i miast naszego województwa napływają coraz szerszym strumieniem. [...] sportowcy wielu kół włączają się do walki o przedterminowe wykonanie planów produkcyjnych, o wyższe plony, przystępują do budownictwa sportowego siłami społecznymi.

[Reports of commitments undertaken by the athletes from the villages and cities of our voivodeship have been streaming in. [...] the athletes from many centres join the fight for early fulfilment of production plans or larger harvests, and they join the sports development through social power.]⁴⁷

and

Zawodnicy Sparty z Nowego Sącza podjęli cenne zobowiązania dla uczczenia Święta 1 Maja. Postanowili oni m.in. przepracować 800 roboczogodzin przy budowie stadionu klubowego, gremialnie złożyć podpisy pod Apelem Wiedeńskim, zdobyć ponad plan 50 odznak SPO i BSPO.

[The athletes of Sparta from Nowy Sącz made a valuable commitment in celebration of the Holiday of the 1st of May. They undertook to work 800 man-hours at the construction of the club's stadium, collectively sign the Vienna Appeal, and exceed the plan by 50 SPO and BSPO plaques.]⁴⁸

⁴⁶ SP 1953, issue 22, p. 1.

⁴⁷ GS 1954, issue 13, p. 2.

⁴⁸ SPC 1955, issue 14, p. 3.

The model attitude was sometimes even praised by indicating specific persons:

Tymczasem przypatrzmy się, jak Śląsk wprowadza w czyn wytyczne Z.G. Kolejarz, które uchwalono na I Krajowej Naradzie. [...] Przede wszystkim masowość! [...] Teraz [...] władze okręgu przygotowują się do rozpoczęcia wielkiej bitwy o masowość. Przewodniczący Zarządu, wicedyrektor DOKP planuje plan strategiczny pod hasłem „Wszyscy kolejarze śląscy są czynnymi sportowcami”. [...] ZMP-owcy dokładają wielu starań, aby powierzona im praca na odcinku szkolenia ideologicznego została wykonana bez reszty. Na szczególne wyróżnienie zasługuje ZMP-owiec Bączek, doskonały aktywista, wychowawca kolejarzy-sportowców w Sosnowcu.

[In the meantime, let us see how Silesia is implementing the guidelines of Z.G. Kolejarz, which were approved at the 1st National Council. [...] Mass participation is the key! [...] Now [...] the authorities of our district are preparing to begin the battle for mass participation. The president of the Management, the deputy director of the State Railways District Directorate is planning a strategic plan under the heading: “Wszyscy kolejarze śląscy są czynnymi sportowcami” [All Silesian railwaymen are active athletes]. [...] Members of the Union of Polish Youth have been making every effort to fulfil every little element of the work with which they have been entrusted in the area of ideological training. Member Bączek, an excellent activist, and a coach of railwaymen/athletes in Sosnowiec, deserves particular praise.]⁴⁹

A relatively large space was devoted to reporting on congresses of various committees, commissions and plenums (apart from the Central Committee of the PZPR, there were also, e.g. Krajowa Narada Aktywu Sportowego [National Council of the Sporting Community], Główny Komitet Kultury Fizycznej [Main Committee of Physical Culture] and Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych [Central Council of Trade Unions]). Naturally, journalists were most interested in all the sport-related decisions made there. In this case, the press played the role of the official body responsible for propagating knowledge of the resolutions being passed. At the same time, its task was to convince readers about the legitimacy of the planned changes and actions. Another important element of those texts was the explanations of the main assumptions of the plans for developing physical culture.

For example, the report “Poprawa sytuacji w dziedzinie wychowania fizycznego i sportu młodzieży szkolnej ważnym i pilnym zadaniem” [Improving the situation in physical education and sports of school children is a major and urgent task], published after the meeting of the Plenum of the Main Committee of Physical Culture, discussed the Plenum’s resolution in detail indicating that it was necessary

⁴⁹ PS 1950, issue 52, p. 5.

to: train, by 1965, a sufficient number of physical education teachers to ensure sufficient teaching personnel in schools at every level; render available facilities and equipment for physical education lessons for both schools and organisations; equip all schools with the infrastructure for outdoor physical exercises; systematically increase the number of persons covered by the programme of voluntary physical education and sport; study the utilisation of physical exercises as a form of active recreation at work; coordinate (in cooperation with the Ministry of National Defence) the activities of the sports League of Soldier's Friends with all the accompanying activities in terms of physical culture and sport in Poland; increase state expenditure on the development of physical culture; develop pro-active targeted propaganda of physical education and mass forms of sports work, mainly using the press, radio and television and popular publishing houses. The main criteria of evaluation of said goals were supposed to include: the number of persons covered by regular activities in terms of physical education and sport, and the level of average physical fitness among the young and adults in various communities (calculated based on applicable studies).⁵⁰

The sports press of the 1950s actively participated in the development of a socialist society, not only through reporting on the sporting events which carried a propaganda significance, but mainly by constantly combining sport and politics, emphasising the role of the former in the civil education of the youth. A particular focus was placed on the Polish-Soviet friendship which was supposed to be cemented by sports rivalry in the spirit of brotherhood and community. Finally, the Soviet Union was depicted as a role model, be it in terms of training methods, tactics and hard work, or the skill in transplanting socialist principles into the area of sport.

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⁵⁰ PS 1959, issue 96, p. 2.

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Rafał Siekiera

Propaganda w polskiej prasie sportowej lat 1950–1959

Streszczenie

Artykuł opisuje najważniejsze postaci propagandy socjalistycznej występujące w polskiej prasie sportowej lat 1950–1959. Jak wynika z analizy materiału badawczego, pisma sportowe, mimo pozornej odległości tematycznej od kwestii politycznych, stały się narzędziami wpływu na społeczeństwo. Główna siła oddziaływania skupiała się w tekstach powstających typowo w celach propagandowych, jednak również wypowiedzi poświęcone samym zawodom sportowym (np. sprawozdania) zawierały elementy polityczne. Najważniejszymi przejawami propagandy w prasie sportowej były mieszanie sportu z polityką, promowanie radzieckich wzorów szkoleniowych i taktycznych, nadmierne podkreślanie sukcesów, informowanie o zobowiązaniach podejmowanych przez sportowców z okazji świąt państwowych oraz krytykowanie warunków społeczno-politycznych w krajach kapitalistycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: propaganda, sport, socjalizm, totalitaryzm, prasa PRL.

Propaganda content in the Polish sports press of the 1950s

Summary

The article describes main forms of socialist propaganda in Polish sports press of the 1950's decade. As the analysis shows, sports magazines, despite their apparent thematic distance from political issues, had become tools of social impact. The main force of influence was concentrated in texts created typically for propaganda purposes, but also texts devoted to sports competitions (i.e. reports) contained political components. The most important manifestations of propaganda in the sports press were the mixing of sport with politics, promoting Soviet training and tactical patterns, over-emphasizing successes, informing about the socialist commitments made by athletes on public holidays, as well as criticizing social and political conditions in capitalist countries.

Keywords: propaganda, sport, socialism, totalitarianism, PRL press.

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The style of independent periodicals in 1979–1980 in the face of the dominant ideological discourse

Introduction

1976 was a year which started a new period which unified all communities in the history of resistance against the system and the ideology of the People's Republic of Poland (PRL).¹ Social dissent was no longer aimed at only the ethical or economical dimensions of the communist authorities, but also at their political base, i.e. the system's counter-democratic nature and the non-sovereignty of the state. It naturally joined the criticism of public communication held hostage by the dominant ideological discourse (authoritative), held by a single-party government.² The institutional impact

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1 *Opozycja małopolska w dokumentach 1976–1980*, selection and edition A. Roliński, Fundacja CDCN – Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2003, pp. V–XIV. The opposition consolidated around petitions and open letters (regarding planned changes to the constitution of the PRL, in defence of workers after protests in, e.g. Radom and Ursus). The opposition became more active also as a result of the events of 1977 in the Kraków student community: the death of Stanisław Pyjas and the repressions by the SB secret police (D. Suska, "Dyskurs wokół śmierci Stanisława Pyjasa (językowe strategie zarządzania kryzysem w prasie krakowskiej)", *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 2017, issue 3(41), pp. 115–132).

2 I consider discourse as "the means of organising human activity, i.e. the set of communicational practices common for a community, which within various interactions define and negotiate content important for it, thus establishing axiological cooperation, preserve the applicable scenarios of communicational behaviour and the rules of their fulfilment through expressions (and/or non-verbal means)" (M. Wojtak, "O dyskursie religijnym, jego osobliwościach i przeobrażeniach", [in:] *Dyskurs i jego odmiany*, eds. B. Witosz, K. Sujkowska-Sobisz, E. Ficek,

of the system on the functioning of the press (e.g. control of permits for publication, paper allocations, etc.), and, most of all, the censorship of every text, enabled the authorities to control their content and form, which resulted in an increase in the volume of a “just” vocabulary of values, and the ideologisation of meanings.³ Also, in that respect, 1976 was a break-through year as it defined the beginning of an independent circulation of communication in the form of samizdat press. In the period 1976–1989, samizdat developed dynamically proving society’s demand for a free flow of information; *Encyklopedia Solidarności* [Solidarity Encyclopaedia] indicates that over 5,500 such periodicals were in circulation at that time.⁴

Independent periodicals

Samizdat periodicals concentrated the major opposition attitudes (voices) and resonated among that part of the social reality which remained outside the mainstream; thus, they carried implications of rejection, a critical dialogue with the dominant discourse and the newspeak, which was the linguistic emanation of that discourse.⁵ Therefore, the independent press of the late-1970s offers important material for discourse-focussed linguistic studies which consider collections of texts, i.e. how they were formed verbally, in conjunction (and mutual relationship) with their material and immaterial, ideological and institutional surrounding structure/ superstructure/ foundation.⁶ The instances of practical applications of press genres can also be treated as the outcomes of the contemporary “communicational events”, as a genre (media genre in particular) forms through the existence within a specific time, place and culture of circumstances of linguistic communication, i.e. the broadly understood context of social practices of a period, as well as through various relations with those practices.⁷ The conditions of

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2016, p. 71). The discourse included in the title should be further defined as ideological discourse, which creates a set of communicational practices, the basis of which are specific political convictions organised and institutionalised; the status of the dominant discourse means that it subordinates the official practices in every sphere (be it official, media, etc.) (B. Witosz, “Czy potrzebne nam typologie dyskursów?”, [in:] *Dyskurs i...*, pp. 22–24).

3 I. Kamińska-Szmaj, “U źródeł politycznego dyskursu dominującego w czasach PRL”, [in:] *Dyskurs i...*, pp. 122–129.

4 www.encyisol.pl/wiki/Skorowidz_prasy [accessed on: 6.03.2018].

5 Vide, e.g.: M. Głowiński, *Nowomowa po polsku*, PEN, Warsaw 1991; J. Bralczyk, *O języku polskiej propagandy politycznej lat siedemdziesiątych*, Wydawnictwo Trio, Warsaw 2007.

6 I. Kamińska-Szmaj, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

7 B. Witosz, “O potrzebie perspektywy multimedialnej w badaniach stylistycznych”, [in:] *Język w mediach. Antologia*, eds. M. Kita, I. Loewe, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2012, p. 59.

a moment in history, a moment of culture, including of political culture, leave the most visible trace in the style of a genre implementation (especially at the level of its determiners).⁸

In this article, I shall present the stylistic structures of selected journalistic articles, which constituted part of the independent discourse at the discussed time. In practice, the goal of the study entails a description of representative microstyles, outlining the functional interpretation of the identified means and stylistic devices, considering how they were related to the official model of public communication. A secondary matter would be to offer a detailed discussion of the genological statuses of the analysed texts, which, in most cases, was undefined; only some were announced explicitly as a *felieton* [a column] or a *komentarz felietonisty do...* [commentary of the columnist on...] (by their authors or the authors of later collections of independent periodicals), while others carried the character of extended commentaries or press discussion articles. In general, the press pieces selected for the analysis shared, in my opinion, not so much their genre determination, but their dominant columnistic intent⁹, which exceeded the individual profiling of their styles. The samizdat periodicals of the late-1970s entered such an area of social interaction in which the forms of permitted media expression were strictly defined and reduced to one propaganda intention and the corresponding style. Therefore, any attempt at dislodging the linguistic-axiological monolith of the newspeak and at exceeding the stylistic and pragmatic uniformity obviously triggered the already mentioned columnistic intent, which was (to various degrees) shared by all independent press articles.

The study material covers selected press articles diverse in terms of their styles from samizdat periodicals from the Lesser Poland region (which played a major role in the formation of the pre-August opposition) from 1979–1980: *Indeks* (subtitle: *Niezależne pismo studenckie*) [Independent student magazine], *Merkuriusz Krakowski i Światowy*, *Wiadomości Tarnowskie*, *Krzyż Nowohucki*¹⁰.

Microstyles of contestation

In 1979, *Indeks* published an article entitled “Najweselszy barak” [The most cheerful barrack], inspired by its author’s meeting with Jerzy Jaskiernia, a communist youth activist. The reporting narration of its first part resembled, on a quotation basis, the propaganda model and its distinctive view of the world (Jaskiernia’s statements

8 M. Wojtak, “O relacjach dyskursu, stylu, gatunku i tekstu”, *Tekst i dyskurs – Text und Diskurs* 4, p. 71, http://tekst-dyskurs.eu/images/pdf/zeszyt_4/Wojtak.pdf [accessed on: 6.03.2018].

9 E. Balcerzan, “W stronę genologii multimedialnej”, [in:] *Genologia dzisiaj. Praca zbiorowa*, eds. W. Bolecki, I. Opacki, Instytut Badań Literackich, Warsaw 2000, pp. 86–101.

10 I provide the details of all the analysed texts in the Sources section.

in direct speech), e.g. the image of the community of brotherly states of the communist bloc with the leading, and punishing if necessary, role of the USSR, the myth of the ruler/host who cares for a country, unity, equality, and freedom. The intentional accumulation of keywords, labels, euphemisms, and mental templates (the figure of the enemy) so abused in manipulative content triggered an ironic reading, and, in turn, obvious valuation of those means through a defined community of recipients (the communal “we”):

Byłem ostatnio na wystąpieniu towarzysza Jaskierni w Krakowie w klubie studenckim [...]. Towarzysz Jaskiernia zapewniał nas, że w Polsce nie jest tak źle, jak myślimy, choć **rzeczywiście nie ze wszystkim jest dobrze**. Twierdził, że nasz system polityczny jest lepszy od zachodniego, bo **u nas naród stanowi jedność** (a władza dąży do stworzenia jeszcze większej jedności) i panuje równość, **a na Zachodzie takiej jedności i równości nie ma, a są konflikty i bałagan**. Mówił, że **jest w Polsce wiele wolności i że więcej być nie może, bo mamy trudną sytuacją gospodarczą** i wtedy **łatwo jest wrogom mącić**. Jak się sytuacja poprawi, to władza da nam więcej wolności – a i tak jest u nas swobodnie, niż w innych państwach komunistycznych. Ostrzegął jednocześnie, że **są tacy** – w kraju i w bratnich państwach – **którzy chcieliby nam zrobić porządek**.

[Recently, I listened to a speech by comrade Jaskiernia in Krakow in a student club [...] Comrade Jaskiernia assured us that in Poland it is not as bad as we think, though **truly not everything is all right**. He claimed that our political system is better than the Western one because **in ours the nation is united** (and the government strives to create even greater unity), and there is equality, **while in the West there is no such unity and equality and instead there are conflicts and disorder**. He said that **in Poland there are many freedoms and that there could be no more because we have a difficult economic situation** and then **enemies could easily stir up the situation**. When the situation improves, the government will give us freedom, and even now it is free in our country, more than in other communist states. He also warned that **there are those**, in Poland and in brotherly states, **who would like to impose their order on us**.]

The exaggerated idyllic image of unity and prosperity looming from the “comrade’s” statements was contrasted with the second part of the text. Its column form was based on a specification of the propaganda expression of “brotherly states’ camp”, within which Poland existed, i.e. the title “most cheerful barrack”:

Towarzyszu Jaskiernio!

Ja wiem, że Polska jest najweselszym barakiem w obozie. **Ja wiem, że tu kiepsko karmią, ale za to wolno sobie kwiatek do pasiaka przypiąć.** I na apelu nie pilnuje się tak bardzo, aby wszyscy na baczność stali. I listy wolno częściej dostawać. **I nie wolno tak gryźć zeków jak w innych barakach – tylko spodnie czasem poszarpią i człowieka przewrócą, jak się z kolumny wychylić [...]**

Ja wiem, towarzyszu Jaskiernio, że **u nas łatwiej zekowi, bo stoi w kącie kapliczka i nie burzą, a ostatnio nawet medaliki przestali przy kipiszu zabierać.** Ja wiem, że u nas zeki mówią między sobą, co chcą, a w innych barakach się boją (choć coraz mniej). Ja wiem, że ostatnio nawet do karceru przestali za to wsadzać i stukacze chodzą zmartwieni.

[Comrade Jaskiernia!

I know that Poland is the most cheerful barrack in the camp. **I know that the food they serve is poor, but you can always put a flower in the lapel of your striped uniform.** And no one is so strict about everyone standing at attention during a roll call. And you're allowed to receive letters more often. **And fellow zeks will not get so much bitten as in other barracks – only their trousers will get sometimes tattered a bit and they may get toppled over when they leave the column [...]**

I know, comrade Jaskiernia, **that at our place it is easier for zeks because in the corner there is a shrine and they do not demolish it, and recently they even stopped taking away holy medals when doing personal searches.** I know that at our place zeks can say whatever they want to among themselves, while in other barracks they are afraid (though less and less). I know that recently they even stopped throwing them into solitary confinement and snitches are very troubled by that.]

