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CZEŚĆ I

JĘZYKOZNAWSTWO

Prosodic aspects of non-morphemic word formation

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Abstract: This paper discusses three processes of non-morphemic word formation with the aim of making it clear that in addition to traditional processes of word formation, there also exists an underexposed area of non-morphemic word formation, which is located at the interface of phonology and morphology. The processes discussed are clipping, libfixing and blending. In all three processes prosodic and syllabic features appear to play an essential role. The focus of the analyzes presented here is on the formal side. Semantic aspects are only discussed in passing.

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł omawia trzy procesy tworzenia wyrazów bezmorfemowych, aby wykazać, że oprócz tradycyjnych procesów słowotwórczych istnieje również mało zbadany obszar tworzenia wyrazów bezmorfemowych, który znajduje się na styku fonologii i morfologii. Omówione procesy to skracanie, libfiksacja i mieszanie. We wszystkich trzech procesach istotną rolę wydają się odgrywać cechy prozodyczne i sylabiczne. Analizy przedstawione w artykule koncentrują się głównie na formalnej stronie zagadnienia. Aspekty semantyczne są omawiane jedynie pobieżnie.

Key words: non-morphemic word formation, clipping, embellished clipping, hypocoristic formation, libfixing, blending.

Słowa kluczowe: tworzenie wyrazów bezmorfemowych, skracanie, upiększone skracanie, formacje hipokorystyczne, libfiksacja, mieszanie.

1. Introduction

This paper wants to shed a light on word-formation processes that take place at the phonology-morphology interface. Three non-morphemic processes of word formation will be discussed: clipping, libfixing and blending. Clipping also covers embellished clipping and, in connection with it, the corresponding process of hypocoristic formation. In the analysis of these processes, it will become clear how prosodic and metrical factors are essential for non-morphemic word formation.

Although some of these processes have already received attention within a prosodic morphological framework, non-morphemic word formation as a whole

has thus far been an understudied area. This is probably related to the fact that these word-formation processes do not take place at the center of morphology, but rather at the intersection of phonology and morphology.

This contribution does not aim to develop a detailed theory but is merely intended to draw attention to an underexposed aspect of word formation and therefore of grammar. Most of the data that will be analyzed come from English and are collected from the literature about clipping, libfixing and blending.

2. Clipping¹

Clipping is a process of shortening of longer words without regard to the morphological boundaries of these longer words. See for example *pres* from *president*, *vet* from *veterinarian* or *veteran* and *tram* from *tramway*. Traditionally, clipping resulted in monosyllabic forms.

2.1. Traditional clipping

Marchand (1969²: 441) distinguishes a few types of clipping, of which the most important are:

- back clipping *lab* from *laboratory*
- fore clipping *plane* from *airplane*
- middle clipping² *flu* from *influenza*

The overwhelming majority of clipped forms, however, are back clippings. Therefore, I will concentrate on back clipping. Moreover, the truncation process applies to all three forms in the same way.

The examples given so far do not provide a clear picture of the boundary at which the final shortened word is cut from the original long one. Only *tram* from *tramway* might suggest that the clipping process takes place at an internal word boundary. However, what immediately stands out when one looks at some more examples is that (back) clipping is all about closed monosyllables. Traditional clipping mainly results in monosyllabic forms, as the examples in (1) show.

¹ See for a much more elaborated and detailed analysis of clipping in English, Dutch, German, Swedish, French, Italian and Spanish and for an overview of the relevant literature Hamans (2021a: 89-155) and for a sketch of the history of clipping in English Hamans (2021b).

² The term middle clipping is confusing, since it is not the middle part, which is truncated, but just the left and the right part. However, since Marchand's terminology has been accepted, it is retained here.

(1)	<i>sub</i>	from <i>submarine</i>	<i>stats</i>	from <i>statistics</i>
	<i>vamp</i>	from <i>vampire</i>	<i>gent(s)</i>	from <i>gentleman</i>
	<i>pant(s)</i>	from <i>pantaloons(s)</i>	<i>gas</i>	from <i>gasoline</i>
	<i>cap</i>	from <i>captain</i>	<i>ref</i>	from <i>referee</i>
	<i>ad</i>	from <i>advertisement</i>	<i>spec(s)</i>	from <i>spectacles</i> (or <i>specifications</i>)

Moreover, the data presented in (1) show that the point at which the word is clipped is not only not a morpheme boundary but does not have to be a syllable boundary either, see for example *vamp*. After all, the first syllable of the ‘source word’, SW, *vampire* is *vam*.

What the examples in (1) also show is that back clipping must go all the way back to the beginning of the word. It is the first syllable only which can be retained. *Ref* and *sub* are well-formed clippings from *referee* and *submarine* respectively, whereas clipped forms with a penultimate clipped segment such as **fer* and **mar* are not attested. This implies that back clipping needs to be left aligned.

The data in (1) also show that the ultimate clipped monosyllabic form may either exhibit a VC structure (*ad*, *app*), or a CVC (*sub*, *prof*), or even a CVCC (*vamp*, *dorm*). In summary, a (C)VC(C) structure. If the final C of the clipped word does not form the original coda of the syllable which ultimately becomes the newly clipped word, this C will be re-syllabified as to form the coda of the ultimate CVC(C)-clipped word, see for instance *lab* where *b* originally was the onset of the second syllable of *laboratory* or *chimp* where *p* originally also was the onset of the second syllable of *chimpanzee*. The newly formed codas of course meet the phonotactic restrictions of English³. After all, one also finds *swamp* and *hemp* besides *chimp*. In addition to *lab*, the English lexicon also contains *grab* and *jab*, ending in a voiced *b* too.

For the sake of completeness, no CV clipped forms have been found. If the resulting clipped form might have ended in an open syllable, as in the case of *re-feree* or *ga-soline*, re-syllabification of the onset of the following syllable took place so that the monosyllabic clipped form became closed.

Finally, the examples in (1) make clear how important stress is for successful clipping.

Almost all monosyllabic clipped forms originate in a stressed syllable or in a syllable with secondary stress (e.g., *pantaloons* and *submarine* in an accepted British pronunciation). Only *advertisement* (when stressed in the British English way, *advértisement*) does not follow this constraint. In this case left alignment appears to be leading.⁴

³ See for an overview of phonotactic restrictions for English Harley (2006: 58-69)

⁴ Most likely, it is no coincidence that there is a disyllabic alternative to *ad*: *advert*.

How important the stress pattern of SW is, can be demonstrated by analyzing some of the very few disyllabic clipped words with a final closed syllable that can be found in English:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>exam</i> | from <i>examinátion</i> | <i>exec</i> | from <i>exécutive</i> |
| | <i>rehab</i> | from <i>rehabítation</i> | <i>acad</i> | from <i>académý</i> |
| | <i>celeb</i> | from <i>celébrity</i> | <i>congrat(s)</i> | from <i>congratúlátion(s)</i> |

Exam, *rehab* and *congrats* seem to contradict the observation that the clipped form must contain the originally stressed syllable, since stress is on the penultimate syllable of these forms, as is shown in (2). However, secondary stress falls on the second syllable of these three words. See for example –*gra*– in *congratulations* and it is this syllable that receives main stress after clipping.

These examples also show that traditional clipping must result in a final closed syllable. Zee for example *academy* and *examination*. Theoretically the resulting clipped forms could have been **aca* and **exa*. However, the attested forms are *acad* and *exam*, which shows that re-syllabification of the onset of the following syllable must have taken place to avoid an open syllable.

In summary, it has been shown here that traditional (back) clipping in English appears to follow a strict pattern, which consists of the following constraints:

- it is a process that follows left alignment;
- truncation goes from right to left till the left-most stressed syllable is reached. Therefore, most clipped forms are monosyllabic;
- the resulting form ends in a closed syllable.

2.2. Disyllabic clipping

Recently a new pattern of clipped forms emerged in English, most likely under Italo-American influence (Hamans 2021a: 117-120). This process started with a disyllabic pattern in which final –*o* belongs to SW.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------------------|
| (3) | <i>psycho</i> | from <i>psychopath</i> |
| | <i>schizo</i> | from <i>schizophrenic</i> |
| | <i>dipso</i> | from <i>dipsomaniac</i> |

There are also ample examples such as *disco*, *phono* or *info* which refer to [-human] referents, but the focus here is on [+human] –*o* formations since they appear to be highly productive.

As will be clear this ‘Italo-American’ clipping process differs from traditional clipping in several respects. Here the output is not monosyllabic but predominantly disyllabic. In addition, the final syllable is open, whereas it is closed in

traditional clipping. However, there are also similarities. The process of clipping still runs backwards from right to left and till and to the ultimate left word boundary. Left alignment is still essential. In addition, stress remains an important factor. The data presented in (3) show that the clipped form contains the originally stressed syllable, which is the first syllable of SW as well of the newly clipped form. The resulting stress pattern therefore is trochaic. To sum up the new disyllabic clipping process also follows a strict pattern, which shows the following features:

- left alignment;
- trochaic output, which means that stress stays where it was in the SW: on the first syllable;
- the final (=second) syllable is open.

2.3. Embellished clipping⁵

Connected to the process of disyllabic clipping, and most likely a later development of this process (Hamans 2021: 117-124), is what Bauer and Huddleston (2002: 1636) call embellished clippings. Examples are presented in (4).

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (4) | <i>lesbo</i> | from <i>lesbian</i> | <i>lesb</i> + -o |
| | <i>journ-o</i> | from <i>journalist</i> | <i>journ</i> + -o |
| | <i>sleazo</i> | from <i>sleazy</i> | <i>sleaz</i> + -o |

What should be noted first here, is that this process is no longer completely non-morphemic. While in (3) final -o is an unspecified segment of SW, here it is an added element which has no basis in SW. Added -o shows the formal appearance of a suffix. It also semantically contributes to the informal and pejorative meaning of the resulting clipped form and could therefore be assigned suffix status, i.e. morpheme status.

However, part of the process of embellished clipping remains traditional clipping of SW. After all, clipping of *lesbian* to *lesb*, *journalist* to *journ*, *sleazy* to *sleaz* or *relative* to *rel* or *African* to *afr* must precede suffixation with -o to *lesbo*, *journ-o*, *sleazo*, *relo* and *Afro*. What is remarkable about this process is that independent clipped forms such as *lesb*, *journ*, *rel* and *Afr* do not occur. In the case of *afr* and *lesb* this might be explained by violation of phonotactic (coda) restrictions for English. However, this does not apply to *rel* and *journ*, see for example the fully acceptable forms *well* and *earn*. The non-occurrence of *lesb*, *journ*, *rel* and *Afr* shows that embellished clipping does not consist of two

⁵ For a sketch of the historic and psycholinguistic aspects of the development from disyllabic to embellished clipping and the rise of a new suffix -o, see Hamans (2020a, 2021a: 116-117)

successive independent processes – traditional clipping followed by suffixation – but of a compulsory combination of the two processes or even better the compulsory sequence of these two processes. Embellished clipping combines traditional clipping, which results in a closed monosyllable, and suffixation. This explains how the trochaic process so characteristic of disyllabic clipping in embellished clipping occurs here.

In summary, embellished clipping also follows a strict pattern characterized by

- left alignment;
- clipping of the SW to a closed monosyllable;
- followed by compulsory ‘suffixation’ with a newly developed suffix -o;
- resulting in a trochaic output

However, this was not the end of the development. The language speaker expanded the scope of the process and started to produce what Hamans (2021b: 183) calls ‘pseudo-embellished clippings’.⁶

(5)	<i>stinko</i>	from <i>stink</i>	+ -o
	<i>pinko</i>	from <i>pink</i>	+ -o
	<i>kiddo</i>	from <i>kid</i>	+ -o

It is noteworthy that the new suffix -o needs not to be preceded by a clipped part, as in embellished clippings. The suffix can be added to monosyllabic nouns and adjectives. Consequently, pseudo-embellishment is not part of non-morphemic word formation but belongs to standard (morphemic) word formation. However, the data show that the input of pseudo-embellished clipping must be a monosyllabic word and the output of the process must be trochaic.

In short, the constraint clipped is abandoned, but the other constraints still operate:

- monosyllabic SW;
- followed by a suffix -o;
- trochaic output.

⁶ The term may be misleading since the resulting forms are not clipped forms. However, since there is a striking parallel with embellished clippings, the term pseudo-embellished clippings is preferred here.

2.4. Preliminary conclusion

What the examples and processes presented so far show is that the word formation process of clipping – traditional clipping as well as disyllabic clipping – does not make use of morphemes but is based on syllabic structure arguments and word stress. Embellished clipping is partly based on syllabic structure arguments. In addition, the outcome focuses on one stress pattern, which is the same as that of disyllabic clippings, i.e. trochaic. Although pseudo-embellished clipping is not a non-morphemic word-formation process, it is still based on monosyllabicity and is aimed at the same trochaic stress pattern in terms of outcome as embellished and disyllabic clippings.

2.5. Parallelism to hypocoristic formation

Bauer, Lieber and Plag (2013: 190-191, 400-404) point to the parallelism of hypocoristic formation. Hamans (2020a, 2024) extensively discusses this parallelism. A few examples will be presented here to show how this process of word formation also makes use of syllabic and prosodic arguments.

(6)	<i>Andy</i>	from <i>Andrew</i>	+ -y
	<i>Debbie</i>	from <i>Deborah</i>	+ -ie
	<i>Emmy</i>	from <i>Emma/Emily</i>	+ -y
	<i>Monty</i>	from <i>Montgomery</i>	+ -y
	<i>Brady</i>	from <i>Brádaigh</i>	+ -y
	<i>Patty/Patsy</i>	from <i>Patricia</i>	+ -y/-sy

It must be noticed that the source words of the hypocoristics in (6), the full names, are truncated to monosyllabic forms before affixation can apply, just as in embellished clipping. These monosyllabic forms are all heavy syllables. The total word-formation process again consists of two steps: first truncation to a monosyllable, a heavy syllable, followed by suffixation. Thus, *Montgomery* > *Mont* + -y or *Andrew* > *And* + -y. It is also remarkable that all forms in (6) consist of a trochee, just as in all disyllabic and embellished clippings. As is well-known, a trochee, thus a word form consisting of a stressed syllable followed by an unstressed one, is the preferred English word form.

It will come as no surprise that pseudo-embellished hypocoristic forms are also possible. See for example *Johnny* from *John*, but such a form can also and perhaps better be explained as a diminutive of *John*, just like *doggy* from *dog*.

3. Libfixing⁷

‘Libfixing’ is a term introduced by Zwicky (2010). ‘Libfix’ is a blend of the words *liberated* and *affix* and refers to suffix- like elements that are ‘liberated’ from a longer formation and that can productively be used to coin novel words. As will be shown, libfixes are non-morphemic word fragments, that are affix-like elements and, therefore, by definition productive.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|---|---|
| (7) | apocalypse | > | –(p)ocalypse
snowpocalypse
heatpocalypse
Trumpocalypse |
| (8) | Armageddon | > | –(ma)geddon
carmageddon
snowmageddon
pharmageddon |
| (9) | anniversary | > | –iversary
blogiversary
monthiversary
workiversary |
| (10) | vacation | > | –cation
staycation
brocation
gaycation |
| (11) | documentary | > | –umentary
mockumentary
shockumentary
dogumentary |
| (12) | radar | > | –dar
gaydar
jewdar
fishdar |
| (13) | Frankenstein | > | Franken–
Frankenstorm
Frankenfood
Frankenscience |

⁷ For a much more elaborated analysis of libfixing in English and especially Dutch and a discussion of the literature about libfixes see Hamans (2020b)

The data presented in (7) to (13) are clearly instances of conscious word formation.⁸ Although conscious word formation is usually ignored in grammatical analysis, the data presented above are nevertheless seen here as important examples of non-morphemic word formation. The data show that this is a productive word formation and for that reason alone these facts should not be excluded. In addition, analysis of these examples show that they follow a similar pattern as the data analysed in the previous section.

One may want to describe the processes operating in (7)-(13) as a result of blending. However, doing so denies the productive, serial nature of libfixing, where the libfix plays the role of an affix.

Looking at the data (7)-(13) makes clear that the resulting forms must adhere to the prosody, the syllabic, and the metric structure of the SW. In for example *apocalypse* the first and stressed syllable, *a-*, may be truncated but a new, also stressed, monosyllabic form must be inserted in the place left open by the deletion of *a-*. That is why main stress remains on the first syllable in *snowpocalypse*, *heatpocalypse* and *Trumpocalypse*. If the deleted syllable only bears secondary stress as *doc-* in (11) *documentary*, the replacement syllable, which is a fully stressed monosyllabic word in this case, also receives only secondary stress, see *mockumentary*, *shockumentary* and *dogumentary*.

The data presented in (8) nicely show that exactly as much material may be inserted as was previously deleted. Compare for instance *carmageddon* and *pharmageddon*. In the first case, only the first syllable of *Armageddon*, *ar-*, is deleted and replaced by the monosyllabic word *car*, while in *pharmageddon* the first two syllables of *Armageddon*, *arma-*, are deleted and replaced by the disyllabic word *pharma*.

In (13) it is, of course, the last and not the first syllable that must be truncated, which shows that libfixes not only are suffix-like, but can also be prefix-like. Suffix-like libfixes, however, are more frequent than prefix-like.

In short, libfixing follows a fixed pattern:

- delete one or more syllables from the utmost left or right end of SW;
- insert as much syllabic material as has been deleted into the open slot(s);
- follow the original stress pattern of SW.
-

Or even shorter: copy the syllabic and prosodic structure of the model, which is SW.

⁸ Libfixing does not necessarily require reanalysis of one opaque form. It is also possible that a libfix is the result of a few more or less similar forms, as in Pakistan, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan. These names gave rise to the libfix *-istan*, as in Londonistan, divorcistan, dum(b)fuckistan and girlistan.

In a later stage of the development, the libfix may acquire a more traditional suffix-like character and may accept longer forms than the originally deleted ones:

- (14) redneckdar
sarcasmdar
grammardar

Here the condition of monosyllabicity, which came from SW *radar*, is given up.

4. Blending⁹

Lexical blending is a process that combines (parts of) two source words into one single form, losing some phonological material in the process (Moreton et al. 2017: 349). Blends combine the first part of the first SW with the final part of the second SW. Plag (2003: 122) expresses this regularity in a blend rule:

- (15) AB + CD → AD

This rule says:

- (re)analyse both SW's and divide each of them in two parts respectively A and B, and C and D without necessarily basing this division on word, morpheme or syllable boundaries
- subsequently combine the first part of SW1, A, with the final part of SW2,¹⁰ D, as in the examples (16), where the parts B and C are between brackets.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| (16) | br (eakfast) | + (l) unch | → brunch |
| | A B | C D | A D |
| | adver (tisement) | + (edi)torial | → advertorial ¹¹ |
| | A B | C D | A D |
| | Hunga (rian) | + (Ame) rican | → Hungarian ¹² |
| | A B | C D | A D |

⁹ For a much more detailed analysis of blending and an extensive discussion of the relevant literature see Hamans (2021a: 157-238 and 2021c)

¹⁰ Plag (2003) exceptionally also accepts AC combinations as a special type of blends. This is not correct, as Hamans (2020c) shows. AC combinations exhibit the stress pattern of compounds, while AD blends do not. AC combinations, such as *sitcom*, *biopic*, and *cyborg* (from *situation comedy*, *biography picture* and *cybernetic organism*) should therefore be regarded as compounds of clipped words.

¹¹ It is, of course, also possible to divide both SWs in a different way: *advert(isement)* and *(edit)orial*. However, this has no effect on the outcome of the blending process.

¹² Again, a different division of both SW's is possible without any effect on the process of blending.

The data presented in (16) show that the division of the SW's and the subsequent combination of parts are not necessarily based on morphemes, which makes this process a non-morphemic word formation process.

Blends exhibit a head, as Gries (2012: 164) observed. Gries used semantic criteria and statistical data to reach this conclusion. However, there are also abundant formal arguments, as the following data show.

- (17) simultaneous (Adj) + broadcast (Noun) → simulcast (Noun)
malicious (Adj) + software (Noun) → malware (Noun)
bark (Verb) + architecture (Noun) → barkitecture (Noun)
- (18) German
die Kur 'cure' (F) + der Urlaub 'vacation' (M) → der Kurlaub (M)
die Sport 'sport' (F) + das Hotel 'hotel' (N) → das Sporthotel (N)
die Daten 'data' (pl) + die Kartei 'file' (sg) → die Datei (sg)

These examples show that the righthand part, the part which comes from SW2, is the head. It determines the part of speech as the English examples in (17) show and also gender and number, as the German data from (18) make clear. It is worth noting that blends resemble compounds in this respect.

However, when it comes to the stress pattern of the final blend, it appears that blends essentially differ from compounds. Compounds in English, and German, get stress on the first part, whereas blends follow or copy the stress pattern of the head, SW2, as the examples in (19) show (cf. Bat-El and Cohen 2012).

- (19)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|---|------------|---|-------------|
| SW1 | + | SW2 | → | Blend |
| boat | | hotél | | boatél |
| flústered | | frustráted | | flustáted |
| advértisement | | editórial | | advertórial |
| frappé | | cappuccíno | | frappuccíno |
| fértilizer | | irrigátion | | fertigátion |
| prestígious | | dóminant | | préstinant |

The last example shows how strong the prosody of the SW2 is. Even when all the relevant segmental material – *dóm* – is not preserved, SW2-stress is retained. The only conclusion which can be drawn here is that blends follow the stress pattern conditions of the head. Blends therefore appear to consist of one prosodic word, although formally they are a concatenation of two parts of SW's, which indicated that blends are formed at the morphology-phonology interface.

Finally, the syllabic structure of SW2 turns out to determine the outcome of the blending process, as the data in (20) show (cf. Bat-El 2006).

(20)	SW1	+ SW2	→	blend	replacement in SW2
	br(eakfast)	(l)unch		brunch	(onset replacement)
	gi(gantic)	(e)normous		ginormous	(onset plus nucleus replacement)
	stag(nation)	(in)flation		stagflation	(one syllable replaced)
	flexi(ble)	(vege)tarian		flexitarian	(two syllables replaced)

These examples show that if a left part of SW2 is deleted (part C of Plag's blending rule), then the structurally equivalent left part of SW1 (part A) may be inserted. The example *ginormous* shows that the part to be inserted must be structurally equivalent. SW2 of *ginormous*, which is *enormous*, starts with an empty onset followed by the nucleus of the first syllable *e*-. Truncation of this vowel implies also truncation of the preceding empty nucleus. Therefore, the onset plus nucleus of SW1, *gi-gantic*, which is *gi*- must be inserted. In summary: the syllabic structure of the head determines the outcome of the blending process.

This brief analysis of blending shows that blending also follows a strict pattern:

- blends consist of a concatenation of the first part of SW1 and the final part of SW2;
- SW2 provides the head of a blend;
- blends form one prosodic word, which must follow the stress patterns of SW2;
- blends also copy the syllabic structure of SW2.

The only point which is not discussed here is the switch point, that is, it has not been checked where the cut-off points fall in SW2. Since this has to do with the possible recognition of SW2 and SW1 by the listener, this seems more a matter for psycholinguistic research than for a formal analysis.

5. Conclusion

In the foregoing, three phenomena normally counted among the exception areas of morphology - clipping, libfixing and blending - have been shown that, contrary to what has traditionally been assumed, these phenomena do exhibit a certain regularity and thus form part of the grammar.

It is then noticeable that these areas, which should all be counted among word formation, since they produce new word forms, do not make use of the notion morpheme. Therefore, they may be called processes of non-morphemic word formation. Next, what is also striking is that once these processes – except for traditional clipping – have reached a certain level of productivity they can lead to affix formation and thus lead to standard morphological word formation processes.

This becomes most obvious in the case of embellished and pseudo-embellished clipping.

Another common feature of all these processes is that they use syllabic structure conditions. Moreover, the processes leading to multi-syllabic outputs also appear to rely on prosodic and metrical factors, proving that these processes take place at the phonological-morphological interface.

- In short, the analysis of clipping, libfixing and blending presented here shows:
- that there exist systematic processes of non-morphemic word formation, alongside traditional morphemic word formation;
- that non-morphemic word formation takes place at the phonology-morphology interface;
- that prosodic, metric, and syllabic features play an essential role in processes of non-morphemic word formation.

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Eit samrøystes stortingsvedtak for 100 år sidan (1924) om talemålet i skolen er viktig for å forstå den utbreidde dialektbruken i Noreg

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Abstract: This year (2024) marks the 100th anniversary of a remarkable, unanimous resolution passed on March 12th by the Norwegian Parliament for the protection of the first-language varieties spoken by the young school students: their accents and dialects, the varieties they grew up with in their homes, and local communities. According to this resolution, neither teachers nor the School Authorities had the legal right to question the right of students to use their own language variety – and to have instruction given, as far as possible – in that same variety.

This resolution is important for an understanding of how the widespread use of popular dialects in Norway today came about: starting with a parliamentary decree of 1878 requiring the use of popular dialects in oral instruction in rural schools. In 1917 Parliament also decided to give this same protection to the use of urban working-class dialects in schools. Nationwide sociolinguistic legislation of this type has no known parallel elsewhere.

The principle of not trying to eradicate, or even “correcting” the dialects of school children, either in the countryside or in towns and cities, provides to a considerable extent an explanation for why Norway today stands out as probably the most dialect-using country in Europe.

Abstrakt: W tym roku (2024) przypada 100. rocznica niezwyklej, jednogłośniej rezolucji przyjętej 12 marca przez norweski parlament w sprawie ochrony odmian pierwszego języka, którym posługują się młodzi uczniowie: ich akcentów i dialektów, odmian, z którymi dorastali w swoich domach i lokalnych społecznościach. Zgodnie z tą rezolucją ani nauczyciele, ani władze szkolne nie miały prawa kwestionować prawa uczniów do używania ich własnej odmiany języka – i do nauczania, w miarę możliwości, w tej samej odmianie.

Rezolucja ta jest ważna dla zrozumienia, w jaki sposób doszło do powszechnego stosowania popularnych dialektów w dzisiejszej Norwegii: począwszy od dekretu parlamentarnego z 1878 r. wymagającego stosowania popularnych dialektów w nauczaniu ustnym w szkołach wiejskich. W 1917 r. parlament zdecydował również o przyznaniu takiej samej ochrony dialektom miejskiej klasy robotniczej w szkołach. Tego typu ogólnokrajowe ustawodawstwo socjolingwistyczne nie ma odpowiednika w innych krajach.

Zasada niepodejmowania prób wykorzenienia, a nawet „poprawiania” dialektów dzieci w wieku szkolnym, zarówno na wsi, jak i w miastach, stanowi w znacznym stopniu wyjaśnie-

nie, dlaczego Norwegia wyróżnia się dziś jako kraj prawdopodobnie najczęściej używający dialektów w Europie.

Key words: 100th anniversary, Norwegian Parliament, resolution, language varieties, dialects, oral instruction, rural schools, urban working-class dialects, sociolinguistic legislation, dialect preservation

Słowa kluczowe: 100. rocznica, Parlament Norwegii, rezolucja, odmiany języka, dialekty, nauczanie ustne, szkoły wiejskie, dialekty klasy robotniczej, ustawodawstwo socjolingwistyczne, ochrona dialektów

1. Innleiing – eit unikt sosiolingvistisk lovvedtak i 1917 og eit samrøystes stortingsvedtak i 1924

I 1917 vedtok Stortinget å gi lovvern for dei folkelege bydialektane i Noreg, for ”gatespråket” i byane, for sosiolektane til byarbeidarane. Mens ein i andre land ønskte å få elevane frå å bruke lågstatus arbeidardialektar, fekk dei same dialektane i staden eit direkte lovvern i Noreg (Jahr 1984, Jahr og Janicki 1995, Jahr 2014). Det blei forbode for lærarane å ”rette” på arbeidarspråket til elevane i byskolane. Det Stortinget gjorde i Noreg i 1917 var og er sosiolingvistisk unikt, og har ingen parallel nokon stad. Men lovvedtaket i 1917 kom ikkje utan ei lang forhistorie. Det kom som eit resultat av ein vedvarande språkpolitisk kamp og etter omfattande parlamentariske diskusjonar.