At the base of the thus outlined metaphor of the Polish political system there lay the Lager reality (known since the 1970s from underground translations of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago: 1918–1956*), producing its approximation through, e.g. typical lexical choices (e.g. "zeks" denoting "prisoners") and the experiences of Nazi concentration camps. The use of historical facts so strongly marked in the memories of Poles and the association of the existing government with the described systems of captivity had a major discrediting potential. The columnist was consistent in developing his graphic narration giving it the sense of a common accusatory speech directed through Jerzy Jaskiernia to "the bosses": the authorities with the "red epaulettes". The other descriptions of camp life created an allusive interpretation of the current social relations (feigning dialogue, minor concessions towards the Catholic Church), the distribution of internal and external political forces (the threat of an external intervention), and the motivations behind the government's actions:

Ale wy nie udawajcie, że jesteście razem z nami i nie zasłaniajcie w czasie rozmowy czerwonych pagonów. Wam się ten obóz podoba, nam nie. Wam się podoba, jak tu na apelu równo stoją i zeki i funkcyjni – przed naczalstwem. I jak idą do pracy kolumną, śpiewając. [...] Wam się nie podoba, że tam za drutami ludzie chodzą jak chcą, sami wybierają, kto nimi rządzi i krzyżeć na siebie nie dają.

Wy byście chcieli, żeby w naszym baraku był porządek i żeby lepiej karmili i żeby funkcyjnym było lepiej – jak w Dachau, a nie jak w workuckich łagrach. Ale wy jesteście za tym obozem, a my nie.

Towarzyszu Jaskiernio! Więc cała różnica między wami z czerwonymi pagonami, a nami – zekami, jest ta, że wy byście chcieli, żeby ten obóz zawsze istniał i się rozszerzał [...] A my marzymy o tym, by nie żyć za drutami. I myślimy o tym, jak zrobić, aby nie było już więcej tych drutów i psów, i takiego naczalstwa.

My nie wiemy, czy dożyjemy tego. Ale wy myślicie, że ten obóz będzie trwała wiecznie, a my wiemy, że wszelkie obozy się kończą [...] I wiemy, że bywają w historii dni, gdy padają wieżyczki strażnicze i gdy wychodzi się na wolność.

[Comrade Jaskiernia! I know that you have to talk to us without putting pressure on us, because the bosses of the barrack are accountable for peace before their superiors, because if, God forbid, tanks will have to arrive here, think how much petrol alone costs.

But don't pretend that you are with us together and do not hide when we're talking behind your red epaulettes. You like this camp, we don't. You like it when during a roll call both zeks and functionaries stand in straight lines – in front of the bosses. And when they go to work in a column singing. [...] You don't like it that behind the wires people go as they please, they themselves choose who governs them and they do not allow anyone to shout at them.

You would like to have order in our barrack and that they would feed us better and that functionaries had it better – like in Dachau rather than in Vorkuta Gulags. But you support this camp, and we don't.

Comrade Jaskiernia! So, the whole difference between you with the red epaulettes and us, the zeks, is that you would like for this camp to exist forever and for it to develop [...] While we dream of not being behind the wires. And we are thinking what to do so that there are no more wires and dogs and such bosses.

We do not know whether we'll live to see that. But you think that the camp will endure forever, whereas we know that all camps end [...] And we know that there are days in history when guard towers are toppled and when people become free.]

The quoted speech was at the same time a metaphor of an impossible dialogue between society and the authorities on the fundamental principles of the state. The columnist assigned himself the role of a representative of the community, he

further specified the “we” (my) in contrast to the plural “you” (wy) – he vividly indicated the differences, yet he avoided simplified evaluations which in turn emphasised the axiological dimension of the message. The persuasive quality of the text was ensured by various repetitions (syntactic, lexical and structural) and stylisations (e.g. connecting similar structures beginning with the conjunction “i” (and), colloquial lexis, and word order imitating a spontaneous narrative) which, providing indications of linguistic and textual games¹¹, amplified the contrast between the common determinations and the appearances of a propaganda expression. At the same time the author forecast further events in the country expressing an explicit warning but also a proposal for common reflection:

Towarzyszu Jaskiernio! Ja wiem, że są u nas funkcyjni, co by chcieli porządku, aby im było łatwiej rządzić [...] Ale czy pamiętacie, jak kilka lat temu, w sąsiednim baraku zeki się zbuntowali i zanim wjechały czołgi, zdążyli trochę tych najgorszych funkcyjnych wydusić [...]. **I pomyślcie, towarzyszu Jaskiernio, co będzie, jak się coś stanie, i czołgi nie wjadą, bo będą gdzie indziej potrzebne, albo tam na górze – w naczałstwie obozu – uznają, że to za dużo kosztuje, a z naszym barakiem i tak wciąż same kłopoty [...]**

Towarzyszu Jaskiernio! Ja wiem, że wy macie pistolety u pasów i psy. **Ale nas jest o wiele więcej, a i wśród was niektórzy mają dość obozu [...]** A tu zeki szumią coraz bardziej [...]

Towarzyszu Jaskiernio! Ja jestem człowiek spokojny i wierzący i chciałabym wtedy tylko jednego. Aby z was nie zrobiono na miejscu krwawej masy, ale **żeby wszystko było spokojnie i sprawiedliwie** – jak w Norymberdze. A jeśli i tego nie chcecie, to **wytłumaczcie na czas tym na górze, aby pozwolili wam znieść druty, odesłać psy, odpiąć pistolety i zastanowić się razem z nami, co z tym wszystkim zrobić.**

[Comrade Jaskiernia! I know that there are functionaries here who would like order so that they could rule more easily [...]. But do you remember when a few years back in a neighbouring barrack, zeks rebelled and before tanks finally arrived, they managed to stifle some of the functionaries [...]. **Just think, comrade Jaskiernia, what will happen when something happens and tanks won't come because they will be needed somewhere else, or there at the top, among the bosses of the camp, they decide that this is costing them too much and there are constant problems with our barrack either way [...]**

Comrade Jaskiernia! I know that you have guns at your belts and dogs. **But there are many more of us and even among you there are those who have had enough of the camp [...]** And here zeks are rustling more and more [...]

¹¹ D. Kępa-Figura, “Performatywność w komunikacji medialnej”, [in:] *Performatywne wymiary kultury*, eds. K. Skowronek, K. Leszczyńska, Wydawnictwo Libron – Filip Lohner, Krakow 2012, pp. 243–255.

Comrade Jaskiernia! I am a peaceful man and a man of faith and then I would wish for only one thing. That you are not turned into a bloody mass on the spot but **rather that everything is calm and just** – like in Nuremberg. And if you don't want even that, then **convince in time those at the top to allow us to remove the wires, send away the dogs, unfasten the guns and think together with us what to do with all that.**]

Irony was the base of the stylistic nature of the discussed text. Before delving into further analysis, it should be noted that irony constituted the dominant stylistics of all of the analysed texts, which seems justified in the case of articles the purpose of which was to dismantle a language based on semantic deformations.

The next text: “Lenin bombed” (*Merkuriusz Krakowski i Światowy*) referred to an attempted bomb attack on a statue of Lenin in Nowa Huta on the night of 17 April 1979. The broader background was the cult of the leader, which since the early-1970s had been amplified by the authorities through increased propaganda efforts, and which was equally contested by the society by, e.g. such actions as the one discussed in the text.

The play with the readers is visible already at the level of the title: the cult figure of the communist echelon was combined with a verb from the language of the “hostile West”. The ironic effect was expanded in the body of the text through lexical play based on polysemy, the tension between literal and figurative meanings, the phraseological meaning (“pustka wewnętrzna” [internal emptiness], “obalić na bruk” [topple to the ground]), and hyperbolisation (“zbrodniczy wybuch” [criminal explosion]):

W nocy z 17 na 18 kwietnia [1979], na dwa dni przed rocznicą urodzin Wodza, zbrodniczy wybuch urwał Iljiczowi spory kawał nogi i omal nie obalił go całkowicie na bruk. Lenina uratowała ponoć pustka wewnętrzna: zamiast natrafić na solidny opór litego brązu, gazy powstałe przy eksplozji rozproszyły się wewnątrz maszerującego kolosa i tym sposobem pomnik ocalał.

[On the night of 17 April [1979], two days prior to the birthday of the Leader, a criminal explosion tore off a large part of Ilich's leg and nearly toppled him to the ground. Lenin was, so they say, saved by an internal emptiness: instead of striking against the strong resistance of solid bronze, the gas produced during the explosion spread inside the striding colossus and thus the statue survived.]

The humorous modifications of names, lexis featuring various scopes of application in non-standard combinations and contexts triggered expressiveness and, in turn, they assigned value to the activities of the authorities:

Uciecha w mieście była wielka. Rozeszła się pogłoska, że **Aleja Róż przemianowana będzie na Aleję Inwalidów**. Wściekły był na pewno jeden człowiek, mianowicie mistrz Konieczny, którego według naszych źródeł z ASP, milicja wyciągnęła z łóżka o czwartej nad ranem, aby własnoręcznie gipsem i czernidłem **zreperował wodza rewolucji**. Ciekawe, czy **Lenin był jeszcze w okresie gwarancyjnym?**

[Joy in the city was huge. There spread a rumour that **Roses Avenue will be renamed Invalids Avenue**. However, one man must have been furious, that is master Konieczny, who, according to our sources at the Academy of Fine Arts, was dragged by the police from his bed at 4:00 in the morning to personally apply gypsum and blackwash to **repair the leader of the revolution**. I wonder **whether Lenin was still under guarantee?**]

A seemingly light-hearted argument, maintained within the poetics of a colloquial almost gossip-like piece (“ponoć” [so they say]), consolidated the community strongly and marked events and persons close to it in terms of principles: directly or through allusive circumlocutions which assumed common knowledge shared by the sender and the recipients regarding important events (e.g. “maj 1977” [May of 1977]: death of Stanisław Pyjas). It was accompanied by a “dismantling” of the newspeak, as the identification of the manipulative mechanisms of nomination and lexical templates actually did deprive it of its power of influence:

[...] cierpiała przede wszystkim opozycja, na którą zwała się fala rewizji, przesłuchań i zatrzymań. Wyglądało to w pierwszej chwili groźnie – zupełnie jak maj 1977, ale akcję błyskawicznie przyhamowano i już 20 kwietnia, przemawiając pod zreperowanym Leninem, sekretarz Barcikowski uznał za stosowne zwolnić opozycję z bezpośredniej odpowiedzialności. **Zrobił to oczywiście techniką nowomowy, tzn. oskarżył opozycję o stwarzanie takiego klimatu, w którym mogą się rodzić podobne pomysły.**

[...] the opposition suffered the worst, as they were hit by a wave of revisions, interrogations and arrests. Initially it seemed ominous, just as in May of 1977, yet the operation was quickly toned down and already on 20 April when speaking in front of the repaired Lenin, Secretary Barcikowski deemed it proper to relieve the opposition of any liability. **He, of course, did that using the technique of newspeak, that is, he accused the opposition of creating such an atmosphere in which similar ideas may form.**]

A different construction and stylistic principle offered the framework for another text published in the *Merkuriusz Krakowski i Światowy*: “Okólnik 13/PO czyli o zasadach podziału łupów” [Circular 13/PO, or on the rules of dividing the loot]. The polemical article focussed on an order issued at that time regarding

the taxation of unrevealed income only of the so-called private initiative, but not of state officials. The polemic was based on an article from the official press, the theses of which were reported upon with an exaggerated emphasising of the achievements of the article's author, which in turn led to ironic mocking. Similarly to the previous texts, this one also featured elements of newspeak and its typical mechanisms – clearly marked (indicated with graphic meta-linguistic commentary) depreciating of those who used them for manipulative purposes:

Pan Adam Teneta jest w prasie krakowskiej specjalistą od niewdzięcznych tematów. Tylko w ciągu minionej jesieni **podjął odpowiedzialne zadanie** obrony przydziałów (Dziennik Polski nr 139) dewizowych, **uczył nas kochać milicjantów i ubowców w ramach kampanii** „35 rocznica powołania MO i UB”, a ostatnio **daje odpór wrogiej plotce, szerzącej się** w związku z okólnikiem Ministerstwa Finansów z 3.09.79 w sprawie „opodatkowania dochodów ustalonych na podstawie znamion zewnętrznych”. Oto zatem konkluzje naszego autora: „...Człowiek pracujący i żyjący uczciwie, nawet na wysokim poziomie, nie ma tu najmniejszego powodu do obaw... Może bać się kanciarz, łapownik, oszust, mankowicz i złodziej... Coraz szersze kręgi społeczeństwa żądają od kompetentnych władz bliższego zainteresowania się grupą takich, co żyją jako <ptaki niebieskie>”...

„...A może plotki (na ten temat) mają też inny, **określony, ukryty sens**: spowodowanie ogólnego społecznego zaniepokojenia?” (podkreślenie moje – B.)

Jednym słowem, huzia na pasożytów i mącieli, czyli kwintesencja policyjnego myślenia.

[Mr. Adam Teneta specialises in the Krakow-based press in difficult topics. Only last autumn **he undertook the weighty task** of defending foreign currency allowances (*Dziennik Polski* issue 139), **he taught us how to love policemen and the UB secret servicemen in the** “35th anniversary of establishing the Citizen Police and the Security Office” **campaign**, and more recently, **he has been rebutting the hostile rumour** regarding the circular of the Ministry of Finance dated 3.09.79 on the “taxation of income established based on external indicators.” Here are our author's conclusions: “... A man who works and lives honesty, even at a high level, has absolutely nothing to worry about here... Who should be worried are the swindlers, bribers, frauds, cash register leakers and thieves... A growing number of citizens demands competent authorities to focus more closely on the group of triflers”...

“... Or maybe the rumours (on the topic) have another **specific yet implicit meaning**: to cause general anxiety in society.” (emphasis – B.)

In short, attack the parasites and troublemakers, that is the essence of police thinking.]

The ironic mocking stylistics did not, however, deprive the column of its cognitive value, especially in its second part (which mocked the circular and its consequences), the style of which resembled that of an expert opinion yet combined with an accessible graphic translation (“innymi słowy” [in other words], “spróbujemy dojść na drodze analitycznej” [let us try to arrive through analysis]):

Nie mogąc przyjąć za dobra monetę wyjaśnień p. Tenety, **spróbujemy** na własną rękę zanalizować inkryminowany dokument. **Stanowi on konkretną interpretację przepisów art. 131 dekretu z 1946 roku** o postępowaniu podatkowym. Artykuł ten przewiduje możliwość dodatkowego opodatkowania obywateli, niezależnie od innych obciążeń skarbowych, jeżeli suma jego wydatków wykrytych przez urząd finansowy przekracza jego ujawnione dochody. **Innymi słowy, jest to podatek od dochodów nielegalnych.**

[Since the explanations by Mr. Teneta cannot be accepted at face value, **let us** analyse the incriminated document on our own. **It constitutes a concrete interpretation of the provisions of Art. 131 of the decree of 1946** on tax procedure. That article assumes the possibility of additional taxation of citizens, regardless of other fiscal encumbrance, if the sum of their expenditure uncovered by a revenue office exceeds their stated income. **In other words, it is a tax from illegal income.**]

The reliable image of the sender, expert in nature, could be treated as an element of persuasive strategy since the clarification of the reality led to lifting lies from it, and it remained in contrast with the emptiness of official communications. Compared to the factual discussion, the words which existed in the newspeak (e.g. “praworządność” [law-abidingness], “Polska Ludowa” [People’s Poland]) also acquired real meaning, breaking free from their propaganda distortions:

Z formalno-prawnego punktu widzenia dwa aspekty dokumentu wydają się istotne.

Po pierwsze, okólnik nr 13 narusza konstytucyjną zasadę równości obywateli wobec prawa. Urzędnik wydziału handlu rady narodowej może bezpiecznie za zebrane łapówki wystawić sobie dom, byle nie nazbyt kosztowny, natomiast np. taksówkarz będzie się musiał tłumaczyć, skąd wziął pieniądze. Gdyby Polska była krajem praworządnym, tego typu dyskryminacyjny przepis podlegałby zaskarżeniu przed Trybunałem Konstytucyjnym.

Po drugim, **w praworządnym państwie** obywatel przyłapany na utajeniu części dochodów podlega po prostu karze, podobnie jak wszelka inna kradzież. W **Polsce Ludowej** inaczej: państwo nie pyta o źródła nieudokumentowanych dochodów, zamierza je tylko opodatkować. **Czyli po prostu** chce wyegzekwować swój udział

w łupach. **To bardziej przypomina zasady działania mafii sycylijskiej, niż europejskiego państwa.**

[From a formal-legal point of view, two aspects of the document seemed significant.

First of all, circular no. 13 violates the constitutional principle of equality under the law. An officer of the department of trade of the national council can safely use the bribes he had collected to build a house provided it is not too lavish, while, e.g. a taxi driver will have to prove from where he got his money. If Poland was a law-abiding country, such discriminatory regulations would be subject to appeal at the Constitutional Tribunal.

Secondly, **in a law-abiding country**, a citizen caught having hidden a portion of their income is simply subject to a penalty, as is the case with any other theft. In **People's Poland** it is different: the state does not ask about the source of undocumented income, all it intends to do is tax it. **In simple terms**, it just enforces its share in the loot. **That resembles the principles according to which the Italian mafia works more than a European state.]**

“Wkładasz kopertę – wyskakuje królik, czyli Wyborcze Hokus-Pokus” [You fill an envelope and a rabbit jumps out, or the hocus pocus of election time] (*Krzyż Nowohucki*) was a commentary on the elections of 1980 to the PRL's Sejm and the National Councils:

23 marca odbyły się kolejne w Polsce Ludowej wybory do Sejmu i Rad Narodowych. Jak łatwo było przewidzieć, i tym razem wyniki nie przeszły śmiałych oczekiwań – frekwencja bliska ideału i także wyniki głosowania. No, może z okazji niezbyt pomyślnej – delikatnie mówiąc – sytuacji w kraju, wyniki w porównaniu z wyborami z poprzednich lat opadły o kilkadziesiąt procent.