Eit avgjort høgdepunktet i Stortinget si handsaming av undervisningsspråket i skolen, av talemålet til elevane og lærarane, kom 12. mars 1924, for 100 år sidan i år. Den dagen vedtok Stortinget samrøystes dette vedtaket (her i notids bokmålsortografi):

Stortinget henstiller til Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet å påse at folkeskolelovens bestemmelser om elevenes rett til å benytte sitt eget hjemlige talemål i skolen og til såvidt mulig å få sin undervisning på dette målføre, blir etterkommet lojalt og uten innskrenkninger eller inngrep fra skolemyndighetenes side.

Mange i samtida såg det som meningslaust og heilt uforståeleg at talespråket til elevane i byskolane ikkje skulle bli korrigererte og retta på av lærarane. Dei viste ofte til andre land og til at slik korrigerering var sjølsagd der. Kvifor skulle det da vera annleis i Noreg? Språkstriden var det som gjorde landet annleis, og Noreg er som eit resultat av han blitt det mest dialektbrukande landet i Europa. Peter Trudgill (i Jahr 1997: 369) seier det slik:

It seems to me that there is probably more linguistic democracy in Norway than there is in most other countries, much more tolerance towards other people's ways of speaking. Generally speaking, I think there is a greater preparedness in Norway to tolerate

other people's dialects and therefore, I suppose, a greater willingness on the part of very many people to use their own dialects in situations where in other countries they would not use their dialects.

Bakgrunnen for det språksosialt svært radikale og samrøystes vedtaket i Stortinget 12. mars 1924 skal vi sjå på no. Damå vi først gå heilt attende til året 1878.

2. Stortingsvedtaket 1878

Utgangspunktet for denne saga er eit stortingsvedtak frå 1878: "Undervisningen i Almueskolen bør saavidt muligt meddeles paa Børnenes eget Talesprog". Ei føresegn om dette kom inn i normalplanen for skolen året etter. Til grunn for vedtaket i Stortinget (eig. i daverande 'Odelstinget') låg det synet at bygdedialektane i landet var norske, sjølv om skriftspråket framleis var dansk. Elevane måtte derfor ikkje lærast opp til å tala slik skriftmålet var, det ville vera å fordanske talemålet til borna. I staden måtte skolen verne om det norske målet elevane kom til skolen med heimanfrå. Fleire meinte også at det måtte vera pedagogisk det einaste rette å bruke heimemålet til elevane i den munnlege undervisninga. Da forstod og lærte borna stoffet betre. (Jahr 1984.)

3. Ein språkpolitisk storm i 1911

I 1911 gjorde skolestyret i Kristiansund i Møre og Romsdal fylke på Vestlandet dette vedtaket:

Riksmålet skal benyttes ogsaa ved den mundtlige undervisning, og det henstilles til lærerpersonalet ved sin undervisning og samtale med barnene at befatte sig paa et korrekt sprog og saavidt mulig opøve barnene i at uttrykke sig mundtlig i den sprogform, som skal være deres skriftlige meddelelsesmiddel. (Sit. etter Norsk Skoletidende 1911, s. 308.)

Lærarane ved skolane i Kristiansund blei informerte om vedtaket gjennom eit rundskriv. Alle lærarane las skrivet og kvitterte for det utanom lærar Knut Grimstad (1866–1924), som skreiv følgende på rundskrivet: "Tages for tiden ikke ad notam."

Lærar Knut Grimstads handling førte til ein veldig reaksjon, lokalt og nasjonalt. Det blei ein storm i lokal- og riksaviser. Saka blei drøfta i Stortinget to gonger i 1912. Første gong skjedde det under trontaledebatten i mars, så i ein lang interpellasjonsdebatt månaden etter.

Lærar Knut Grimstad meinte at skolestyret ikkje hadde rett til å påleggje lærarane å undervise på riksmål, eller å øve borna opp i å bruke riksmål munnleg, og han støtta seg på stortingsvedtaket frå 1878.

Saka blei i første omgang meld til departementet. Der sat dei lenge på ho, men til slutt blei departementets syn formidla i eit skriv, der ein kunne lesa dette:

Naar skolestyret paa lovlig vis har fattet beslutning om at skolens lære- og læsebøger skal være avfattet paa riksmaal, og at elevenes skriftlige arbeider i almindelighet skal utføres i dette maal, er det efter departementets mening kun en konsekvens av denne beslutning at ogsaa riksmaalet skal benyttes ved den mundtlige undervisning. (Sit. etter Jahr 1984: 189.)

For mange, spesielt for folk i målrørsla, var dette noko nytt og heilt uhøyr. Dei viste til at Stortinget i 1878 hadde vedtatt at talemålet til elevane skulle nyttast i den munnlege undervisninga, og at læraren skulle ta det same målet i bruk i undervisninga si. Kva hadde hendt mellom vedtaket i 1878 og departementsskrivet i 1911?

4. Kva skjedde frå 1878 til 1911?

Avisstormen i denne saka starta eigentleg ikkje før skrivet frå departementet blei kjent, og det var tidleg i 1912. Under frontaledebatten 5. mars blei saka drøfta første gong i Stortinget. Da kom det fram at departementet også tidlegare hadde sendt ut skriv med det same innhaldet. Heile to gonger, i 1904 og 1907, hadde dette skjedd tidlegare – utan at opinionen hadde oppdaga det. Før vi ser på desse to tidlegare sakene, skal vi sjå litt på kvifor det no i det heile tatt kunne bli ei sak om det munnlege undervisningsmålet i skolen.

I debatten i Stortinget i 1878 blei det frå fleire representantar – både frå målmenner og ikkje-målmenner – sagt at dette med talemålet i skolen eigentleg var ei sjølvsgd sak. Alle fornuftige lærarar hadde lenge praktisert det vedtaket slo fast, at undervisningsmålet i skolen skulle leggjast så nær barnas dialekt som råd, og at elevane skulle nytte sitt eige talemål utan retting og normering frå læraren si side. Det var ei samrøystes tilråding frå kyrkjekomiteen i Stortinget om dette. Ettersom dei såg på denne saka som så sjølvsgd, fann fleirtalet at det ikkje var nødvendig å vedta dette prinsippet i lovs form, slik leiaren for Stortingets Venstre-fraksjonen, Johan Sverdrup, ønskte. Det var han som hadde fremma saka, og da som eit lovframlegg. I staden blei det avgjort at formuleringa om dette prinsippet skulle gå inn i normalplanen for skolen, og det skjedde altså året etter, i 1879. I 1878 galdt enno skolelova av 1860, og der stod det ikkje noko om den munnlege undervisninga. I 1889 fekk vi ei ny skolelov, og der stod det at undervisninga skulle vera på ”det norske sprog”.

På ”det norske sprog” – i denne formuleringa låg mykje godt til rette for ulike tolkingar, for kva var å forstå som ”det norske sprog”? Førebels skjedde det likevel ikkje noko i spørsmålet om den munnlege undervisninga.

I 1892 kom den såkalla ”målparagrafen” inn i skolelovene. Den gongen var det éi lov for skolane på landet, og éi lov for dei i byane. Målparagrafen (§ 64

i byskolelova, § 73 i landsskolelova) gav no skolestyra rett til å avgjera om skolelære i bygda eller i byen skulle ha landsmål eller ”det almindelige bogsprog” (riksmål) som opplæringsmål. Denne 1892-paragrafen gjorde at målrørsla no kunne gå i gang med å forsøke å erobre landet for landsmål skolekrins for skolekrins. (Jahr 2015: 34f.)

Målparagrafen nemner berre skriftmålet. Så kom dette spørsmålet opp: Når skolestyra no frå 1892 kan avgjera opplæringsmålet på skolen, må vel det gjelde for talemålet også? Prinsippet om undervisningsmålet i skolen (ifølgje vedtaket 1878) stod altså berre i normalplanen for skolen, og skolelovene med endringa i 1892 måtte vel stå over normalplanen?

Fleire talarar hadde i debatten i Stortinget i 1892 presisert og forsikra at lovendringa da ikkje ville få noko å seia for den munnlege språkbruken i skolen, men etter kvart er det tydeleg at desse forsikringane ikkje fekk noko å seia for det som skjedde i 1904, 1907 og i 1911/12. Saka i 1904 galdt Bergen, 1907 ein skolekrins nær Grimstad på Sørlandet, og i 1911 galdt det altså Kristiansund. Sakene i 1904 og 1911 galdt byskolelova, mens 1907-saka galdt landsskolelova.

Det som hendte i 1904 og i 1907, blei ikke kjent i samtida. Først med saka i Kristiansund i 1911 – da lærar Knut Grimstad opponerte – blei også desse litt eldre sakene trekte fram i full breidde. Så viste det seg da at departementet både i 1904 og i 1907 hadde sendt ut rundskriv som gav skolestyra rett til å avgjera kva for mål den munnlege undervisninga skulle vera på.

5. Bergen og Trondheim 1904

Bergen skolestyre gjorde i 1904 vedtak om at det munnlege undervisningsspråket i skolane i byen skulle vera riksmål. Vedtaket blei grunnlagt med at dette var ein konsekvens av at riksmål var vedtatt for dei skriftlege arbeida til elevane. Skoledirektøren som Bergen høyrde under, var samd i at lova gav skolestyret dekning for eit slikt vedtak, men sende likevel saka til departementet for å høyre kva det hadde å seia om saka. Svaret frå departementet kom i eit skriv, der det står å lesa:

naar Skolestyret i Henhold til Byskolelovens Paragraf 64 har fattet Bestemmelse om, at Skolens Læse- og Lærebøger skal være affattede paa det almindelige Bogmaal, maa det ansees som en Følge af denne Beslutning, naar intet Forbehold er taget i noget Punkt, at nævnte Maal ogsaa skal benyttes som Undervisningssprog. Der kan saaledes intet være til Hinder for, at en Bemærkning herom optages i Skoleplanen (Norsk Lovtidend II, 1904, s. 368).

Dette skrivet blei det altså ikkje lagt særleg merke til i samtida, enda også skolestyret i Trondheim straks gjorde det same vedtaket som Bergen skolestyre hadde gjort. Skolestyret i Trondheim viste i sitt vedtak nettopp til skrivet frå departementet, og skoledirektøren i Trondheim fann at vedtaket var heilt i orden.

Dette vedtaket i Trondheim blei heller ikkje allment kjent før i 1912, da Kristiansund-saka kom opp.

6. Eide kommune 1907

Saka i 1907 galdt skoleplanen i landkommunen Eide ved Grimstad, ein skoleplan som blei utarbeidd i 1906. I utkastet til plan stod dette i avsnittet "Undervisningsplan": "Skolens særlige Sprogform er Rigsmaalet." Dette fann skoledirektør Mattias Skard (1846–1927) i Kristiansand merkeleg, og han vende seg da til departementet: "Efter alt maa jeg her se udtryk for en illojal tendens som ikke maa støttes" (Krs. skd. j.nr. 883/06).

Departementet bad om ei nærmere forklaring frå skolestyret om kva som var meint med formuleringa om den "særlige Sprogform". Formannen i skolestyret svarte slik:

[V]ed den nævnte Bestemmelse menes det samme som Skolestyret i Møde 9de Oktober 1906 bestemte: "Skolens Læse- og Lærebøger skal være affattede paa Rigsmaal og Elevernes skriftlige Arbejder i Almindelighed affattes i dette Maal". (Sit. etter Jahr 1984: 134.)

Dette var skoledirektør Skard heilt usamd i, og i kommentarar til skoleplanutkastet skreiv han at utkastet til skoleplan måtte endrast. Denne formuleringa måtte inn, meinte han: "Undervisningen meddeles saavidt muligt paa børnenes talesprog" (Krs. skd. j.nr. 599/07). Vi ser at det er formuleringa frå 1878 skoledirektør Skard held seg til her.

Dette ville ikkje skolestyret godta. Det vende seg direkte til departementet og spurde om skoledirektøren kunne krevje ei slik endring? Departementet viste i svaret sitt til skrevet frå 1904, og kunne ikkje "indse at det skulde være stridende mot loven, at der samtidig vedtages en bestemmelse om, at undervisningen saavidt mulig skal meddeles paa riksmaal, dog saa, at man overfor de smaa lemper sig efter bygdemaalet" (Norsk Lovtidend 1907, s. 394).

At departementet her var på kollisjonskurs med det mange målfolk meinte, er sikkert. Men noko oppstyr blei det heller ikkje i 1907 om dette. Tidlegare statsminister og statsråd Jørgen Løvland (1848–1922) sa i 1912, da "lærer Grimstad-saka" kom opp i Stortinget, at dersom han som statsråd i 1907 hadde fått kjennskap til det skrivet departementet sendte i Eide-saka, ville han ha stoppa det. Saka kunne i så fall tatt ei anna retning.

8. Kristiansund 1911

Da "lærer Grimstad-saka" frå Kristiansund kom opp, hadde såleis departementet solid bakgrunn i egne tidlegare skriv for å seia at skolestyret var i sin

fulle rett når det gjorde vedtak om riksmål i den munnlege undervisninga. Derfor hadde opposisjonen frå lærar Knut Grimstad ikkje noko for seg.

Men no blei saka løfta opp politisk, til Stortinget. Saka var uheldig for regjeringa. Det var da ei regjering av Høgre og Frisinna Venstre, og sistnemnde parti hadde kyrkjeministeren, Edvard Liljedahl (1845–1924). Statsminister Jens Bratlie (1856–1939) hadde lovt at regjeringa skulle vera nøytrale i språksaka. Statsråd Liljedahl måtte ta imot harde åtak for rundskrivet han var politisk ansvarleg for. Det stunda mot stortingsval hausten 1912, og regjeringa ville ikkje for alt i verda hisse på seg målfolket for mykje. Venstre-opposisjonen lét sjølvstakt ikkje sjansen gå frå seg til å kritisere regjeringa i denne saka.

9. Prinsippet frå 1878 vinn fram 1912–1915

Da regjeringa fann at det tok til å brenne under føtene på seg, la ho 3. april fram ein lovproposisjon om endring av landsskolelova. Da interpellasjonsdebatten om Kristiansund-saka kom opp seinare i månaden, kunne derfor statsråden vise til proposisjonen som ei løysing som burde vera god for alle partar. Den sentrale ordlyden i framlegget var slik:

Den munttlige undervisning skal saavidt mulig meddeles paa stedets almindelige talesprog. Ved den munttlige undervisning i norsk skal dog barnene tillike opøves i den sprogform, som er bestemt for deres skriftlige arbeider (Ot.prop.nr.21,1912).

Riksmålsrørsla reagerte med sinne på framlegget og meinte at regjeringa hadde gitt altfor mykje til målfolket med framlegget sitt. Samstundes var riksmåls-tilhengjarane redde for å støyte Høgre frå seg. Det partiet hadde programfesta at riksmålet burde danne basis for den framtidige språkutviklinga. Derfor måtte dei passe seg så dei ikkje gjekk altfor sterkt ut mot regjeringa i denne saka.

Ved valet hausten 1912 vann opposisjonen, Venstre-partiet, ein knusande siger, og kunne danne ei majoritetsregjering med Gunnar Knudsen (1848–1928) som statsminister. Jørgen Løvland blei kyrkjeminister med ansvar for språksaka. Den nye regjeringa trekte odelstingsproposisjonen frå den førre regjeringa attende, og kom med sin eigen i april 1914. Her finn vi denne formuleringa, som seinare stort sett har vore brukt:

Ved den munttlige undervisning bruker eleven sit eget talesprog, og læreren skal saavidt mulig tillempe det for ham naturlige talesprog efter dette. (Ot.prp. 37, 1914, s. 70.)

I kyrkjekomiteen var alle samde i denne formuleringa, sjølv om det blei eit fleirtal og eit mindretal når det galdt andre sider ved paragraf 73, målparagrafen. Fleirtalet sa dette om talemålet i skolen:

Barnene skal paa skolen som ellers bruke det maal de har lært hjemme hos mor og far. Læreren skal saavidt mulig hjelpe barnene til at tale sin dialekt saa rent og godt som mulig. Men hverken han eller skolestyret har ret til at paalægge barnene at tale bokmaal i undervisningstimerne paa skolen. (Indst. O. XII – 1914, s. 69.)

Det ligg ei snedig formulering her, som om lag ti år seinare skulle koma til å vekkje mykje strid og ordkløyveri. Skolestyret kunne ikkje påleggje borna å tala ”bokmaal” på skolen. Kva skulle ein leggje i omgrepet ”bokmaal” her? Var det meint ”det almindelige bokmaal”, dvs. riksmål? Eller meinte dei eit stivt bokspråk, dvs. at borna ikkje skulle lære å snakke som ”ei bok”? Det er rimeleg å tru at båe tolkingane hadde sine talsmenn i Stortinget på den tida, men open strid om det kom altså først opp langt seinare.

Ein sentral mann i dette tiåret når det galdt å sikre talemålet til borna i skolen, var skoledirektør Olav Eftestøl (1863–1930). Han var fødd i Kvinesdal i Vest-Agder og fekk første utdanninga si på Kristiansand lærarseminar, der han blei uteksaminert i 1882, 19 år gammal. No i 1915 var han formann i kyrkjekomiteen, og det nettopp siterte fleitalsvotumet frå komiteen ber sterkt preg av at Eftestøl har formulert det. I debatten i Stortinget om lovframlegget sa han dette:

Barnas talemaal er hellig, barna har den hellige ret til i skolen at bruke sit eget talemaal, og blir dette lov, saa kan der ikke komme en lærer eller lærerinde eller noget skolestyre i landet og sige til barna, at de skal tale bokmaal, men de er pligtig til efter loven at tilholde barna at tale sit eget talemaal, det, som de har lært hjemme hos far og mor saa rent og godt som mulig (Ot. 1915, s. 1206).

Her ser vi at Eftestøl bruker omgrepet ”bokmaal”, men utan å definere om han med det meiner ”talt riksmål” eller eit stivt bokspråk, altså det å tala som ei bok. Vi må tru det var vel planlagt av Eftestøl at han ordla seg slik. Også andre representantar streka under kor viktig det var at denne paragrafen no kom inn i landsskolelova. Men ein del talarar var likevel litt i tvil, særleg var dei redde for at målrørsla ville prøve å misbruke denne paragrafen til nye reine landsmålsframstøytar. Nokre talarar sa at når dei gjekk med på formuleringane som det var gjort framlegg om, så var det fordi det her galdt landsskolelova, og berre ho. Noko heilt anna ville det vera, meinte desse representantane, for byfolkeskolen. Det var skilnad her på by og land, meinte dei. Formuleringa blei vedtatt mot 18 røyster. Dermed kom prinsippet frå 1878 om talemålet i skolen for første gong inn i lovverket i 1915, men førebels altså berre for landsfolkeskolen.

10. Bymåla får same lovvern som bygdedialektane i 1917

Året etter la departementet fram forslag om at byskolelova skulle få same formulering som ein no hadde i landsskolelova. Saka kom opp i Stortinget i 1917. Kyrkjekomiteen blei delt i eit fleirtal og eit mindretal her, og fleirtalet meinte dette:

Bydialektene har ikke den anseelse som landsdialektene; de kaldes gjerne 'gatesprog', og mangen en lærer og lærerinde har gjort sit ysterste for at utrydde det hos sine elever; resultatet er ikke uteblit: respekten for barnets virkelige morsmaal er nedbrutt og bruken av det sørgelig forkvaklet. For at komme bort fra dette finder flertallet med departementet det nødvendig uttrykkelig i loven at bestemme, at elevene ved den mundtlige undervisning skal bruke sit eget talesprog, og at læreren skal søke at tillempe sit maal derefter. (...) Hermed er selvfølgelig ikke sagt, at læreren skal finde sig i slurvet og uriktig tale fra barnenes side; normen skal være vedkommende bys dialekt anvendt saa sproglig rigtig som læreren evner det. (Indst. O. X – 1917.)

Det siste er ei noko uklar utsegn, for å seia det varsamt. Det er synd at komitefleitalet ikkje gir døme på kva det meiner med "slurvet og uriktig tale" hos borna. Eg trur nok vi i dag ikkje ville kunne godta dei døma fleirtalet da ville ha gitt.

Dette var altså fleirtalssynet i komiteen. Mindretalet la fram det same framlegget som mindretalet i 1915 hadde stått på, nemleg: "Undervisningen skal foregaa i det norske sprog." Mindretalet uttalte følgjande som grunngeving i 1917:

Mens det maa indrømmes at landdistriktene som regel har sin temmelig utprægede dialekt, kan dette ikke siges i samme grad og betydning om byene. Dette ligger i selve sakens natur. Paa landet er jo befolkningen gennemgaaende fastboende og faar saaledes sit særpræg ogsaa med hensyn til sprog. Til byene derimot strømmer folk fra alle strøk av landet, liksom der foregaar en stadig flytning fra by til by; særlig de større byer maa vistnok siges at ha en forholdsvis ganske liten kjerne av "stedegen" befolkning. Men forholder det sig saa, da er det bare i en meget modificeret betydning av ordet der kan tales om en bys dialekt. Den vil i almindelighed være vanskelig at paapeke, likesom det ikke vil være let at skjelne mellem dialekt og vulgært gatesprog (s.st.).

Dette siste var sjølv sagt viktig for mange, også for fleirtalet i komiteen. Det blei likevel ingen debatt i Stortinget om grenseoppgangen mellom dialekt og "slurvet og uriktig tale" eller "vulgært gatesprog". Stortingsrepresentantane avgrensa seg til å snakke heilt generelt om dialekt og "gatesprog". Rimeligvis kjente ikkje representantane seg heilt komfortable med å delta i ein eigentleg fagleg debatt. Dermed ville det bli heilt opp til den einskilde lærar å definere kva som var dialekt, og kva som ikkje var det i talemålet til elevane.

11. Situasjonen etter lovvedtaket i 1917

Etter at lovendringa i byskolelova var vedtatt i Stortinget, hadde dialektane til alle folkeskoleborna – på landet (1915) og i byane (1917) – fått eit lovvern som i internasjonal samanheng er heilt unikt. Mens skolar i andre land såg det som ei viktig oppgåve å leie elevane vekk frå dialektane og til eit standardtalemål, var dette no forbode ved lov i Noreg.

Dels var dette ei oppfølging og styrking av prinsippet frå 1878, altså at det blei lovfesta. Men dels var det også meint som ei sikring av det språklege

materialet som mange stortingsrepresentantar såg på som eit mogleg grunnlag for ei framtidig samling av skriftnormalane. Ideen om ei skriftspråkssamling hadde no solid fleirtal i Stortinget, og fleire peika i debatten om talemålet i skolen på at bydialektane kunne vera som ei språkleg bru mellom landsmål og riksmål (Jahr 2007; 2008, 2014, 2019). Bydialektane stod språkleg i tett samband med bygdemåla rundt byane, men som bymål hadde dei også noko særleg urbant til liks med riksmålet. Slik blei det i alle høve tenkt av mange.

12. Skoledirektørane tar grep 1922-23

Lovtekst og lovvedtak er éin ting, gjennomføring i praksis i skolen noko heilt anna. Det kom ikkje sjeldan meldingar om brot på lovpåbodet om å respektere talemålet til elevane, sjølv sagt oftast frå byskolane. I 1922 fann derfor dei sju skoledirektørane i landet det nødvendig å innskjerpe påbodet i lova. Dei vedtok ei fråsegn i saka, som skoledirektør Olav Eftestøl hadde forfatta, og dei fekk departementet til å sende det ut som eit departementsskriv i februar 1923.

To svært sentrale aktørar var med her. Olav Eftestøl var som nemnt formann i kyrkjekomiteen på Stortinget i 1915, da talemålet i bygdeskolane blei drøfta, og da det blei gjort lovvedtak om språkbruken i skolane på landet. No var han den blant skoledirektørane som skreiv det dokumentet departementet sendte ut som autoritativt skriv, og som snart skulle bli svært omstridd. Saman med seg i skoledirektørgruppa hadde han Johan Gjøstein (1866–1935), skoledirektør i Agder. Han hadde som stortingsrepresentant i 1917 talt spesielt varmt for vern av arbeidarane sine bymål. Han støtta sterkt opp om det Eftestøl hadde formulert på vegne av alle skoledirektørane om talemålet i skolen, og som altså i februar 1923 blei sendt ut som rundskriv frå departementet:

Ved den muntlige undervisning bruker elevene sitt eget talesprog.

Talesproget er det mål som barnet har lært av sin mor, det mål som det taler når det er sammen med sine foreldre, sine søsken eller sine kamerater. Det er lærerens plikt å holde barnets talemålet høit i ære, og han skal la barnet forstå og føle dette. Han skal oppmuntre det og hjelpe det til å tale sitt heimemål rent, klangfullt og godt. Han må ikke venne barna av med å tale heimemålet og søke å få dem til å tale bokmål på skolen. Mot ethvert forsøk i den retning må skolens tilsynsmann straks gripe inn og pålegge vedkommende å overholde lovens klare forskrift. (...)

Læreren skal såvidt mulig tillempe det for ham naturlige talesprog efter elevenes talesprog.

Heri ligger for det første at læreren taler det mål som faller ham naturlig. Ingen andre kan fastsette hvad der skal falle naturlig for ham, han må selv avgjøre den ting. Han kan tale landsmål eller bokmål eller dialekt. Men han skal i alle tilfelle såvidt mulig *tillempe* sitt mål efter elevenes talemål. (Rundskriv frå KUD, 27.2. 1923, her sit. etter Jahr 1984: 393f.)

Vi ser her at Olav Eftestøl, og etter han departementet, nok ein gong sjonglerer med omgrepet "bokmål". I første avsnitt kan det tyde både "riksmål" og "stivt bokspråk", men i det andre avsnittet er det tvillaust "riksmål" som er meint. Dette blei da også kraftig påtalt i den debatten som kom etter departementsskrivet. Det viste seg også snøgt at lovvernet av bydialektane neppe verka slik det var tenkt i 1917. Skoleinspektøren i hovudstaden Olav Schulstad (1868–1945) skreiv i *Norsk Skoletidende* (1923, s. 538) at "Hvis et barn taler gatesprog på skolen er det lærerens plikt å gripe inn." Men dei døma han gir på "gatesprog", er godt innanfor bydialekten i Oslo (Larsen 1907, Wiggen 1990): "Henner har finni kniven" og "Nils var med vors og bæerte vann". Skiljet mellom dialekt og gatespråk, som stortingsrepresentantane også hadde vore opptatte av i 1917, var ikkje lett å definere konkret.

13. Ny Bergens-sak 1923–1924

Det var likevel i Bergen det store rabalderet verkeleg skulle byrje, nett som i 1904. Skolestyret i Bergen vedtok i oktober 1923 at elevar og lærarar skulle nytte "korrekt" riksmål i undervisninga i skolen, for, som skolestyret hevda, "Riksmålet er talemål i Bergen".

Det var rundskrivet frå departementet som hadde hissa opp skoleinspektøren i Bergen så mykje at han la fram ein krass kritikk av det for skolestyret, og bad om at styret slutta seg til den kritikken han framførte mot rundskrivet. Framlegget frå skoleinspektøren blei vedtatt med 12 røyster mot 8 etter ein hissig debatt. Vedtaket, som skulle skapa nasjonal oppsikt, var slik:

I. Riksmålet er Bergen folkeskoles undervisningssprog og skolebarnenes talesprog, som altsaa skal benyttes av elevene og søkes utviklet mest mulig "rent, klangfullt og godt".