ChWLP¹², jak większość ugrupowań demokratycznych, wskazywała na niedemokratyczny i fikcyjny charakter wyborów – członkowie Wspólnoty nie wzięli udziału w tej imprezie – o czym lojalnie, jak na uczciwych obywateli przystało, poinformowali z specjalnym oświadczeniu [...].

[On 23 March, new elections in People's Poland were held for the Sejm and the National Councils. As one could have expected, once again the results did not exceed bold expectations: the attendance was near-perfect and so were the results. Well, maybe due to the somewhat unfavourable, to say the least, situation in the country, the results when compared to previous elections fell by a few dozen percent.

ChWLP¹³, like most other democratic groups, indicated the undemocratic and fictive nature of the elections: the members of the Alliance did not participate in

¹² Chrześcijańska Wspólnota Ludzi Pracy [Christian Alliance of Working People].

¹³ Chrześcijańska Wspólnota Ludzi Pracy.

the **event**, a fact which they thoughtfully, as honest citizens should, announced in a special statement [...].]

The text was saturated with vocabulary determining and connoting values and assessments. However, the depreciative evaluation of the described event and the electoral manipulations were mainly achieved by contrasting the gravity of the event with its placement within the area of references defined by such terms as: “impresa” [event], “magia” [magic], and “cyrk” [circus]. It is also worth indicating the persuasive addressing of the text (“jak wiadomo wszystkim” [as everyone knows]), which imitated the interactive nature of a question, and the allusive references to the method of forging the results, which enabled the author to construct a unity of values and language:

Jak wiadomo wszystkim, mistrzowie białej magii mają swoje bombowe numery, których tajemnicy strzegą jak oka w głowie, dlatego też trudno się dziwić, że **podobnie czynią mistrzowie magii czerwonej**. I nie rozumiem, dlaczego niektórzy nie mogą pojąć, jak to się stało, że z Punktu Wyborczego na os. Ogrodowym w NH, milicyjny radiowóz zabrał mieszkankę tego osiedla, Halinę Mycielską. Dlaczego? Przecież zwracając uwagę wyborcom, że ich obowiązkiem jest przechodzenie przez kabinę niezależnie od tego, czy mają ochotę kogoś skreślić czy nie, **mogła zepsuć jeden z najlepszych tegorocznych numerów naszego cyrku**. Nie dziwny się więc, że odwieziono ją w południe do Szpitala Psychiatrycznego [...] Ale, jako że **w szpitalu magii – jak na razie – nie uprawiają**, ob. Mycielską zwolniono następnego dnia do domu.

[As everyone knows, the masters of light magic have their trademark numbers, the inner working of which they keep hidden and guard with their lives, no wonder then that **the masters of red magic do the same**. And I don't understand why some cannot comprehend how it happened that a police car took Halina Mycielska, an inhabitant of the Ogrodowe residential complex in Nowa Huta, away from a Voting Point in the complex.

Why? It is obvious that by pointing out to voters that their responsibility is to pass through a booth regardless of whether they felt like voting or not, **she could had spoiled one of the best numbers of our circus this year**. So, let's not be surprised that she was taken at noon to the Psychiatric Hospital [...] But since **magic is not done, for now at least, in hospitals**, citizen Mycielska was released home the following day.]

The course of the social ritual organised by the authorities was also discussed in the text published in 1979 by the *Wiadomości Tarnowskie*: “Niedziela czynu partyjnego” [The Sunday of the patriotic deed]. It began in the style of

a communication of the propaganda of success, with an accumulation of worn templates, patterns of speaking about the government. In order to emphasise the ironic effect in the depiction of the deeds of the leader, the author of the text ostentatiously violated the principle of stylistic validity (a description verging on sacralisation):

Dnia 23 września wszyscy usadowiliśmy się wygodnie w fotelach i z narastającym napięciem oczekiwaliśmy „Wieczoru z Dziennikiem”. Powód ku temu był nie lada: oto, jak co roku, mieliśmy okazję się przekonać, że **nasz przywódca – tow. Gierek – to nie żaden tyran i despota, lecz nasz, swój chłop, robotnik z krwi i kości, z dziada pradziada. Widzieliśmy, jak dostojnie trzymał w rękach łopatę i jak to prozaiczne narzędzie nabrało w jego rękach rangi symbolu klasy pracującej. To podnosi na duchu.**

Wszystko zaś sprawiła Niedziela Czynu Partyjnego. **Szczęśliwy, kto dostał łaski grabnięcia grabkami lub kucia oskardem niedawno wylanego asfaltu. Wszak my to wszystko dla siebie, od siebie, Polsce i światu, na przekór zgniłej Ameryce...**

[On the 23rd of September we all sat comfortably in our chairs and with growing tension awaited the *Wieczór z Dziennikiem* news show. The reason for that was not trite: there, like each year, we had the opportunity to see that **comrade Gierek, our leader, is no tyrant or despot, but rather one of ours, one of us, a worker made of flesh and bone, like his forefathers before him. We saw how he nobly held the shovel and how that common-place tool acquired in his hands the status of the symbol of the working class. That elevates your spirit high.**

And everything that thanks to the Sunday of the Party Deed. **Joy to those who are granted the gift of using the rake or hammering newly laid asphalt with a pick. Why, we do all that for ourselves, from ourselves, for Poland and the world, against the rotten America...**]

The expressiveness of the stylisation (the conventionality and “newspaper” character of public language) was emphasised by the fact of contrasting it with the “appropriate” message – one which was laconic and colloquial in form: We have already learnt the outcome of the Sunday deed.

Poznaliśmy już bilans niedzielnego czynu. Wiemy, **jak on przebiegał właściwie: jak co roku prace poszły na marne [...]** Tysiące ludzi przepracowała tysiące roboczogodzin na darmo. **Normalka.**

[We know **how it properly occurred:** just as every year, the work was futile [...]
Thousands of people worked thousands of man-hours in vain. **Typical.**]

Conclusion

The analysis of the selected stylistic approaches of independent press articles enabled me to indicate in it, with the backdrop of the dominant discourse, the patterns of contesting interactive practices. The column character as the dominant communicational intention in the texts at the stylistic-pragmatic level existed, as noted by Edward Balcerzan¹⁴, through the application of “play on signs”, “play on form”, both critical and ludic use of the language as a repository of forms and stereotypes to shatter moral, mental and social structures. A similar thing applied to the functionality of the discussed style-building devices intended to unveil the mechanisms of newspeak and, in turn, negate its ideological background and the activities of those who managed it. The stylistic development of the independent press was associated with producing a significant (meaningful) tension between that which was common, conventional and formulaic and that which was new, which “irritated” the old propaganda models.¹⁵ The column nature of the discussed texts entailed stylistic diversity, which was a by-product of the applied structural and genre adaptations and mainly play on language (lexical, textual, and intertextual). At the level of linguistic determiners, I identified in samizdat press an extension of the array of stylistic devices (from various registers and styles) on the one hand, and, on the other, the inclusion into that array elements of newspeak through quotations: in contexts which indicated its manipulative nature, which revealed its lack of communication, and which utilised secondary propaganda meanings for building comicality and irony.

The styles of the analysed texts were also influenced by the world they discussed: the expansion of the range of the discussion of public affairs, which sometimes updated specialist lexis; also, the development of an interpretative community through a community of a language which justified a turn for the colloquial. Colloquialisms diminished the official nature of the communication, they shaped the position of the author closer to the readers, who communicated with views using accessible language, which enabled him to approximate the proposed image of the world.

The persuasive undertone of samizdat press articles resulted from the clashing in it of two organisations of communication and their entailed axiological organisations. Nonetheless, in the discussed representatives of independent press discourse, despite being created for those groups within the society which were unified in their opposition towards that which was offered by the dominant discourse, one could notice a certain degree of openness to a possible dialogue outside their community of shared values. That entailed the limitation of the

¹⁴ E. Balcerzan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ Such a function of play of language was indicated by K. Skowronek, M. Rutkowski, *Media i nazwy. Z zagadnień onomastyki medialnej*, Wydawnictwo Lexis, Krakow 2004.

rhetoric of conflict: a bipolar valuation (*we vs. they*) was accompanied by attempts to move from the category of political enemy to the category of opponent, while exclusive labelling was replaced with criticism of specific behaviour and anti-values, though in a mocking, ironic tone. In the broader perspective, the attempts made by the journalists at lowering the ideologisation of communications, which was visible in the column-like character of the style, could be viewed as indications of open relations, typical of public civil discourses built on the respect for the other side¹⁶ – that was the point at which its contrast to the dominant discourse, which precluded any possibility of communication outside its own community of shared values or negotiations in terms of the image of reality preserved in newspeak, was the strongest.

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¹⁶ E. Bobrowska, “Wspólnota dyskursywna i wyobrażona w analizie dyskursów publicznych”, *Media i Społeczeństwo* 2013, issue 3, pp. 16–18.

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Dorota Suska

Styl niezależnej publicystyki prasowej z lat 1979–1980 wobec ideologicznego dyskursu dominującego

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest stylistyczny opis publicystyki drugiego obiegu z końca lat siedemdziesiątych, która była tekstową emanacją ówczesnego dyskursu niezależnego. Autorka przeprowadza analizę reprezentatywnych mikrostylów,

dokonuje funkcjonalnej interpretacji rozpoznanych środków i zjawisk stylistycznych z uwzględnieniem ich relacji do oficjalnego wzorca komunikacji publicznej. Omawiane teksty publicystyczne cechuje stylowa heterogeniczność, która jest pochodną adaptacji konstrukcyjnych, gatunkowych, ale przede wszystkim gier językowych (leksykalnych, tekstowych, intertekstualnych). Zauważa się z jednej strony rozszerzanie repertuaru środków stylistycznych (z różnych rejestrów, stylów), z drugiej – włączanie do tego repertuaru elementów nowomowy w kontekstach, które ukazywały jej manipulacyjny charakter.

Słowa kluczowe: dyskurs ideologiczny, prasa drugiego obiegu, publicystyka, nowomowa, styl.

The style of independent periodicals in 1979–1980 in the face of the dominant ideological discourse

Summary

The goal of the article is to offer a style-focussed description of samizdat press articles from the late-1970s, which were the textual manifestation of the independent discourse at that time. The author analysed representative microstyles and conducted a functional interpretation of identified stylistic devices and phenomena, considering how they were related to the official model of public communication. The discussed texts were stylistically diverse, which was a by-product which came from structural and genre adaptations, and mainly play on language (lexical, textual, and intertextual). On the one hand, one can note an expansion of the array of stylistic devices (from various registers and styles) and, on the other, an inclusion into that array of the elements of newspeak in those contexts which indicated its manipulative nature.

Keywords: ideological discourse, independent press, journalistic articles, newspeak, style.

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A comparison between the concept of Newspeak in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel* and the way of thinking about language in C.S. Lewis's *That Hideous Strength*

1

The aim of this article is to study some of the possible inspirations which enabled George Orwell to create in *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel* the concept of Newspeak. However, I am not arguing that such inspirations must have existed. I shall stress the relationships between Orwell's novel and the fantasy novel by C.S. Lewis written a few years earlier as they seem rather striking, though also in this case I would not argue that Orwell could not have developed his idea without the influence of C.S. Lewis or without the knowledge of his book. On the other hand, it is certain that he knew it because he wrote a short review of it for *The Manchester Evening*.¹

Where did Orwell's concept of Newspeak come from? On the one hand, one could indicate Orwell's interest in the evolution of the English language in his lifetime, the evolution which triggered in him considerable anxiety, a fact which he expressed in a well-known essay entitled *Politics and the English Language*, written approximately three years prior to the publication of *Nineteen Eighty-*

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1 Cf. G. Orwell, *The Scientists Take Over*, George Orwell's review of C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength* (1945), <http://www.lewisiana.nl/orwell/> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

Four: A Novel, in which one could find the first description of the principles of Newspeak. In it, Orwell argued, using specific examples, that language, especially the language used by politicians, was more often used for concealing the truth rather than revealing it, and that political discourse was filled with carelessness, obscurity and vagueness. However, according to Orwell, those were not accidental flaws or weaknesses. From the point of view of cynical political pragmatics, they rather constituted advantages than flaws since they were used for arguing in favour of doubtful theses which would be difficult to defend if one applied strict logic and linguistic care. Obviously, even Newspeak was a tool used for concealing rather than revealing reality. Naturally, not every person who uses language incorrectly, mindlessly or sloppily is a witting accomplice of a totalitarian dictatorship, yet, in practice, such an approach to language objectively serves the dictatorship. That is because it leads to mental chaos and the blurring of distinct borders between notions, which can easily be used for political manipulation. According to Orwell: “the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language”.²

In essence, some qualities of Orwell’s Newspeak seem to amplify the effect of conceptual chaos. I am mainly referring to the slogans which Winston, the protagonist of *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel*, saw on the building of the Ministry of Truth: “war is peace”, “freedom is slavery”, “ignorance is strength”³, and which are repeated numerous times throughout the novel. The first two were based on the absurd or rather the seemingly absurd negation of an obvious truth; in a similar vein, one could invent such slogans as “night is day”, “the crooked is straight”, “short is long”, etc. I wrote “seemingly absurd” as almost any absurdity can be, through some mental effort, presented as a paradox, i.e. an apparent absurdity. For example, for a nocturnal animal the night is, in some sense, what day is for a human, or rather a typical human, i.e. a time of peak activity. It was Euripides, a tragedian of classical Athens, who argued that in the other world everything is the opposite, and that that which we call life is considered there death, and everything which we call death is, from the point of view of that world, life.⁴ Naturally, that is a case of dialectic thinking understood as the unity of opposites while the

2 G. Orwell, *Politics and the English Language*, <https://faculty.washington.edu/rsoder/EDLPS579/HonorsOrwellPoliticsEnglishLanguage.pdf> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

3 G. Orwell, 1984, <https://www.planetebook.com/free-ebooks/1984.pdf> [accessed on: 20.04.2018], p. 6.

4 I am referring to a fragment which I only know from a German translation, from a lost tragedy by Euripides entitled *Polyeidos*. Cf. E. Rohde *Psyche. Sehlenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* [*Psyche. The cult of the soul and belief in immortality of ancient Greeks*], Alfred Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart, no publication date, p. 5:

Wer weiß denn, ob das Leben nicht ein Sterben ist, [Who knows whether living is really death] und, was wir Sterben nennen, drunten Leben heißt? [and whether death is thought to be living below?]

original sources of that thinking are to be found in ancient Greece, e.g. in the quite cynical dialectics professed by some philosophers or stoic orators who often had the ambition of presenting absurd or false theses in a convincing manner. Paradoxically enough, stoics sometimes were more cynical than the philosophers of the Cynical school.

In the world of Orwell's novel, war was actually peace in the sense that the totalitarian regime depicted in it considered war, not peace, as a normal state, as war offers better opportunities than peace for maintaining strict control over society. However, at the metaphorical level, the notions of "war" and "peace" are sometimes difficult to differentiate. The Islamic notion of "jihad", often incorrectly translated as "holy war", may be understood in a completely non-military manner as an internal human struggle with our sinful nature, and such an understanding of jihad, as far as I know, is preferred by many Muslims. In the madrigals by the renowned Italian Baroque composer Claudio Monteverdi, there existed a recurring assertion that all lovers are warriors (*Ogni amante è guerrier*), which seems close to the thesis that love is war.

Finally, the slogan "freedom is slavery" seems an apt satire of the famous Marxist, definition of freedom: "freedom is the recognition of necessity", which, of course, can be understood in various manners, yet the fact remains that no one associates the notion of necessity with freedom, rather the opposite: if freedom allows one to choose an option, necessity, recognised or not, eliminates that freedom of choice. Then again, it would be difficult to deny the fact that there are situations when only one mode of operation is proper, while the rest, in accordance with moral precepts, should be rejected; in other words, the recognised necessity is not always something bad nor is it always contrary to the notion of freedom, unless one considers freedom within a completely anarchic and amoral framework. Saint Peter in the New Testament defined the free or rather the truly free man as "servants of God".⁵ On the one hand, paradoxical rhetoric, in fact, exists in the New Testament, e.g. in such well-known statements as that "the last shall be first"⁶, "for whosoever will save his life shall lose it"⁷, "if [a corn of wheat] die, it bringeth forth much fruit"⁸, etc. On the other, though, the Christian doctrine,

5 The First Epistle of Peter 2:16, eds. R. Carroll, S. Prickett, *The Bible. Authorised King James Version, The New Testament*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1998, p. 286: As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.

6 Gospel According to Matthew 20:16, *The Bible. Authorised King James Version, The New Testament*, ... p. 29.

7 Gospel According to Luke 9:24, *The Bible. Authorised King James Version, The New Testament*, ... p. 87 .

8 Gospel According to John 12:24, *The Bible. Authorised King James Version, The New Testament*, ... p. 134 .

the Gospel According to Matthew to be precise, warns against dialectic excess, includes a strong recommendation of the stability of meaning, and stresses the value in binary oppositions: “Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.”⁹ Being an atheist, Orwell obviously was not particularly concerned with what the Bible had to say on the matter, though one can clearly see that the slogans promoted by Orwell’s Big Brother did not necessarily stem from, or could be associated with, any one particular anti-humanistic or anti-freedom tradition.

Post-modernism seems today the most common form of paradoxical and dialectic thinking. The *Free Dictionary*, a popular online dictionary, offers the following definition of post-modernism:

Of or relating to an intellectual stance often marked by eclecticism and irony and tending to reject the universal validity of such principles as hierarchy, binary opposition, categorization, and stable identity.¹⁰

It is clear that Orwell’s Newspeak had much in common with the post-modern way of thinking, at least in the popular understanding of the term, especially in the aspect of questioning the legitimacy of binary oppositions, such as the already mentioned freedom vs. slavery or war vs. peace, though post-modernists prefer, in general, to question somewhat different binary oppositions, such as the differentiation between low and high cultures, truth vs. falsity, or male vs. female.

The “ignorance is strength” slogan is a natural reversal of the old saying that “knowledge is the key to power”, well, maybe not quite so old as it has been assigned, in its Latin form of “*Scientia potentia est*”, to Francis Bacon, an English philosopher who lived at the turn of the 17th century and wrote both in Latin and in English. The assertion that “ignorance is strength”, though it sounds absurd, could hardly be considered a paradox in the world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel*. It was a precise description of the reality if one interprets it as meaning: the ignorance of the ruled is the source of strength of the ruling class. Clearly, though, there is also a tradition of considering knowledge as useless baggage which weighs one down and hinders one’s actions rather than being the source of strength and power. Shakespeare’s Hamlet in closing his monologue which began with the words:

⁹ The Gospel According to Matthew 5:36-37, *The Bible. Authorised King James Version, The New Testament*, ... p. 8.

¹⁰ *The Free Dictionary by Farlex*, <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/dictionary.htm> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

“to be or not to be”, eventually concluded that:

Thus conscience does make cowards of us all,
 And thus the native hue of resolution
 Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
 And enterprises of great pitch and moment
 With this regard, their currents turn awry,
 And lose the name of action.¹¹

Excessive knowledge may also be dangerous, apparently, especially in crime literature which depicts characters who get killed “because they knew too much.”

That shows how the basis of Big Brother's ideology came from tradition and is subject to rationalisation. That does not, however, prevent one from considering it as leading to madness and a total loss, through linguistic manipulation, of the ability to reliably describe the reality. Orwell himself said in that context about “controlled madness”:

The Ministry of Peace concerns itself with war, the Ministry of Truth with lies, the Ministry of Love with torture and the Ministry of Plenty with starvation. These contradictions are not accidental, nor do they result from ordinary hypocrisy; they are deliberate exercises in doublethink. For it is only by reconciling contradictions that power can be retained indefinitely. In no other way could the ancient cycle be broken. If human equality is to be forever averted – if the High, as we have called them, are to keep their places permanently – then the prevailing mental condition must be controlled insanity.¹²

However, a question arises: can that insanity be controlled successfully? The total dialectics which seemed to exist in Big Brother's state could prevent even the most basic differentiations, such as right vs. left or up vs. down, without which a society would not be able to function.

Orwell's *doublethink* was, to a degree, a synonym of dialectics, or rather of that version of dialectics which was referred to as “the logic of illusion” (Kant's “Logik des Scheins”¹³) and which consisted of offering an impression that one believed that which one actually did not believe. In *The Captive Mind*,

¹¹ *Hamlet*, 3.1.83-88, [in:] W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. B. Lott, Longman, Burnt Mill, Harlow 1993, p. 99.

¹² G. Orwell, 1984, p. 273.

¹³ Cf. J.Noller. *Logik des Scheins. Kant über rationale Selbsttäuschung*, https://www.academia.edu/38373262/Logik_des_Scheins_Kant_%C3%BCber_rationale_Selbst%C3%A4usung?auto=download [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

Czesław Miłosz developed, independently of Orwell's influence, his own version of "doublethink" which he referred to using a phenomenon known in Arabic as "ketman", which basically means hiding or masking oneself:

Even though the identification of the play with private thought-property is carried very far, a large residue of unassimilated matter remains which forces one to keep alert. A constant and universal masquerade creates an aura that is hard to bear, yet it grants the performers certain not inconsiderable satisfactions. To say something is white when one thinks it black, to smile inwardly when one is outwardly solemn, to hate when one manifests love, to know when one pretends not to know, and thus to play one's adversary for a fool (even as he is playing you for one) – these actions lead one to prize one's own cunning above all else. Success in the game becomes a source of satisfaction. Simultaneously, that which we protect from prying eyes takes on a special value because it is never clearly formulated in words and hence has the irrational charm of things purely emotional. Man takes refuge in an inner sanctuary which is the more precious the greater the price he pays in order to bar others from access to it.¹⁴

It is interesting that Miłosz wrote about "pretending not to know", i.e. he indicated a major aspect of Orwell's slogan of "ignorance is strength." In Miłosz's approach, that which offered certain strength was not so much ignorance itself as the act of feigning it. That is undoubtedly logical, as fundamentally ignorance is a weakness. Weakness itself is not associated with power or strength, but a situation where one cunningly pretends to be weaker than one is in reality may definitely evoke such associations.

However, Orwell defined "doublethink"¹⁵ as: "Doublethink means the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them"¹⁶. Therefore, unlike in the case of Miłosz's "ketman", a proponent of "doublethink" did not so much conceal their true views explicitly professing, through caution, those which they considered false, while nurturing inside those which they considered to be true, but rather they themselves could no longer differentiate a false view from a true one. That may be because pretending had become so habitual for them that the mask became like an alternative face and they could no longer decide which was fake and which was real. "Ketman" is a strategy of people who decided to outsmart the totalitarian hegemon, while "doublethink" is rather a desperate act of defence by people who know no other

¹⁴ C. Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, https://issuu.com/bouvard6/docs/milosz_-_the_captive_mind [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

¹⁵ G. Orwell. 1984, p. 270.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

way to overcome the conflict between the rule of mind and reason and the rule of an arbitrary authority which thinks nothing of reason or the natural law. However, it seems that in practice “doublethink” is more effective than “ketman”, a person who “doublethinks” will easily and with full conviction defend, if it is convenient for them, false views while a person who uses “ketman” may, through carelessness, reveal their true views.

Obviously, totalitarian authorities or their agents could not have functioned without “doublethink”. All tyrants like to think they can shape people’s minds and attitudes as they please, so when they say that two plus two equals five, no one can deny that. At the same time, though, no authorities can in practice operate on the basis of the principle that two plus two equals five. That was probably the source of the rupture in the fabric of Orwell’s totalitarian world symbolised by the division into the Outer Party, which consisted of, or it should have consisted of, people turned into mindless automatons always ready to believe that two plus two equalled five, and the Inner Party, which fulfilled a controlling role and had to act on a relatively realistic evaluation of the reality. In a totalitarian system, access to the truth is just as limited as access to luxury goods, and the Inner Party benefited from it. Thus, truth in the world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* functioned as a fairly inaccessible good, just like premium ham, expensive alcohol or fashionable clothing.

Of course, neither members of the Outer Party nor even the proles, i.e. simple labourers, could function in following the principle that two plus two equals five, yet their inferior status was the reason why they were forced to at least give the impression that even among themselves they believed the often absurd theses of official propaganda. Only the members of the Inner Party could, from time to time at least, indulge in some luxury of “singlethink”, i.e. a healthy realisation that things were as they were. Without the followers of “singlethink” it would be impossible to manage any society, and it is only logical that they constitute a high layer, yet, at the same time, they constitute the source of the threat to a totalitarian system as they value reason over obedience. In Orwell’s novel, O’Brien was one of those; in my opinion he was a fairly unconvincing character since, despite knowing the weaknesses of the system led by Big Brother well, he was, despite appearances, its loyal servant. Such characters surely exist, yet they seem quite unique.

2

Therefore, one of the sources of Orwell’s Newspeak was certainly the European dialectic tradition and the tradition of paradoxical thinking put at the service of a dictatorship. However, it seems that Newspeak also had other affiliations. One of those could have been the association of the notion of Newspeak with the fashion

for artificial languages, which were developed from the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. I am referring to, of course, Esperanto, the Ido language and, finally, Novial, created in 1928 by Otto Jespersen, a Danish linguist, which even resembled Newspeak in its name, since the acronym NOVIAL means “new international auxiliary language”.¹⁷ I am not suggesting that the very notion of such languages carries some ominous content or aspects which would make those languages a convenient instrument of totalitarian rule. What I am suggesting is that they might have provided Orwell’s with indirect inspiration for creating Newspeak.

What makes them seem similar to Newspeak is mainly their tendency to simplify the existing natural languages. That is, obviously, a completely understandable tendency. Artificial languages are not supported by powerful institutions serving nation states as the latter have no interest in supporting an idea which might, at least potentially, diminish the importance of national languages, especially in the case of national languages with international ambitions, i.e. those which represent the largest world powers and the greatest wealth. Not being able to count on such support, an artificial language must possess other advantages, the most easily achievable of which are simplicity and regularity through which, at least in theory, such languages are much easier to learn than natural languages. I wrote “in theory” because polyglots are usually people who thrive on irregularities and the intricacies of natural languages, more or less in keeping with the principle that ambitious mountaineers are not interested in easily conquerable mountains. Therefore, artificial languages do not seem attractive either for opportunists keen on joining a side winning the international rivalry or aficionados interested in a language itself regardless of the material success achievable through using it. Promoters of artificial languages should rather be idealists who believe in their triumph yet who realise that it cannot occur immediately or in any foreseeable future, that it is, in other words, a matter of a “long march”.

A somewhat similar situation existed in the case of Newspeak in Orwell’s novel. A character by the name of Syme was a kind of a prophet of Newspeak, who thought in the long temporal perspective:

“The Revolution will be complete when the language is perfect. Newspeak is Ingsoc and Ingsoc is Newspeak,” he added with a sort of mystical satisfaction. “Has it ever occurred to you, Winston, that by the year 2050, at the very latest, not a single human being will be alive who could understand such a conversation as we are having now?” [...] “By 2050 – earlier, probably – all real knowledge of Oldspeak will have disappeared. The whole literature of the past will have been destroyed. Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron – they’ll exist only in Newspeak versions, not merely chan-

¹⁷ Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Novial> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

ged into something different, but actually changed into something contradictory of what they used to be.¹⁸

Orwell applied a kind of an extrapolation of the notion of artificial language. It was intended by its creators as a means of expressing the entire richness of human thought included in artistic, philosophical and scientific literature using simplified means. It seems that Orwell viewed such an assumption as naive, and based on the false belief that it is possible to separate form from content. As he posited in his essay *Politics and the English Language*: if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought (<https://faculty.washington.edu/>). Therefore, a simplified language must lead to simplifications, i.e. primitivisation and distortion of content expressed by the language. The very notion of Newspeak was based on imagining a situation where the artificial language did not need to depend on a rather small group of enthusiasts because the apparatus of state measures and state violence was, quite unexpectedly, employed in implementing it.

Obviously, since Newspeak was, in Orwell's world, not so much an artificial language, but rather a radically simplified version of English, it was particularly similar to the concept of so-called Basic English proposed by Ch.K. Ogden. In Basic English it was supposedly possible to use 850 words to express the content which in normal English would require the application of approx. 20,000 words. Interestingly enough, Orwell was for a few years a fervent supporter of Basic English as he appreciated the fact that it promoted conciseness and simplicity instead of overblown rhetoric. However, eventually, Orwell turned against Basic English and mocked the notion in his very own creation: Newspeak.

Orwell provided an example of using Newspeak which seemed to combine the features of the so-called telegraphic style with the bureaucratic jargon which consisted of using radical and surprising abbreviations and omitting verbs, which was supposed to give the impression of greater precision:

times 17.3.84 bb speech malreportedafrica rectify
 times 19.12.83 forecasts 3 yp 4th quarter 83 misprints verify current issue
 times 14.2.84 miniplentymalquoted chocolate rectify
 times 3.12.83 reporting bb dayorderdoubleplusungood
 refs unpersons rewrite fullwiseupsubantefiling.¹⁹

The result is gibberish completely incomprehensible to a normal person, a text which can only be deciphered by someone who knows the situational context and

¹⁸ G. Orwell, 1984, pp. 67–68.

¹⁹ G. Orwell, 1984, p. 49.

the mentality of the authors of such texts. The final two lines were translated into Oldspeak as follows:

The reporting of Big Brother's Order for the Day in the Times of December 3rd 1983 is extremely unsatisfactory and makes references to non-existent persons. Rewrite it in full and submit your draft to higher authority before filing.²⁰

“Ungood” does not exist in English even though there are other blends with the negative suffix “un”, e.g. “unlikely” or “unhealthy”. It seems that Orwell alluded in that instance to a feature of Esperanto. For example, the adjective “sana” in Esperanto means “healthy” while “malsana” means “sick” or more precisely “unhealthy” as the “mal” prefix entails a negative meaning, similarly to the English “un”, whereas Esperanto, as far as I know, does not include an adjective which corresponds to the word “sick” and does not include the “mal” prefix. Similarly, “bad” in Esperanto is “malbona” basically meaning “ungood” since “good” is “bona”. Clearly, Ludwik Zamenhof, the language’s creator, decided that pairs of opposing terms such as “healthy-sick” or “good-bad” were redundant complications of the linguistic system since the oppositions could be expressed in a more regular manner less strenuous on one’s memory, using pairs signifying “healthy vs. unhealthy” or “good vs. ungood”. The problem is, of course, that any simplification of a system very often causes its impoverishment, and it seems that Orwell was warning against just that.

Zamenhof, having grown up in Białystok, Poland, where, on a regular basis, he encountered at least two if not three Slavic languages, i.e. Polish, Russian and Belarusian, and two Germanic languages, i.e. German and Yiddish, could also have been impressed by the fact that the Slavic prefix “nie” and the German prefix “un” very easily and frequently connect with adjectives, much more often than the English prefix “un”, which is why the form “ungood” does not exist in English, while in Slavic languages its counterparts are quite common, just like the German form “ungut”. By the same token, one cannot, on the basis of the English adverb “far” create the form “unfar”, if one were to express the opposite of “far”, i.e. a word corresponding to the Polish adverbs of “blisko” [close] or “niedaleko” [not far]. It would usually be necessary to use words structurally completely unrelated to the adverb “far”, such as “close”, “closely”, “near” or “nearby”, possibly use a periphrastic form of “not far off” or a similar one, which is possible only in some situations.

Newspeak’s Esperanto-inspired forms could also include such verbs as “to malreport” or “to malquote” However, Orwell was not consistent and used in Newspeak the word “misprint”, which means he used a different negative suffix,

²⁰ G. Orwell, 1984, p. 1984.

i.e. “mis”. If Orwell had proceeded as consistently as Zamenhof did, he would have, obviously, written “malprint”. In general, Orwell used the notion of an artificial language to create a sense of foreignness or even inhumanity of the language, which, one could say, was, paradoxically, the more foreign the more often it used existing words, or rather their shreds. It was, of course, in no case a satire on any specific language, e.g. Esperanto, but rather a vision of the potential consequences of implementing an artificial language.²¹

The formulation of bold yet quite unappealing acronyms such as “mini plenty” denoting the Ministry of Plenty might, in turn, suggest their Russian, or rather Soviet, inspiration. Those had already been mocked by Vladimir Mayakovsky when he created the character of director Pobedonosikov in his play *The Bathhouse*, translated into Polish as Naczdurdups, expanded as “Naczelnny Dyrektor dla uzgadniania pewnych spraw” [Chief Director for establishing some matters]. Another such acronym is the well-known, though carrying terrible associations, word Gulag derived from “Glavnoye upravleniye lagerey” [Main Administration of Camps], or “profsoyuz”, which means a professional association, or rather a trade union. If transferred into the Polish language, it would be necessary to refer to a trade union [związek zawodowy] as “związawód”, “zawozwiąz” or the like, while in English such form as, for example, “trunions” instead of “trade unions” would have to be postulated. Of course, the internet offers even more monstrous examples of these Soviet-Russian acronyms.

Another possible source of inspiration for creating Newspeak could have obviously been the well-known work of Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*. Part III of the novel, filled with mental experiments, includes a project of a universal language invented by the scientists of the Grand Academy of Lagado, full of ambitious scientists who had all types of ingenious and, to put it bluntly, stupid ideas, e.g. to extract sunlight from cucumbers or soften marble to produce a pin cushion:

²¹ At this point, I should mention an article by J. Pool and B. Grofman entitled *Language as Political Control: Newspeak Revisited*, in which the authors conducted a detailed comparison of Orwell's Newspeak with Esperanto, e.g. by discussing the issue of negative prefixes, and arrived at a rather surprising conclusion that in the real world an attempt at imposing something like Newspeak on a community would rather facilitate than hinder the formulation of opposition thoughts against the ruling regime or system. I think that theoretically that might be possible, yet in practice, in a situation of information monopoly and an incessant influx of propaganda content, an individual, in my opinion, would be subjected to such a strong pressure that the automatic and formulaic nature of Newspeak, i.e. its inherent ease of formulating simple communications, would rather work as suggested by Orwell, to the benefit of the regime and official propaganda. Cf. J. Pool, B. Grofman, *Language as Political Control: Newspeak Revisited*, <https://old.panlex.org/pubs/etc/langpolcontrol.pdf> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

The first project was, to shorten discourse, by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles, because, in reality, all things imaginable are but norms.

The other project was, a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health, as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak is, in some degree, a diminution of our lungs by corrosion, and, consequently, contributes to the shortening of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, “that since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such things as were necessary to express a particular business they are to discourse on.” And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate, had not threatened to raise a rebellion unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their forefathers; such constant irreconcilable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things; which has only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man’s business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged, in proportion, to carry a greater bundle of things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of those sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us, who, when they met in the street, would lay down their loads, open their sacks, and hold conversation for an hour together; then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burdens, and take their leave.