II. Lærerne skal først og fremst tillempe sit naturlige talesprog efter barnenes talesprog (her riksmålet) – fordi dette er den maate hvorpaa elevene kan naa længst mulig i utviklingen av sit talesprog. (Referatprotokoll for Bergen skolestyre 1923, fol. 155, i Bergen byarkiv.)

Saka blei straks appellert til departementet av skoledirektøren, men derfrå kom det ikkje noko svar. Saka berre låg og låg i departementet. Derfor blei ho tatt opp i Stortinget i ein interpellasjon i slutten av februar 1924. Kyrkjestatsråden fekk spørsmål om departementet meinte at vedtaket i Bergen skolestyre var i samsvar med skolelova?

Her må vi ta med noko om den politiske situasjonen. 1920-åra er merkte av hyppige politiske kriser, og det var regjeringsskifte så å seia kvart år. Da departementet sendte ut det rundskrivet som innskjerpa føreseigna i skolelovene om talemålet i skolen, i februar 1923, var det Venstre-regjering. Men da saka kom

opp i Stortinget året etter, hadde ei Høgre-regjering tatt over. Og den regjeringa var, som vi kunne vente, ikkje særleg positivt innstilt til føresegna i skolelovene om bruken av talemålet i undervisninga.

Svaret frå statsråden på spørsmålet om vedtaket i Bergen skolestyre var i samsvare med lova, blei ikkje slik spørsmålstillaren kunne ha ønskt seg. Statsråden sa at skolestyrevedtaket var lovleg dersom riksmål var talespråket for folkeskolens elevar i Bergen. Men om dette var ein riktig eller uriktig påstand, kunne departementet ikkje uttala seg. Det var eit vitskapleg spørsmål, ”og Bergen skolestyre maa jo selv være nærmere til at besvare det spørsmål end departementet”, hevda kyrkjeministeren (St.t. 1924, s. 497). Han viste til monografien om Bergen bymål (Larsen og Stoltz 1912), som også skolestyret hadde gjort. Den fremste dialektologen i landet, Amund B. Larsen (1849–1928), hadde blitt interpellert om spørsmålet, og hadde da svart slik:

Bergen bymaal stemmer paa alle væsentlige punkter med det man i almindelighet kalder riksmaal. Dette har paa alle steder [–] og saaledes ogsaa i Bergen – socialt lavere liggende former som er langt fra at være ideale som riksmaal betragtet. Man kunde derfor ogsaa kalde Bergen bymaal er mere eller mindre dialektfarvet riksmaal (s.st.).

Fråsegna frå Amund B. Larsen ber tydeleg preg av å vera skrive på oppfordring akkurat i denne saka, men det må vera lov å undre seg over at ein språkforskar av Larsens kaliber har latt seg overtala til å gi ei fråsegn i ei så politisk betent sak.

14. Det viktige vedtaket i Stortinget for 100 år sidan om talemålet i skolen

Det blei ein lang debatt i Stortinget, referatet fyller over 70 sider i Stortingstidende. Ein som verkeleg kasta seg inn i debatten, var Johan Gjømstein, som no sat siste året sitt på Stortinget. Det var han som no var formann i kyrkjekomiteen, og no representerte han Norges Socialdemokratiske Arbeiderparti, som samla folk som var gått ut av Det Norske Arbeiderpart i 1919. Samstundes var Gjømstein som nemnt skoledirektør i Agder. Han hevda i debatten at det Bergen skolestyre hadde gjort, var eit så klart lovbrøt som det var mogleg å gjera:

Jeg protesterer og hævder at det er lovens mening – jeg har været med at lage denne lov fra første stund og til sidste slut – netop at fastslaa at dette foragtede gatesprog, som Bergens skolestyre tillater sig at uttale sig foragtelig om, skal holdes i agt og ære (s.st., s. 499).

Han hevda vidare at alle dei som hadde stått mest sentralt i arbeidet da lova blei formulert og vedtatt, var samde om tolkinga av ho, og han sa vidare:

Vi hævder stik i strid med hvad skolestyret i Bergen hævder, at det betyder ganske enkelt, at vi vil ha forbudt dette, at lærere og lærerinder – kanske særlig de sidste – i byskolerne anstranger sig efter al evne for at plukke ut av barna deres eget morsmaal, – forat de skal lære at tale ”pent” (s.st.).

Den lange debatten avslørte store meningsskilnader. Det var langt frå slik at representantane var samde om å forsvare dialektane i byane. Problemet var, ikkje uventa, definisjonen av omgrepet ”bydialekt”. Skiljet gjekk mellom dei som ville akseptere at gatespråket og bymålet var eitt og det same, og, på den andre sida, dei som ikkje ville akseptere at lova tok sikte på vern av det dei kalla vulgærmålet i byene. Dei hevda stort sett at riksmål skulle lærast, fordi gatespråket eigentleg berre var slurv, manglande grammatikk og språklege mistydingar.

Det blei også peika på at det her i botn var tale om ei grunnleggjande sosial motseiing: Det var underklassen i byane som brukte ”vulgærmål”, og det var derfor det var så lite påakta og hadde så låg sosial prestisje. Nettopp derfor var det språksosialt viktig å verne om desse talemåla. Andre la vekt på at bymåla – folkemåla i byane – var norske dialektar slik som bygdemåla var det, og det var viktig å verne om dei slik at også dei med tida kunne bidra positivt i skriftspråksutviklinga. Dei såg da fram mot ei språkleg samling ved at desse dialektane stadig meir skulle påverke dei to skriftmåla fram mot eit samnorsk skriftspråk.

Trass i dei store meningsskilnadene i debatten viste det seg at Stortinget til slutt kunne gjera dette samrøystes vedtaket den 12. mars 1924:

Stortinget henstiller til Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet at paase, at folkeskolelovens bestemmelser om elevenes ret til at benytte sit eget hjemlige talemaal i skolen og til saavidt mulig at faa sin undervisning paa dette maalføre blir efterkommet lojalt og uten indskrænkninger eller indgrep fra skolemyndighedernes side (s.st., s. 644).

Korleis kunne eit samrøystes storting samlast om eit slikt prinsipielt viktig og avgjerande vedtak etter den usemja som hadde kome fram i ordskiftet?

Svaret ligg i to tilhøve. For det første tolka representantane framleis uttrykket ”elevenes hjemlige talemaal” ulikt. Fleire av dei sa at dei meinte dét og dét med uttrykket og derfor kunne dei røyste for framlegg til vedtak. For det andre: I det første framlegget til vedtak stod det – med klar referanse til Bergen skolestyre og til skolestyra i Arendal og Brevik, som også hadde gjort vedtak om munnlig riksmål i skolane – dette: ”(...) uten indskrænkninger eller indgrep fra *skolestyrenes* side”. Det var såleis direkte retta mot slike vedtak som det dei hadde gjort i Bergen, og seinare i Arendal og Brevik. Mange av dei som i Stortinget såg med skepsis på heile den passusen i skolelovene som galdt elevane sin rett til å bruke talemålet sitt i skolen, var oppsette på å avgrense den makta skoledirektørane hadde. Det var skoledirektørane – med Eftestøl og Gjøstein i spissen – som hadde forma ut det rundskrivet departementet sendte ut i 1923, og som var utgangspunktet for heile denne saka. Riksmålsfolka på Stortinget såg det som uheldig at det var så mange målvenner blant dei sju skoledirektørane i landet. Det blei derfor

sett fram forslag om å bytte ut ”skolestyrene” i framlegget til vedtak med ”skolemyndighetene”. Med det kom vedtaket også til å omfatte skoledirektørane. Dei som støtta det opprinnelege framlegget, hadde ikkje noko imot denne endringa, og dermed kunne Stortinget gjera eit samrøystes vedtak.

Dette vedtaket representerer eit høgdepunkt i Stortinget si handsaming av stridsområdet ”talemålet i skolen”, og det trass i dei meiningsskilnadene som låg gøymde i vedtaket. Verken i 1915 eller 1917, da paragrafen om talemålet kom inn i dei to skolelovene, var det mogleg å få til eit samrøystes vedtak. Begge gongene var det 18 røyster imot. Men no var det samrøystes – jamvel om ein del representantar reserveerte seg med omsyn til tolkinga av lova som vedtaket refererte til.

15. Politisk oppfølging av det samrøystes stortingsvedtaket i 1924

Ikkje lenge etter at Stortinget hadde gjort dette vedtaket, måtte høgreregjeringa gå, og ei ny venstreregjering tok over. Denne regjeringa følgte opp vedtaket i Stortinget med eit rundskriv til skolemyndighetene 14. februar 1925. Der blir prinsippet om talemålet i skolen slått ettertrykkeleg fast:

Etter paragraf 64.1 i byskulelovi og paragraf 73.1 i landsskulelovi skal elevane i folkeskulen få bruka sitt eige talemål, og læraren skal so vidt mogeleg lempa det for han naturlege talemål etter borni sitt talemål.

Det er soleis ikkje nokon grunn for eit skulestyre til å gjera vedtak um *talemålet* i skulen, då lovene sjølve gjev ein greid regel om dette. Heller ikkje har eit skulestyre rett til å gjera vedtak um talemålet i strid med desse fyresegnene i skulelovene. Gjer skulestyret det, er ikkje vedtaket bindande for born og lærarar.

Ein skal beda hr. direktøren sjå vel etter at skulestyri ogso på dette umkverve strengt fylgjer lovene. Skulde noko skulestyre ikkje gjera det, skal ein beda um at departementet må verta varsla snarast. (Norsk Skoletidende 1925, s. 134.)

Dette var klare ord, og seinare har det aldri vore omfattande politiske kampar om det prinsippet at skoleborna i Noreg fritt skal få bruke heimemålet sitt i skolen. Det samrøystes vedtaket i Stortinget 12. mars 1924 – for 100 år sidan i år – sette punktum for vidare diskusjon. Prinsippet om talemålet i skolen har effektivt sett ein bom for å lære elevane opp i eit gitt standardtalemål, slik det mykje er blitt gjort i mange andre land, også i grannelanda Danmark og Sverige. I Noreg er det i staden dialektbruk som rår.

16. Noreg eit annleisland også talespråkleg

Slik står Noreg fram som eit språkleg annleisland også munnleg. Det er nok betre kjent både innanlands og i utlandet at Noreg er spesielt skriftspråkleg – med to nærliggande skriftnormalar for det same nasjonalspråket, norsk (Haugen 1966, Jahr 2014, 2015). Det er mindre kjent at Noreg på grunn av prinsippet om

talemålet i skolen tilbake frå 1878, og etter omfattande språkpolitiske kampar i eit kvart hundreår ca. 1900 til 1925, også har ein unik situasjon når det gjeld munnleg bruk av språket (Skjekkeland 2017). Den omfattande dialektbruken vi finn i alle lag av det norske samfunnet, ikkje berre i skolane, kan vanskeleg bli forklart utan at prinsippet om talemålet i skolen blir inkludert i forklaringa.

Etter diverse lovendringar mellom 1924 og i dag har skolelova no (frå 1999) denne formuleringa av prinsippet om talemålet i skolen:

I den munnlege opplæringa avgjer elevane og undervisningspersonalet sjølve kva for talemål dei vil bruke. Undervisningspersonalet og skoleleiinga skal likevel i størst mogleg grad ta omsyn til talemålet til elevane i ordval og uttrykksmåtar (Lov om grunnskolen og den vidaregåande opplæringa (opplæringslova), § 2.5).

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Mediatization of the political and image communication

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Abstract: The aim of the article is to bring closer and analyse the notion of mediatization in the scope of politics and image communication. It includes definitions of the term mediatization and encompasses approaches to mediatization analysis. The paper provides a brief history of the development of mediatization in stages called waves and discusses models of mass media communication. The article explains that society has been permeated by mediatization and that society and culture are in the process of progressing dependency upon mass media. It discusses the changes that have occurred within the character, function and structure in which social and cultural institutions operate. The paper also includes a study conducted on survey participants concerning their opinions on mass media and their influence on political messages, political image, and their reliability as a source of information. The results of the study have been presented and analysed in the article.

Abstrakt: Celem artykułu jest przybliżenie oraz analiza pojęcia mediatyzacji w obszarze polityki i komunikacji wizerunkowej. Zawiera on definicje terminu mediatyzacji oraz obejmuje metody jej analizy. Artykuł ujmuje krótką historię rozwoju mediatyzacji w etapach zwanych falami oraz omawia modele komunikacji w mediach masowych. Artykuł wyjaśnia, że społeczeństwo stało się przesiąknięte mediatyzacją oraz, że społeczeństwo i kultura przechodzą postępujący proces uzależniania się od mediów masowych. Praca ta rozważa zmiany, które pojawiły się w charakterze, funkcji oraz strukturze, w których działają instytucje społeczne i kulturowe. Artykuł zawiera badanie przeprowadzone na uczestnikach ankiety, dotyczące ich opinii na temat mediów masowych oraz wpływu mediów na wiadomości polityczne, wizerunek polityczny i ich rzetelności jako źródła informacji. Wyniki tego badania zostały zaprezentowane oraz przeanalizowane w tym artykule.

Key words: mediatization, mass media, politics, political communication, image communication, society

Słowa kluczowe: mediatyzacja, media masowe, polityka, komunikacja polityczna, komunikacja wizerunkowa, społeczeństwo

Introduction

The process of mediatization has been increasingly popular among researchers of human, political, and mass communication in the recent decades. Due to the fact that mediatization has had tremendous influence over various aspects of people's lives, it has become a significant area of study. Culture and everyday life has undergone the process of mediatization which led to changes in how elements of contemporary society function. It can be stated in a nutshell that the concept of mediatization has links to interpersonal communication, media development (with modernization of communication forms), media transformation, sending messages, information transmission, and last but not least political and image communication. Because mediatization of society, culture, and political and image communication is an ongoing process, there is the need for further study that ought to be upgraded due to quickly evolving means of communication and changes on the political scene.

Wojtkowski (2017:10) provides a general view about the notion of mediatization:

Mediatization seems to be one of the most stable, capacious, and significant concepts in the last twenty years. Its influence on sociology, media and communication studies, and cultural studies, is substantial and followed by strong critique¹.

Furthermore, Gomes (2020) claims that „The idea of mediatization, in general, is based on the assumption that in the contemporary world there are different social fields, on the one hand, and there is the communication field, on the other, both relatively autonomous and independent, but that they overlap, they are involved at different levels of interface and synergy and symbiosis patterns, since the distinct original fields need to reach society” (Gomes, 2020:13-14)².

Hepp stresses that „Mediatization, a concept often harnessed by the social sciences and cultural studies, refers to an experience everybody is acquainted with in his or her everyday life: technological communication media saturate more and more social domains which are drastically transforming at the same time” (Hepp, 2020:3)³. The scholar adds that mediatization has got ‘quantitative’ as well as ‘qualitative’ characteristics. ‘Quantitative’ characteristics is seen in ever-increasing proliferation throughout society and can be measured and accessed 24 hours a day. Whereas, ‘qualitative’ characteristics analysis of mediatization mainly focuses on various consequences of its saturation of people's

¹ Wojtkowski, Ł. 2017. The Present Tense of Mediatization Studies. *Mediatizations Studies*. 1/2017. Lublin: Publishing House: UMCS Lublin.10.

² Ferreira, J. and P.G. Gomes, A.F. Neto, J.L. Braga, A.P. da Rosa. 2020. *Networks, Society, and Polis: Epistemological Approaches on Mediatization*. Santa Maria: FACOS- Universidade Federal De Santa Maria.

³ Hepp, A. 2020. *Deep Mediatization*. London and New York: Routledge.

daily life by mass media and to what degree it influences social and cultural change⁴.

It can also be stated that „mediatization has been conceptualized as being on par with other major societal change processes such as modernization, individualization, and globalization” (Strömbäck and Esser, 2009:208)⁵. Mediatization is a process that either directly or indirectly affects all parts of society and that mediatization affects different societies in different degrees (Strömbäck and Esser, 2009:208).

1. The approaches to mediatization studies

Wojciechowski (2017) claims that the studies of mediatization can be encompassed in three dominant perspectives. These mediatization perspectives, called approaches, include:

- 1) the media-centric approach,
- 2) the institutionalist approach,
- 3) the culturalist approach.

The first perspective focuses on so called *the media-centric approach* which is linked to political communication and its mutual relations with media institutions. These relations can be seen as driving forces of mediatization process. The field of mediatization of political communication and politics in general emerged in the 1990s and gained vast interest of scholars which is still present nowadays. This approach is mainly concentrated on the case studies which describe the relationship of media and politics. There is the ongoing debate whether media ‘colonise’ politics or vice versa. However, this media-centric approach omits the presence of audience and its indispensable role in political communication (Wojtkowski, 2017:12-13).

The second perspective, which is called *the institutionalist approach*, has been developed by Stig Hjarvard. He analyses (in his studies) the institutional consequences of media position in society. He claims that media have attained not only an independent institution status but also provide the means through which other institutions and actors within the society can communicate (Hjarvard, 2008:115⁶; Wojtkowski, 2017:13).

The third mediatization perspective called *the culturalist approach* concerns media power and media hegemony as a way to comprehend the role of media in society. The aim of the culturalist approach is to analyse media power, hegemony,

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Strömbäck, J. and F. Esser. 2009. Shaping politics: mediatization and media interventionism. In: Lundby, K. Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences. New York: Peter Lang. 205-223.

⁶ Hjarvard, S. 2008. The Mediatization of Society. A Theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change. Nordicom Review 29 (2008) 2. 105-134.

popular culture and cultural practices. Media institutions concentrate the symbolic power of ‘reality construction’. It is a social process that has its complexity and enables media institutions to ‘construct’ social reality (Couldry, 2001:4⁷; Wojtkowski, 2017:14).

2. Definition of the term ‘mediatization’

There are various definitions of the notion of mediatization. However, they seem to be different and define the term in very different ways. This is because various researchers describe mediatization from different perspectives. The notion of mediatization can be described as a phenomenon, a concept and as a process (França, 2020:23)⁸.

Another definition states that „Mediatization conceptualizes the effect and power of media in the political scenes, especially in European country” (Kepplinger, 2002; Schulz, 2004)⁹.

What is more, mediatization can be defined as „an inherently process-oriented concept, focused on how media influence has increased in a number of different respects” (Strömbäck and Esser, 2009:208).

Guzek proposes that “mediatization is a concept used to critically analyze the interrelation between changes in media and communications on the one hand, and changes in culture and society on the other” (Guzek, 2019:57; Couldry 2001; Hepp, 2013:197). In order to conceptualize the term mediatization it is crucial to understand and analyse it as intertwined with factors such as time, technology, or theory (Guzek, 2019:57; Lundby, 2014).

Gomes (2020) defines that „The word mediatization refers to the function that the elements of communication fulfill in social chemistry, when the resources and means of communication, old and new, are combined with the elements of other social fields” (Gomes, 2020:14).

Hepp also states that „mediatization refers to the relationship between the transformation of media and communication on the one hand and culture and society on the other (Hepp, 2020:3-4).

Hjavard defines that mediatization is a „reciprocal process between media and other social domains or fields” (Hjavard, 2014:202; Wojtkowski, 2017:14).

Wojciechowski describes mediatization that „in general, it could be understood as a process of social transformation effected by media changes” (Wojciechowski; 2017:10).

⁷ Couldry, N. 2001. *The Place of Media Power: Pilgrims and Witnesses of the Media Age*. London: Routledge.

⁸ França, V. 2020. Scope and variations of the concept of mediatization. In: Ferreira, J. and P.G. Gomes, A.F. Neto, J.L. Braga, A.P. da Rosa. 2020. *Networks, Society, and Polis: Epistemological Approaches on Mediatization*. Santa Maria: FACOS-Universidade Federal De Santa Maria.

⁹ Nie, K.S., Kee, C.P. and A.L. Ahmad. 2014. *Mediatization: A Grand Concept or Contemporary Approach?* Elsevier Ltd.

3. The development of mediatization

The development of mediatization came in three waves. These include stages that are called: *mechanization*, *electrification* and *digitalization*.

The *mechanization* stage changed media practice and distribution through mechanical processes. This can be exemplified by the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in 1400s. Furthermore, more modern mechanical media such as typewriters and cameras were developed in 19th and 20th century.

The stage of *electrification* appeared with the invention of electronic media in 20th century. The examples of electronic media that came along are the phonograph, the telephone, radio, electric typewriter and television.

The latest stage of mediatization is called *digitalization*. Digital media are software-based and can operate automatically with the use of algorithms in computer programmes. Digitalization has emerged to the creation of so called *deep mediatization*, which „is an advanced stage of the process in which all elements of our social world are intricately related to digital media and their underlying infrastructures” (Hepp, 2020:5).

4. Models of mass media communication

Lewin’s topological model of communication (1947) explains selection and control of information in mass media. Certain selectors are to select information that is appropriate for further management, dissemination and storage. The barriers through which information is passed are called *gates* and people who control the information are therefore called *gate-keepers*. Certain information is accepted and some is rejected (Goban-Klas, 1999). This model presents that information can be managed, tailored and deliberately prepared for certain audience. It also proves that it is a common procedure to manage information to yield certain reactions among message receivers.

Another model of interpersonal communication with the use of mass media for political reasons is Lasswell’s persuasive act model (1948) also called propaganda model. This model analyses acts of communication that are used to influence the message receiver. Messages can be used in a particular purpose and instrumentally to have certain impact on their addressees. Lasswell’s model of communication was created with the question of: what influence have mass media got on the receivers? (Mołęda-Zdziech, 2001:22-23¹⁰; Goban-Klas, 1999:57¹¹;

¹⁰ Mołęda-Zdziech, M. 2001. Socjologiczna problematyka komunikowania masowego. [In:]: Jung, B. (ed.). Media komunikacja biznes elektroniczny. Warsaw: Difin.

¹¹ Goban-Klas, T. 1999. Media i komunikowanie masowe. Teorie i analizy prasy, radia, telewizji i Internetu. Warsaw-Cracow: PWN.

Goban-Klas, 1996:95¹²). The model emphasizes the instrumental character of mass media communication. This linear model of communication works in one direction only, from the sender to the receiver. Lasswell's propaganda model can be used to describe mass communication and can be the foundation, and a starting point for mediatization analysis.

6. The mediatization of society and culture

Mediatization of society is the process in which dependency of society upon media and its logic is progressing. (Nie, 2014:364). Society in contemporary times is permeated by the media in such a way that they can no longer be treated as being separate from society or social and cultural institutions. The omnipresence of the media has changed character, function and structure in which social and cultural institutions operate. Mediatization of society has also influenced and changed cultural processes that take place within society. Therefore, the study and analysis of media's importance and the concept of mediatization in contemporary society can no longer rely only on models that perceive media as being disconnected from society and culture (Hjarvard, 2008:105-106). Mazzoleni notes that:

In brief, the concept of "mediatization of society" indicates an extension of the influence of the media into all societal spheres. Therefore, it is important to see what are the (main) domains that are influenced by the media system (remembering that the media system is both a cultural technology and an economic organization). In broad and general terms, all the main societal domains are affected by the connection between media and society[...] ¹³.

Strömbäck and Esser (2009:209) suggest that „the media should rather be understood as an ever-present social and cultural system of production, broadcast, circulation, and dissemination of symbols, signs, messages, meanings, and values” and so are indispensable part of contemporary society. They also emphasize that „The various media companies, outlets, types, formats, and contents constitute the building blocks of this overall social and cultural system, but the sum is arguably greater than its parts, and the rules and norms that govern the media taken as a whole are often more important than what distinguishes one media company, outlet, type, or format from another” (Strömbäck and Esser, 2009:209; Mazzoleni 2008; Hjarvard 2008).

¹² Goban-Klas, T. 1996. *Public Relations czyli promocja reputacji. Pojęcie, definicja, uwarunkowania*. Warszawa: Businessman Press.

¹³ Mazzoleni, G. 2008. Mediatization of society. In: Donsbach, W. (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, vol. VII. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

7. The mediatization of politics and image communication

Nowadays, it is obviously not possible to run a political campaign without mass media and mediatization of political communication. Both, political communication and image of politicians, entirely depend on the way they are presented and transmitted by the media. So it depends on the media's approach to how and which political messages and images are going to be presented. It concerns obtaining, creating and managing political data in a broad sense.

There needs to be an agreement between promotional electoral action with realization of media practice. It can also be stated that „the opinion of electors on electoral candidates depends a lot on the information offered by mass means of communication” (Seceleanu, 2009:269).

Nowadays, so called social media and social platforms that have played increasingly important role in political and image communication and its distribution to the receivers. They are a part of digital mediatization of communication and can be accessible on almost any contemporary computer, tablet or smartphone via the Internet. These digital devices provide immediate dissemination of political and image messages all over the world and enable politicians to contact their electorate. Nie points out that:

The social media allowed personalization, interactivity and engagement of politics like never before. Social media also empowered the audiences where anyone with Internet access can make their voices heard. In other words, there is a revolution of what democracy constitutes now than last time. Political elites clearly have strong love-hate relationship with media whereby news of them can go viral at any time, be it good or bad. This is clearly proven when Barack Obama, the President of United States is one of the most highly followed figure on Twitter with around 7 million followers [...] He was deemed the new generation of presidents as he engaged with the society and makes known his policy using new media (Nie, 2014:364).

It can be noticed that political communicators are under constant pressure from the voters, the media and NGOs and have to reveal their mediating skills among these participants within the society. Politicians are expected to propose solutions to various problems that the society is aware of and in the best case put them to practice. „National political institutions and actors thus find themselves under increasing pressure from both citizens and the media, while the need to find solutions to major challenges such as global warming, rising inequalities, weak growth and increasing deficits appears both more urgent and more difficult to tackle” (Esser and Strömbäck 2014:3)¹⁴.

¹⁴ Esser, F. and J. Strömbäck. 2014. *Mediatization of Politics. Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seceleanu (2009) states that there are at least two conditions that make political message successful through mediatized channels of communication:

- a) when it is able to produce expected electoral effect,
- b) its proper adjustment to the media demands.

Strömbäck has proposed the mediatization of politics as a process including four dimensions. These four distinct dimensions are highly related to each other and have been exemplified below:

- *The first dimension* concerns the degree to which the media are the most important source of messages providing information about politics and societal life. This dimension reflects to what extent political communication has become mediated.
- *The second dimension* concerns the degree to which the media are independent from various social and political institutions.
- *The third dimension* concerns the degree to which the content included in the media, the coverage of political discourse and current affairs is led by media logic or political logic. In other words, this dimension is about whether media's own needs and standards of newsworthiness or the needs of political actors and institutions are decisive in the choice of what to cover and how to cover it.
- *The fourth dimension* concerns the degree to which politicians, political institutions and organizations are led by media logic or political logic. „This dimension deals with the very essence of the mediatization of politics, that is, the ripple effects of media in political processes and on political actors and institutions” (see: Figure 1.) (Esser and Strömbäck 2014:7).

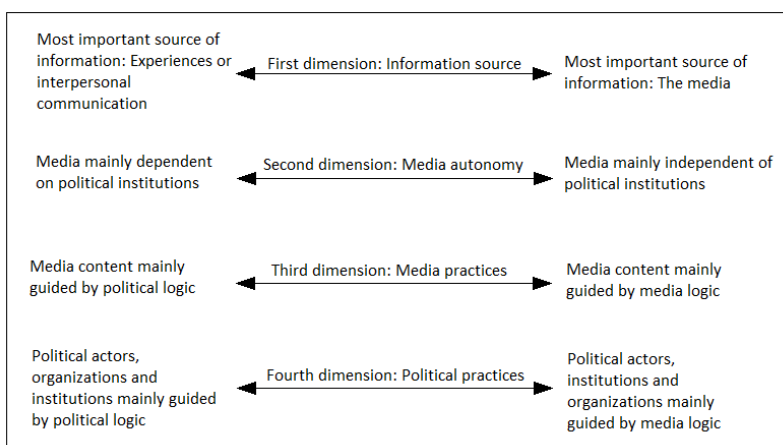


Figure 1. Four-dimensional concept of the mediatization of politics (Esser and Strömbäck 2014).