But for short conversations, a man may carry implements in his pockets, and under his arms, enough to supply him; and in his house, he cannot be at a loss. Therefore the room where company meet who practise this art, is full of all things, ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter for this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention was, that it would serve as a universal language, to be understood in all civilised nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easily be comprehended. And thus ambassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or ministers of state, to whose tongues they were utter strangers.²²

²² J. Swift, *Gulliver’s Travels*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/829/829-h/829-h.htm> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

Swift might have provided Orwell with two basic ideas. Firstly, that an artificial language may be based on a radical simplification and the impoverishment of natural language obviously in order to make the learning of such a language easier and more pleasant. Secondly, the simplification, contrary to expectations, does not necessarily lead to better mutual understanding, rather the formation of messages full of obscurity and ambiguity, resembling as a matter of fact complete gibberish. The fact that Orwell's Newspeak consists almost exclusively of nouns may also, in my opinion, have also been adopted from the language, or rather the pseudo-language, promoted by the researchers at the Grand Academy of Lagado. The dream of a universal language intended to overcome the curse of the Tower of Babel could, of course, be identified in other epochs as well.

3

The thoughts on language included in C.S. Lewis's science fantasy novel *That Hideous Strength* also seem noteworthy in the context of Orwell's Newspeak. It is certain that Orwell knew Lewis's novel since he was its reviewer, and a rather critical one. It was published only four years prior to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, in 1945. Lewis was, of course, a character quite different from Orwell. First of all, unlike Orwell, he was a classical scholar, an historian of English literature, a researcher of the Middle Ages and a specialist in the Renaissance, with strong affiliations with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Secondly, Lewis was a conservative Christian who, similarly to Orwell, rejected communism, especially its Soviet variety, yet did not share Orwell's sympathy towards the so-called democratic socialism, i.e. an attempt at implementing the leftist utopia while avoiding the problems of the communist system. Lewis generally rejected all leftist ideas. He was certainly a man of the conservative right, a defender and propagator of traditionally understood Christianity. He was often criticised, even during his lifetime, for his alleged "backwardness" and "reactionism", though he avoided direct involvement in any political disputes or party politics. Yet his anti-utopian attitude seemed doubtful since, by being a Christian, he believed in the existence of a perfect world, even though he probably rather placed it outside the empirical world. Today, Lewis is probably best known as the author of *The Chronicles of Narnia*, a series of fantasy novels intended mainly for children and young adults. *That Hideous Strength* was written a little earlier than *The Chronicles of Narnia* and in some instances it resembles the latter considerably (e.g. considering the division depicted in it between the alliance of the forces of good fighting the united forces of evil), certainly more similar than Lewis's two other science fiction novels, together with which it formed the so-called Space Trilogy: *Out of the Silent Planet* and *Perelandra*.

It would be difficult to summarise *That Hideous Strength* as there so many things happening in it and it includes a whole host of characters. In the most general terms, it is a story of the efforts to neutralise a pseudo-scientific research centre which intends to seize power over the world and introduce a very cruel form of totalitarian dictatorship. Fortunately, the centre, with the strongly ironic name N.I.C.E. (National Institute of Coordinated Experiments), does get destroyed, though it probably would not have been possible without an intervention of clearly supernatural powers. Despite its name, there was nothing nice about the institution; it was rather a collection of exceptionally despicable individuals who claimed to have been able to develop a programme for a scientific and progressive resolution of all social problems. That rather blunt irony was also present in Orwell's names: the Ministry of Plenty (whose task was to increase shortages) and the Ministry of Truth (whose task was to promote lies).

Mark Studdock, the protagonist in Lewis's novel, is devoid of the positive qualities possessed by *Nineteen Eighty-Four's* Winston Smith, though he is not a fundamentally bad person, rather someone average and conventional. His main obsession, which nearly brought him to complete moral degeneration, is his urge, snobbish in its nature, to enter the so-called inner circle, i.e. the informal elite which decided about the most important issues in an organisation or an institution. In the case of Studdock, that institution was Bracton College, part of a small provincial university in Edgestow (completely fictional), where he worked as a sociologist and academic teacher; only later did he work at N.I.C.E., the seat of which was located in a forest within an area which originally belonged to Bracton College and neighbouring areas. The notion of the inner circle and its presentation in Lewis's novel could have inspired Orwell to create the division into the Inner and Outer Party, so important in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

However, coming back to strictly linguistic issues, those played a major role in Lewis's novel. The very title suggests just that. That hideous strength was a quote from an obscure 16th-century epic poem by David Lyndsay, best known as the author of the morality play *A Satire of the Three Estates*. The phrase referred to the Biblical Tower of Babel, which seems strange until one realises that, in Scottish English, the word "strength" may, apart from its normal meanings, denote a fortress, or, in this case, a tower. The Polish title of Lewis's novel should actually read "Ta ohydna / straszna forteca / wieża" [That Hideous / Terrible Fortress / Tower], and the curse of the Tower of Babel, i.e. the mixing of languages is basically, despite some appearances, the main, though certainly not the only, topic of the book.

The theme of false usage of language is clearly visible in the first scene when Mark Studdock meets John Wither, a deputy director at N.I.C.E. Wither is only formally a "deputy director", while in fact everything in the institution seems to depend on him, unless one argues that its true directors are the so-called

Macrobes, or one of those creatures of a clearly demonic and diabolic nature with which Wither often has encounters. Wither, whose name evokes the phenomena of drying out, wilting, dying out, that is, phenomena related to diminishing vitality, is a seemingly polite, obsequious even, person, yet in reality no one should expect of him any normal human reactions. He seems the embodiment of the description in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: "That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain."²³ Mark tried to learn from Wither what his responsibilities at the N.I.C.E. would be, yet Wither responded only in circular evasive sentences which seemed to be very kind yet lack any clear content. Eventually Mark was seized by fear because it seemed to him that his interlocutor considered the questions he was faced with to be proof of the inquirer's lack of intelligence which was why they did not deserve to be answered in any concrete manner. Wither said things like:

I think, Mr. Studdock, we have already mentioned elasticity as the keynote of the Institute. Unless you are prepared to treat membership as ...er... a vocation rather than a mere appointment, I could not conscientiously advise you to come to us. There are no watertight compartments. I fear I could not persuade the committee to invent for your benefit some cut-and-dried position in which you would discharge artificially limited duties and, apart from those, regard your time as your own. [...] We are, as I have said before, more like a family, or even, perhaps, like a single personality.²⁴

Only one thing became clear: that work at the N.I.C.E. required full availability, one's agreement to be a cog in some grand mechanism which had no clearly defined goals either at the general or the specific level. Even if such goals existed, an ordinary employee was apparently not supposed to know too much about them. Mark tried several times to interrupt Wither's ceaseless flow, yet that triggered Wither's clear discontent. Wither liked talking but he disliked listening.²⁵

²³ W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, (1.5.108), p. 45

²⁴ C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength. A Modern Fairy Tale for Grown-Ups*, Harper Collins Publishers, London 2005, p. 155.

²⁵ There is an article by an American author Kath Filmer entitled *That Hideous 1984. The Influence of C.S. Lewis "That Hideous Strength" on Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four"* which offered many valuable remarks on both novels and their similarities, yet the author focussed on some other issues than the ones discussed in this article. Additionally, I do not fully agree with her, especially when she wrote: "the spectral Wither, Deputy Director of N.I.C.E., never utters a meaningful sentence, though this fact is disguised by his circumlocutions." The fragment of Wither's statement I quoted earlier is, in my opinion, completely logical, though I must admit that the logic is rather elliptical. Nonetheless, Wither made it quite clear that an employee of the institution he managed would not be entitled to privacy and would have to be completely available, just like the citizens of Orwell's Oceania. Wither's demonic air seemed to stem not

Later one learns that, in general, the director was not able to stop his activities. He practically did not sleep; at nights he strolled the halls of the institute building and he seemed to be everywhere and monitor everything, and yet it was impossible to establish any personal contact with him as he behaved as if he were sleepwalking and his eyes were expressionless. Moreover, one could get the impression that he was able to appear in several places at the same time.

Such elements as the quaint behaviour of the deputy director which consisted of a kind of absent omnipresence and his mode of speaking which had little in common with real communication and was rather used for concealing reality might have, in my opinion, somewhat helped Orwell create the character of Big Brother and Newspeak. However, Orwell did not accept the supernatural aspects of the world depicted in Lewis's novel. According to Orwell, Lewis's book "would have been stronger without the supernatural elements." Particularly, Orwell objected to the ending in which N.I.C.E. is overthrown by divine intervention:

"[Lewis] is entitled to his beliefs, but they weaken his story, not only because they offend the average reader's sense of probability but because in effect they decide the issue in advance. When one is told that God and the Devil are in conflict, one always knows which side is going to win. The whole drama of the struggle against evil lies in the fact that one does not have supernatural aid."²⁶

One should note, though, something that Orwell seemed to have missed, i.e. that, first of all, the supernatural intervention in Lewis's novel was not only an outcome of the author's world view, but rather a consequence of using the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel as the book's original myth, and secondly, Orwell seemed to overlook the fact that the supernatural intervention was, in line with the Biblical tradition, a punishment, and a rather severe one for that matter, for human pride.

Lewis did, however, somewhat modify the Biblical message in his novel. The penalty, i.e. the curse of the Tower of Babel, did not result in a situation in which a multitude of languages emerged from the original language, but rather in that a language, any language, though it is English in the case of this novel, became afflicted by a peculiar disease. As a result of it, language was not used for communication or objective description of reality, but for dominating and

from the gibberish of his statements, but from the fact that under the pretence of kindness he concealed a total lack of empathy and complete coldness. Cf. K. Filmer, *That Hideous 1984. The Influence of C.S. Lewis "That Hideous Strength" on Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four"*, <https://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/abs/10.3828/extr.1985.26.2.160?journalCode=extr> [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

²⁶ *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/That_Hideous_Strength [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

imposing one's view of the world onto others. Thus, the curse of the Tower of Babel was somewhat repeated, but within a single language. In it, there formed private, or rather cultist, "minor languages" which only pretended to continue to belong to one language, because in reality they surrounded themselves with a wall barring people who did not use them. The sickness was depicted as a developing phenomenon which continued to assume ever more extreme forms.

Eventually, characters who represented the forces of evil in *That Hideous Strength* fell prey to utter gibberish, which was a logical consequence of the incessant destruction of language which they practiced. The multitude of mutually incomprehensible, yet in themselves fully operational, languages constitutes a parody of unity which prevents any understanding either inside or outside a group. As a result, some people seized by the N.I.C.E. ideology trampled each other, while the rest were killed by wild animals such as tigers and bears that broke out from the cages in which they were kept for some vague cruel experiments:

There were dead and dying bodies everywhere by now, for the scrum was by this time killing as many as the beasts. And always from all sides went up the voices trying to shout to those beyond the door, "Quick! Quick! Hurry!" but shouting only nonsense. Louder and louder grew the noise at the door. As if in imitation a great gorilla leaped on the table where Jules had sat and began drumming on its chest. Then, with a roar, it jumped down into the crowd.²⁷

The role played by the animals in that peculiar massacre, often compared to the end of the world described in the Apocalypse²⁸, seems quite logical. Human beings do not become animals once they become deprived of a human language, as animals possess their own ways of inarticulate communication, developed throughout centuries and millennia. Humans suddenly deprived of their ability to use speech become something far worse than an animal. They become a pathetic parody of an animal, while animals, the higher ones, of course, can be thought of as averse to being parodied or mocked.²⁹

Apropos of animals: the image of the quasi-animal gibberish in Lewis's novel could suggest Orwell's concept of so-called duckspeak, i.e. a manner of speaking in which the pace, mindlessness and automatism were to resemble a duck quacking,

²⁷ C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous...*, p. 485.

²⁸ Vide R.L. Purtill, *Lord of the Elves and Eldils. Fantasy and Philosophy in C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien*, Ignatius Press, San Francisco 2006, p. 17.

²⁹ There have been recorded cases of gorillas in zoos attacking people who parodied their behaviour. Vide: *Goryl próbował zaatakować, kiedy dziecko uderzało pięściami w klatkę piersiową*, „Gazeta Wyborcza” 2015, 18.04, http://wyborcza.pl/1,75399,17776188,Goryl_probowal_zaatakowac_kiedy_dziecko_uderzalo.html [accessed on: 20.04.2018].

though, probably, ducks would not have agreed with that if they could speak. Naturally, duckspeak was just one aspect of Newspeak:

For the purposes of everyday life it was no doubt necessary, or sometimes necessary, to reflect before speaking, but a Party member called upon to make a political or ethical judgement should be able to spray forth the correct opinions as automatically as a machine gun spraying forth bullets.³⁰

Clearly, even though Orwell was far from Lewis's Biblical and metaphysical mode of thinking, he did accept the latter's way of thinking about language. The use of jargon, which offers ready-made linguistic and mental patterns, leads to, in extreme cases, complete dehumanisation of language. It is symptomatic that in the scene of the final mixing of the language in *That Hideous Strength*, the leader of N.I.C.E. referred to as the deputy director, only after a long while realised that something was wrong with the language used by the speaker since "he had never expected the speech to have any meaning as a whole..."³¹

However, the animal which Lewis seemed to suggest in the scene of the triumph of utter gibberish was not the good old duck, but rather a snake. I am referring to what happens in Book 10 of *Paradise Lost* by John Milton when Satan wanted to boast in the company of other devils of his triumph over the gullible man whom he had managed to convince to violate God's bans:

He would have spoke,
But hiss for hiss returned with forkèd tongue

To forkèd tongue, for now were all transformed

Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
To his bold riot.³²

C.S. Lewis, being an outstanding specialist in Milton's works, could have been referring to the memorable passage about the transformation of the community of fallen angels devoid of human speech into serpents when he was developing the vision of the modern version of the curse of the Tower of Babel. It would be also difficult not to notice that Milton's taking away of Satan's and his minions' speech was a reversal and a parody of the descent of the Holy Spirit described in

³⁰ G. Orwell, 1984, p. 388.

³¹ C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous...*, p. 477.

³² J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. D. Bush, Milton, Poetical Works, Oxford University Press, London, Oxford 1974, *X, 517-521), p. 410.

the Acts of the Apostles³³, which in turn was, to some extent, a reversal of the curse of the Tower of Babel as it symbolised the restoration of unity and the ability to understand many languages.

Then, if one were to consider Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* from the theological point of view, one could indicate, putting aside its entirely secular nature and its author's atheism, a kind of a parody or paraphrase of Christian language in the often-quoted ending: "He was back in the Ministry of Love, with everything forgiven, his soul white as snow. [...] But it was all right, everything was all right, the struggle was finished. He had won the victory over himself. He loved Big Brother."³⁴ In that case, however, the words, which could have come from a biography of a saint or from a description of some mystical union with God³⁵, if one assumes that Big Brother is a metaphor for God, meant the protagonist's surrender in the face of the totalitarian state and political and psychological terror used by it. It clearly conveyed deep and radical pessimism, unavailable for Christians like C.S. Lewis.

In summary, I can conclude that Orwell's book can be associated with many other texts which might have inspired him. In the case of *The Captive Mind*, there could, of course, be no influence of Miłosz on Orwell's novel as *The Captive Mind* was published in 1951, i.e. when Orwell had already died. One could rather discuss the possible influence of Orwell on Miłosz. What particularly links *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with C.S. Lewis's *That Hideous Strength* was, in my opinion, its deep concern with the problem of language broken and dehumanised by a totalitarian system. The cure, despite the differences between the two authors, was to return to the basic humanistic values associated with the emotions of friendship and love, though in Orwell's novel even sex was an act of rebellion against the totalitarian rule and a turn to the past not yet spoiled by the forces of the totalitarian revolution. Yet the measure was, in the long run, insufficient in the face of the power of Big Brother; in Lewis's novel, it led to success, but only through a miracle, i.e. a supernatural intervention.

33 Cf. Acts of the Apostles 2:1-11, *The Bible. Authorised King James Version, The New Testament...* p. 148

34 G. Orwell, 1984, pp. 375-376.

35 They might have included an ironic allusion to a passage from *Revelations of Divine Love* by the mediaeval English mystic Julian of Norwich: "Sin is behoveable but all shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of things shall be well." *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, ed. G.R. Crampton, Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan 1994, p. 72.

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Andrzej Wicher

Porównanie koncepcji Nowomowy w powieści *Rok 1984* George'a Orwella ze sposobem myślenia o języku w powieści *Ta ohydna siła* C.S. Lewisa

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest zbadanie wybranych źródeł inspiracji, które mogły posłużyć G. Orwellowi do stworzenia koncepcji sztucznego języka zwanego Nowomową, który w powieści *Rok 1984* ukazany jest jako skuteczne narzędzie zniewolenia i kontrolowania myśli w ręku totalitarnej władzy. Autor omawia w tym kontekście możliwe związki między Nowomową a rzeczywistość istniejącymi sztucznymi językami, takimi jak Esperanto. Wskazane są również podobieństwa i różnice między Orwellową koncepcją „dwójmyślenia” a pojęciem „ketmanu” zdefiniowanym w książce Czesława Miłosza pt. *Zniewolony umysł*. Jednak główny nacisk położony jest na związki między powieścią Orwella a fantastyczno-naukową powieścią C.S. Lewisa pod tytułem *Ta ohydna siła*. Wiadomo, że Orwell książkę Lewisa znał i nawet ją zrecenzował. Istnieje wiele bardziej i mniej oczywistych podobieństw między tymi dwoma wybitnymi wizjami zdegenerowanego języka, który służy bardziej politycznej manipulacji niż wzajemnemu zrozumieniu.

Słowa kluczowe: G. Orwell, C.S. Lewis, totalitaryzm, dehumanizacja, psucie języka, sztuczny język, eksperymentowanie w dziedzinie języka.

A comparison between the concept of Newspeak in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel* and the way of thinking about language in C.S. Lewis's *That Hideous Strength*

Summary

The aim of the article is to investigate some of the possible sources of inspiration for Orwell's concept of the artificial language called Newspeak, which, in his novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, is shown as an effective tool of enslavement and thought control in the hands of a totalitarian state. The author discusses, in this context, the putative links between Newspeak and really existing artificial languages, first of all Esperanto, and also between Orwell's notion of "doublethink", which is an important feature of the totalitarian mentality, and Czesław Miłosz's notion of "ketman", developed in his book *The Captive Mind*. But the main emphasis is on the connection between Orwell's book and the slightly earlier novel by C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*. It is well known that Orwell knew Lewis's book and expressed his mixed feelings about it. There are many specific, though far from obvious, similarities between the two books, but what seems to have been particularly inspiring for Orwell was Lewis's vision of a thoroughly degenerate language that is used for political manipulation rather than for communication.

Keywords: G. Orwell, C.S. Lewis, totalitarianism, dehumanisation, language degeneracy, artificial language, experimenting with language.

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Political communication of Germany as a state of mature democracy in the context of the migrant crisis of the 2010s

Introduction

The aim of the article is to conduct an analysis within media research and political science of the political discourse of Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, regarding refugees, which began with the famous slogan *Wir schaffen das!* proclaimed by the German politician on 31 August 2015, during the annual press conference in Berlin with accredited journalists, as Germany was facing the growing European migrant crisis, which triggered much commentary and opinions in relation to the publicly unveiled Willkommenskultur.¹ I shall quote statements by leading European politicians which referred to the position of the Chancellor of Germany, and, using the example of Wirtualna Polska, the most popular opinion-making website in Poland², I shall verify whether the media agenda included matters related to the migrant policy of the Chancellor of Germany. The study

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1 R. Mehring, "Goethes Flüchtlinge: Poetisierung des Dramas", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 2016, issue 68(4), pp. 313–333; W. Bergem, "Die Flüchtlingskrise als Identitätskrise. Multiple Identitäten als Voraussetzung und Merkmal erfolgreicher Integration von Migrantinnen und Migranten", *Diagonal* 2016, issue 37(1), pp. 351–360.

2 According to a study by the Institute of Media Monitoring published on 9.02.2017, the most frequently quoted website in 2016 was wp.pl (cf. IMM: *Najbardziej opiniotwórcze media w 2016 roku*, <http://www.proto.pl/aktualnosci/imm-najbardziej-opiniotworcze-media-w-2016-roku> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]).

applies to the period from 31 August 2015 to 28 February 2017. I considered the period of eighteen months from Angela Merkel's announcement of her decision as a period sufficiently long for examining how the Polish website, which is one of the major indicators of public opinion in Poland, perceived her decision.

Germany as a state of mature democracy *Wir schaffen das!* A new direction in migrant policy

Political scientists have made various attempts at scientifically indicating and explaining the significance of the major features of a mature democracy, also referred to as a consolidated democracy.³ The processes of democracy consolidation are complex, and multi-faceted, and their definition has triggered the formation of various academic stances.⁴ Among the multitude of theoretical approaches, one can, however, indicate the major mechanisms of a mature democracy featured in academic publications. Those mainly refer to three areas: politics and the law, society, and culture.⁵ The first area includes: periodic competitive elections, the ability to utilise one's freedom of association, the ability to freely express one's opinion, the existence of alternative sources of information, government alternations, overcoming crisis situations without breaking the stable democratic order, the functioning of the principle of the separation of powers, equality of all citizens under the law, and the respecting of minority rights. In terms of the social area, the main features include: a civic society functioning efficiently,

³ In the article, I used two notions interchangeably: mature democracy and consolidated democracy (cf. H. Hegre, "Toward a democratic civil peace? Democracy, political change, and civil war, 1816–1992", *American Political Science Association* 2001, vol. 95, issue 1, pp. 33–48).

⁴ M. Burton, R. Gunther, J. Higley, "Introduction: Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe: an overview", [in:] *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, eds. J. Higley, R. Gunther, Cambridge University Press 1992, pp. 1–37; R. Markowski, *Populizm a demokracja*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warsaw 2004, pp. 80–81; S. Huntington, *Trzecia fala demokracji*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warsaw 1995; A. Antoszewski, "Społeczeństwo obywatelskie a proces konsolidacji demokracji", [in:] *Studia z teorii polityki*, eds. A. Czajowski, L. Sobkowiak, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2000, vol. 3, pp. 7–21; R. Solarz, *Kulturowe uwarunkowania procesu przekształceń polskiego systemu politycznego w latach 90.*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2001, pp. 114–115; P. Sekuła, *Kultura polityczna a konsolidacja demokracji*, Krakowskie Towarzystwo Edukacyjne – Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, Krakow 2009, pp. 61–73; A. Siedschlag, *Politische Institutionalisierung und Konflikttransformation: Leitideen, Theoriemodelle und europäische Praxisfälle*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Berlin 2000, pp. 127–133.

⁵ B. Szyja, "Zjawiska niepokojące na obszarze konsolidacji polskiej demokracji u schyłku pierwszej dekady XXI wieku – wybrane aspekty", *Kwartalnik Naukowy OAP UW e-Politikon* 2013, issue 5, p. 199.

visible participation of citizens in community life, the existence of social capital, and the acceptance of mechanisms which enable deliberation. The features of the cultural area include support for democracy as a general idea and for the rules of democracy, and a high level of citizen engagement in politics manifested in, e.g. voting in elections. If such features exist in a political system, it can be referred to as a system of mature democracy.⁶ The political system of Germany in the 2010s was undeniably a mature democracy, even if one were to consider the differences between the former DDR and West Germany regarding citizens' engagement in elections throughout the last 25 years, i.e. since the union of the old and the new federal states. Germany is a consolidated democracy state, as indicated by numerous academic publications.⁷ The American organisation Freedom House, which every year prepares a report on the condition of democracy and freedom in all the countries of the world, considers Germany as one of the countries where two main indicators of the condition of democracy, i.e. political rights and civil liberties, classify it as a "free" country.⁸

2015 will be remembered in Germany's foreign policy for Angela Merkel's decision regarding the opening of borders to refugees. Why did the German Chancellor decide to implement the famous "Wir schaffen das!?" She quite clearly explained it in an interview entitled "With deep conviction" (*Aus tiefer Überzeugung*), conducted by Stefan Braun and Evelyn Roll published in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on 30 August 2016.⁹ At the beginning of the interview, the Chancellor confirmed that one day prior to the above-mentioned press conference of 31 August 2015, she was aware of the forecast 800,000 refugees who could arrive in Germany. That, in turn,

6 Ibidem, pp. 199–200.

7 K. Koźbiat, "Kryzys demokracji na Wschodzie? Frekwencja wyborcza w nowych krajach związkowych RFN 25 lat po zjednoczeniu", *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne* 2016, vol. 49, pp. 138–153; M. Żyromski, "Demokracja bezpośrednia i partycypacja polityczna – mit czy rzeczywistość?", *Przegląd Politologiczny* 2014, issue 4, pp. 77–85; A. Moroska, "Delegalizacja partii politycznych jako instrument bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego państwa. Analiza na przykładzie Niemiec", *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego* 2010, issue 5, pp. 155–176; A. Mihr, "Demokratie, Menschenrechtskultur und Menschenrechtsbildung in Deutschland", [in:] *Menschenrechtsbildung. Bilanz und Perspektiven*, eds. C. Mahler, A. Mihr, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 219–231; Ch. Krell, T. Meyer, T. Mörschel, "Demokratie in Deutschland. Wandel, aktuelle Herausforderungen, normative Grundlagen und Perspektiven", [in:] *Demokratie in Deutschland. Zustand – Herausforderungen – Perspektiven*, eds. T. Mörschel, C. Krell, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 9–30.

8 *Freedom in the World report 2016*, https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

9 A. Merkel, *Aus tiefer Überzeugung*, interview by S. Braun, E. Roll, 30.08.2016, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/bundeskanzlerin-angela-merkel-im-interview-aus-tiefer-ueberzeugung-1.3141421> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

meant for Germany a social, cultural and political challenge. Her press conference was held a few days after she had visited a refugee centre in Heidenau near Dresden (26 August 2015), an event which was accompanied by demonstrations against the influx of asylum seekers, organised by the extreme right-wing NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany – *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*).¹⁰ In the interview, the Chancellor noted that the word “wir” (we) referred to both Germany as a strong state, and to all EU Member States.¹¹ Merkel enumerated various bodies which participated in the efforts to integrate refugees (e.g. the fire department, Amnesty International, trade unions, churches), as well as efforts within intra-state communication. The Chancellor read the activities undertaken by Germany regarding refugees as an implementation of constitutional provisions, the readiness to provide humanitarian aid, which is the core of European and foreign policy. Merkel was aware of the integration difficulties resulting from cultural, religious and language differences, yet, according to her, those were obstacles which could be overcome.¹² In her view, the contemporary challenges faced by Germany and the European Union also include increased international cooperation with Turkey and African states, commitment to principles and basic values in the context of modern globalisation processes, and introducing order to matters related to ensuring security at the EU’s external borders. The interview for the Munich-based daily did not omit the views of the populist right-wing German

¹⁰ H. Funke, “Kriege, Flüchtlinge, Menschenrechte, Terror und die Gefahren von rechts als besondere politische Herausforderungen”, [in:] *Flüchtlinge*, eds. C. Ghaderi, T. Eppenstein, Springer Fachmedien, Wiesbaden 2017, pp. 31–49; V. Dubsloff, “Crise des réfugiés et crispations identitaires: l’Allemagne en proie au national-populisme”, *Allemagne d’aujourd’hui* 2016, issue 2, pp. 20–28.

¹¹ “Ich meinte mich als Bundeskanzlerin, dazu alle Politiker, die den Anspruch haben, diese Aufgabe zu bewältigen, und natürlich meinte ich auch die vielen Ehrenamtlichen, die Hilfsorganisationen, die Wirtschaft und die übrige Gesellschaft, letztlich uns alle, denn Deutschland war und ist ein starkes Land. Das Wir geht aber über Deutschland hinaus: Wir Europäer müssen es schaffen, die EU-Außengrenzen zu sichern und gleichzeitig die Freizügigkeit im Inneren des Schengenraums zu erhalten. Und wenn Sie es noch weiter denken wollen, sind auch all die in das Wir einbezogen, aus deren Regionen die Flüchtlinge kommen. Also all jene, die mit dazu beitragen können und müssen, wenn es um die Bewältigung von Flüchtlingskrisen geht.” (A. Merkel, *op. cit.*).

¹² “Die Situation wird ja oft mit der Aufnahme der Heimatvertriebenen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verglichen. Aber es ist etwas ganz anderes, ob jemand aus dem Irak, Syrien oder Eritrea kommt – und nicht die gleiche Sprache spricht und mit dem Islam einen anderen Glauben hat als die große Mehrheit der Menschen hier. Die Integrationsaufgaben sind anders und größer, aber sie sind zu schaffen, wenn wir uns an unseren Werten orientieren.” (A. Merkel, *op. cit.*).

parties, or their anti-immigration attitudes, or the dangers related to hypothetical terrorist attacks, acts of violence and murders committed by Islamists.¹³

In their publications, both the German press and opinion websites discussed Merkel's 2015 decision expressing their support or disapproval for the "Wir schaffen das!" policy and indicated the complex nature of the context of the Chancellor's decision. As examples, I shall quote several selected publications from German opinion websites. The *Spiegel online* daily focussed on the unusual display of empathy in the German Chancellor. Vera Kämper noted that the decision of the head of the German federal government constituted a display of humanism worthy of imitation¹⁴. The journalist emphasised the change in the perception of the German Chancellor in international public opinion, as opposed to the previously unfavourable perception which was caused by Germany's political discourse of dictating EU Member States with high budget deficits to change their economic policies. The Chancellor's decision to accept hundreds of thousands of refugees was also viewed in the German press in terms of its social and cultural consequences, while the "Wir schaffen das!" slogan was viewed as Merkel's political failure, as she did not consider, e.g. Islamist extremism, Arabic anti-Semitism, nationalists or ethnic conflicts between other nationalities.¹⁵ The analysed political decision was viewed by the German press as controversial, raising questions about the number of migrants whom Germany was able to accept without harm to its internal security.¹⁶ The 2016 election for the Berlin regional parliament, which brought

13 "Aber es ist einfach falsch, dass erst mit den Flüchtlingen der Terrorismus gekommen ist, denn der war schon vorher da in verschiedensten Formen und vor allem mit den vielen Gefährdern, die wir zu überwachen haben. Und es bleibt richtig, dass die ganz große Mehrheit der Flüchtlinge sich vor Gewalt, Mord, Bomben und Terror zu uns in Sicherheit gebracht hat und sich nichts als Ruhe und eine neue Chance zu leben wünscht." (A. Merkel, *op. cit.*).

14 V. Kämper, *Ausländische Presse zur Flüchtlingskrise. Vorbild Deutschland*, 1.09.2015, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/fluechtlingskrise-auslaendische-medien-loben-deutschland-als-vorbild-a-1050931.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019] ("Würden in der Euro-Krise noch Nazi-Vergleiche gezogen, loben ausländische Kommentatoren nun den Umgang mit Flüchtlingen. Die Merkel-Regierung zeige vorbildhafte Menschlichkeit. [...] Deutschland ist zur ersten Anlaufstelle für Flüchtlinge in Europa geworden. Während sich andere Länder um ihre Verantwortung drücken, werden hier überdurchschnittlich viele Asylbewerber aufgenommen. Und die Kanzlerin selbst hat deutliche Worte gefunden").

15 S. Aust, M. Bewarder, W. Büscher, M. Lutz, C. Malzahn, *Herbst der Kanzlerin. Geschichte eines Staatsversagens*, 9.11.2015, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article148588383/Herbst-der-Kanzlerin-Geschichte-eines-Staatsversagens.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

16 G. Blume, M. Brost, T. Hildebrandt, A. Hock, S. Klormann, A. Köckritz, M. Krupa, M. Lau, G. von Randow, M. Theile, M. Thumann, H. Wefing, *Grenzöffnung für Flüchtlinge. Was geschah wirklich?*, 22.08.2016, <http://www.zeit.de/2016/35/grenzoeffnung-fluechtlinge-september-2015-wochenende-angela-merkel-ungarn-oesterreich> [accessed on: 9.04.2019] ("Es ist eine

about a defeat of the Union parties in the state's capital, offered the Chancellor an opportunity to admit to certain errors in the migration policy while excluding the possibility of any change to it.¹⁷

It is also worth asking about the positions of the leaders of EU Member States in response to Angela Merkel's decision regarding Germany's acceptance of refugees. On 15 February 2016, i.e. one day prior to an EU summit meeting, Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, commended Germany's Chancellor on the policy of her government towards refugees. He compared the German politician to Helmut Kohl, a former German chancellor, who pushed for the idea of a united Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which should be considered as praise for the brave decisions made by the head of the German government.¹⁸ Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, expressed disapproval of the German policy towards refugees. According to him, the policy of opened doors and windows should have been corrected, and control at the EU's external borders should have been increased.¹⁹ Joachim Gauck, President of Germany (2012–2017), supported Angela Merkel's efforts noting that Germany "is not a sinking ship during a severe storm", and the situation of the inflow of migrants rather resembled gusts which could cause disorder in society. At the same time, he supported the efforts of Thomas de Maizière, Minister of Internal Affairs, regarding security policy.²⁰ On 7 October 2015, during a meeting of the

umstrittene Entscheidung, die das Land spalten wird und noch immer spaltet, der Riss geht durch Familien, Vereine, Betriebe, Redaktionen: Wie viel Zuwanderung halten wir aus? Woher kommen die Menschen, die wir aufnehmen? Sind potenzielle Attentäter darunter? Wie steht es um unsere Sicherheit? Vor allem aber: Hat Angela Merkel die Menschen dazu ermuntert, zu uns zu kommen – oder wären sie ohnehin gekommen?").

¹⁷ Ch. Geyer, *Angela Merkels „Wir schaffen das“ in der Flüchtlingspolitik*, 20.09.2016, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/angela-merkels-wir-schaffen-das-in-der-fluechtlingspolitik-14443464.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]; apa, pap, *Niemcy. Merkel składa samokrytykę, broni swej polityki migracyjnej*, 19.09.2016, <http://wyborcza.pl/7,75399,20716132,niemcy-merkel-sklada-samokrytyke-broni-swej-polityki-migracyjnej.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

¹⁸ arb, *Szef KE Jean-Claude Juncker chwali Angelę Merkel za politykę imigracyjną*, 17.02.2016, <http://www.rp.pl/Uchodzcy/160219377-Szef-KE-Jean-Claude-Juncker-chwali-Angele-Merkel-za-polityke-imigracyjna.html#ap-1> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]; aar/Reuters/AFP/dpa, *Jean-Claude Juncker: „Die Geschichte wird Angela Merkel recht geben“*, 17.02.2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-jean-claude-juncker-staerkt-angela-merkel-a-1077757.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

¹⁹ A. Riedel, *Kritik an deutscher Flüchtlingspolitik*, 4.12.2015, http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/eu-ratspraesident-donald-tusk-kritik-an-deutscher.1773.de.html?dram:article_id=338782 [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

²⁰ "Das Land ist nicht in einem Zustand wie ein sinkendes Schiff, es ist noch nicht mal in einem Zustand eines schweren Orkans, sondern es sind Böen, die uns schütteln, und

leaders of EU Member States, François Hollande, President of France (2012–2017), indicated the reason in the German Chancellor's efforts in terms of migration policy, and warned against the return of nationalist tendencies in Europe²¹. On 31 August 2016, during a meeting in Maranello, Matteo Renzi, Prime Minister of Italy (2014–2016), expressed his support for the efforts of the head of the German government stressing the need for an even and just distribution of refugees. He also indicated specific figure-based limits regarding EU Member States' capabilities to accept migrants.²²

The above-quoted selected statements by European politicians and press reactions referring to the political decision of the German Chancellor indicated two major criteria for the evaluation of Angela Merkel's political communication. Those are: the welcoming culture (*Willkommenskultur*), and the sense of reality (*Wahrheitskultur*).