8. A study on mass media and political communication

A survey was conducted on a group of 60 university students in the city of Bydgoszcz, Poland. The survey, which was anonymous, took place in May 2024 at Collegium Medicum in Bydgoszcz (which is a part of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń). The participants in the study were asked to fill in a questionnaire that included seven questions concerning mass media and their influence on political messages, political image and reliability of source of information. The respondents of the questionnaire were asked to: mark Y – for ‘yes’ (if they agreed with a particular question), N – for ‘no’ (if they did not agree), or give no mark (if they were not sure about their answer). The questions included in the questionnaire were listed below the diagrams encompassing the participants’ answers. The data presented in each diagram is related to the particular question below it.

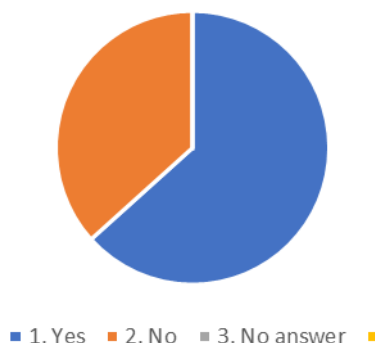


Diagram 1. Do you watch, read or listen to political communication in mass media?



Diagram 2. Does it seem right for you that a political party which wins the elections takes over public (state-owned) mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, the Internet websites)?



Diagram 3. Do the owners/controllers of mass media have an influence on political message?



Diagram 4. Do mass media manipulate political information?



Diagram 5. Do mass media manipulate the image of political communicators?



Diagram 6. Are Polish state-owned mass media a reliable source of political information?



Diagram 7. Are there enough independent mass media sources of political communication?

Conclusions

The data obtained concerning the first question (Do you watch, read or listen to political communication in mass media?) present that majority, which is 63% of the survey participants either watch, read or listen to political communication in mass media, whereas 37% marked the answer that they do not. This means that most of the 60 participants are conscious receivers of political messages.

The answers obtained from the second question (Does it seem right for you that a political party which wins the elections takes over public (state-owned) mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, the Internet websites)?) suggest that large majority (90%) of the survey participants disapproved of the idea of taking over the state-owned media by a party that wins the elections. Only 10% of the questionnaire respondents approved of this idea.

The data obtained concerning the third question (Do the owners/controllers of mass media have an influence on political message?) reflects that 96% agreed that who controls or owns mass media has got influence on what political information is disseminated. Mere 2% disagreed with that statement and 2% gave no answer.

The answers provided to the fourth question (Do mass media manipulate political information?) clearly show that 100% (all 60 respondents) agreed that mass media manipulate political information. No respondent disagreed. This means that all the respondents were aware of this procedure of manipulating political messages).

The data that was obtained from the fifth question (Do mass media manipulate the image of political communicators?) presents that 98% of the study participants (59 questionnaire respondents) were aware of the fact of political image manipulation by the mass media. No respondent disagreed, and 2% provided no answer.

Concerning the sixth question of the survey (Are Polish state-owned mass media a reliable source of political information?) 90% (54 participants) stated that Polish state-owned mass media were not a reliable source of political information, whereas only 10% agreed that they were.

Analysing the answers to the seventh question (Are there enough independent mass media sources of political communication?), it can be stated that 93% of the respondents suggested that there were not enough independent mass media sources of political communication, which opens the question of information objectivity. Only 7% of the respondents agreed with that there were.

The answers provided by the participants of the study presented that they were aware of manipulation of disseminated political messages by mass media owners and controllers and that majority of political information is not independent but influenced by other players or sides of the political scene.

The results of the study confirm the validity of Lasswell's and Lewin's models of communication, and the purposefulness of mass media communication in the scope of politics.

The study also suggests that independent media sources are very much needed and that they should be protected and supported to bring more objective and reliable political messages and political image communication to their receivers.

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Distinctive features of a senior's face from a communicative perspective

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Abstract: This research is the first step of a project concerning a comparative analysis of the image of the elderly present in public space of Warsaw and Berlin. The primary aim of the study was to analyse the seniors' faces in order to identify the determinants of the corporeal physicality of the human face on the basis of which a given face is classified as belonging to an elderly person. The next goal was to construct an optimal model of the senior's face based on the set of the recognised determinants. The ultimate objective was to develop a feature-based algorithm which will be used in the objectified process of identifying and categorising faces in terms of age. The algorithm will be further applied in the project regarding visual communication, where messages available in public space should be selected according to the criterion of presenting the elderly. The research method was a diagnostic survey and for the data collection, a survey questionnaire was used as a tool. The work was supported by the National Science Centre, Poland, under the research project "The image of older adults in the public space of Warsaw and Berlin" no UMO-2021/43/B/HS2/01288.

Abstrakt: Niniejsze badanie stanowi pierwszy etap projektu dotyczącego analizy porównawczej wizerunku osób starszych obecnego w przestrzeni publicznej Warszawy i Berlina. Podstawowym celem badań była analiza twarzy seniorów w celu zidentyfikowania wyznaczników cielesności ludzkiej twarzy, na podstawie których dana twarz jest klasyfikowana jako należąca do osoby starszej. Kolejnym celem było skonstruowanie optymalnego modelu twarzy seniora w oparciu o zbiór rozpoznanych wyznaczników. Ostatecznym celem było opracowanie algorytmu opartego na zidentyfikowanych cechach, który zostanie wykorzystany w zobjektywizowanym procesie identyfikacji i kategoryzacji twarzy ze względu na wiek. Algorytm będzie miał zastosowanie w projekcie dotyczącym komunikacji wizualnej, gdzie komunikaty dostępne w przestrzeni publicznej będą dobierane według kryterium przedstawiania osób starszych. Metodą badawczą był sondaż diagnostyczny, a do zbierania danych wykorzystano kwestionariusz ankiety. Badanie zostało sfinansowane ze środków Narodowego Centrum Nauki przyznanych na podstawie decyzji numer DEC-2021/43/B/HS2/01288 dotyczącej projektu „Wizerunek osób starszych w przestrzeni publicznej Warszawy i Berlina”.

Key words: face, communication, senior, old age

Słowa kluczowe: twarz, komunikacja, senior, starość

Introduction

The research presented in the paper focuses on the distinctive features of a senior's face from a communicative perspective. It is a part of a larger project *The image of older adults in the public space of Warsaw and Berlin* supported by the grant OPUS 2021/43/B/HS2/01288 financed by the National Science Centre, Poland, which aims at examining and comparing the image of older adults created on the basis of the messages available in public space of the capital cities of two neighbouring European countries (Poland and Germany). The main assumption of the project is that there are substantial differences in the social and financial status of seniors in Poland and Germany and the aim is to provide an analysis of the hypothesised differences between the image of older adults in the public space of Warsaw and Berlin with regards to language and visual resources. Since messages in the public space take the form of posters, billboards, leaflets, advertisements, announcement, playbills, etc. they belong to the visual type of communication representing a 'graphic order of communication' (S. Puppel, 2012). This particular communication order incorporates both linguistic and non-linguistic resources, the choice of which makes it possible to classify the presented people as elderly. Therefore, the process of identification of those portrayed as seniors can be realised in a few distinct ways. First, the linguistic resources may contain explicit information on demographic age, which can be realised in a numerical and lexical way, e.g. over 60, 65-plus, seventy. Second, it can be indicated with an appropriate choice of lexical items, such as grandma, grandfather, senior. Third, belonging to the population of the elderly may be visually denoted by specific elements of physical appearance, for instance, deep wrinkles, loss of hair, or old-fashioned clothes or hairstyles.

The first stage of developing a matrix for the objectivised analysis of nonlinguistic content is to establish the criteria for the process of identification of older faces. Thus, the aim of the research is to find a set markers of physical appearance of a face which are perceived as universal indicators of old age in both men and women. The results will serve as a foundation in creating an algorithm which will be designed to help classify a visual message as that presenting an elderly person in the further stages of the main project.

1. Face in public space

Traditionally, the public space is characterised by public ownership, free access, and rule-based organization. Following Iveson (1998:22), public space can be defined as a busy place, with high traffic intensity, pedestrian access, and mixed functions. Among others, these functions include human interaction and communication, which brings the definition closer to a sociological perspective.

From the sociological point of view, urban public space is 'a type of a social space, in which specific relations between an individual and community occur' (Maik, 2011:11, translation mine – KK). It serves as a setting for accidental unplanned encounters and various social interactions (Kohn, 2004). Inevitably, public space, which is usually defined as densely populated, abounds in people, and in human faces. The face, 'the most recognizable part of a human body' (Koszko, 2020:108, translation mine – KK) is at the same time the most expressive index of human existence in the public space, and in communication terms it provides a strong index of performativity, which can be translated into high communicative power (J. Puppel, 2013). Likewise, every feature of a human body possesses a defined semantic indicator and, as a result, a specific communication and mediation value associated with it (S. Puppel, 2016). As J. Puppel (2011:82, translation mine – KK) claims, the 'human face is a special means of communication (...) and as a separate part of the human body, it is of a particular importance in public space and public communication'. In this context, 'facework design' is the most significant element of indexical communication in visual culture (Kowalewska and Puppel, 2017:496) and face is a central element of a human communication potential, which can be used in an infinite number of communication encounters.

2. The face in communication

As has been said above, the face has its own semantic index and is the most basic tool in initiating, conducting, or maintaining social interaction (Kowalewska and Puppel, 2017). The face is, next to the hands, the most expressive component of the human body (J. Puppel, 2011:81) and also the main channel for transmitting verbal and nonverbal messages. With its skeletal, muscular and nervous system, the face is responsible for, among other things, human speech production (J. Puppel, 2011). It is equipped with all the necessary muscles and smaller body parts to be able to generate sound and thus spread language. Its role in nonverbal communication is equally important. Through muscle activity and facial expressions, it is capable of conveying emotional states. A smile, a frown, a gaze are elements of expression without which communication would be much poorer and much more difficult. Furthermore, it is the 'primary source of visual information for identifying people and reading their emotional and mental states' (Todorov and Oosterhof, 2011:117). In European culture, the face is a part of the body that remains uncovered regardless of the season, which facilitates not only recognition of a person but also communication, especially in the face-to-face mode. The meaning of the face for communication was particularly noticeable during the pandemic of COVID-19, when wearing face masks was obligatory, which generated a whole range of difficulties when communicating verbally.

3. Naked vs ornamented face

The social significance of the face is ‘evidenced by the presence of its image in all important documents, such as an identity card, passport or driving licence’ (J. Puppel, 2016:202, translation mine – KK). However, even though every face has a set of permanent anatomical features characteristic for a given individual, which help to determine one’s identity, it is still subject to dynamics (Jack and Schyns, 2015). This dynamics is connected not only with the changeable and adaptable structure of the face, but also with the deliberate use of facial ornaments. In the history of human evolution, the face has always appeared as either the so-called ‘naked face’ or ‘ornamented face’ (J. Puppel, 2016:202). The qualities and quantities of the ornaments are strictly determined by the culture and sub-culture they are embedded in. The ornamentation of the face may involve, among others, ‘additional external features (any ornamentation applied to the skin or hung on the face), such as makeup, tattoo, earrings, rings, studs, beads, pendants, etc.’ and may indicate individual or collective identity as well as highlight some of the universal states, for example, aggression, wealth, power, or age (ibid.: 202; see also Jack and Schyns, 2015). The face will therefore be the embodiment of individual and cultural differences in the society (Koszko, 2020:109). At the same time, ‘[t]he face and its attributes have not only the highest communicative status but also a very strong impact on overall image shaping’ (Kowalewska, 2018a:64).

4. Determinants of an ageing face

Physical appearance, apart from deliberate modifications (e.g. make-up in women, beards on men, or different hairstyles for both genders), is also subject to ageing processes related to the passage of time. In the biological aspect, it undergoes constant changes and it is usually the face that first reflects a person’s age. Due to the fact that face remains uncovered in different weather conditions and is exposed to sunlight throughout the year, its skin ages relatively quickly, and visible symptoms of the skin wear are visible long before a person enters the culturally constructed senior population.

Biologically, a senior’s face, as a result of the involution of fatty tissue and relaxation of the superficial muscular aponeurotic system (SMAS), it is characterized by sunken cheeks, drooping eyebrows, and droopy upper and lower eyelids (Zapała and Szuta, 2012:133). Wrinkle lines on the forehead, around the eyes, cheeks and neck become sharply visible, the nose seems longer and sharper, and the nasolabial folds are deepened, whereas around the mouth vertical wrinkles appear (ibid.:133-134). Researchers have also found that there are no differences between male and female faces when it comes to the quantity of wrinkles (ibid.:132).

With regard to appearance, old age is associated predominantly with wrinkles and grey hair. Whether based on stereotypes or one’s experience, this view seems

to be a regularity repeated in different age groups. Research carried out among young adults aged 19-24 showed that the typical face of an elderly person is associated with wrinkles, grey hair, hair reduction, missing teeth, and damaged skin with visible age spots (Kowalewska, 2018b). Similar results were obtained in the research on the image of elderly people conducted among primary school children in urban and rural areas. Children living in a city mentioned wrinkles and grey hair as the most distinctive features of seniors. Additionally, they pointed to skin or teeth problems and being bald (for men) (Kowalewska, 2018c). As to the accessories, glasses, characteristic earrings and unfashionable clothes were mentioned. Pupils from rural environments drew attention to the same features, adding to them specific haircuts, beards (on men), papules, and bags under the eyes (Kowalewska, 2018d). Generally, research has revealed that the image of the elderly presented by adolescent youths and young adults reflects a stereotyped visual representation of the elderly population.

5. Methodology

The research problem focuses on identifying specific determinants of physical appearance within the face which allow us to categorise it as a seniors' face. Based on the research problem, the following research questions were put forward:

- RQ1 Why is a face perceived as belonging to an elderly person?
- RQ2 What physical features of a face are interpreted as characteristic of a senior?
- RQ3 What does the optimal model of a senior face look like?
- RQ4 What algorithm based on the occurrence of determinants of physical appearance should be used in order to classify a face as belonging to a representative of the elderly population?
- There are three interdependent research objectives.
- O1 The primary objective of the study is to identify the features of the corporeal physicality of the human face on the basis of which a given face is classified as belonging to an elderly person.
- O2 Recognising the set of these determinants will allow the construction of an optimal model of the senior's face, which is a second goal.
- O3 The ultimate objective is to develop a feature-based algorithm which will be used in the objectified process of identifying and categorising faces in terms of age. The algorithm will further be applied in the project regarding visual communication, where messages available in public space are to be selected according to the criterion of presenting the elderly.

The research method was a diagnostic survey, and for the data collection a survey questionnaire was used as a tool. The questionnaire, which was designed by

the author of the research, began with information about the scientific purpose of the survey, the topic and assurance of the anonymity of the data. It also included the demographic variables of the respondents, such the age and gender, which are provided in the details below.

In the questionnaire, there were six photos showing different faces of elderly people (see Picture 1.).



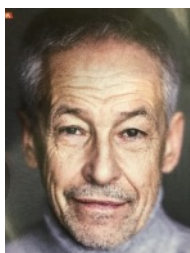
IS1



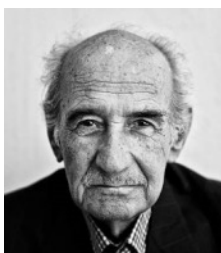
IS2



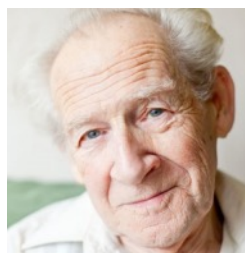
IS3



IS4



IS5



IS6

Picture 1. Pictures of the analysed faces (Source: press materials, details in bibliography)

Of the people shown in the illustration, three represented the female population and three the male. All of them were over 65 years old at the moment of taking the picture, which is the age that classifies a person as senior according to a number of international sources (among others, the World Health Organisation, United Nations). Under each picture, which were arranged separately, there were two questions. The first one *Do you perceive this face as belonging to an older person?* gave the opportunity to choose from three possible answers: *yes*, *hard to say*, and *no*. This closed question was followed by an open-ended one *If so, which facial features classify this person as older?*, in which the respondents who chose the answer *yes* were asked to identify those features of the appearance of the people shown in the photos that, in their opinion, should be interpreted as characteristic for an elderly person.

The research group included 225 respondents, of whom 27 (12%) were men and 198 women (88%). The age range of the respondents was from 18 to 48 years, and most of them were between 23 and 27 years old (see Table 1.).

No.	Age	N	%
1.	18-22	86	38,2
2.	23-27	93	41,3
3.	28-32	16	7,1
4.	33-37	18	8,0
5.	38-43	6	2,7
6.	44-48	6	2,7
7.	total	225	100

Table 1. Age groups of the respondents

The choice of young adults as a dominant population for the study group was justified by the nature of the subject matter. The main aim of the study was to examine the physical markers of old age, so mature adults and the elderly may find it more difficult to determine the markers, as they may identify themselves with that population and therefore be less objective.

The total number of all answers provided was 3,936, which comprised 146 semantically diverse categories of determinants that help classify a face as belonging to an elderly person. They were grouped into areas and presented in 19 corresponding tables. The answers that were mentioned only once were placed in a collective line with an asterisk at the bottom of the table. Although the tables below provide a quantitative layout of answers, the stress is put on the qualitative analysis.

6. Research results

Skin ageing is a natural and inevitable process which involves a set of changes that progress over time. It includes, among others, decreased biological activity of cells, slowed regeneration, and reduced response to oxidative stress. The first symptoms of ageing are usually visible on the face, as facial skin is very delicate, and at the same time prone to frequent exposure to the sun, wind, heat or cold, or make-up on women. Previous research by González-Alvarez and Sos-Peña (2023) revealed that anatomical changes in facial structure, skin tone, and texture are the principal visual signs, and the main sources of information for estimating the age of people. The results of this research largely confirm those findings. In fact, the largest number of answers indicated that the primary feature that is associated with ageing is the presence of wrinkles (see Table 2.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	wrinkles	976	75,4
2	around the eyes	75	5,8
3	numerous	66	5,1
4	lines on the forehead	55	4,2
5	lines around the mouth	54	4,2
6	deep	36	2,8
7	visible	16	1,2
8	laughter lines	13	1,0
9	slight	2	0,2
10	frown lines	2	0,2
total		1295	100

Table 2. Wrinkles

In the context of wrinkles, the respondents pointed to certain face areas, such as *around the eyes* or *around the mouth*. These are the areas, in which wrinkles appear first due to the fact that the muscles surrounding the eyes or the mouth are the most often used, and therefore the skin wears faster. Additionally, qualities of the wrinkles were described, for example, *deep*, *visible*, or *laughter lines*.

Generally, the facial ageing process starts with a change in the skin's condition, which includes, aside from wrinkles, age spots, dryness or loss of skin volume. Table 3. and Table 4. present the condition of the skin and the presence of skin lesions that were associated with advancing age.

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	sagging / loose / flabby	125	59,8
2	inelastic /less elastic / low elasticity / lack / loss of firmness	37	17,7
3	damaged	14	6,7
4	dried/dry	10	4,8
5	dull / fatigued	7	3,3
6	old/ageing	6	2,9
7	ashen/grey	4	1,9
8	neglected	4	1,9
9	weary	2	1,0
total		209	100

Table 3. Skin (condition)

Mainly, the results of the loss of facial tissue were noticed, for instance, *sagging*, *loose*, or *inelastic skin*. Nevertheless, poor skin quality was also underlined with answers including *damaged*, *dry* or *dull*.

Continuing with the condition of the skin, the presence of skin spots of various types, and uneven skin tone was stressed (see Table 4.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	skin discolouration	61	40,7
2	age spots	52	34,7
3	skin lesions	13	8,7
4	birthmarks	8	5,3
5	freckles	5	3,3
6	liver spots	5	3,3
7	blackheads / blood spots / extensive pores / moles / papules / warts	6*	4,0
total		150	100

Table 4. Skin lesions

While some of the listed skin lesions are an effect of the natural process of ageing (e.g. *skin discolouration* or *age spots*), others may result from dysfunctions of bodily organs or diseases (e.g. *liver spots* or *blood spots*). Yet, others may not be biologically or medically related to ageing, but still their presence is translated into being typical of old age (*birthmarks* or *freckles*). According to research on facial ageing, the volume of skin age-related discolouration is, in general, lower at women (Zapała and Szuta, 2012:132).

Beside the qualities of the skin texture and tone, hair colour was frequently indicated. Grey hair is considered to be one of the most universal signs of advanced age. Research suggests that hair greying, which is a consequence of the loss of pigment production resulting from oxidative damage, is highly correlated with chronological age (Westgate, et al., 2013). It should, however, be mentioned that in this respect there are differences when it comes to race. Although the average age for hair to start greying is mid- to late forties, for Caucasians it is the mid-thirties, for Asians late thirties, and for Africans mid-forties' (Maymone et al., 2021; Westgate, et al., 2013).

Answers given by the respondents show that a person is perceived as a senior when their hair is not only devoid of colour (perceived as *grey* or *white*) but also of poorer quality (*sparse*, *thin*, *weak*) (see Table 5.). The condition of hair is closely related to the ageing process, as with age the density of follicles on the scalp decreases, which makes hair seem thinner (Maymone et al., 2021:39).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	grey	449	50,6
2	sparse	46	5,2
3	white	19	2,1
4	thin	9	1,0
5	weak	7	0,8
6	falling out	5	0,6
7	curls / changes in the hair / damaged / frizzy long / stiff structural	6*	0,7
Men's hair			
8	baldness / lack of hair	155	17,5
9	partial baldness / partial loss of hair/ less hair / little hair	60	6,8
10	receding hairlines / high forehead	49	5,5
Women's hair			
11	haircut typical for seniors	49	5,5
12	short	21	2,4
13	perm	7	0,8
14	curly	5	0,6
total		887	100

Table 5. Hair

In addition, it was observed that there are gender-related differences in the perception of age based on hair. The features that were mostly raised for men were those connected with quantity rather than the quality of hair, and included *baldness*, *partial baldness*, *receding hairlines* or *high forehead*. It means that besides colour, or rather its lack, it is the loss of hair that is a visual marker of old age among men. For women, it was the hair style that meant they were perceived as elderly, with the most common answers comprising *haircut typical for seniors*, *short*, and *perm*.

In social interactions, apart from physical appearance, eye-contact plays a huge role. Although it is culture-specific, and its presence and duration can be different depending on the given country, it is universally acknowledged to be a fundamental element of nonverbal communication (Kowalewska and Puppel, 2017:502). Eye-contact is believed to help decode nonverbal cues, maintain a conversation, show and read emotions, as well as be an indicator of attention, respect and interest (Kowalewska, 2018a). Though learnt by humans in an unconscious way, eye-contact is a natural behaviour and the first 'activity' in interaction with another person, whether in face-to-face communication, or even when looking at someone's picture. For this reason, much attention is paid to the eyes and the area around them. This focus on eyes was reflected in a large number of answers regarding the

qualities of eyes (see Table 6.) and other body parts in the immediate vicinity of the eyes, such as eyebrows (see Table 8.) or lashes (see Table 9.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	drooping eyelids	191	57,2
2	sunken eyelids / sunken eyes	38	11,4
3	crow's feet	26	7,8
4	small eyes	24	7,2
5	bags under the eyes	19	5,7
6	squinty eyes	13	3,9
7	dark circles	8	2,4
8	drooping eye corners	7	2,1
9	narrow eyes	3	0,9
10	wrinkled eyelids	2	0,6
11	brightened iris / swollen eyes / teary eyes	3*	0,9
total		334	100

Table 6. Eyes and eye area

With regard to the eyes, *drooping eyelids* were the most repeatedly mentioned feature (signalling old age), which was followed by *sunken eyelids*, *sunken eyes*, *crow's feet*, and *small-sized eyes*.

Interestingly, when it comes to the eyes, the respondents interpreted the above mentioned physical properties into corresponding qualities of the gaze, mental states, and emotions attributed to their owners, such as *tiredness*, *sadness*, *experience*, or *wisdom* (see Table 7.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	tired eyes	49	40,8
2	gaze	22	18,3
3	sad look	19	15,8
4	experienced gaze	12	10,0
5	wise look	6	5,0
6	thoughtful gaze	4	3,3
7	calm	2	1,7
8	cheerful	2	1,7
9	serious	2	1,7
10	mature	2*	1,7
total		120	100

Table 7. Gaze

In order to continue with the eye areas, the results on eyebrows and eyelashes are presented in Table 8. Despite the fact that *grey eyebrows* are pointed to most often for both elderly men and women, the perception of their qualities seems to be differentiated by gender.

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	grey	46	35,7
2	long	3	2,3
3	short / reduced / thin / weak / old / unkempt / negligible / lowered	8*	6,2
Male eyebrows			
4	bushy	21	16,3
5	thick	7	5,4
6	lush	6	4,7
Female eyebrows			
7	invisible	15	11,6
8	sparse	12	9,3
9	lack of eyebrows	11	8,5
total		129	100

Table 8. Eyebrows

The results show that men will be perceived as elderly when their eyebrows are *bushy*, *thick*, and *lush*. Women, on the contrary, when their eyebrows are *invisible*, *sparse* or *non-existent*. This means that for men it is an excessive amount of eyebrow hair that reveals advanced age, while for women – its insufficient volume. With the eyelashes, no gender dependence was observed (see Table 9.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	grey	7	43,8
2	lack of eyelashes	4	25,0
3	invisible	3	18,8
4	reduced	2	12,5
total		16	100

Table 9. Eyelashes

Eyelashes were not crucial for age identification, as they achieved a low number of answers. Nevertheless, *grey* or *hardly visible* eyelashes contributed to the impression of representing a senior's face.

Another face area that attracts considerable attention in interpersonal communication is the lips. The lips, together with the eyes, are the most dynamic parts of the face and thus play a very important role in nonverbal communication. Able to perform micro expressions, they are capable of conveying a whole range of emotions from happiness, through sadness to anger or fear. As a response in a conversation, they can be compressed, pursed, relaxed, or stretched into a smile. Hence, it is natural for people to observe their interlocutor's lips in order to recognise particular facial expressions and to complement the verbal message. Respondents' remarks concerning the lips refer predominantly to their size (see Table 10.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	narrow	55	35,9
2	small	34	22,2
3	drooping corners of the mouth	29	19,0
4	deflated	14	9,2
5	narrow	11	7,2
6	wrinkled	3	2,0
7	with blurred contours	3	2,0
8	invisible	2	1,3
9	dry / stretched	2*	1,3
total		153	100

Table 10. Lips

The emphasis placed on lip size is rooted in biology, as, with age, collagen levels in the skin decrease, which results in loss of lip volume. Combined with the process of weakening of the lip muscles, it gives the impression that the lips become thinner and lose their contour and shape. This, in turn, is rightly interpreted as a symptom of the process of ageing.

It is common knowledge that age increases the likelihood of tooth decay and gum disease, which makes teeth more prone to breaking, or tooth loss. The average adult has 28 teeth at maturity, but '[a]mong adults from 35 to 44-years-old, 69 percent have lost at least one permanent tooth. By age 50, (...) an average of 12 teeth (including wisdom teeth). And among adults 65 to 74, 26 percent have lost all their teeth' (IS7). It was also estimated that 'the highest rates of missing

teeth occur in people over the age of 55' (IS8). Consequently, it seems justified that missing teeth or visible dentures were identified as symptoms of old age (see Table 11.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	missing teeth	153	96,2
2	dentures	6	3,8
total		159	100

Table 11. Teeth

The missing teeth reinforce the visual impression of narrowed and wrinkled lips and lip areas, which were some of the most frequently given answers (cf. Table 2. and Table 10.).

Next, it was decided to create a 'cheek category' due to a noticeable amount of answers connected with this particular area (see Table 12.). Over time, due to collagen loss in the whole body, the skin begins to drop, contributing, among others, to the appearance of saggy cheeks, pronounced nasolabial folds, and a less defined jawline (IS9).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	sagging/dropping	47	61,8
2	laughter lines	20	26,3
3	hollowed	7	9,2
4	swollen	2	2,6
total		76	100

Table 12. Cheeks

In fact, the reduction of the cheeks' firmness and elasticity begins after 30, but then it increases rapidly due to age and gravity's influence.

Although the focus of the research was on the face, the respondents directed their attention to the female neck (see Table 13.), which was another gender-dependent feature.

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	wrinkled neck	83	93,3
2	flabby neck skin	6	6,7
total		89	100

Table 13. Female neck

The same ageing processes that concern facial skin apply to other body parts. A *wrinkled neck* with *flabby skin* turned out to be a marker of old age, albeit, exclusively in women. As for face wrinkles, there are medical procedures that help maintain skin elasticity, or at least reduce wrinkles, whereas with neck wrinkles reduction aesthetic medicine is still unable to help, therefore the neck area becomes a marker of the passage of time.

Likewise, the presence and colour of male facial hair was a gender-related characteristic (see Table 14.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	grey	25	43,9
2	grey beard	16	28,1
3	grey moustache	12	21,1
4	stubble	3	5,3
5	thinning beard	1	1,8
total		57	100

Table 14. Male facial hair

In men, a face was considered to represent a senior, when possessing a *grey beard*, or *grey moustache*, or both.

There is a popular conviction that the ears and nose grow with age. This illusion stems from the fact that at some point cartilage starts to lose its density and thus stops providing firm support to the skin, making ears and nose perceived as if increased in size. This phenomenon was noticed in the survey for the ears (see Table 15.) and nose (see Table 16.) in both genders.

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	big	17	73,9
2	enlarged	5	21,7
3	wrinkled	1	4,3
total		23	100

Table 15. Ears

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	big	15	75,0
2	wide	4	20,0
3	swollen	1	5,0
total		20	100

Table 16. Nose

Not only are the anatomically movable parts of the face subject to dynamics. The face in its ‘ornamented’ version is a carrier of various adaptable accessories and modifications, some of which may be attributed to age. One of the most distinctive accessories associated with the elderly were glasses, especially of a particular type – *old fashioned, with thick lenses and transparent frames* (see Table 17.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	glasses	65	47,1
2	glasses typical for a senior	30	21,7
3	thick lenses in glasses	14	10,1
4	glasses that mean poor eyesight	13	9,4
5	old-fashioned	13	9,4
6	big	3	2,2
total		138	100

Table 17. Accessories – glasses

Aside from glasses, types of clothing characteristic for an older person were identified. It included *typical / old-fashioned* outfits, manifested by *floral patterns, elegant shirts*, and a *hat* (‘garden allotment type hat’) (see Table 18.).

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	typical outfit	17	35,4
2	hat	13	27,1
3	floral patterns	7	14,6
4	elegant shirt	7	14,6
5	old-fashioned style	4	8,3
total		48	100

Table 18. Accessories – outfit

Moreover, it was found that in elderly women certain pieces of jewellery emphasised their age. This was exemplified with *beads*, *pearl necklace*, or *old fashioned rings* – ‘grandma’s signet ring’ (see Table 19.).

Table 19 Accessories – jewellery

Lp.	Answers	N	%
1	beads	14	42,4
2	old-fashioned jewellery	8	24,2
3	old-fashioned ring	7	21,2
4	pearl necklace	4	12,1
total		33	100

7. Discussion

‘Man exists in the very important dimension of ‘visual culture’, in which the human face has always served as the main indicator of the so-called ‘external appearance’”(J. Puppel, 2016:201). Researchers have found that the most precise information a human face can provide is on gender and age (Gonzalez-Alvarez and Sos-Peña, 2023). Even though the ability to ‘read’ this type of information on the basis of facial features is heavily influenced by stereotypes, there are some universal elements of external appearance that are responsible for providing information on one’s age.

One of the main goals of the research was to find the determinants of the physical appearance of the human face that help classify a person as elderly. After a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data, it is clear that there are specific areas that carry certain features which can be translated into signs of advanced age. These include wrinkles, skin condition, skin lesions, hair, eyes and eye area, gaze, eyebrows, eyelashes, lips, teeth, cheeks, female neck, male facial hair, ears, nose, and accessories. Tables 1. to 19. above present the results which form a direct answer to the first research question about the reasons why a face is considered to be that of a senior. It was observed that a face needs to possess a set of specified qualities to be recognised as belonging to an older person.

Analysis of the research results can help answer the second research question, concerning particular determinants of a senior’s face. It can be stated that primarily, wrinkles, especially around the eyes and in the mouth area, and grey hair tend to be the strongest marker of age in both genders. Remarkably, the mere presence of visible wrinkles and grey hair fails to be sufficient to designate a face as being senior. This is clearly seen in the example of picture no. 4 (see Picture 1.), where the vast majority of respondents wrote *it’s hard to say* and added that, despite the wrinkles, for example, the gaze is still lively. Some of the features turned out to be

gender-related as, for instance, in men, baldness or partial loss of hair was underlined, whereas for women a specific haircut, such as a perm or short hair, along with a wrinkled neck were heavily indicated. Respondents declared that, regardless of the senior's gender, characteristic features of their face are drooping eyelids, missing teeth, and flabby skin, sometimes described as 'inelastic', with discolourations of various origins. Slightly less frequently mentioned qualities were small, narrow lips and sagging cheeks, which make the laughter lines seem deeper. As old age is heavily associated with poor eyesight, with regard to accessories, glasses, particularly of an old fashioned style, with thick lenses became a strong indicator of advanced age.

This research allows the construction of an optimal model of a senior's face. With the help of artificial intelligence, hypothetical models of a male senior's (see Picture 2.) and female senior's faces (see Picture 3.) were developed, with the use of the set of features identified in the research.



Picture 2. A male senior's face generated by AI (Chat GPT) based on the features identified in the study



Picture 3. A female senior's face generated by AI (Chat GPT) based on the features identified in the study

The artificially generated faces are a proposed answer to the third research question regarding a hypothetical universal model of a senior's face based on the example of a Caucasian person.

The central goal of the study was to develop a feature-based algorithm to be used in the objectified process of identifying and categorising faces in terms of age. The algorithm can now be applied in projects concerning visual communication, and be helpful in automatic detection of seniors' faces. Having analysed the results quantitatively, it was decided that the process of detection should involve at least three criteria from among those identified in the study. The two dominating features comprise wrinkles and grey hair, and thus their presence will be considered crucial. Nonetheless, they need to be complemented by at least one of the remaining top eight features that received the highest scores, including (1) baldness, (2) dropping eyelids, (3) missing teeth, (4) skin discolouration, (5) sagging skin, (6) narrow lips, (7) wrinkled neck, (8) glasses. The following formula for the algorithm is suggested:

$$\text{senior face} = \text{wrinkles} + \text{grey hair} + \leq 1/8 \text{ features.}$$

Taking into account the fact that messages in the public space are not given much deliberate attention and the perception process is very brief, only the clearest signals reach our consciousness and contribute to the perception of a person's age.

Concluding, the following statements should be underlined:

- the face is the most expressive indicator of human existence
- facial features largely contribute to the perception of age
- gender determines some of the physical features of an ageing face
- the most common, and universal determinants of physical appearance that indicate belonging to the population of seniors are grey hair and wrinkles, but these are not always sufficient in themselves
- a face can be visually attributed to a senior when it is characterised by the presence of wrinkles, grey hair, and at least one additional age-related feature.

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Language ‘depth’: Deep first language acquisition versus shallow second/foreign language learning, and the presence of the ‘embammic seal’ in the embammic language-non-embammic language dichotomy

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Abstract: First language acquisition differs radically from second/foreign language learning in that it not only consists in the acquisition of formal aspects of language (structure and functions), which is mandatorily the case with any second/foreign language, but that it is also immersed in what is termed here the (elusive) ‘embammic dimension’. Together, the formal and the automatic embammic elements, constitute the core of any native (first) language command. Subsequently, a native (first) language which always occurs in its ‘deep state’ must be fully distinguished from a second/foreign language which always occurs in various degrees of its ‘shallow state’.

Abstrakt: Nabywanie języka pierwszego różni się radykalnie od uczenia się języka drugiego/nierodzimego w taki sposób, że w przypadku tego pierwszego mamy do czynienia nie tylko ze stopniowym nabywaniem formalnych elementów języka pierwszego (struktury i funkcji), jak to ma obowiązkowo także miejsce w przypadku języka drugiego/nierodzimego, ale dodatkowo nabywanie języka pierwszego ma miejsce w nieuchwytnym dla dydaktyki języka drugiego/nierodzimego wymiarze ‘embamicznym’. Elementy formalne i embamiczne stanowią wspólny rdzeń znajomości każdego pierwszego języka. Ten ‘głęboki stan’ języka pierwszego należy wyróżnić od bardziej ‘płytkiego stanu’ każdego języka drugiego/nierodzimego.

Key words: native (first) language acquisition, second/foreign language learning, language depth, native ‘flavour’, deep native language immersion matrix, gift paradigm, language gifting, formal social contract paradigm, complete familiarity, proximate familiarity, first language embammic parameters, embammic seal, embammic language (language in deep state), non-embammic language (language in shallow state)

Słowa kluczowe: nabywanie języka rodzimego (pierwszego), uczenie się języka drugiego/nierodzimego, głębina językowa, ‘smak’ języka rodzimego, matryca głębokiego zanurzenia języka rodzimego, paradygmat darowania, darowanie języka, formalny paradygmat kontraktu społecznego, całkowita znajomość, niepełna znajomość, parametry embamiczne języka pierwszego, pieczęć embamiczna, język embamiczny (język w stanie głębokim), język nieembamiczny (język w stanie płytkim).

1. Introduction

Language is the most profound and most distinctive indicator of humanness, and, agreeing with Steven Pinker, it is affirmed that *possessing a language is the quintessentially human trait* (Pinker, 1995). It is the result of millions of years of micro steps, starting from the primary vocal-gestural beginnings to its present-day most advanced and hybrid (oral/spoken - written/printed and technologized) stage. During the process of its emergence, no matter how mysterious, intractable and incomprehensible it happens to be, it has been performed and expressed by members of an endless 'evolutionary parade' of hominoid and hominin groups through time and space (on human evolution, see e.g. such valuable sources as Jones et al., 1994; Delson et al., 1999; Rose, 2006; Fitch, 2010; Wood, 2011; Tallerman and Gibson, 2012; Hauser et al., 2014; Vaneechoutte, 2014).

As the final result of all the evolutionary stages which have been postulated in an immensely vast research on the origins of human language, it has finally become established as a very unique communication system, exquisitely structured, complex, diverse, and at the same time most powerful engine of human behaviour. It has become a phenomenon which is most naturally and universally shared by all the members of the genus *Homo sapiens sapiens* across the expanse of the globe. Put simply, language has become the most distinctive indicator of the most recent era of 'anthropocene', or the rule of mankind, with all of its consequences, where the dominating relevance of language in shaping the fate of the planet as the carrier of humanity has been most critical (on the concept of 'anthropocene', see especially Crutzen, 2002; 2006, who authored the concept).

At the same time, language (or, more precisely, natural language defined as any language which occurs within a process of constant use, repetition, change and intergenerational transmission, see e.g. Lyons, 1991; Hauser, 1997) has become a phenomenon which has been in continuous use in a number of intertwined dimensions, or more precisely, always in socially (e.g. ethnically, professionally) and geographically marked circumstances. This allows us to express the view that every single member of the genus *Homo sapiens sapiens* uses language both as a universal and distinctly genus-specific system of communication (where the term 'genus-specific' comprises, among others, the necessarily intertwined semiotic complexity of indexical, iconic and dominating symbolic parameters, see especially Liszka, 1996; Deacon, 1997, for a comprehensive analysis of these parameters).

Subsequently, a view is expressed here that natural language is a necessarily 'cohabitational-interactive' system of communication (proposition: 'a human communicating agent is by definition not alone and interacts with other human communicating agents'). This indicates that it represents the total synergy of the following constraints: ethnic constraints (proposition: 'a communicator belongs to a particular ethnicity and interacts with its members'), professional constraints (proposition: 'a communicator belongs to a particular professional group and interacts with its members') and geographic constraints (proposition:

'a communicator lives in a particular geographic region and interacts with all those individuals who inhabit that particular region'). These constraints, combined together, are known in linguistics as the 'relativity hypothesis' (better known as the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis', see e.g. Ottenheimer, 2009; Ahearn, 2012; Fedorak, 2014). They serve to specify the uniqueness of a particular natural language vis-a-vis other natural languages.

In other words, every human being, whether s/he wants it or not, cannot omit language in his/her existentiality and is, furthermore, characterized by what may be referred to here as the phenomenon of 'logoepithymia' (or the 'desire for language') as indeed the most distinctive indicator of humanness, and is totally immersed in language. This means that every human being 'resides' in language, and is, as a result, identified as a communicator by means of its unique species-specific and universal parameters which are always realized *in situ*, as it were, and in a variety of social appearances (i.e. public displays of all kinds) and social functions (see Hockett, 1963; Ottenheimer and Pine, 2018; Puppel, 2022).

Especially, the '*in situ* parameters' of a particular natural language make it rather difficult to learn by members of other communities which happen to be situated either in the geographical region(s) other than the region where members of a particular ethnicity reside, in distant (non-adjacent) ethnic environments or even in neighbouring (adjacent) ethnicities. Subsequently, we may postulate that in order to admit that one has a 'native command' of a particular natural language in its entirety, and is, therefore, capable of its native rendition, we must not forget that it is additionally characterized by what may be referred to as its 'depth'.

2. Language depth, first language acquisition and first language gifting

It is assumed here that 'language depth' is determined by the following elements: the human genus-specific (therefore, unique) universality of language as a means of communication, the subsequent universality of its constituents (ie. structure and functions), the entirety of the multi-agent communicators who use language as a means of communication, on the one hand. and by a whole volume of the ethnic parameters which exclusively belong to the particular ethnicity (irrespective of how big or how small it happens to be), on the other. It must immediately be added here that it is the ethnic parameters which in their overwhelming totality form a really serious obstacle to getting to know any natural language as an addition to the native (first) language. Therefore, the additional language can only occur as a second/foreign language. More precisely, the obstacle occurs if the latter language is positioned vis-a-vis another natural language in which case the second/foreign language can only undergo the process of learning. It is in this case that such a language is referred to as a language whose degree of depth cannot be equal to the primary and native (first) language. Subsequently, one may venture to

emphasize that first language-second/foreign language inequality in terms of their respective depths is a fact which characterizes the acquisition-learning setup.

Furthermore, it is argued here that the notion of full ‘language depth’ (or, ‘language in deep state’), especially in its oral/spoken manifestation, can only, as a rule, be attributed to the ‘native’ (first) language, or, simply, the language which has been installed in the particular communicator as a result of what has been referred to as a set of operations carried out within the domain of ‘first language acquisition’ and during the predominantly intergenerational transmission of the native (first) language (see e.g. Sullivan et al., 2021).

One may also approach first language acquisition as additionally referred to as ‘first language gifting’, that is, first language installation due to the process of the primary caretakers’ (i.e. donors’) unselfish supply of that language to the child (i.e. a donee beneficiary) in the form of gift giving (nb. the magnitude of research on first language acquisition has been most amply demonstrated in Puppel, 2001a; also Lust, 2006; Ambridge and Lieven 2011; Brooks and Kempe, 2014; Kennison, 2014; Levey, 2019).

It is assumed that the primary gifting character of first language installation in the child, especially in its spoken manifestation, is contained within the broad domain of ‘gift culture’, and more specifically, within what may be referred to as ‘gift economy’. Within this perspective, the child’s linguistic-communicative abilities are built and increased due to the caretakers’ unselfish and immensely significant efforts in developing the child’s ties (attachment) to the other communicators (in this case, the primary caretakers) as well as in developing the child’s abilities to reciprocate linguistically in the most natural conditions of the small world of the family, and only later in a larger social milieu. Simply, the primary caretaker as *Homo donans*, no matter how expert and committed to first language gifting s/he happens to be, may be regarded as the primary and dominant ‘first language officer’ working solely within the confines of the gift paradigm (on ‘gift economy’ see e.g. the classic work on gifting by Mauss, 1954; also Cheal, 1988; Vaughan, 2006) and whose unselfish linguistic service to the child as a donee is very fortunately coupled with the child’s natural (i.e. genetically determined) zest for delving into the process of first language acquisition. This happens during the sensitive and neurologically and cognitively critical period (on the critical/sensitive period in first language acquisition, see e.g. Curtiss, 1977; Puppel, 2001b; Hart and Risley, 2003).

It should also be borne in mind that decades of intense research have established beyond any doubt that the process of native language acquisition is, first and foremost, determined by human biology, in particular by the human brain, owing to the degree of its species-determined complexity (see e.g. the classic accounts by Lenneberg, 1967; and Lenneberg and Lenneberg, 1975; also Houston, 1972, and a summative account in Schnelle, 2010). First language acquisition process (including, most importantly, first language gifting) should, therefore, be most naturally opposed to the process of second language learning in which

fully planned and appropriately professional procedural steps (or 'strategies') are at the core of the process (see e.g. Cook. 2016). Simply, the most natural institution of *Homo donans* of the gift paradigm is later on replaced by the institution of *Homo docens* within the 'formal social contract paradigm', or the paradigm in which language acquisition is smoothly passed over to fully licensed language officers/instructors who organize formal language learning at the school level (both primary and secondary) as a formal educational institution (which we may collectively refer to as the 'schooling environment').

Besides, it needs to be emphasized that the growing human brain works in liaison with the various strains of social pressure exerted on the infant/child at the outset and further course of the process of first language acquisition, in fact fortified by and executed via the afore mentioned 'first language gifting'. That is why such traditional notions as 'mother tongue' or 'Muttersprache' obtain their full justification. Those two notions, very much in use as fully justified linguistic terms (see e.g. Kouritzin, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) are those notions which are profoundly involved in emphasizing the primary caretakers' efforts, usually accompanied by the entourage of all the other members of the family (such as siblings, grandparents, other relatives), in a more or less steady and unselfish involvement in the process of gifting the native (first) language to the child. The coupling of the uniquely human proclivity of the brain for language with the various social pressures which the child happens to receive *in situ* (or is 'pounded with' collectively by the direct social environment and necessarily within the gift paradigm), therefore, results in what one may refer to as the generation of the otherwise highly elusive (and, therefore, highly intractable) phenomenon of 'native flavour' which is added automatically to the first language, both in the course of its acquisition and in its further use.

3. First language 'depth' necessarily has 'native flavour', and its fully oral/spoken parameters most naturally and firmly remain outside the reach of second/foreign language learners

The confrontation of the native (first) language with other languages, that is any language which is placed vis-vis the native one (where the 'other' language has been traditionally branded 'second/foreign' language), if it is selected to become familiar to anyone who wishes to know it, can only proceed by the process of 'learning' (or more precisely, second/foreign language learning, as briefly defined above). That is, such a language, which is provided to the learner by a more or less fully licensed 'formal language officer/instructor' or a group/network of 'formal language officers' operating within the formal social contract and schooling environment, is most clearly and naturally deprived of the privilege of being immersed in the native flavour. It is, therefore, also quite naturally deprived of ever gaining complete depth, or ever being placed in deep state, as is the case

with every native (first) language acquisition. Simply, a second/foreign language is placed in ‘language in shallow state’ and remains there in later use, obviously including the inevitable processes of second/foreign language attrition, especially “once the period of formal instruction is over” (Schöpfer-Grabe, 1998: 231; on second language attrition, see e.g. De Bot and Weltens, 1995; Schmid, 2006; Köpke et al., 2007).

It needs to be emphasized here again that, as regards the most important exponent of native (first) language, that is, its oral/spoken manifestation, if a natural (first) language is acquired, it becomes simultaneously immersed in ‘native language flavour’ (or, it necessarily becomes ‘embammic’, that is, it is suspended in the most natural embammic (or non-linguistic) dimension, from the Greek word *embamma*, indicating ‘sauce, suspension’), that is, it is supplied to the child in the entirety of its various embammic parameters. The latter constitute an intricate mosaic supplied to the child in the process of native (first) language acquisition in his/her journey through the early years (most importantly, during the first three years of life, see Hart and Risley, 2003). These parameters comprise, among others, the following ones:

- the overall physical and mental quality of the native language acquirer (donee),
- the presence of the primary caretaker(s) (donors),
- the primary caretakers’ overall physical and intellectual fitness,
- the number of other offspring (siblings) in the first language acquirer’s direct vicinity, their overall physical and mental quality, as well as the presence and intensity of contact,
- the degree of the primary caretakers’ overall monitoring of the child’s first language productions (e.g. sensitivity of the primary caretakers to the child’s degree of language skill performance and language skill expression in their overall linguistic-communicative behaviour, as indicated by the frequency of the caretakers’ corrective intrusions into the child’s language productions),
- quality of first language input supplied by the primary and secondary caretakers (involving the caretakers’ awareness of the quality of first language supply which has been referred to as ‘first language gifting’) to the child,
- intensity of first language supply (gifting) by the first caretakers to the child,
- presence and intensity of physical contact (physical attachment) between the primary/secondary caretakers and the child in the course of the child’s development of his/her interactivity potential (i.e. showing the primary and secondary caretakers’ affection to the child, e.g. by way of using such affectionate behaviours as: smiling, hugging, kissing, hand-holding, tickling, caressing, singing lullabies, especially using nursery rhymes, see e.g. Kenney, 2005; Gauthier and Lejeune, 2008; Schön et al., 2008;

- Smith, 2010; Güneş and Güneş, 2012; Music, 2016; Mullen, 2017; Sabey et al., 2018),
- the socio-economic status of the family,
 - intensity of first language supply by secondary caretakers to the child,
 - the presence and overall quality of various other 'first language paraphernalia', or elements of physical imminence (see e.g. the 'presumption of imminence' as defined by Hatab (2020: 11): "immediate reality is life in the midst of a world of perceptible things") such as, among others, the overall spatial characteristics, including the dwelling conditions, quality of food supplies, lighting, shape of surrounding furniture, but also scents and odours in first language acquisition (see e.g. Boesveldt and Parma, 20210, etc., in the child's overall exposure to the general technology of social interaction in the native (first) language gifting scenario,
 - the final outcome of the afore discussed embammic parameters in the form of either initial rich first language potential oversus initial impoverished first language potential with which the child enters the formal native (first) language instruction process in the framework of the formal social contract paradigm (i.e. by being placed in the schooling environment).

Taken together, the above mentioned set of parameters constitutes what may be called 'the deep native language immersion matrix', which, further, contributes significantly to the afore mentioned 'embammic' native (first) language acquisition. The latter supplies the child with the early-established native/first language 'key performance indicators', thus providing the child with the benefit of 'nativeness', or native access to language as a means of efficient, successful and comfortable oral communication.

Apart from the cumulative presence of the afore mentioned parameters in first language acquisition, one should also agree with the fact that there occurs an equally universal phenomenon of language learnability (proposition: 'all natural languages are learnable', see e.g. Pinker, 1979, 1984; 1995), although with differing and individual-centred degrees of effectiveness. This allows one to set forth the following important statement: there has always existed a dichotomy in the oral/spoken order of communication, though not clearly articulated: '(deep) native (first) language' versus '(more or less shallow) second/foreign language'. It is, therefore, quite natural to advocate a view according to which in the domain of the native (first) language, the immune (i.e. deep and irremovable) self of the native communicator is established. It is in this particular domain that overall native/first language communicative success, which comprises both the embammic and structural elements, is attained.

The above dichotomy seems both naturally unavoidable and naturally quite impenetrable (intractable) owing to its fuzzy character. It is, therefore, indeed difficult to define in precise terms, although a particular individual communicator may (and in many cases, does) succeed in familiarizing the foreign language in

some selected dimensions (or indicators, for example, as regards the structure and functions of the afore mentioned native language immersion matrix), thus gaining some degree of 'nativeness' which is most easily observed and which is also expected as one of the goals of second/foreign language instruction. This type of naturally occurring incomplete knowledge of a second/foreign language may, therefore, be called 'proximate familiarity', as opposed to 'complete familiarity' which characterizes the native (first) language user.

4. Some conclusions

A set of conclusions may be afforded here. They are as follows:

- (a) Native (first) language acquisition is a complex process of the acquisition of the formal (structural and functional) parameters of oral/spoken language coupled with the equally important acquisition of its depth. This combined task is accomplished by following a 'deep path', that is, by way of a natural process of orchestrating (or tightly integrating) the formal and the 'embammic' parameters of the native (first) language. In this way, every native (first) language not only obtains its elusive and irremovable 'embammic seal' within the native language immersion matrix which not only contributes to the early benefit of access to language as a means of communication, but is also reflected in further native use in the oral order of communication. The embammic aspects which are present in any native (first) language obviously are decisive for its non-decomposability through the life span of every single communicator.
- (b) Second/foreign language learning expectedly focuses on the learning of a second/foreign language formal setup (structural and functional) within the formal social contract paradigm and with a radically decreased involvement (if any) of the learner in the deep 'embammic' dimensions which are most naturally assigned to a particular natural language. Therefore, only partial success as regards the immersion of a second/foreign language learner in this language can be achieved.
- (c) Since the learning of a second/foreign language most clearly follows the 'shallow path', the embammic seal is visibly lacking in it. As a result, it is postulated that second/foreign language can be characterized by the learner's only partial/proximal familiarity with the entirety of the native (first) language. This happens irrespective of whether it is the result of a more or less rich and varied formal supply of a second/foreign language to a particular learner (or a group of learners) by a licensed and fully professional second/foreign language officer/instructor (or a group of instructors) or due to the presence, duration and intensity of some other factors in second/foreign language learning (e.g. predictably incomplete self-instruction, formal business contacts,

informal peer contacts, etc.). Due to the lack of the emblematic dimension in the formal social contract paradigm, any second/foreign language is assumed to be more easily decomposable in a second/foreign language user vis-a-vis the native (first) language use. This is especially visible in the domain of the oral order of communication, with L2 learner emphasis on intelligibility and comprehensibility, rather than on native-like renditions of the L1 phonetic material (see e.g. Wang, 2020).

- (d) As briefly explained above, it is assumed that the deep emblematic dimension within which the native (first) language is most naturally acquired allows one to place any natural (first) language firmly in the deep state perspective (language in deep state). In this way, the language in deep state perspective must be clearly distinguished from the shallow non-emblematic second/foreign language learning perspective. The latter most distinctly places such a language in shallow state (or language in shallow state).
- (e) Last but not least, the discussion presented therein allows one to postulate the following general typology as regards the presence of the emblematic dimension in which any natural language is encapsulated: native (first) language is both an acquirable, deep emblematic and non-decomposable language. In this type of language, immune self (with our body image and body schema being the essential components of body integrity) of the communicator is firmly established. This type of language is opposed to other natural languages which are both learnable, non-emblematic (i.e. shallow), decomposable second/foreign language(s), maintained and used basically for the combined purpose of functional intelligibility and comprehensibility. As such, all second languages are, additionally, subject to various (habitual and expected) attrition processes.