Wir schaffen das! Media research analysis of the publications at wp.pl

I conducted a hermeneutic interpretation of texts which referred to Angela Merkel's political discourse regarding the acceptance of refugees posted on the Wirtualna Polska website.²³ In general, I identified seven publications posted on the wp.pl website which referred to Angela Merkel's migration policy directly, and

es sind Böen, die die Gesellschaft auch durcheinanderbringen ein wenig." (dpa, *Gauck unterstützt Merkel: Deutschland ist kein sinkendes Schiff*, 13.08.2016, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlingskrise/gauck-unterstuetzt-merkel-deutschland-ist-kein-sinkendes-schiff-14386757.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]).

- 21 "Zuvor hatte François Hollande in einer ernsten Ansprache gemeinsam mit Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel vor einer Rückkehr des Nationalismus in Europa gewarnt. Die Souveränität eines Staates sei kein Wert an sich. In Europa müsse die Souveränität der Einzelnen gebündelt werden." (B. Riegert, *Merkel und Hollande: Gemeinsam für Flüchtlinge*, 7.01.2015, <http://www.dw.com/de/merkel-und-hollande-gemeinsam-für-flüchtlinge/a-18766895> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]).
- 22 "Italiens Regierungschef Matteo Renzi sagte, beide Länder wollten, dass Flüchtlinge gleichmäßig und gerecht in Europa verteilt würden. Wir wissen, dass es Grenzen gibt. Es ist undenkbar, dass Europa jeden aufnehmen kann." (*Übereinstimmung in Flüchtlingsfrage. Merkel und Renzi: Nicht jeder kann bleiben*, 31.08.2016, <http://www.n-tv.de/politik/Merkel-und-Renzi-Nicht-jeder-kann-bleiben-article18541126.html> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]).
- 23 The analysis covered press texts published at wp.pl which included one of the following terms: "Merkel", "kanclerz Niemiec" [German Chancellor] or "polityka migracyjna" [migration policy], "Wir schaffen das!" [We'll handle this], "uchodźcy" [refugees]. Those texts had to actually raise the topic of the migration policy by the German Chancellor, not simply meet the formal criteria. The study material consisted of publications published within the period from 31 August 2015 to 28 February 2017.

several other publications available on the website which discussed the topic of migrants within a broader scope. Upon their analysis, it should be noted that in terms of information selection, the texts did not omit either Chancellor Merkel's fact-based arguments in favour of accepting refugees in 2015 or the arguments of her opponents. Wirtualna Polska's editors responsible for presenting those processes of political communication discussed in detail the major points of Chancellor Merkel's 2016 interview in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* daily, in which she admitted to having ignored the problem of refugees for too long and the mistakes made in that area, yet she also maintained her position on the validity of the 2015 decision regarding refugees.²⁴ A similar tone, though presenting a slight correction in Merkel's migration policy, was employed in a text published at wp.pl, which reported on the German Chancellor's intention to increase the severity of the deportation law and on the difficulties in its application.²⁵ The website also indicated statements by the head of the German government demanding a fairer distribution of refugees, which expressed her disapproval of the attitudes of those states which rejected the possibility of accepting Muslims, and the urgent need to negotiate with African states.²⁶ Wirtualna Polska also reported on the arguments of the opponents of Chancellor Merkel's migration policy. It reported on her visit to Prague on 25 August 2016, during which Bohuslav Sobotka, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, and Miloš Zeman, President of the Czech Republic, expressed an opposing view on refugee quotas and that the asylum system based on quotas was unacceptable for the Czech Republic.²⁷ The website also focussed on the critical remarks of Sigmar Gabriel, head of SPD and Deputy Chancellor in the coalition government, towards Merkel, which he expressed in an interview for channel 2 of ZDF German public television. He stated there that "it is not enough to repeat over and over: we'll handle this" and that "it is unthinkable to accept in Germany a million people every year."²⁸ Wp.pl also reported on the critical

24 *Angela Merkel dla „Sueddeutsche Zeitung”: hasło „damy radę” było słuszne*, 31.08.2016, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/angela-merkel-dla-sueddeutsche-zeitung-haslo-damy-rade-bylo-sluszne-6031887478014593a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

25 *Angela Merkel broni swoich decyzji. Ale chce zaostrzyć prawo deportacyjne*, 18.01.2017, <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/angela-merkel-broni-swoich-decyzji-ale-chce-zaostrzyc-prawo-deportacyjne-6081416625960065a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

26 *Angela Merkel broni swojej polityki migracyjnej oraz systemu relokacji uchodźców w UE*, 28.08.2016, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/angela-merkel-broni-swojej-polityki-migracyjnej-oraz-systemu-relokacji-uchodzcow-w-ue-6030978667836033a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

27 *Odmienne stanowiska Niemiec i Czech w sprawie uchodźców*, 26.08.2016, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/odmienne-stanowiska-niemiec-i-czech-w-sprawie-uchodzcow-6030049562079873a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

28 *Zgrzyty w rządzie Niemiec. Wicekanclerz Gabriel krytykuje politykę migracyjną Merkel*, 28.08.2016, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/zgrzyty-w-rzadzcie-niemiec-wicekanclerz-gabriel-krytykuje->

remarks by the *Die Welt* daily towards the Chancellor. According to Michael Stuermer, an historian quoted by the newspaper, “the criticism of Germany by Central European states is harsh, yet, unfortunately, justified. Not everyone wants to be governed the German way.”²⁹ According to him, one should understand the most recent history of Eastern European states, the problem of their statehoods and the rights of their citizens, and the valuable state sovereignty regained 25 years earlier: “those states do not wish to let their sovereignty be taken away by the EU, and most certainly not by German diktat.”³⁰ *Die Welt*’s interviewee argued that the German Chancellor should have found the appropriate proportion between balance and leadership: “When the German government gives up leadership, the situation becomes difficult; when it assumes leadership, the situation gets even worse,” he stated. In his opinion, a solution to that conflict was a “permanent German dilemma” which required skill and telephone diplomacy, as at the time when Helmut Kohl was Chancellor.”³¹

The migration policy of the German Chancellor could be viewed as a system of mutually dependant elements. Those included, e.g.: the media reactions to the decision by the head of the German government, related commentaries and opinions expressed by German politicians and leaders of other states, and the level of public support. The analysed texts considered the major social and political conditions within which the system operated. Angela Merkel’s decision communicated in the form of the “Wir schaffen das!” slogan was, in time, re-interpreted by herself, which was also reflected in the analysed texts. The wp.pl website reported on the support of the EU’s political leaders, and the demand for changes emphasised by the Chancellor and directed towards EU Member States regarding their migration policies. Then, the final message by Angela Merkel (in my opinion that was the interview in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of 30 August 2016) offered a change of the style of the language of her goals and political activities. The media research analysis indicated the existence of a feedback loop between the “Wir schaffen das!” slogan and the above-mentioned interview published in the German daily, which was influenced by factors which supported and opposed the direction of the German Chancellor’s migration policy.

In the conducted media research analysis of the publications published on the Wirtualna Polska website, I also referred to the theory of the value of information

polityke-migracyjna-merkel-6030982387770497a [accessed on: 9.04.2019] [unless indicated otherwise, English versions of quotations were translated from Polish].

29 *Merkel w ogniu krytyki. “Nie wszyscy chcą być rządzani według niemieckich wzorów”*, 28.08.2016, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/merkel-w-ogniu-krytyki-nie-wszyscy-chca-byc-rzadzani-wedlug-niemieckich-wzorow-6030876726117505a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

30 Ibidem.

31 Ibidem.

in order to better understand the process of political communication of the “Wir schaffen das!” slogan. Within the content of the political discourse of the head of the German government of 31 August 2015 and of the interview by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, as well as of the publications posted at wp.pl, I identified the presence of the following information factors: the factor of relevance, the factor of personalisation, the factor of controversy, the factor of scope, and the factor of failure.³²

The relevance category was determined by the events/issues with objectively high significance: the armed conflict in the Middle East, the health and life hazards for the thousands of people living in the combat zones in Syria, the various forms of humanitarian aid for refugees, and Angela Merkel’s proclamation of the *Willkommenskultur* policy. The personalisation category was realised in the viewing of the German Chancellor’s position on migration policy through the statements by the leaders of EU Member States, opinions by renowned political scientists, and the statement by the Chancellor herself quoted by the wp.pl website. The “Wir schaffen das!” slogan and Angela Merkel’s views were not unequivocal for the authors of Wirtualna Polska. The following issues, directly or indirectly related to Merkel’s migration policy, proved controversial: whether the people flowing in should be treated as migrants or refugees. And, in turn: what the true motivations behind the decisions of people from the Middle East arriving in Germany were.³³ Also, any relationship between terrorist attacks in Europe and the issues of the EU’s internal security, and Merkel’s decision remained unclear for the wp.pl website. Other controversial issues included the media reactions related to the activities of extreme German organisations towards asylum seekers and the question about the number of refugees Germany was able to accept.³⁴ The scope category should be applied to the extent of the problem, which is not a local, regional or even national matter, but rather a problem of an international nature. The wp.pl website published texts regarding the routes travelled by the refugees, which indicated the extent of the issue, which was also present on the analysed website.³⁵ The failure category

32 S. Michalczyk, *Jednostka i społeczeństwo w świecie mediów. Klasyczne i współczesne idee w teoriach średniego zasięgu*, Stowarzyszenie Thesaurus Silesiae – Skarb Śląski, “Śląsk” Sp. z o.o. Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Katowice 2015, p. 61.

33 M. Fabisiak, *Dlaczego Niemcy zaprosili uchodźców do Europy? “Pomagają ofiarom wojny” i nie tylko*, 10.09.2015, <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/dlaczego-niemcy-zaprosili-uchodzcow-do-europy-pomagaja-ofiarom-wojny-i-nie-tylko-6027693645431425a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

34 *Rząd centralny Niemiec i władze landów będą odsyłać imigrantów*, 10.02.2017, <https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/rzad-centralny-niemiec-i-wladze-landow-beda-odsylyc-imigrantow-6089463211447425a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

35 “Welt am Sonntag”: *więcej imigrantów wjeżdża do Niemiec z Polski*, 12.06.2016, <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/welt-am-sonntag-wiecej-imigrantow-wjezdza-do-niemiec-z-polski-6027382910497921a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019]; A. Parfieniuk, *Tak Afgańczycy próbują dostać się na Zachód. Stare szlaki są dla nich zamknięte, dlatego wybierają Moskwę, Indie, a nawet*

applied to Angela Merkel's statements presented in the interview by the Munich-based *Süddeutsche Zeitung* daily, in which she indicated, e.g. a lack of cooperation between EU Member States in terms of increasing security at the EU's external borders, and a lack of consent regarding the distribution of migrants within specific Member States.³⁶ Based on the theory of the value of information one could conclude that the existence of information factors in the political discourse related to the "Wir schaffen das!" slogan justified the interest of the Wirtualna Polska website in the processes of political communication analysed in this article.

Conclusions

The media research analysis of the content of publications regarding Angela Merkel's decision of 31 August 2015 expressing an opened migration policy illustrates the major role of the media in interpreting the processes of political communication. Information selection processes are complex, and they occur not only at the level of the media, but also of sources and the audience. Therefore, those phenomena should be considered within the broad perspective of the engagement of various entities and diverse contexts conditioning the selection processes within the course: sources – the media – audience. The Polish wp.pl website presented a wide range of views on Angela Merkel's political decision and the political and social consequences of *Willkommenskultur*.

The analysis showed that some press releases included various points of view which referred to one issue, e.g. in the case of Merkel's migration policy, they featured statements by leading politicians who supported the political communication of the German Chancellor and her "Wir schaffen das!" slogan and those who opposed them.³⁷ The media polemic on that matter should also be viewed as a factor legitimising democracy. In the analysed case, there existed a conflict between the governing Merkel and a considerable portion of society expressing their disapproval of the Chancellor's decision.

Consolidated democracy as the context of the political events in Germany enabled me, within the scope of this study, to eliminate various forms of censorship, which should actually be interpreted as a category of information selection. In summary, the analysis of the mediated forms of Angela Merkel's communication published by the Wirtualna Polska website proved a useful tool for ensuring a better understanding of the processes of political communication.

Kube, 20.04.2016, <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/tak-afganczycy-probuja-dostac-sie-na-zachod-stare-szlaki-sa-dla-nich-zamkniete-dlatego-wyberaja-moskwe-indie-a-nawet-kube-6025269823034497a> [accessed on: 9.04.2019].

³⁶ Angela Merkel dla „Sueddeutsche Zeitung”...

³⁷ Merkel w ogniu krytyki...

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Rafał Leśniczak

Komunikacja polityczna Niemiec jako stanu dojrzałej demokracji w kontekście kryzysu migracyjnego drugiej dekady XXI wieku

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest analiza medioznawcza i politologiczna dyskursu politycznego kanclerz Niemiec, Angeli Merkel, dotyczącego uchodźców, zapoczątkowanego słynnym sloganem *Wir schaffen das!* Czas badań obejmuje okres od 31.08.2015 do 28.02.2017. Autor wykorzystuje metodę analizy systemowej oraz metodę analizy zawartości. Materiał badawczy stanowią teksty opublikowane na portalu „Wirtualna Polska”.

Słowa kluczowe: komunikowanie polityczne, teoria wartości informacji, Angela Merkel, kryzys migracyjny.

Political communication of Germany as a state of mature democracy in the context of the migrant crisis of the 2010s

Summary

The aim of the article is the media and political analysis of the political discourse of German Chancellor Angela Merkel regarding refugees, launched by the famous slogan *Wir schaffen das!* The time study covers the period from 31.08.2015 to 28.02.2017. The author uses the system analysis method and the content analysis method. The research material is the texts published on the “Wirtualna Polska” portal.

Keywords: political communication, theory of news values, Angela Merkel, migration crisis

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The (d)evolution of political communication in Italy: Beppe Grillo's case

In the 21st century, together with the rapid widespread of social media and digital communication, political parties and their leaders have started to make use of modern technologies to support conventional representation. Following Silvio Berlusconi's resignation in 2011, the Italy's political scene has seen an immediate re-evaluation which, after the subsequent governments of both center-left and center-right coalitions lasting until 2018, has brought about significant changes to the traditional party system.¹ One of them involved the appearance of a new political group, the 'Five Stars Movement' (translated literally from Italian: *Movimento Cinque Stelle*, hereinafter abbreviated as 5SM) led by Beppe Grillo, comedian and TV personality who gathered an enormous confidence of nearly 9 millions of Italian voters in the early parliamentary election of 2013 disappointed by the existing political leadership within last twenty-five years of the so-called 'Second Republic'. That record was broken in the polls of 2018 when Grillo's party not only improved and rose up to 10.5 millions of votes, but also entered the governing cabinet with Luigi Di Maio as deputy prime minister.

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1 See: Ł.J. Berezowski, "A Semiotic Analysis of Italy's Political Discourse. Silvio Berlusconi's Case", [in]: *Current Perspectives in Semiotics. Text, Genres, and Representation*, eds. M. Kopytowska, A. Gałkowski, Peter Lang GmbH, Berlin 2018, pp. 157–174.

In the present article we aim to analyze, in both political and linguistic terms, the phenomenon of a virtual party initially without a structured organization that subsequently conquered Italian citizens notwithstanding generational and ideological differences among them. In particular, the object of the research shall be dedicated to the figure of its charismatic leader explored in the perspective of both verbal and non-verbal communication.

Historical background

Founded earlier in 2009, the 5SM came to the top league of the Italian political scene only in May of 2012. It is the first time when such an unexpected victory in both local and regional elections has been experienced. The success was doubled later that year when Grillo's political project was ranked the first in the regional voting in Sicily, and even the most disbelieving commentators started to think (or, actually, to worry) that the 5SM might play an important role in the forthcoming parliamentary elections. A year prior to that, very few political observers noticed the existence of the initiative and considered it as both evanescent and significantly irrelevant. It was headed by Beppe Grillo, a comedian and actor with an uncommon professional career. After several years of popular appearances on the public TV channels in the 1980s, he was expelled from mainstream television as the aftermath of playing tricks on the former governing Socialist Party during a prime time broadcast. Subsequently, Grillo continued to act in theaters, attracting less numerous but loyal audience with his performances that increasingly concentrated on current political affairs, in particular on environmental topics and a hard criticism of the degeneration of today's capitalist economy. Shortly, the same issues shall be extensively covered in the blog that Grillo began in 2005 (mentioned thereafter).

The public expression of Beppe Grillo contains all the features of distinctive communication which is characteristic of many Italian politicians, but it also includes elements of attitudes which can be defined as steered or acquired skills. Grillo as both comedian and actor consciously takes advantage of his natural and spontaneous professional competences. This relates to the level of verbal communication (both spoken and written) as well as to non-verbal one (like gestures, facial expression, body language, use of symbols, pictures and objects considering all these elements in semiotic perspective). Verbal communication represents a phenomenon consisting of speech acts that shall be classified as 'written speaking discourse' on the one hand and 'spoken writing discourse' on the other.² It means that Grillo, when producing

² G. Nencioni, "Parlato-parlato, parlato-scritto, parlato-recitato", [in:] *Di scritto e di parlato. Discorsi linguistici*, Zanichelli, Bologna 1983, pp. 126–179, http://nencioni.sns.it/fileadmin/template/allegati/publicazioni/1983/ScrittoParlato/ScrittoParlato_sette.pdf [accessed on: 1.05.2020].

a written speech act (in particular via his website: www.beppegrillo.it, which constitutes an ideal example of virtual hypertextual communication genre), tries to make use of simple and well-ordered language, but expressive, pragmatic and performative at the same time. His expression is not much divergent from the one presented by the majority of bloggers in general. Furthermore, Grillo pays attention to the coherence of his speech, keeping the content transparent in terms of form and style notwithstanding his excessive temper and casual style of communicating with the public. Both stage and actor experience facilitates him to achieve the objective set and to play a role of locutor (mostly interlocutor or rhetor in classical terms). To say more on that, as sophisticated actor and satirist, Grillo is capable of directing scenes of his choice, sequencing them to predict the final effect which aims at provoking and stimulating the spectators with the use of discursive signals such as curses, swear words and blasphemies.³

In terms of non-verbal communication Grillo seems to be even more meaningful. Several specific elements of this kind of expression propagated by the Italian politician linked with the rhetorical figures contribute to define it as idiolect called 'grillese' (a customized jargon-coded variety of language; *grill-* < *Grillo* + *-ese* a nominal suffix of lexems specific to Italian language names, such as *inglese* 'English', *francese* 'French', *svedese* 'Swedish', etc.). It can be noted not only due to certain fixed characteristics and visible manifestations of his behavior, but also (if not primarily) due to his presence in public space and virtual reality. Perhaps Grillo follows, even if not deliberately, a widely held pattern of Italian scandalized politicians of the past including Silvio Berlusconi, Alessandra Mussolini, Ciciolina or Nicole Minetti, albeit his political views differ from them all as much as coincide.⁴ The prototypes of Beppe Grillo's attitude can be searched more outside strict politics; one of them to be mentioned was Dario Fo, the Italian Nobel prize winner for literature in 1997, dramatist and satirist, a father of left-wing radical theater in Italy.