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O roli kultury w procesie percepcji, interpretacji i werbalizacji dzieła muzycznego

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Abstract: The text aims to review research directions and introduce the issues of perception, interpretation, and verbalization of a musical work in the context of the cultural background of both the composer and the listener-interpreter. The first part of the article highlights the cultural determinants of music reception from a sociological, psychological, and musicological perspective. A dual approach to the analysis of musical material, the composition process, and the interpretation of a musical work is distinguished, depending on whether culture is perceived as a subjective or universal cognitive category of an individual. The same differentiation is introduced in the final part of the text, where, based on the assumptions of cultural linguistics, elements of the linguistic worldview of music are described, divided into linguistic universalisms and subjectivisms. The final part of the text also outlines the current state of research on the verbalization of musical works, emphasizing the need for confrontational studies as crucial to uncovering the influence of culture in translating the language of music into natural language. The conducted review of research trends leads to the conclusion that the interpretation of a musical work is both a culturally universal and individual phenomenon. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the linguistic analysis of the verbalization of musical work interpretation – linguistic universalism pertains to the perception and description of the constant elements of a musical work and is often institutionalized in the form of terminology. Subjective elements of the language of perception and interpretation of a musical work are related to the socio-cultural situation of the individual as well as their emotional and axiological approach.

Abstrakt: Tekst ma na celu przegląd kierunków badań oraz wprowadzenie do problematyki percepcji, interpretacji i werbalizacji dzieła muzycznego w kontekście obszaru kulturowego kompozytora i słuchacza-interpretatora. W pierwszej części artykułu wskazuje się kulturowe determinanty odbioru muzyki z perspektywy socjologicznej, psychologicznej i muzykologicznej. Wyróżnione zostaje dwojakie podejście do analizy materiału muzycznego, procesu kompozycji oraz interpretacji dzieła muzycznego w zależności od postrzegania kultury jako subiektywnej lub uniwersalnej kategorii poznawczej jednostki. Tożsame zróżnicowanie zostaje wprowadzone w ostatniej części tekstu, gdzie, w oparciu o założenia lingwistyki kulturowej, opisuje się elementy językowego obrazu muzyki z podziałem na językowe uniwersalizmy i subiektywizmy. W ostatniej część tekstu nakreśla się także obecny stan badań nad ujętykowaniem dzieła muzycznego ze wskazaniem potrzeby ba-

dań konfrontatywnych jako kluczowych dla odkrycia wpływu kultury w przekładzie języka muzyki na język naturalny. Przeprowadzony przegląd nurtów badań prowadzi do wniosku, że interpretacja dzieła muzycznego jest równocześnie zjawiskiem kulturowo uniwersalnym jak i indywidualnym. Podobne zjawisko można zauważyć przy językoznawczej analizie werbalizacji interpretacji dzieła muzycznego – językowy uniwersalizm dotyczy postrzegania i opisu stałych elementów dzieła muzycznego i przeważnie jest zinstytucjonalizowany w postaci terminologii. Subiektywne elementy języka percepcji i interpretacji utworu muzycznego są związane z sytuacją społeczno-kulturową jednostki oraz indywidualnym podejściem emocjonalnym i aksjologicznym.

Key words: cultural linguistics, music verbalization, music piece interpretation, music piece perception

Słowa kluczowe: lingwistyka kulturowa, werbalizacja muzyki, interpretacja dzieła muzycznego, percepcja dzieła muzycznego

1. Kulturowe determinanty percepcji muzyki

Muzyka jest bez wątpienia jednym z najbardziej znaczących elementów kultury. Oprócz funkcji rozrywkowej, pełni istotną rolę w kontekście życia całej społeczności, towarzyszy wydarzeniom, obrzędom, jest nośnikiem emocji i informacji o rzeczywistości. Szczególną formą dźwiękowego przekazu informacji jest muzyka absolutna, w której dzieło jest pozbawione treści pozamuzycznej, poetycko-literackiej. W przeciwieństwie do muzyki programowej, kompozytor nie sugeruje tu poprzez tytuł lub program utworu kierunku interpretacji, dając szerokie pole do interpretacji materiału dźwiękowego przez słuchacza. Swobodna, „niezakłócona” od autorskimi wskazówkami percepcja i recepcja dzieła muzycznego stanowi interesujący obszar badań w kontekście wpływu kultury na procesy zachodzące podczas obcowania z dziełem muzycznym. Niniejszy tekst ma na celu przegląd głównych założeń i nurtów badań oraz wprowadzenie do problematyki determinowanej kulturowo percepcji, interpretacji i werbalizacji dzieła muzycznego.

Rozważania dotyczące wpływu kultury na percepcję i werbalizację dzieła muzycznego należy rozpocząć od zrozumienia mechanizmu odbioru muzyki. Jak wskazuje Antonina Kłoskowska (1981:426-427), z socjologicznego punktu widzenia proces ten

jeśli nawet przebiega w poczuciu pełnej swobody odtwórczych reakcji, podlega całemu złożonemu układowi społecznych i psychospołecznych uwarunkowań, zaś jego rezultaty pełnią różnorodne funkcje przejawiające się w realnym, nie fikcyjnym, nie wyobrażonym tylko, lecz społecznym działaniu. Zrozumienie kultury symbolicznej wymaga więc umieszczenia jej w społecznych ramach.

Analiza percepcji muzyki z perspektywy psychologii najczęściej dotyka problematyki uwarunkowań jej emocjonalnego odbioru (zob. Sloboda 1985, 2005;

Tomaszewski 2000, 2003; Sazonova 2019; Podlipniak 2016; Szyszkowska 2022). Determinantami reakcji emocjonalnej na muzykę są takie czynniki, jak przynależność do określonej płci, wieku, pokolenia. Według badań, cechy reakcji emocjonalnej na utwory muzyczne można określić na podstawie umiejętności muzycznych, za specyficzną grupę odbiorców uznaje się więc odbiorcę profesjonalnego (por. Sazonova 2019:66-80). W kontekście niniejszych rozważań istotne jest również stanowisko psychologów, dotyczące tożsamości muzycznej. Badacze podkreślają, że określona kulturowo rola kompozytora, interpretatora, czy nauczyciela stanowi rdzeń percepcji samego siebie przez zawodowego lub uzdolnionego muzyka (por. Hargreaves et. al. 2002:12).

Problematykę roli kultury w procesie percepcji dzieła muzycznego podejmują również najbardziej znaczący polscy muzykolodzy. Bogumiła Mika (2009:15) skupia się na semantyce materiału dźwiękowego w kontekście paradygmatu kulturowego i społecznego: „muzyka będąc zatem sama w sobie zjawiskiem asemantycznym nabiera w kontekście historii i kultury swoistego kulturowego”. Zofia Lissa w rozprawie *Nowe szkice estetyki muzycznej* (1975:143) zwraca uwagę na różnice w sposobie wartościowania sztuki muzycznej ze względu na kryterium narodowego i regionalnego:

Kryteria terytorialne leżą u podstaw ocen aksjologicznych. [...] Idzie nie o to, iż muzyka w danym środowisku bardziej się podoba, ile raczej o to, że podoba się inaczej, przybierając w oczach odbiorców wyraźny charakter polskości, francuskości czy rosyjskości właśnie w skutek nagromadzonych w ich wyobraźni określonych stereotypów wyobraźniowych i określonej rangi tychże stereotypów w ich muzycznej świadomości.

2. Kulturowy uniwersalizm versus indywidualizm „języka muzyki”

W literaturze przedmiotu często podkreśla się uniwersalny charakter „języka muzyki”. Jak wskazuje Reinhard Böhle (1996:58 za Chaciński 2010:100), w powyższym rozumieniu język ten „buduje mosty pomiędzy pojedynczymi ludźmi oraz narodami tam, gdzie bariery językowe komunikację tę utrudniają”¹. Uniwersalność i ponadkulturowość „języka muzyki” można jednak poddać wątpliwości, takie przekonanie bowiem, choć pozwala na bezproblemowe przezwyciężanie różnic kulturowych, utrwała w świadomości ludzkiej fałszywy obraz muzyki. Nieodłącznym elementem percepcji dzieła muzycznego jest mapa skojarzenia, tworzona przez słuchacza interpretatora, dotycząca twórczości i biografii kompozytora, samego materiału dźwiękowego, a także osobistych wartości, emocji i kontekstu. Zbieżne stanowisko dotyczące zróżnicowania kulturowego

¹ (ang.) *It built bridges between individuals and nations where language barriers hamper communication.* Przeł. JCh

muzyki przyjmuje muzykolog Jarosław Chaciński (2010:93-104), który charakteryzuje muzykę jako medium noszące znamiona specyficznej, niewerbalnej komunikacji. Badacz skupia się na roli muzyki jako komunikatu, który podlega indywidualnemu wpływowi twórczym i subiektywnemu zdekodowaniu przez słuchacza-interpretatora:

język muzyczny jest zróżnicowany kulturowo ze względu na niejednakowość rozumienia jego własności w różnych grupach etnicznych czy narodach, należy, podążając w pewnym sensie za tradycją schopenhauerowskiej filozofii, postawić tezę o swoistości, kulturowym zakotwiczeniu tego języka.

Według Chacińskiego muzyka może być postrzegana jako forma języka ojczystego, którego kluczowe cechy i idiomatyka są zrozumiałe tylko w kontekście danej kultury. Osoba, wywodząca się z tej kultury uczy się tegoż muzycznego języka w ramach procesu enkulturacji, zdobywając unikalną umiejętność jego rozumienia. W kontekście sygnalizowanego wyżej muzycznego uniwersalizmu, Chaciński proponuje wyróżnienie pewnego rodzaju narodowego „języka muzycznego”, będącego częścią szerszego, międzynarodowego języka, na przykład europejskiego. Zrozumienie cech i idiomatyki narodowej nie wykluczałoby tu rozumienia europejskiej idiomatyki muzycznej, przeciwnie, oba te języki mogą współistnieć jako całość. Rozwój języka muzycznego specyficznego dla danej kultury można analizować w kontekście jej historii i wzorów kulturowych, mając na uwadze liczne zapożyczenia, ale jednocześnie tworząc nowe struktury i idiomatykę. Ostatecznie, kluczową rolę odgrywają procesy społeczno-kulturowe, które prowadzą do tworzenia się różnych obrazów świata i systemów wartości w ramach kultury danego człowieka i jego procesu enkulturacji.

Dwoistość sposobu percepcji utworu muzycznego zauważa również niemiecki muzykolog Wilfried Gruhn. W rozprawie *Percepcja i rozumienie* (2004) podkreśla, że w europejskiej kulturze rozumiemy muzykę dwojako: albo w sposób całościowo-afektywny (indywidualny), gdzie kolejne etapy percepcji muzycznej estetyki są kształtowane przez nasze emocje, albo poprzez refleksyjną analizę (na kanwie uniwersalnych kryteriów analitycznych). Drugi z wymienionych sposobów analizy korzysta z osiągnięć nauki historyczno-muzykologicznej, zachodząc w oderwaniu od kontekstu i emocji, wywołanych percepcją dzieła, co pozwala na skupienie odbiorcy na metodycznych dociekaniach, dotyczących formy, czy struktury. Wymienione sposoby rozumienia muzyki mogą zachodzić jednocześnie, jednak są motywowane przez odrębne potrzeby słuchacza-interpretatora. Teoria muzyczna dotykać będzie zagadnień uniwersalnych i tożsamyh w obrębie kultur, emocjonalność i aksjologia wynikać zaś będą z indywidualnego kontekstu kulturowego.

3. Między kompozytorem a interpretatorem. Proces interpretacji dzieła muzycznego

Kontynuując rozważania o kulturze zakorzenionej w materiale muzycznym, należy dokładniej przyrzeć się procesowi kompozycji, wykonawstwa i interpretacji dzieła instrumentalnego. Funkcja semantyczna interpretatora w kulturze muzycznej wynika z rozdzielenia czynności kompozytora, wykonawcy i słuchacza (interpretatora). Oczywiście, w danej triadzie fundamentalną jawi się rola kompozytora. Twórcza wyobraźnia, indywidualne cechy myślenia muzycznego i oryginalny styl kompozytora mają ogromne znaczenie zarówno dla określenia wartości dzieła muzycznego, jak i w odniesieniu do samego faktu jego powstania. Kompozytor ustala treść dzieła muzycznego, kieruje ją w stronę wykonawców i interpretatorów. Twórczość kompozytora jest zjawiskiem oryginalnym, semantyka dzieła jest semantyką autorską, oryginalną, która niejako „wyrasta” z otaczającego twórcę kontekstu społeczno-kulturowego. Muzyczne kulturomy można tu odnaleźć i odczytać między innymi poprzez kontekst biograficzny i historyczny.

Rosyjska filozof Elena Alekseeva Kapichina (2016:73-84) podkreśla, że punktem wyjściowym w wykonaniu dzieła muzycznego jest prawidłowe odczytanie tekstu muzycznego. Pomimo tego, że każdy występ jest indywidualną, niepowtarzalną interpretacją, zależną od czasu, miejsca i innych subiektywnych okoliczności, może być on przeprowadzony jedynie pod warunkiem przestrzegania ram interpretacyjnych, podyktowanych tekstem dźwiękowym. Należałoby wnioskować, że chociaż głównym celem interpretacji utworu jest przede wszystkim zrozumienie tego, co symboliczne, odkrycie głębokich warstw kulturowych oraz zachowanie integralności w postrzeganiu formy muzycznej, interpretacja już nasyconego wartością kulturową dzieła muzycznego w istocie staje się procesem nadbudowy nowej warstwy tychże wartości, będących bagażem subiektywnym przeżyć interpretatora. Funkcja semantyczna wykonawcy (interpretatora – w szerokim rozumieniu) w kulturze muzycznej tradycji pisanej realizuje się jako oryginalna twórczość wykonawcza lub odniesienie do subiektywnych przeżyć, odsłaniając autonomiczną warstwę treści muzycznej dzieła. Funkcja ta „działać” będzie w warunkach niezwykle sztywnego, wielostronnego określenia stron szczegółowego tekstu muzycznego, co ogranicza rzeczywiste aspiracje interpretacyjne interpretator-twórca. Interpretator jest więc niejako uwięziony między przestrzeganiem kanonu a oryginalnością odczytania dzieła.

Podsumowując, zapis nutowy narzuca dwie równorzędne i niezbędne drogi odczytania utworu muzycznego. Pierwsza z nich, kanoniczna wynika z niezmiennej podstawy – tekstu muzycznego, zbioru zasad, przepisów, które pełnią rolę wymagań do wdrożenia. Druga droga prowadzi ku subiektywnemu odczuwaniu, własnej interpretacji, indywidualnemu naddatku kulturowemu, które „ożywiają” dzieło i pozwalają na wielość różnorodnych wykonań artystycznych. Jak słusznie zauważa pianista Mikhail Georgievich Karpichev (2012:180):

jeśli pytanie „co” w kulturze muzycznej tradycji piśmienniczej jednoznacznie odnosi się do kompozytora, to pytanie „jak” otwiera przez wykonawcę, który w tym sensie pełni rolę interpretatora, pewien korytarz wolności artystycznej².

4. Werbalizacja dzieła muzycznego w kontekście kulturowym

Język jest przewodnikiem po kulturze, której jest produktem, ale przede wszystkim nieodłączną częścią w procesie formowania się kodów kulturowych. Podejście do analizy języka z perspektywy kulturowej zostało szeroko opisane w ramach założeń etnolingwistyki. Jak podkreśla Jerzy Anusiewicz (1991:18-19), dzięki perspektywie badań prowadzonych w ramach lingwistyki kulturowej możemy odkryć istotę

ludzkiego życia duchowego (istoty kultury) poprzez badanie zawartych w języku treści, form i wzorców kultury, poprzez badanie zakodowanego w nim ujęcia rzeczywistości (kultura rzeczywistości) oraz systemu aksjologiczno-normatywnego danego społeczeństwa (kultura wartości) przekazywanego poprzez język z pokolenia na pokolenie, ciągle kształtowanego i kształtującego się.

Bezsprzecznie, ogromna zasługa dla rozwoju etnolingwistyki i postrzegania języka przez pryzmat kultury przypada polskim językoznawcom. Wśród polskich przedstawicieli nurtu należy wymienić m.in. Jerzego Bartmińskiego (zob. Bartmiński, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2015; Bartmiński i Chlebda 2008), Annę Pajdzińską, Annę Wierzbicką (zob. Wierzbicka, 1986, 1992, 1996, 1997, 2003, 2010; Goddard i Wierzbicka 2002), Ryszarda Tokarskiego (zob. Tokarski, 1986, 1993, 1999, 2004, 2016), czy Jerzego Anusiewicza (zob. Anusiewicz 1998/1991, 1994; Anusiewicz et. al. 2000). Według badaczy, w systemie języka nagromadzona zostaje określona informacja o rzeczywistości, służąca „utrwaleniu, przenoszeniu i przekazywaniu przyszłym pokoleniom wiedzy i wspomnianego już doświadczenia danej wspólnoty językowej, jej tradycji kulturowych, systemu wartości, ocen i norm moralnych” (Anusiewicz 1991:19). Za istotę języka powinniśmy przyjąć więc:

zawarty w nim dorobek kulturowy pewnej społeczności, będący zarazem magazynem informacji o rzeczywistości, w której ta społeczność egzystowała i egzystuje, jak i wyrazem, zbiorem doświadczeń społecznych wyrosłych z określonej praktyki społecznej, wyrosłych w obcowaniu z tą rzeczywistością, zebranych i nagromadzonych w ciągu wielu pokoleń, utrwalonych w języku i przekazywanych z pokolenia na pokolenie (Anusiewicz 1991:18).

² рос. Если вопрос «что» в музыкальной культуре письменной традиции однозначно относится к прерогативе композитора, то вопрос «как» раскрывает перед исполнителем, выступающим в этом смысле в роли интерпретатора, определенный коридор художественной свободы. Przeł. MRM

Nakreślony wyżej etnolignwistyczny kierunek badań umożliwia skuteczną analizę werbalizacji percepcji muzyki. Nagromadzony i utrwalony zbiór doświadczeń przejawia się bowiem w procesie przekazu percepcji dzieła muzycznego kilkakrotnie. Jak obrazowo objaśnia ten proces muzykolog Maciej Jabloński (2009:20, por. Dzienisiewicz 2021:93), utwór rodzi się dwa razy – za pierwszym razem zostaje urodzony przez twórcę – kompozytora, po raz drugi, kiedy znaczenie muzyki doświadcza podmiot – odbiorca, interpretator. Z językoznawczego punktu widzenia warto dodać jeszcze jeden etap „narodzin” utworu – po doświadczeniu przez podmiot utwór rodzi się w jego wypowiedzi i języku, otwierając nowe pole znaczeniowe, rodzi się w językowym obrazie muzyki. Każdy etap zakłada odwołanie do zakorzenionych w kulturze i społeczeństwie doświadczeń, czy to uniwersaliów, zinstytucjonalizowanych w postaci teorii, czy to indywidualnych, znanych sobie tylko doświadczeń.

Tematykę werbalizacji kodu muzycznego w języku polskim podejmowało szereg badaczy: ogólną charakterystykę przekładu intersemiotycznego w relacji muzyka-język przeprowadziła m.in. Krystyna Pisarkowa (1963, 1988), Piotr Kładoczny (2023) oraz Ewa Biłas-Pleszak (2005). Ostatnia z wymienionych w monografii *Język a muzyka: lingwistyczne aspekty związków intersemiotycznych* (2005) opisuje relacje między językiem a muzyką w ramach trzech powiązanych ze sobą zagadnień: językowych znaków werbalizacji muzyki, definicji muzyki w tekstach muzykologicznych i filozoficznych oraz tworzenia poezji zgodnie z zasadami muzycznymi. W kontekście niniejszych rozważań, za najistotniejszy element można uznać analizę językowych znaków używanych do opisu muzyki. Interpretując zjawiska językowe, autorka stara się zrozumieć, w jaki sposób muzyka jest konceptualizowana, jak tworzy się jej obraz w języku oraz jakie ma ona znaczenie w kulturze. Z wyników badań wyłania się ogólny, nacechowany aksjologicznie i etycznie obraz muzyki. W ślad za Biłas-Pleszak warto podkreślić rolę analizy słownictwa, użytego do werbalizacji doświadczenia muzyki w kontekście badań nad postrzeganiem – konceptualizacją muzyki w danej kulturze. Jak wskazuje autorka monografii, metafory, licznie wykorzystywane do opisu percepcji muzyki, odwołują się do doświadczeń najbliższych człowiekowi i nawiązują do otaczającej go kultury. Perspektywę doświadczenia muzyki jako zjawiska skupionego wokół człowieka przyjmuje również Piotr Kładoczny, który w tekście *Dźwięk i muzyka w ujęciu językoznawczym* (2023) stwierdza, że „dzięki przedstawieniu pełnej gamy percepcji słuchowej można wskazać miejsce dźwięku i muzyki w całym doświadczeniu poznawczym i w ten sposób przyczynić się do lepszego zrozumienia ich znaczenia (Kładoczny 2023:157).

Szczegółową charakterystyką wybranych elementów ujęzykowania kodu muzycznego odnajdujemy w pracach Pauliny Trzaskawki (2014) i Marii Dzienisiewicz (2021). Dzienisiewicz w tekście *Językowy obraz dźwięku (na materiale polsko- i rosyjskojęzycznych recenzji muzycznych)* (2021) w oparciu o założenia językowego obrazu świata poddaje badaniu sposoby konceptualizacji dźwięków w polskich i rosyjskich tekstach muzyki krytycznej. Autorka tekstu analizuje

frekwencję użycia metafor synestezyjnych z domeny percepcji wzroku, dotyku i smaku. Dzienisiewicz wskazuje na podobieństwo zarówno w rodzajach kategorii, jak i w typach metafor synestezyjnych w parze porównawczej język rosyjski – polski.

Przeprowadzona przez Dzienisiewicz porównawcza analiza jednego, wybranego elementu werbalizacji dźwięku jest wartościowym przyczynkiem do szerokich badań konfrontatywnych werbalizacji dzieła muzycznego. Badania te, przy uwzględnieniu kontekstu kręgu kulturowego kompozytora i interpretatora mogłyby stać się kluczem do poznania zawartych w językach wzorów kulturowych. Kontynuując Humboldtowskie postrzeganie różnorodności języka jako różnorodności patrzenia na świat, w ślad za Benjamin Lee Whorf (1982:339-340) podkreślimy, iż

szablony rodzimego języka, uwidaczniające się natychmiast przy bezstronnym zestawieniu go i porównaniu z innymi językami [...]. Każdy język stanowi rozległy i odrębny system wzorców, sankcjonujący kulturowe formy i kategorie, [...], za pomocą których rozumiemy i którymi wypełniamy naszą świadomość.

Podobne stanowisko przyjmuje Biłas-Pleszak, akcentując fakt, że analiza leksyki muzycznej w kontekście porównawczym daje możliwość zestawienie zrekonstruowanych pól semantycznych, których analiza, włączająca między innymi wykorzystanie ramy interpretacyjnej, dostarczy wiedzy o mechanizmach konceptualizacji muzyki w odmiennych językach i kulturach. Badaczka za wartościowe wskazuje również „porównanie sposobów konceptualizacji muzyki w innych językach, nie tylko z europejskiego kręgu kulturowego; charakterystyka języka prowadzi bowiem do charakterystyki kultury” (Biłas-Pleszak, 2005:150). Warto wspomnieć przytaczane przez Biłas-Pleszak wyniki obserwacji i rekonstrukcji etnoteoretycznego systemu muzycznego ludu Kaluli w Nowej Gwinei, przeprowadzone przez Stevena Felda (1981):

Centralne znaczenie w tym systemie ma związek pomiędzy polem semantycznym terminu „woda” a polem semantycznym terminu „dźwięk”. „Rodzaje” wody są w języku Kaluli skojarzone z „rodzajami” dźwięku poprzez wykorzystanie słów określających drogę przepływu wody (Żerańska-Kominek 1995:170 za: Biłas-Pleszak 2005:150-151).

Nawiązując do dwoistości natury dzieła muzycznego, analiza konfrontatywna werbalizacji muzyki wykazuje widoczną korelację percepcji i recepcji muzyki na płaszczyźnie kulturowego uniwersalizmu/subiektywizmu. Jak zauważa Trzaskawka, „język muzyki możemy podzielić na dwie kategorie. Do pierwszej należeć będzie ten ścisły, terminologiczny, natomiast do drugiej zaliczamy język ulotny, wszelkie nastroje muzyczne i wszelkie uczucia, jakie rodzi” (Trzaskawka 2014:59). Teoria ta jest zbieżna z myślą Anny Wierzbickiej, która podkreśla, że mimo istnienia wspólnych elementów semantycznych, każdy język i kultura

mają swoje unikalne cechy, które muszą być uwzględniane w badaniach porównawczych.

Uniwersalizacja muzyki, szczególnie zbliżonych kręgów kulturowych, jest możliwa poprzez międzygeneracyjny przekaz dzieł ujętych w pisemnej formie za pomocą względnie trwałych, choć zmieniających się reguł notacji, zapewniających pewną kontynuację i historyczną ciągłość tej sztuki jako kulturowego dziedzictwa. Na przestrzeni lat kultura muzyczna i muzykologiczna wykształciły uniwersalne stereotypy, podstawy i skojarzenia, duża część z nich została sformalizowana w postaci terminologii muzycznej. To, co ponadkulturowe wynika więc z przyjętych ogólnie ram opisu elementów dzieła muzycznego, takich jak tempo, wysokość dźwięku, intonacja, rytm, melodyka. Definicje terminologiczne są oparte w większości na metaforyzacji dźwięku i jego skojarzeniu z elementem wzrokowym, smakowym i dotykowym (grać *dolce* (*słodko*), *jaskrawo dźwięk*, *ciemna barwa*, *ostry dźwięk* itd.) Także zakorzeniona w nauce muzykologicznej terminologia jest używana przez interpretatorów różnych obszarów kulturowych (por. Chaciński 2010:93-104; Rusak-Mietlińska 2023a, 2023b).

To, co wyróżnia odczytanie dzieł przez interpretatorów to subiektywne emocje i skojarzenia z rzeczywistością pozamuzyczną wywoływane przez utwór muzyczny. Indywidualizm interpretacji dzieła zachodzi tu na dwóch płaszczyznach, w odniesieniu do kręgu i dorobku kulturowego interpretatora oraz jego cech indywidualnych (por. Asyanina 2019). W trakcie rozwoju danej kultury powstaje indywidualna sfera pojęciowa, w której ustalane są nieodłączne elementy składowe, tworząc wyobrażenie o społeczno-kulturowych cechach języka muzycznego danej epoki i społeczności. W ten sposób w różnych okresach dziejów kształtuje się stosunek do kultury i muzyki w ogóle. Dzięki temu możemy zawsze kwalifikować stylistykę charakterystyczną dla danego okresu. Przez dźwięki muzyka przekazuje konstrukcje ideowo-znaczeniowe i to właśnie one wyróżniają wypowiedzi interpretatorów różnych kultur. W utworze muzycznym kodowane są takie elementy, jak style, epoka, treść duchowa i historyczna. Kulturowo subiektywna werbalizacja muzyki będzie przejawiać w użyciu różnorodnych środków wyrazu, takich jak: epitet, metafora, personifikacja, synekdocha, odwołujących się do sfery kulturowej interpretatora i umożliwiająca poprawne odczytanie języka muzyki.

5. Wnioski

Temat wpływu kultury na kompozycję, wykonawstwo, percepcję i interpretację dzieła muzycznego był poruszany z wielu perspektyw badawczych, takich jak psychologia, filozofia, czy muzykologia. Każdy z elementów przekazu informacji, zachodzącego w trakcie procesu kompozycji i odczytania dzieła muzycznego włącza uniwersalny i subiektywny aspekt kulturowy. W kontekście językoznawczym werbalizacja percepcji muzyki stanowi istotny element przejawu

się kultury w języku. Metodologia lingwistyki kulturowej pozwala spojrzeć na przekład języka muzyki na język naturalny jako proces zdekodowania zawartych w utworze kulturowych wartości kompozytora oraz odkryć mechanizmy konceptualizacji muzyki. Wysoce istotne dla badań językoznawczych jest konfrontatywna analiza ujętych dzieła muzycznego, która pozwala na odkrycie schematów językowych każdej z kultur oraz klasyfikację na jednostki ponadkulturowe, takie jak opis elementów, formy, gatunku dzieła muzycznego, zinstytucjonalizowane w postaci terminologii oraz elementy językowe, będące przejawem indywidualnego kontekstu społeczno-kulturowego, historycznego, a także emocji i cech osobowości interpretatora.