Non-verbal communication: analysis #1

To start with non-verbal communication analysis in Grillo, it is worth paying attention to several gestures characterizing 5SM leader. Italian semiotician Giovanna Cosenza defines them as "extreme body" (It. *corpo estremo*), which

3 U. Eco, "Sull'insulto", *L'Espresso* 2015, 2.10, <http://espresso.repubblica.it/opinioni/la-bustina-di-minerva/2015/09/30/news/sull-insulto-1.232015> [accessed on: 1.05.2020]; translated into Polish by: A. Gałkowski, „O zniewadze”, *Tygiel Kultury* 2015, issue 7–12(223–228), pp. 81–82.

4 See: Ł.J. Berezowski, "Non solo Berlusconi: rassegna panoramica dei populisti italiani della «Seconda Repubblica». Una prospettiva storico-linguistica", [in:] *Populismo y propaganda: entre el presente y el pasado*, eds. Ł. Szkopiński, A. Woch, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2020, pp. 175–188.

should be perceived as ‘a body eccentric in its behavior and reaction’, intended for comical or even disgusting effect (e.g. silly faces resembling puppets used as masks by actors of traditional Chinese or Japanese theaters).⁵ Grillo, undeniably controls and makes use of gestures and facial expressions, being totally aware of the impact that they could have on the audience.

Some of Grillo’s attitudes that can be analyzed from the perspective of “behavioral semantics”⁶ are:

- use of distinctive masks achieved thanks to a clever mime acts (either extremely tragic or comic ones) featuring an inborn ability to switch smoothly between them; these are full of exaggeration in action, amplified tones and scream (mouth agape effect);
- use (or sometimes even abuse) of a *bras d’honneur* gesture (in Poland known as ‘Kozakiewicz’s gesture’ after Władysław Kozakiewicz who displayed it after winning the gold medal in the pole vault at the 1980 Summer Olympics in front of a hostile crowd in Moscow); Grillo applies it habitually and impassively; moreover, he points his finger at particular parts of body, offending and slandering his political adversaries. This leads to boost the effect of repulsion and disgust towards the person being an object of insulting words produced by the comedian;
- search for maintaining direct contact with the audience or the interlocutor (physical one), chatting with the use of a deictic pronoun ‘you’ accompanied by his index finger turned towards people he is not friends with, violating personal space of the speaker by patting on the shoulder of arms of the interlocutor in order to gain control over them; this kind of stance is full of contradiction since once Grillo cuddles his opponent during a discussion, which is not matched with harassing tone and content of his speech in a conflict situation;
- by and large, the use of non-conventional gestures, which are regarded as inappropriate, deriding, defamatory, blasphemous, insulting public taste, etiquette and personal beliefs such as athletic gestures performed among the crowd, simulating the distribution of holy communion, wiping his bottom using a newspaper, spitting at the audience, amplifying typical Italian gestures with additional hand and body movements.

5 G. Cosenza, *Grillo’s communication style: from swear words to body language*, 2013, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/23248823.2014.886417?scroll=top&needAccess=true&journalCode=rita20> [accessed on: 1.05.2020].

6 See: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/behaviourist-antics> [accessed on: 1.05.2020].

Non-verbal communication: observation #1

Beppe Grillo represents exceptionally unconventional set of behaviors: he is original, creative and shocking, thus overshadows a crown of ordinary Italian politicians who are not capable of controlling their reactions as much as Grillo is. The 5SM leader knows no embarrassment or compromises. Yet, it seems quite probable that his attitude is just a sheer game of appearances focused on gaining respect and wide recognition among his supporters known as *grillini* (*Grill/o* + *-ini* a plural hypocoristical lexical end designating a group of supporters). Reflection-provoking embittering, building ambivalent reactions, sowing doubt are the most common techniques of communicating used by Grillo. Perhaps it is his idea for gaining success for the movement he leads rather than fulfilling personal desires and ambitions. He is said to have grilled politicians as Bettino Craxi, Silvio Berlusconi and recently Matteo Renzi, all of them belonging to the ruling class of the last 25 years. His deeds in this regard shall be the subject of long-term research led by political scientists to prove Grillo's range of dismissing prominent statesmen. For the time being, the answer is not so evident.

The Five Stars Movement, regardless of the origins of its name, stands for five priorities that this anti-establishment, eurosceptical and environmentalist political group is heading for:

- public water and its relevance for people;
- environment and its protection;
- free-of-charge right to Internet access for everyone;
- sustainable economic development;
- innovative transport policy, guaranteeing facilities for cyclists and owners of ecological vehicles.

Each of these demands is represented by a separate yellow star forming the party's logotype.⁷ It is the best exemplification of an image that a politician and his party can use to publicize proper brand in both verbal and non-verbal communication with the citizens applicable to similarly encoded symbols. However, in 2015 Grillo surprisingly decided to cease any personal identification of himself with the movement, depriving it of his name in the official party documents and graphics.

Although this may not be apparent, in spite of many stereotypes that arose around 5SM including the accusations of populism⁸, its leader sets very realistic goals which find social justification, both globally and locally. Once achieved,

⁷ See: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MoVimento_5_Stelle_Logo_vettoriale.svg [accessed on: 29.06.2020].

⁸ See: Ł.J. Berezowski, "Political communication in the post-representative Italian democracy: towards a digital era of populism", *Kwartalnik Naukowy OAP UW e-Politikon* 2019, issue 31–32, pp. 69–98.

they may contribute to the improvement of society life on one hand and on the other reveal helplessness of formerly governing political parties which would never admit failures or impotence.

Verbal communication: analysis #2

When it comes to discussing Beppe Grillo's verbal communication, the object of research shall be the content of his superblog *beppegrillo.it*. Such analysis has been carried out with the use of Expert System program based on Cogito technology which allows to separate semantic contents of given hypertext (e.g. frequent blog entries). Critical reference shall be made to some arrangements of the research commissioned by *La Stampa* journalists.⁹

The analysis concerned the entire body of the website published between 2005 and 2012. It was established that in the aforementioned period the number of posts increased fourfold (from 350 to 1400). This means that Grillo is a fruitful, efficient and ultimately resistant commentator. Looking down at the rating of topics that dominated the first two positions, this included the judiciary and trials as well as elections. A little less attention is paid to crime and microeconomics. These are followed by politics, terrorism, banking, media, investigations and arrests, parliament, litter and environment pollution, local authorities, business and finance, nuclear power, budget and taxes, labor market, healthcare, public debt, telecommunication, energy, political parties and movements, market and stock exchange, public gatherings, education, publishing market.

Among the nouns of major occurrence (both common and proper ones) on the blog terms *Italia* and *italiano* are to be mentioned. These are followed by: *paese* 'country', *politici* 'politicians', *Silvio Berlusconi* (understandable after two decades of Berlusconi's era), *partito* 'party', *governo* 'government', *stato* 'state', *movimento* 'movement', *parlamento* 'parliament', *processo* 'trial', *reato* 'criminal offence', *azienda* 'company', *debito* 'debt', *democrazia* 'democracy', *acqua* 'water', *referendum* 'referendum', *magistrate* 'judge'. Interestingly, Rome was of lower occurrence than Milan (*Roma, Milano*) as well as the EU topped over the USA (*Unione Europea/UE, Stati Uniti*).

The terms of the highest occurrence confirm the list of topics that Grillo has been mostly involved in.

In addition to the nouns' rating, the study revealed the list of the most frequently used verbs. The rating is opened by *fare* 'do', *potere* 'can', *dovere* 'must', *dire* 'say', *inviare* 'send', *volere* 'want', *stare* 'be', *andare* 'go', *sapere* 'know', *venire* 'come', *pagare* 'pay' through *parlare* 'speak', *dare* 'give', *arrivare* 'arrive', *leggere* 'read', *vivere* 'live', *sentire* 'hear/feel', *succedere* 'happen', *decidere* 'decide', *passare* 'spend', finally *votare*

⁹ <https://www.lastampa.it/blogs/2013/03/12/news/il-linguaggio-di-beppe-grillo-1.36972289> [accessed on: 1.05.2020].

'vote' and *cambiare* 'change'. One may only imagine how many different collocations can be formed with the use of only two last verbs: *votare "sì" o "no"* 'vote "yes" or "no"', *votare per questa legge* 'vote for the bill', *votare contro la riforma* 'vote against the reform', *cambiare l'Italia* 'change Italy', *cambiare la società* 'change the society', *cambiare la situazione politica* 'change the political situation', *cambiare lo status quo politico* 'change the political *status quo*', etc. Not negligible for this research is the grammatical tense: the *inviare* verb, which is regularly used for computer commands such as *inviare il messaggio/la risposta* 'to send a message/a reply', is recorded innumerable number of times.

Among the most frequently displayed public figures, apart from above-listed Berlusconi, there are an investigating journalist Marco Travaglio, involved in reporting news stories and current politics, followed by the current mayor of Naples Luigi De Magistris and former left-wing prime minister Massimo D'Alema. The international list starts with former US presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Generally speaking, current politicians and affairs are the most likely to appear, hence the personal list may vary for years 2012–2020. Donald Trump has been recorded 40,000 times, whereas former Italian prime minister Matteo Renzi – almost 51,000 times. Similar ratings relate to institutions and parties, following the ranking list: *PD Partito Democratico* (Democratic Party), *PdL il Popolo della Libertà* (People of Freedom), *Camera dei Deputati* (Chamber of Deputies), *Senato* (Senate), *Viminale* (the Viminale hill housing the Ministry of Internal Affairs) and toponymes such as: *Milano* (Milan), *Europa* (Europe), *Roma* (Rome), *Torino* (Turin), *Stati Uniti* (United States of America), *Genova* (Genoa), *Bologna* (Bologna).

Verbal communication: observation #2

Under a superficial reading of Beppe Grillo's blog, we can acknowledge that the author highlights a number of cross-cutting themes regarding domestic and foreign policy agenda. As a matter of fact, there is no single topic that has not been mentioned, in particular as far as Italian political, social and economic realities are concerned. However, once deepened, the analysis clearly shows that the references to facts and opinions are plenty of rich base terminology, while the message is still simple and clear enough. It maintains a predominantly journalistic and commentary style, highlighting events and political views, thus contributing to reflections upon mentioned issues (e.g. by raising questions). Grillo has a sharp and witty tongue (as in spoken *grilllese*, cfr. above), unscrupulously provocative and swashbuckling, but hitting the point. Some of the nicknames invented by the blogger attributed to Italian politicians include: *Gargamella* or *Zombie* for Luigi Bersani (center-left party leader), *Topo Gigio* for Walter Veltroni (It. *topo* 'rat'), *Prodi Alzheimer* for Romano Prodi, *Rigor Montis* for Mario Monti (during his governance), *Elsa Frignero* for Elsa Fornero (of It. *frignare* 'to cry'),

Salma (It. *salma* ‘dead-body’) for Giorgio Napolitano (former President of the Republic), *Psiconano* for Silvio Berlusconi (*psico-* ‘psycho-’ + It. *nano* ‘dwarf’). Finally, there are additional descriptive terms used in a very unceremonious manner: for instance, he once defined Giuliano Ferrara, the editor-in-chief of *Il Foglio* daily paper as a *container pieno di merda liquida* ‘container full of liquid shit’.

Concluding remarks

As noted above, one of the major recalled element of Beppe Grillo’s criticism, as his distinctive feature, is the populist language. Actually, the typical leader of a populist movement is someone who personifies the common sense of “the man in the street”, as opposed to the unnecessary complications and artificial divisions that characterize political elites.¹⁰ Therefore, defining his leadership as populist is not any offence since Grillo himself provocatively once referred to it as “populist”. Calling Five Stars Movement a party is of bigger insult since its members stress that they do not form a party but a “movement” and it may not be included in the traditional left-right paradigm. Instead, they claim to be a “non-association” with headquarters located in the blog run by their leader.

Grillo’s movement find some common features with the similar initiatives in the whole Europe (Syriza in Greece, Podemos in Spain, Kukiz ‘15 in Poland), being a sort of response to dissatisfaction of the voters formerly supporting traditional parties or simply fed up with the manner of conducting policy excluding them from active participation and preferring direct democracy-based system.

Grillo’s success in the polls of 2018 after Matteo Renzi’s cabinet resignation, as a consequence of the constitutional referendum’s failure, represents a clear sign of the leadership crisis as well as the drifting apart of the ruling class that ignored the problems of ordinary people for several years. Grillo seems to take advantage of this situation pretty well uniting Italians’ reluctance to the EU institutions, illegal migration wave and economic hardship. It is an open question if this emerging model of a political form will evolve into a democratic and open-minded governance rather than a populist and blinkered thinking organization supported by outraged web users (including bloggers and influencers). It is certain, however, that both linguistic and extralinguistic measures applied by Grillo such as rhetorical figures, verbal hyperboles, insults, body language and irony have accomplished their goals in appealing to the electorate that was previously exploited by all parties within the last twenty-five years of the Second Republic. This demonstrates an innovative approach based on political communication that devolves some level of decision-making power to the party supporters. Such pattern is followed by other representatives of the Italian political scene of today.

¹⁰ See: *Beppe Grillo’s Five Star Movement. Organisation, Communication and Ideology*, ed. F. Tronconi, Ashgate, Farnham 2015.

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Łukasz Jan Berezowski, Artur Gałkowski

Przypadek Beppego Grilla, czyli o (d)ewolucji komunikacji politycznej we Włoszech

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest analiza przypadku Beppego Grilla jako fenomenu społecznego, kulturowego i językowego. Jego partia, Ruch Pięciu Gwiazd (Movimento 5 Stelle), zaczynając jako wirtualne ugrupowanie pozbawione zorganizowanych

struktur, zdobyła poparcie Włochów o poglądach lewicowych i prawicowych bez względu na różnice pokoleniowe i spory ideologiczne między nimi. Sukces stronników Grilla w wyborach do parlamentu włoskiego w 2018 roku, osiągnięty w następstwie porażki referendum konstytucyjnego zwołanego przez Mattea Renzię, stanowi jasny wyraz kryzysu przywództwa politycznego, jak i oddalania się klasy rządzącej od zwykłych obywateli, których problemy są od lat ignorowane. Analiza koncentruje się zarówno na warstwie formalnej, jak i merytorycznej: z jednej strony typowa dla Grilla artystyczna ekspresja, której emanacją są gesty, mimika, jak również bezpośredni język pełen hiperboli, figur retorycznych, przekleństw i bluźnierczych sekwencji, przyczynia się do budowy jego bezkompromisowej charyzmy; z drugiej strony nowoczesne technologie i media społecznościowe (blogi, fora, profile) wykorzystywane do efektywnego komunikowania się z elektoratem, kreują obraz polityka otwartego, podążającego za otaczającym go światem. Wszystkie przywołane okoliczności świadczą o nowatorskim podejściu do polityki opartej na rozproszonym komunikowaniu podejmowanych decyzji ze zwolennikami partii, którzy są jednocześnie aktywnymi użytkownikami Internetu: blogerami i influencerami. Ten paradygmat powielany jest obecnie przez innych przedstawicieli włoskiej sceny politycznej.

Słowa kluczowe: Beppe Grillo, Ruch Pięciu Gwiazd, włoska scena polityczna, komunikowanie polityczne, werbalny/niewerbalny, media społecznościowe.

The (d)evolution of political communication in Italy: Beppe Grillo's case

Summary

The article aims at analyzing the case of Beppe Grillo and his Five Stars Movement in terms of social, cultural and linguistic phenomenon that – initially as a virtual party without a structured organization – seems to conquer both right-wing and left-wing Italian citizens notwithstanding generational and ideological differences. The success of *grillini* (Grillo's supporters) in the parliamentary election of 2018 as a consequence of Matteo Renzi's constitutional referendum failure, represents a clear sign of the leadership crisis as well as the drifting apart of the ruling class that ignored the problems of ordinary people for several years. The analysis is focused on both form and content: on the one hand, the artistic expression characteristic of Grillo, his gestures, mimicry and direct language plenty of verbal

hyperboles, rhetorical figures, swearwords and blasphemous obscenities that build his uncompromising charisma, on the other modern technologies and social media (including blogs, forums, profiles) that are used to communicate efficiently with the electorate, create an image of an open-minded politician keeping up with the outer world. All the aforementioned circumstances demonstrate an innovative approach based on political communication that devolves some level of decision-making power to the party supporters being active web users: bloggers and influencers at the same time. Such paradigm is followed by other representatives of the Italian political scene nowadays.

Keywords: Beppe Grillo, Five Stars Movement, Italian political scene, political communication, verbal vs non-verbal, social media.

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