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Jednostki metajęzykowe w poezji Wisławy Szymborskiej oraz ich udział w tworzeniu i sygnalizowaniu ironii: Zarys problematyki

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to outline the research strategy that intends to analyze the metalinguistic units in Szymborska's poetry with particular emphasis on cases involving an ironic intention. Not only such units perform a function of signalling irony, but also serve as an essential element of ironic deconstruction mechanism.

It is shown by particular examples that the analysis of ironic metalinguistic units exploited in a lyric poem that rely on the traditional methods developed mainly by linguistic semantics and pragmatics could be useful as a mean of verification of the findings reported by scholars in literary studies and as a tool of refinement of the conclusions made by them.

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu zarys perspektywy badawczej polegającej na analizie jednostek metajęzykowych / metatekstowych w wierszach Wisławy Szymborskiej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem tych przypadków, w których jednostki takie są wykładnikami intencji ironicznej. Pełnią one funkcję sygnału ironii, ale równocześnie występują jako współczynnik mechanizmu ironicznego dekonstruowania sensu.

W artykule na konkretnych przykładach pokazano, że analiza ironicznych jednostek metajęzykowych w utworze lirycznym z wykorzystaniem tradycyjnych metod językoznawczych wypracowanych głównie w ramach semantyki i pragmatyki lingwistycznej umożliwia zweryfikowanie tez postawionych przez badaczy literatury oraz wzbogacenie wniosków interpretacyjnych.

Key words: irony, ironic metalinguistic units, metalanguage, metatext, artistic text, Wisława Szymborska.

Słowa kluczowe: ironia, ironiczne jednostki metajęzykowe, metajęzyk, metatekst, tekst artystyczny, Wisława Szymborska.

Uwagi wstępne

Od dłuższego czasu nie ma potrzeby przekonywania kogokolwiek o tym, że użycie narzędzi lingwistycznych w ramach analizy tekstów literackich (w tym utworów lirycznych) może być bardzo owocne. Językoznawca, jak zauważa

Elżbieta Tabakowska (2001:178), „nie jest [...] uzurpatorem wkraczającym bezprawnie na cudzy teren – ma prawo, a może wręcz obowiązek, opisywać także ten język, którym mówi poeta”. Tego typu analiza umożliwia między innymi weryfikację dorobku literaturoznawców i krytyków z innej perspektywy, a że taka weryfikacja jest często niezbędna, wynika z samej natury poezji, która, testując granice i możliwości języka naturalnego, opiera się przecież na jego regularnych właściwościach (podejście to zostało w sposób jawny sformułowane i spopularyzowane jeszcze przez czeskich strukturalistów): „Poets [...] strive toward optimal foregrounding, which, however, can only be achieved in relation to the “background”, here defined as the rules and maxims of everyday language, but also the literary variety of the standard language” (van Peer, Sopčák et al., 2021:150-151). Podobnie uzasadnia potrzebę badań językoznawczych nad tekstem artystycznym Ryszard Tokarski: „Właśnie w kreatywnych odmianach języka następuje kumulacja skomplikowanych zjawisk, które z jednej strony wymagają uruchomienia odniesień do standardowych użyć języka ogólnego w określonej fazie jego rozwoju oraz przywołania reguł opisujących ten język, z drugiej zaś – wymuszają poszukiwania czy rozwijanie takich metodologii badawczych, które mogą sprostać wymogom możliwie głębokiego i precyzyjnego opisu elementów obecnych w języku artystycznym” (Tokarski, 2009:65-66).

Dlatego też język naturalny (różne jego odmiany, poziomy istnienia i funkcjonowania, jednostki) powinien znaleźć się w centrum uwagi badaczy interpretujących teksty poetyckie, nie mówiąc już o tym, że, zwłaszcza w poezji XX i XXI wieku, język nie jest jedynie substancją, z której powstaje utwór liryczny, lecz jednym z bohaterów tego utworu (niekiedy głównym), a więc pełnowymiarowa interpretacja wiersza koniecznie wymaga zastosowania narzędzi lingwistycznych.

1. Metajęzyk / metatekst: kwestie terminologiczne

Szczególne uwaga przywiązywana przez twórców do właściwości tzw. języka przedmiotowego, a nie tylko przekazywanych za jego pomocą treści, czyni nieuniknionym użycie jednostek metajęzykowych, o których mowa w tytule niniejszego artykułu. W wersji systematycznej wskazanie zasadniczych różnic pomiędzy językiem, „o którym się mówi”, i językiem, „w którym się mówi” o tym pierwszym, pojawiło się w wywodach logików, których celem było sformułowanie definicji prawdy umożliwiającej analizę języków formalnych (zob. m.in. Tarski, 1944:349-350). Zasadniczo używam terminu *metajęzyk* zgodnie z klasycznym opisem Romana Jakobsona (1960:438):

W nowoczesnej logice zostało dokonane rozróżnienie między dwiema płaszczyznami języka: „językiem przedmiotowym”, mówiącym o przedmiotach, i „metajęzykiem”, mówiącym o samym języku [...]. Lecz metajęzyk jest nie tylko koniecznym instru-

mentem naukowym używanym przez logików i lingwistów. Gra on również ważną rolę w naszej mowie codziennej. Podobnie jak Jourdain Molière'a, który nie wiedział, że mówi prozą, używamy metajęzyka, nie zdając sobie sprawy z charakteru metajęzykowego naszej działalności. Ilekroć nadawca lub odbiorca chcą sprawdzić, czy posługują się jednakowym kodem, mowa zostaje sprowadzona do kodu: przybiera ona funkcję metajęzykową.

Wybrane określenie wymaga szerszego uzasadnienia, ponieważ w obrębie samej tradycji lingwistycznej, nie mówiąc już o humanistyce w ogóle, istnieje cały szereg terminów mających związek ze środkami, które umożliwiają podmiotowi wypowiedzi odniesienie się do tejże wypowiedzi czy też rzeczywistości językowej / tekstowej; wskażmy kilka z wspomnianych określeń: *operator metatekstowy*, *komentarz metatekstowy*, *element metakomunikacyjny*, *wyrażenie metadyskursywne*, *metatekstem*, *parenteza* i wiele innych (szczegółowo terminologię i tradycje badawcze związane z omawianą problematyką opisuje Andrzej Charciarek (2010:21–38)). W polskiej literaturze przedmiotu najburzliwsze dyskusje dotyczą jednak wyboru między terminami *metajęzyk* i *metatekst* oraz motywowanymi przez nie określeniami (zob. chociażby Mayenowa, 1974; Kawka, 1990; Wilkoń, 2002; Piekarczyk, 2015a; Kleszczowa, 2015) – szczegółowo piszę o tym w rozprawie doktorskiej pt. *Metajęzykowe wykładniki ironii w języku polskim i rosyjskim (na podstawie tekstów literackich)* (Starodvorskaia 2024).

Zdecydowana dominacja w polskiej tradycji lingwistycznej terminów, dla których wyrazem motywującym jest *metatekst*, wynika, jak się wydaje, przynajmniej z dwóch przyczyn. Pierwsza z nich to niepodważalny autorytet klasycznej pracy Anny Wierzbickiej (1971) *Metatekst w tekście*, której nie sposób pominąć w żadnej rozprawie dotyczącej „wypowiedzi o samej wypowiedzi” (co nie wyklucza rzecz jasna wątpliwości dotyczących niektórych metodologicznych oraz merytorycznych rozwiązań zaproponowanych przez autorkę).

Wierzbicka opisuje elementy metatekstowe jako nitki, które „mogą zszywać tekst o rzeczy w całość mocno się trzymającą” (Wierzbicka, 1971:106), lecz również odnotowuje, że są one „ciałem obcym” w strukturze tekstu przedmiotowego. Wśród rozmaitych środków metatekstowych wymienionych przez Wierzbicką są m.in. „środki ostrożności” (*jakoby*, *rzekomo*, *raczej*), zaimki anaforyczne (*tam*, *ten*, *taki*), wykładniki związków między fragmentami wypowiedzi (*przede wszystkim*, *z kolei*, *wreszcie*, *nawiasem mówiąc*, *zresztą*) etc. Wspólną cechą tych dość różnorodnych wyrazów jest obecność w ich strukturze semantycznej (na różnych jej poziomach) „metapleonazmu” ‘mówić’ albo ‘powiedzieć’. Warto podkreślić, iż właśnie na podstawie tego kryterium do czasowników metatekstowych autorka zalicza tak naprawdę tylko performatywne użycia *verba dicendi* typu *powtarzać*, *przypominać*, *podkreślać*, *prosić*, a więc można by było tutaj mówić raczej o funkcji metatekstowej czasowników mowy, por. także punkt widzenia przedstawiony w (Charciarek, 2010:27): „...ekspliktywne performatywy typu *radzę*, *proszę*, *obietuję* [...] nie posiadają również podstawowej właściwości

jednostek metatekstowych – nie organizują procesu dyskursu” (zob. również Starodvorskaia 2024:56–57).

Drugim czynnikiem, który wpłynął na zdecydowaną terminologiczną przewagę *metatekstu*, jest, jak się wydaje, umieszczenie punktu ciężkości badań w tym zakresie w pierwszej kolejności na wyrazach będących „elementami tekstu jako bytu interakcyjnego, który konstruuje i organizują, umożliwiając jego właściwy odbiór” (Charciarek, 2010:23), czyli w literaturze przedmiotu analizowane są przede wszystkim takie przypadki, w których nadawca metatekstu jest tożsamy z autorem „podstawowym” nadającym dodatkowy wymiar własnej wypowiedzi (zob. także Ożóg, 1990; Wajszczuk, 2005). Wspomniana tożsamość uwydatnia się jeszcze wyraźniej w wywodzie Jerzego Bartmińskiego i Stanisławy Niebrzegowskiej-Bartmińskiej: „Metatekst jest tekstem o tekście, wyrazem samoświadomości nadawcy, który nie tylko mówi o czymś, ale też kontroluje i komentuje własne mówienie i tekst, jaki tworzy” (Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2009:187). Kolejny zasługujący na uwzględnienie czynnik to fakt, że operatory metatekstowe badane są przeważnie na podstawie przykładów zaczerpniętych z języka mówionego czy wzorowanych na tymże języku (a więc są to przede wszystkim realne albo wyimaginowane dialogi), gdzie autor rzeczywiście skupia się na konstruowaniu własnej wypowiedzi w czasie rzeczywistym z uwzględnieniem obecności odbiorcy, z czego wynika raczej nieświadome użycie środków metatekstowych (Starodvorskaia 2024:58).

Zostawiając poza granicami artykułu rozbudowaną dyskusję terminologiczną i biorąc pod uwagę, że komentowana przez nadawcę wypowiedź może zostać wyprodukowana nie tylko przez niego, ale i przez inną osobę, oraz że wypowiedź komentująca może dotyczyć nie tylko konkretnego tekstu jako trwającego aktu i równocześnie namacalnego wyniku zastosowania języka, lecz również odnosić się do odrębnego wyrazu, idiomu, manieri wypowiadania się, sposobu funkcjonowania języka w określonej sytuacji czy epoce etc., a więc właściwie do jakiegokolwiek przedmiotu, właściwości, procesu czy stanu rzeczy związanych z językiem, mową, tekstem, dyskursem czy komunikacją, sądzę, iż termin *metajęzykowy* najlepiej oddaje całą złożoność i różnorodność zjawisk mających miejsce na styku języka przedmiotowego i jego opisu (Starodvorskaia 2024:9). Operatory czy wyrażenia metatekstowe w węższym znaczeniu, czyli „służące do komentowania aktualnej czynności mówienia” (Piekarczyk, 2015b:71), będą dla mnie stanowić podzbiór zbioru jednostek metajęzykowych, o których mowa będzie za każdym razem, gdy komentarz dotyczy nie treści wypowiedzi jako takiej, lecz samej wypowiedzi, jej fragmentu, odrębnego wyrazu, nie obiektywnej, lecz językowej, tekstowej, dyskursywnej rzeczywistości – a twórcą wypowiedzi komentowanej może być sam nadawca, jak również inna realna bądź wyimaginowana osoba. W ujęciu szerokim termin *metatekstowy* będzie dla mnie równoznaczny z terminem *metajęzykowy*, a więc z jednostkami metatekstowymi / metajęzykowymi mamy do czynienia we wszystkich poniższych przykładach (interesujące nas fragmenty zostały pogrubione):

- (1) Nie zapomnij o **bąmocie**: „Bardzo mi przynajmniej” (zamiast przyjemnie). **Dobre powiedzonko i swoje zawsze robi** (Tuwim, 1958:381).
- (2) Nowożeńcy dobrali się na zasadzie kontrastu. On był inteligentem, ona – chłopką. Jadwiga, zapytana przez męża: „Kochasz ty mnie?”, **odpowiada krótko i na temat**: „Może, może – Cięgiem ino godos o tem” (Naskręt, 2018).
- (3) – No to świetnie. A zatem rozległ się dzwonek: dzyń-dzyń, albo tryń-tryń, nie wiem, jak tam u was dzwoni, dobrodziejko.
– Brzęk-brzęk — **odpowiedziała** przesłuchiwana. — Tylko że mnie nie było w domu (Akunin, 2008:23).
- (4) **Bo przecież chyba** jest,
naprawdę się wydarzył
pod jedną z gwiazd prowincjonalnych.
Na swój sposób żywotny i wcale ruchliwy (Szymborska, 2010:59).

2. Metajęzyk / metatekst w wierszach Wisławy Szymborskiej

W tekstach literackich oraz publicystycznych o wiele częściej mamy do czynienia z jednostkami metajęzykowymi zastosowanymi jawnie, świadomie, komentującymi cudzą wypowiedź lub sposób wypowiadania się czy typowe cechy pewnego gatunku mowy, niż w języku mówionym, potocznym; rzecz jasna te elementy, które służą do konstruowania własnej wypowiedzi i istnieją jako elementy wpisane w materię języka przedmiotowego, są również obecne, ale ich użycie jest tak samo przemyślane i nieprzypadkowe. W pewnym sensie można powiedzieć, iż w bardzo wielu (jeśli nie większości) lirykach operatory metatekstowe modyfikują strukturę semantyczno-pragmatyczną oraz określają odbiór cudzej mowy, podmiot liryczny wiersza nie jest przecież tożsamy z jego autorem.

W tym miejscu mogą pojawić się wątpliwości wynikające z tego, że twórczość Wisławy Szymborskiej według wielu badaczy nie jest zaliczana do poezji lingwistycznej, nie jest skupiona na języku *sensu stricto*. I chociaż „rewizji uproszczonego obrazu rzeczywistości można dokonać oczywiście poprzez szeroko rozumianą krytykę języka”, to tutaj, jak stwierdza Piotr Michałowski, „nie ma [...] osobnej refleksji metajęzykowej; język nie staje się nigdy bohaterem pierwszoplanowym – jak w poezji lingwistycznej” (Michałowski, 1996:134). Wydaje się jednak, że tym bardziej warto zwrócić uwagę na sytuację, w której język w różnych postaciach, odmianach i sposobach istnienia – jako narzędzie użyte do stworzenia świata przedstawionego w wierszu oraz jako zjawisko należące do tego świata – odgrywa w poezji Szymborskiej znaczącą rolę. Jeśli chodzi o drugi aspekt (język jako jedna z wielu rzeczy istniejących w świecie), zjawisko to bardzo rzadko zostaje ocenione pozytywnie, ponieważ język w rzeczywistości konstruowanej w wierszach Wisławy Szymborskiej raczej nie jest

w stanie zapewnić udanej wymiany poglądów czy emocji, nie spełnia wymagań dotyczących skutecznej komunikacji. Ewa Jaskółowa, rejestrując „wyraźne skupienie uwagi na języku” w tomie *Wszelki wypadek*, stwierdza, że „Szyborska pokazuje język jako «zepsute narzędzie» porozumienia” (Jaskółowa, 2010:34; Jaskółowa, 2012:28, 30). Paradoksalnie, „zepsute narzędzie” wymaga jeszcze większej uwagi, ostrożności oraz namysłu nad nim – a owo skupienie się na języku prowadzi, w sposób nieunikniony, do użycia jednostek metajęzykowych / metatekstowych – użycia często łamiącego zasady, służącego dezautomatyzacji odbioru wiersza. Irena Szczepankowska (2013:12), odnotowując obecność refleksji metajęzykowej w wierszach Szyborskiej, zauważa, że refleksja owa jest „rzadko [...] wyrażana wprost (i nie w języku naukowym), lecz częściej poetycko sugerowana, przekazywana za pomocą implikatur, będących skutkiem – jak wykazał Herbert Grice [...] – świadomego naruszenia konwencji językowej”. Przyjrzyjmy się kilku takim przypadkom.

Wśród rozmaitych środków metatekstowych wymienionych przez Wierzbicką są m.in. czasowniki metajęzykowe (*powtarzać, przypominać, podkreślać*), zaimki anaforyczne (*tam, ten, taki*), wykładniki związków między fragmentami wypowiedzi (*przede wszystkim, z kolei, wreszcie, nawiasem mówiąc, zresztą*) etc. Wspólną cechą tych dość różnorodnych wyrazów jest obecność w ich strukturze semantycznej (na różnych jej poziomach) komponentów ‘mówić’ albo ‘powiedzieć’. Obecność omawianych jednostek w wierszach Wisławy Szyborskiej, poza ich regularnymi funkcjami, wiąże się z funkcjonowaniem na wyższym poziomie, mianowicie poziomie całości utworu lirycznego. Jest to szczególnie znaczące w przypadkach, gdy użycie metatekstu bardziej lub mniej odbiega od standardowego, typowego, por.:

(5) **Co innego cebula.**

Ona nie ma wnętrzości.

Jest sobą na wskroś cebula

do stopnia cebuliczności (Szyborska, 1979:190)¹.

Jednostka metajęzykowa *co innego* znajduje się na samym początku wiersza *Cebula*. W normalnych warunkach funkcjonowania języka naturalnego żadna zręczna wypowiedź nie może się zacząć od określenia metatekstowego *co innego* wskazującego na zmianę tematu lub perspektywy (a jeśli to się jednak zdarzy, odbiorca powinien zrozumieć, iż nadawca nawiązuje do jakiejś poprzedniej nieskończonej, przerwanej rozmowy czy raczej monologicznego rozumowania). Jak stwierdza Roman Bobryk, „z punktu widzenia gramatyki tekstu pierwsze «zdanie» «Co innego cebula» nie stanowi początku wypowiedzi, a jest przejściem do kolejnego (co najmniej drugiego) członu jakiegoś dokonywanego w «myśli»

¹ Analiza przykładów (5), (6) i (7) nie stanowi systematycznego przeglądu jednostek meza językowych oraz ich funkcji w wierszach Wisławy Szyborskiej, ani całościowej interpretacji przywołanych wierszy, jest to zaledwie przyczynek do dalszych rozważań na ten temat.

porównywania, a raczej wnioskiem z owego, powiedzmy, «przedtekstowego» porównywania” (Bobyryk, 2011:60). Szymborska, łamiąc zasady typowego użycia tego sygnału porządku logicznego, daje do zrozumienia, że chodzi o nieprzedstawioną w tym miejscu w jawny sposób opozycję (zresztą w kolejnych strofach pojawia się drugi element tej opozycji – człowiek), o kontynuację pewnego tematu. Niestandardowe zastosowanie metatekstu na poziomie strukturalnym wzmacnia wrażenie quasi-naukowego wywodu, który nie prowadzi do zrozumienia ludzkich „pokrętnych jelił”, tajemniczego stworzenia, jakim jest człowiek, ponieważ właśnie jego nieco chaotyczna złożoność, nieprzenikniona niedoskonałość nadaje egzystencji sens. Chaotyczność owa, o której w wierszu mówi się wprost i która ujawnia się na różnych poziomach tekstu (por. Bobryk, 2011), zostaje odzwierciedlona również w nietypowym incipicie.

W wierszu *Przyczynek do statystyki*:

- (6) Na stu ludzi
wiedzących wszystko lepiej
– pięćdziesięciu dwóch;
niepewnych każdego kroku
– **prawie** cała reszta;
gotowych pomóc,
o ile nie potrwa to długo
– **aż** czterdziestu dziewięciu (Szymborska, 2010:351)

partykuła (czy też operator adnominalno-adwerbalny (por. Grochowski, 1986:58)) *prawie* oprócz swojej standardowej funkcji (Wierzbicka opisuje ją w sposób następujący: „Przyszli prawie wszyscy. = 1) Sądzę, że można powiedzieć «wszyscy» 2) Wiedz, że przyszli wszyscy. 3) Sądzę, że rozumiesz, że mniej.” (Wierzbicka, 1971:110)) ilustruje na poziomie metatekstowym to, o czym mowa w poprzednim wersie (*niepewnych każdego kroku*), czyli wątpliwość podmiotu co do tego, czy rzeczywiście mowa o „całej reszcie”. Mamy więc do czynienia ze swoistym izomorfizmem na poziomie tekstu i metatekstu, co wzbogaca odbiór utworu między innymi dlatego, że mamy podstawy sądzić, iż podmiot liryczny należy raczej do tych niepewnych. Partykuły umieszczone przy liczbach (*prawie, aż, no może, najwyżej, na pewno* etc.) pełnią w omawianym tekście funkcję przekazu autorskiej oceny tych liczb i nadają im nie ściśle statystyczny, lecz indywiduálny, ludzki wymiar.

Wspomniany izomorfizm pomiędzy tym, o czym się mówi, a tym, za pomocą czego się mówi, występuje również w innych wierszach Szymborskiej, por. konsekwentną pod tym względem interpretację Agnieszki Gicały (2013:61): „[C]ollection entitled *Tutaj/Here* (2009) contains a poem called *Identyfikacja* (*Identification*), in which the construction of the scene being presented is effected through unusual linguistic means. **The disintegration of a person’s worldview following the tragic death of a beloved person is enacted through disintegration of language** (pogrubiienie moje – E.S.)”.

3. Jednostki metajęzykowe jako wykładniki ironii

Jednostki metajęzykowe / metatekstowe w poezji Wisławy Szymborskiej występują również jako wykładniki intencji ironicznej (zob. np. Urbańska, 1991:157). Stosowanie ironii należy do najważniejszych i najczęściej pojawiających się w wierszach Wisławy Szymborskiej technik. Jak zauważa m.in. Wojciech Ligęza, „istotnymi wyróżnikami dojrzałej dykcji poetyckiej [Szymborskiej – E.S.] stają się konfrontacje wielu punktów widzenia, dialogi z odbiorcą, ironia, błyskotliwy humor, retoryka pytań, potrzeba wątpienia” (Ligęza, 2016:19). Ironia służy poetce jako sposób opisanie i zrozumienia świata, pozwala uniknąć patosu i głośnych deklaracji.

3.1. Ironia: obszar pojęcia

Jednak ilekroć termin *ironia* (a także powiązane z nim *humor*, *żart*, *komizm*, *gra* i inne) pojawia się w rozprawach poświęconych utworom Szymborskiej, to jednak ich autorzy, przede wszystkim krytycy i literaturoznawcy, nie zawsze skupiają się na szczegółowym opisie mechanizmu działania ironii w konkretnych tekstach, ograniczając się czasem zaledwie do stwierdzenia obecności ironii w wierszu czy w twórczości Szymborskiej w ogóle. Odrębna kwestia to użycie terminu *ironia*, który, jak się wydaje, niekiedy jest stosowany jako sam przez się zrozumiały i przejrzysty, a przecież wśród badaczy nadal nie ma zgody, co do definicji tego zjawiska (zob. Garmendia, 2018:1; Kreuz, 2020:9). Tradycyjny opis ironii, spotykany jeszcze w dziełach antycznych, mianowicie „udawana skromność”, przygana przez pochwałę, nie obejmuje całej różnorodności wypowiedzi ironicznych, wśród których mieszczą się zarówno klasyczne przykłady ironii typu *mądra głowa* (o kimś, kogo uważamy za głupiego), jak i przypadki o wiele mniej oczywiste (jak przytoczony powyżej komentarz „Jadwiga, zapytana przez męża: „Kochasz ty mnie?”, **odpowiada krótko i na temat:** „Może, może – Cięgiem ino godos o tem”). Jak pisze Rebecca Clift, klasyczna definicja Samuela Johnsona pochodząca z wieku XVIII i polegająca na opozycji sensu jawnego i ukrytego („a mode of speech in which the meaning is contrary to the words” (Clift, 1999:524-525)), której spadkobiercą w wieku XX był m.in. Herbert Paul Grice, chociaż zasadniczo nie straciła na aktualności, to jednak współczesne teorie ironicznej dekonstrukcji sensu dążą ku jej ponownemu przemyśleniu, weryfikacji i uzupełnieniu.

Wspólną cechę przynajmniej kilku wpływowych koncepcji stanowi skupienie się ich autorów na tym, że ironia bardzo często jest bezpośrednią reakcją na pewną lingwistyczną substancję, na językowe „opakowanie” myśli, emocji, sądu. Wymieńmy tutaj teorię echoicznego przywołania (The Echoic Mention Theory) (Sperber, Wilson, 1992; Wilson, Sperber, 2012), polegającą na tym, że mówca odcina się od wygłoszonego przez siebie sądu (bo w rzeczywistości ten sąd należy /

może należeć do kogoś innego), co wiąże się z pragmatycznym efektem wyśmiewania i pogardy wobec tego innego, a raczej jego sądu; teorię udawania (*The Pretence Theory*) (Clark, Gerrig, 1984), w której chodzi o naśladowanie przez ironistę osoby zdolnej do wypowiadania się w taki właśnie sposób na poważnie i jednocześnie uwypuklenie kontrastu pomiędzy sobą i wspomnianą osobą, swoimi i jej poglądami; koncepcję „cudzego słowa” Michaiła Bachtina (Vološinov, 1929), której właściwy rozkwit nastąpił pod koniec XX wieku – „cudze słowo” może być użyte jako sygnał ironii czy parodii; podejście Johna Haimana, stwierdzającego obecność dodatkowego poziomu interpretacji w każdej wypowiedzi ironicznej, która tym samym przeradza się w metawypowiedź (Haiman, 1998).

Pozostając więc przy szerokim podejściu do ironii, możemy stwierdzić, że to zjawisko dyskursywne polega na wyrażaniu poglądów, sądów, ocen niezgodnych z rzeczywistą intencją nadawcy oraz szeroko rozumianym kontekstem (por. Kreuz, Link, 2002:127). Właśnie ta niezgodność jest z jednej strony sygnałem, a z drugiej warunkiem zaistnienia efektu ironicznego. To, co w tym przypadku podlega ocenie, powinno posiadać wartość semiotyczną, stąd ironia w wielu sytuacjach wiąże się z reakcją na pewną rzeczywistą bądź zmyśloną wypowiedź, gdyż ludzka świadomość i – szerzej – światopogląd, jeden z głównych celów ironii, stają się widoczne przede wszystkim w mowie będącej ich „opakowaniem” (Starodworska, 2020:209).

3.2. Rola ironii w poezji Wisławy Szymborskiej

Wracając do Szymborskiej, warto zauważyć, że eksploatuje ona w swoich utworach chyba wszystkie możliwe techniki i odmiany ironii (werbalną, sytuacyjną i dramaturgiczną; jawną, ukrytą, pewnie czasami prywatną; związaną ze sprzecznością czysto językową i uwzględnieniem osoby autora; realizującą się w granicach jednej syntagmy i rozciągniętą na cały tekst (por. Muecke, 2002)). Nie bez powodu Michał Głowiński, opisując ironię jako akt komunikacyjny obecny m.in. w literaturze, stwierdza: „Wymieńmy, dla przykładu, rozmaite jej [ironii] postacie w wysoce zróżnicowanych odmianach powieści [...] czy choćby to, co charakteryzuje poezję współczesną, a w tej dziedzinie przykładów jest ogromnie dużo [...] wystarczy wymienić tylko dwa wielkie nazwiska: Czesława Miłosza i Wisławy Szymborskiej” (Głowiński, 2002:8).

To, że ironia u Szymborskiej często skupia się właśnie na należącej do kogoś wypowiedzi, stylu wypowiadania się, gatunku mowy, również zostało wielokrotnie zauważone, m.in. przez Piotra Michałowskiego: „Rewizji uproszczonego obrazu rzeczywistości można dokonać oczywiście poprzez szeroko rozumianą krytykę języka. U Szymborskiej zabieg defrazeologizacji zwykle poprzedzony jest przyjęciem perspektywy solidarnej ufności wobec stereotypów mowy; frazeologia niekiedy kompromituje się w procesie jej stosowania, zostaje niejako rozbrojona od wewnątrz przez ironię...” (Michałowski, 1996:133). Dotyczy to,

ma się rozumieć, nie tylko frazeologii *sensu stricto*, ale i każdego użycia przez podmiot liryczny języka, od którego poetka się odcina.

Można wręcz powiedzieć, że poetyckie *credo* Szymborskiej zostało sformułowane w odniesieniu do koncepcji ironii skupiającej się na wykorzystaniu „cudzych słów” celem dodania im nowych znaczeń na podstawie deszyfracji autor-skiej intencji: „pożyczam patetycznych słów, / a potem trudu dokładam, żeby wydały się lekkie” (Szymborska, 2010:200).

Zasadniczym elementem dekonstrukcji ironicznej jest sprzeczność pomiędzy powierzchownym, konwencjonalnym znaczeniem wypowiedzi a (1) szeroko rozumianym kontekstem, (2) ukrytym sensem, który zostaje wyciągnięty przez odbiorcę na podstawie zaprzeczenia znaczenia dosłownego. Współcześni badacze uważają jednak, że ta sprzeczność to niekoniecznie antynomia, radykalny kontrast. Swoistość dyskursu literackiego polega m.in. na zastosowaniu mniej oczywistych sygnałów ironii niż te, które funkcjonują np. w komunikacji codziennej czy w języku mediów; rozbieżność znaczeń – jawnego i ukrytego – również jest mniejsza (por. Kapogianni, 2014:615-616). W wielu przypadkach (szczególnie w poezji) sygnał ironii to lekkie semantyczne, pragmatyczne czy dyskursywne niedostosowanie, małe przesunięcie, które wymaga od odbiorcy szczególnej uwagi. Nie podlega wątpliwości, że Szymborska przede wszystkim korzysta z tej właśnie odmiany, i niekiedy odbiorcy jej wierszy mogą nie podołać wyzwaniu; można tutaj przywołać przypadek, o którym wspomina Głowiński w związku z utworem *Głos w sprawie pornografii*: „...Pewien autor [...] rozwoz- dził się również o jego pierwszym zdaniu, traktując je jako bezpośredni wyraz poglądów poetki” (Głowiński, 2002:10).

3.3. Propozycje analizy ironicznych jednostek metajęzykowych w wierszach Wisławy Szymborskiej

Wykładnikiem ironicznego przesłania w wierszach poetki może zostać zarówno operator metatekstowy wpleciony w wypowiedź „podstawową”, przedmiotową, należącą do podmiotu lirycznego, jak i jednostka w pewnym sensie zewnętrzna w stosunku do wypowiedzi głównej. Omówmy oba przypadki na podstawie konkretnych tekstów.

W pierwszej strofie wiersza *Niektórzy lubią poezję* mamy do czynienia z nietypowym użyciem wyrazu metajęzykowego *czyli*:

(7) Niektórzy –

czyli nie wszyscy.

Nawet nie większość wszystkich, ale mniejszość.

Nie licząc szkół, gdzie się musi,

i samych poetów,

będzie tych osób **chyba** dwie na tysiąc (Szymborska, 2010:293).

Spójnik *czyli* standardowo „przylacza zdanie lub inne wyrażenie, za pomocą których nadawca chce powiedzieć w inny sposób to, co powiedział za pomocą wyrażen użytych przed spójnikiem” (Dubisz, 2004). Jeśli ten spójnik łączy rzeczowniki, substantywizowane przymiotniki czy zaimki (*Celuloza, czyli błonnik; Agnieszka, czyli moja siostra*), połączone wyrazy odsyłają do tego samego desygnatu (czyli fragmentu rzeczywistości pozajęzykowej), oznaczają ten sam obiekt, i owa tożsamość desygnatów nie jest oczywista dla odbiorcy przed wypowiedzią nadawcy, a przynajmniej nadawca ma podstawy tak sądzić i właśnie dlatego wprowadza wyjaśnienie. W omawianej sytuacji desygnat słowa *niektórzy* jest ewidentnie węższy od desygnatu słowa *wszyscy*, i każdy użytkownik języka jest tego świadomy. Po co więc mówić, że niektórzy to nie wszyscy? W wymiarze utworu to ironiczne *understatement* jest subtelną, bardzo ostrożną próbą uświadomienia sobie i innym nieprzyjemnej i smutnej prawdy, której nie sposób wypowiedzieć wprost; podmiot liryczny jednak werbalizuje tę prawdę w ostatnim wersie strofy (*będzie tych osób **chyba** dwie na tysiąc*). Zauważę, że tutaj również mamy do czynienia z elementem metatekstowym, za pomocą którego autor wypowiedzi rezygnuje z odpowiedzialności za adekwatność oceny (co, jeśli tych osób jest jeszcze mniej?).

Widzimy w tym przypadku działanie dość typowego mechanizmu ironii polegającego na odnalezieniu przez czytelnika ukrytego sensu, który w jakiś sposób odbiega od informacji jawnie przedstawionej przez nadawcę. Potrzeba poszukiwania tego sensu wynika ze sprzeczności pomiędzy jawnym sensem wyrazu i kontekstem lub sytuacją. Według H.P. Grice’a komunikacja polega na przestrzeganiu przez rozmówców tak zwanej Zasady Kooperacji: „Wnoś swój wkład do konwersacji tak, jak tego w danym jej stadium wymaga przyjęty cel czy kierunek wymiany słów, w której bierzesz udział” (Grice, 1980:96)². Niepotrzebne z punktu widzenia współpracy komunikatywnej uściślenie (*czyli nie wszyscy*) łamie jedną z konwersacyjnych reguł sformułowanych przez Grice’a („wypowiadaj się zwięźle”³), i właśnie z tego powodu odbiorca zaczyna szukać ukrytego sensu, tzw. implikatury. Nieco nietypowe jest tutaj to, że szukamy nie przeciwieństwa jawnego sensu nieprzystającego do kontekstu wyrazu (który, będąc jednostką funkcyjną, żadnego przeciwieństwa raczej nie posiada), lecz przyczyny, dla której Szymborska używa zbędnego metatekstowego operatora.

² Zasadniczo maksymy konwersacyjne sformułowane przez Grice’a dotyczą przede wszystkim wyciągania implikatur w ramach komunikacji codziennej, ale idę tu śladami Elżbiety Tabakowskiej, szukając kolejnego dowodu na „poparcie tezy, że mityczny twór nazywany «językiem poetyckim» jakościowo nie różni się od «języka w ogóle», a więc można go analizować w analogicznych kategoriach” (Tabakowska, 2019:15–16).

³ Zauważmy, że Grice rozumiał ironię jako konsekwencję naruszenia innej maksymy konwersacyjnej, mianowicie maksymy jakości, ale krytycy tego ujęcia zwracali uwagę na to, iż ironia może powstawać w wyniku naruszenia np. maksymy ilości (Sperber, Wilson, 1981:301), jak w analizowanym przykładzie, czy maksymy stosunku / relewancji (Giora, 1995).

Kolejny wiersz, którego interpretacja, jak się wydaje, nie jest możliwa bez uwzględnienia użytych w nim jednostek metajęzykowych, przytoczę w całości:

(8) **Prospekt**

Jestem pastylka na uspokojenie.
Działam w mieszkaniu,
skutkuję w urzędzie,
siadam do egzaminów,
staję na rozprawie,
starannie sklejam rozbite garnuszki -
tylko mnie zażyj,
rozpuść pod językiem,
tylko mnie połknij,
tylko popij wodą.

Wiem, co robić z nieszczęściem,
jak znieść złą nowinę,
zmniejszyć niesprawiedliwość,
rozjaśnić brak Boga,
dobrać do twarzy kapelusz żałobny.
Na co czekasz –
zaufaj **chemicznej litości**.

Jesteś jeszcze **młody (młoda)**,
powinieneś (powinnaś) urządzić się jakoś.
Kto powiedział,
że życie ma być odważnie przeżyte?

Oddaj mi swoją przepaść –
wymoszczę ją snem,
będziesz mi **wdzięczny (wdzięczna)**
za cztery łapy spadania.

Sprzedaj mi swoją duszę.
Inny się kupiec nie trafi.

Innego diabła już nie ma (Szymborska 1997: 130).

Interpretatorzy wiersza zwracają uwagę na „ironię wpisaną w samą wypowiedź «chemicznej litości» i ironię samego tekstu. Kryje się ona zarówno w koncepcie upersonifikowania tabletki, jak i w przewrotnym «mrugnięciu oka» ujawnionym w żądaniu «sprzedaj mi swoją duszę» oraz końcowym komentarzu, który wypowiedziany jest już przez zupełnie inny głos niż tabletki: «innego diabła już nie ma». Odkrycie ironii pociąga za sobą odkrycie przewrotności całego tekstu” (Jaskółowa, 2004:20).

Czy ten głos na końcu jest rzeczywiście inny (inaczej: czy ten głos nie pojawia się w wierszu wcześniej)? Do tego jeszcze wrócę. Jednym z głównych kluczy do interpretacji utworu jest, niewątpliwie, jego użyty ironicznie tytuł (zauważmy, że nazwy gatunków mowy Szymborska często wykorzystuje właśnie w ten sposób) – ale mamy tu do czynienia z tą odmianą ironii, która nie wymaga radykalnej sprzeczności dosłownego i ukrytego sensu. Czytamy tekst, rzeczywiście ułożony według zasad, z których korzysta reklama, zawierający środki perswazyjne i przekonujący odbiorcę do zalet reklamowanego produktu. Treść składanych przez pigułkę obietnic i ostatni wers, w którym pojawia się diabeł, stanowią jednak kontekst zaprzeczający dosłownemu traktowaniu tytułu: to nie jest prospekt, tylko kuszenie w formie ulotki reklamowej. Ten wniosek prowadzi nas do odnalezienia w wierszu przynajmniej dwóch przypadków sytuacyjnej ironii: po pierwsze, diabeł jest współczesny i korzysta z dostępnych technologii manipulacyjnych i narzędzi komunikacyjnych, a po drugie, kuszenie we współczesnym świecie polega nie na zachęcaniu do czynności, tylko na propozycji ich zaniechania i przekazania odpowiedzialności komuś innemu.

Z czystym przykładem werbalnej ironii (nie związanym z użyciem elementów metajęzykowych, ale przecież wzmacniającym spójność technik zastosowanych w wierszu) mamy do czynienia w wersach „Na co czekasz – / zaufaj chemicznej litości”, gdzie nietypowe połączenie wyrazów (rzeczownikowi oznaczającemu uczucie rzadko towarzyszą przymiotniki relacyjne) świadczy o braku zgodności komponentów semantycznych: ‘współczucie dla kogoś, uczucie żalu nad kimś, chęć przyścia z pomocą’ (Dubisz, 2004) nie należą do motywów, którymi kierują się substancje chemiczne, a więc wspomniana litość tak naprawdę litością nie jest.

Ewa Jaskółowa przypisuje najważniejszą rolę w ujawnieniu manipulacyjnych technik, z których korzysta zamaskowany diabeł, „przedostatniej wypowiedzi” ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem przewrotności zdekonstruowanego przez poetkę związku frazeologicznego *spadać na cztery łapy* (Jaskółowa, 2010:40). Nie podważając istotności tego zabiegu, chciałabym jednak zwrócić uwagę na jeszcze jeden, moim zdaniem kluczowy, fragment utworu, który chyba właśnie pod kątem odnalezienia ironicznej sprzeczności rzuca światło m.in. na pewne właściwości podmiotu lirycznego wiersza. Trzecia i czwarta strofa zawierają kilka połączeń form rodzaju męskiego i żeńskiego przymiotników (*młody (młoda)*, *wdzięczny (wdzięczna)*) i czasownika (*powinieneś (powinnaś)*)⁴. Nie ulega wątpliwości, iż przytoczenie wariantów gramatycznych wyrazu jest zabiegiem metajęzykowym. Otóż obecna tu sprzeczność polega na tym, że jeśli autor tekstu reklamowego naprawdę chce przekonać odbiorcę do transakcji, nie używa w tym tekście wyrazów, które mogłyby podważyć przekonanie odbiorcy o własnej niepowtarzalności (choć w rzeczywistości każdy odbiorca jest tylko jednym

⁴ Ewa Jaskółowa (2004:24) rejestruje w tym miejscu „ironię ukrytą w dopowiedzeniach, wtrąceniach *młody (młoda)*; *powinieneś (powinnaś)*; *wdzięczny (wdzięczna)*”, ale nie wyjaśnia, na czym ta ironia polega, oraz nie odnotowuje jej metatekstowego wymiaru.

elementem olbrzymiego, z zasady nieograniczonego, zbioru ludzi, ale reklamodawca przecież udaje, że tak nie jest). Złamane więc zostały reguły komunikacyjne (można powiedzieć, nawiązując do teorii aktów mowy, warunki jego fortuneści), przekroczono granice, w których standardowo funkcjonuje omawiany gatunek. W jakim celu Szymborska to uczyniła?

Wydaje się, że mamy do czynienia z demonstracją olbrzymiej pogardy stworzonego przez nią diabła wobec tych, których musi (głównie za sprawą tradycji) kusić, ale nie jest tym zupełnie zainteresowany, bo wie, że człowiek i tak się mu podda. Pogardę tę wysławia nie tylko za pomocą bezpośrednich propozycji odebrania odpowiedzialności za własne czyny, najważniejsze sprawy, a co za tym idzie, propozycji odebrania człowieczeństwa („Wiem, co robić z nieszczęściem, / jak znieść złą nowinę, / zmniejszyć niesprawiedliwość, / rozjaśnić brak Boga, / dobrać do twarzy kapelusz żałobny”), ale i korzystając ze środków gramatycznych, z których nieuchronnie wynika przesłanie ‘wszystko mi jedno, kim jesteś’. Formalne pomnożenie liczby odbiorców podkreśla, że jest ich ogromnie dużo, i nie opłaca się podejście indywidualne, na które zasłużył Chrystus albo Faust.

Jak już stwierdziłam, diabeł nie musi się wysilać, by człowieka zdehumanizować, odebrać mu poczucie odpowiedzialności za własne życie i własne wybory, bo człowiek do tej dehumanizacji dąży. Druga sprawa to to, że diabeł przybierający postać pigułki i używający typowych i pustych wypowiedzi nie jest już groźnym i przerażającym symbolem zła – to raczej diabeł zmęczony życiem, zwykły, szary, pojawiający się bez piorunów i błyskawic. Zresztą człowiekowi proponuje to samo – odebranie prawdziwych barw życia i woli, a przede wszystkim empatii, zdolności odczuwania bólu i strachu. Zdaje sobie z tego sprawę (uważam, że ostatni wers należy do tego samego diabła, który wypowiada się wcześniej): „Innego diabła już nie ma”.

Ponownie mamy do czynienia z ironią sytuacyjną, która jest obsługiwana przez ironię werbalną: diabeł we współczesnym świecie kusi z obowiązku, a ludzie nie zasługują nawet na kuszenie. Tym bardziej ten świat przeraża: zło staje się banalne (przypomnijmy sobie klasyczny tekst Hannah Arendt), człowiek, który nie czuje bólu swojego i innych, nie jest ani zimny, ani gorący, przemienia się w diabła.

4. Podsumowanie

Przedstawiony w szkicu dość ogólny opis użycia jednostek metajęzykowych / metatekstowych w niektórych utworach Wisławy Szymborskiej oczywiście nie wyczerpuje tematu. Jest to zaledwie próba zasygnalizowania kolejnej perspektywy badawczej (językoznawczej analizy metatekstu jako jednego z wykładników ironii w utworze lirycznym) oraz przyczynek do dalszych rozważań o funkcjach metatekstu w wierszu. O ile w literaturze przedmiotu nie brakuje wzmianek dotyczących zarówno ironii, jak i wykorzystania metatekstu w utworach

Szymborskiej, to jednak wydaje się, że przydatna byłaby całościowa analiza tego, co się dzieje na przecięciu tych dwóch zagadnień.

Metajęzykowe jednostki użyte jako wykładniki ironii w utworze lirycznym zasługują na szczególną uwagę przedstawicieli różnych dyscyplin humanistycznych, ponieważ mogą wzbogacić interpretację wiersza, a ich analiza językoznawcza nie tylko „ukazuje badaczowi literatury mechanizmy leżące u podstaw zjawisk określanych łącznie mianem poetyki” (Tabakowska, 2001:178), ale również pozwala na spojrzenie z innej perspektywy na te wnioski, które są formułowane przez literaturoznawców i krytyków. Oprócz tego, analiza anomalii językowych (a ironia niewątpliwie do nich należy), czy w tym przypadku raczej metajęzykowych, może prowadzić do weryfikacji leksykograficznego opisu zastosowanych jednostek. Z kolei poszukiwanie konkretnych przyczyn sprzeczności dosłownego sensu i kontekstu (lub nieprzystawalności jawnego znaczenia czy standardowej funkcji jednostki do sensu całości utworu) w przypadku użycia jednostek metajęzykowych może skutkować odnalezieniem niezbyt oczywistych sugestii zawartych w tekście poetyckim.

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Revitalizing America through struggle and threat: The contingency approach to President Joe Biden's pandemic leadership

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Abstract: This study seeks to demonstrate the effectiveness of President Joe Biden's leadership in the first year of his presidency in the context of the Contingency Theory proposed by Fred E. Fiedler (1967). This article argues that the effectiveness of Joe Biden's leadership is contingent upon his relationship-based motivational system (high LPC score) and moderate power, control, and influence over American society. Specifically, the findings revealed that, while his relationship-oriented leadership style, which fell into Octant V of the model, predisposed him to collaborative forms of power (Griebe and Immelman 2020: 17, Körner *et al.* 2022: 636), the results of my study show that his leadership effectiveness operates through a coercive type of power, emotionalisation, and anticipatory action. This article aims to fill the gap in organisational studies on leadership effectiveness and presents a novel approach for examining variables in the model to account for the linguistic potential in the paradigm. It indicates the usefulness of the notions of the seven standards of textuality, speech acts, and coercion as a research apparatus supplementing the Contingency Model. The study also draws on correlational patterns identified in the analysis. The main results suggest a moderate positive correlation between the category of CC (cognitive coercion) and EC (emotive coercion), and strong positive correlations with the variables of struggle, threat, and praise. The analysis contributes to research on presidential rhetoric and, more specifically, the role of the president in managing crisis and adapting to change.

Abstrakt: Niniejsze badanie ma na celu wykazanie skuteczności przywództwa prezydenta Joe Bidena w pierwszym roku jego prezydentury w kontekście teorii kontyngencji zaproponowanej przez Freda E. Fiedlera (1967). Niniejszy artykuł dowodzi, że skuteczność przywództwa Joe Bidena zależy od jego systemu motywacyjnego opartego na relacjach (wysoki wynik LPC) oraz umiarkowanej władzy, kontroli i wpływu na społeczeństwo amerykańskie. W szczególności wyniki badań wykazały, że podczas gdy jego styl przywództwa zorientowany na relacje, który mieścił się w oktancie V modelu, predysponował go do współpracy (Griebe i Immelman 2020: 17, Körner i in. 2022: 636), wyniki mojego badania pokazują, że jego skuteczność przywództwa działa poprzez przymusowy rodzaj władzy, emocjonalizację i działania antycypacyjne. Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu wypełnienie luki w badaniach organizacyjnych dotyczących skuteczności przywództwa i przedstawia nowatorskie podejście do badania zmiennych w modelu w celu uwzględnienia potencjału językowego w paradygmacie. Wskazuje na przydatność pojęć siedmiu standardów tekstualności, aktów

mowy i przymusu jako aparatury badawczej uzupełniającej model kontyngencji. Badanie opiera się również na wzorcach korelacyjnych zidentyfikowanych w analizie. Główne wyniki sugerują umiarkowaną dodatnią korelację między kategorią CC (przymus poznawczy) i EC (przymus emocjonalny) oraz silne dodatnie korelacje ze zmiennymi walki, groźby i pochwały. Analiza stanowi wkład w badania nad retoryką prezydencką, a dokładniej rolę prezydenta w zarządzaniu kryzysem i dostosowywaniu się do zmian.

Keywords: leadership communication, leadership effectiveness, contingency theory, presidential discourse, President Joe Biden

Słowa kluczowe: komunikacja przywódcza, skuteczność przywództwa, teoria kontyngencji, dyskurs prezydencki, prezydent Joe Biden

Introduction

The last four decades have seen an influx of research in political science, management realms and communication studies on situational leadership, that is, the type of effective leadership which is “in match with” or “contingent to” the situations of its occurrence (Ayman *et al.* 1995, Fiedler 1967, Grint 2005, Poguntke and Webb 2007, Vroom and Jaago 2007), reflected in the degree of situational control and influence that the leader has over the group processes. The current study focuses on the rejuvenating area of leadership research: **contingency leadership**. It is especially important to determine the type of leadership during times driven by the contingent event of a COVID-19 pandemic. In examining this threat-based sociopolitical context, the article seeks to further our understanding of the mechanisms and strategies that are central to establishing the degree of effectiveness of President Joe Biden’s leadership.

The first year of Joe Biden’s presidency provides impetus to studying his leadership performance in the interim of COVID-19 dynamic politics, which is also termed as the politics of crisis (Lipsky 2020: 99). The pandemic frame brings into focus the role of leaders who implement the reparative policies and make high-stake decisions under time pressure, uncertainty, and threat. In the context of the last couple of decades of the various socio-cultural changes underlying threats caused by wars and terrorist attacks, including the US president facing criminal charges, culminating in the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, followed by the Russia-Ukraine war, there has been an increase in research on contextual or contingency leadership. Much of the research on U.S. President Joe Biden’s leadership has been limited to the establishment of his personality profile and associated leadership traits (*e.g.*, Allen and Parnes 2021, Griebie and Immelman 2020, Körner 2022, Wagner-Pacifici 2023), but as far as I know, no corpus-based research to date has been carried out to proximate Joe Biden’s leadership effectiveness in the first year of his presidency in terms of linguistically distinctive patterns and their evaluation. This article aims to address this gap by considering in

detail Biden's linguistic practices that are anchored in the pandemic context and which substantially indicate key practices that seem to be helpful for creating effective leadership in the pandemic context. The crux of the matter is, therefore, to not only have a reactive and problem-solving approach that leaders take but, most importantly, to implement the restructuring processes, that could allow people to develop key mechanisms and strategies which would have an impact on building resilience against the pandemic.

One of the cornerstones of the contingency theory of leadership is that successful leaders are those who meet the requirements of contexts *in situ* and respond adequately to the constraints of the specific situations (Fiedler 1967, Ayman *et al.* 1995). From this perspective, the idea of leadership is polarised between the structuralist approach that links leadership behaviour to systematic patterns of situational occurrence and the pragmatist view that favours functionality of human performance that is derived from interactional dimensions within given events or state-of-affairs (Austin 1962). Thus, there is an assumption that leading a nation in times of peace and prosperity does not require the same type of response that is needed during a worldwide crisis, time of uncertainty and threat. Therefore, the discussion surrounding a contingent situation and its impact on leaders' behaviour ought to be concerned with specific cultural practices on HOW that situation is handled by a leader. In this way, the situational model of leadership accounts for the bi-directionality as a basic principle of establishing effective leadership. On the way towards a general comprehension of the understanding of the model, it is natural to consider the interplay between the situation and a person to acknowledge the context-behaviour interface as evidence for the leadership's cultural context.

In this article, I explore four domains that pertain to the contingency model of leadership effectiveness (Fiedler 1967) - LPC Scale, Leader-Member Relation, Task Structure, and Position Power- to define the specific variables that play a crucial role in the formation of Joe Biden's leadership style in the first year of his presidency. The model is meant to predict leader's effectiveness which is based on two factors: (1) Leader's Characteristics, referred to as a motivational orientation (or favourability) into a task accomplishment or relationship building, and (2) Leader's Situational Control determined by the degree of (2a) Leader-Member Relation, (2b) Task Structure, and (2c) Position Power Scale. According to this framework, those in power who have a task motivational orientation in comparison to those who have a relationship orientation, perform better in high- and low-control situations. On the other hand, the leaders who are more inclined towards relationship orientation achieve the effects of successful leadership in moderate control situations (Fiedler 1978). The basic premise of Fiedler's contingency theory is that the leadership style required for the effective performance of a group(s) is contingent upon the degree of "favourability" of a group(s) situation and upon the leadership style that enables the leader to exert influence over group members.

Interest in studying the leadership effectiveness of U.S. President Joe Biden, as well as the situational factors contributing to his leadership situation (the favourability aspect), allows for mapping those areas of his performance that influence the American society during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, this study contributes to the understanding of more than President Biden’s response to a wider socio-cultural context of post-pandemic reality. Most importantly, this paper demonstrates how the concept of leadership can be redefined by studying the linguistic level of the contingency model, accounting for the cultural identity of the president which is contextualised through language (Fishman 1991, Giles *et al.* 1977, Schechter 2015, see also Strukowska 2024, 2024a).

Table 1 provides a summary of the model’s variables along with the proposed linguistic realizations which can serve as tools for exploring the main strategies and mechanisms of building effectiveness of Joe Biden’s leadership.

Variables	Measure	Tool
Leader’s motivational orientation	LPC Scale	LPC Grid (Fiedler 1978, Ayman and Chemers 1995)
Situational control	Leader-member relation	Polls projected from https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/biden-approval-rating/
	Task structure	7 standards of textuality (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981)
	Position power	The macro-strategy of coercion/speech acts (Searle [1969] 2011, Austin (1962), Cap 2013, Hart 2010)

Table 1. Contingency model’s variables with their anthropolinguistic level of analysis and measure. Author’s own elaboration

1. On the framework of Fiedler’s contingency model of leadership

1.1. Leadership motivational orientation

Among the main factors for predicting a leader’s effectiveness would be the individual’s attributes, which can be addressed at the level of a task or relationship motivational orientation. The measures of this component can be based on the individual leader’s responses (the subjective level) or in the multi-level and multi-source domain, outcomes of which have been assessed by experimenters

(Ayman *et al.* 1995: 148). The leadership style is assumed to rest on the measures relating to interpersonal perception scores, which ask the leader to choose the least preferred person to work with or interact with. This variable is called the Least Preferred Coworker (LPC) scale and falls within the range of 16 and 22, eight-point, bipolar adjective scales on which the attributes of the least favourable coworker are described. The term “coworker” covers a wider range of relations than purely work-related ones, so the frame of reference may include “a subordinate”, “a follower”, or a “peer” (Ayman *et al.* 1995: 150). Generally, the focus is on obtaining a global, evaluative affective reaction toward the person who would hinder the attainment of task accomplishment. In terms of two main trends that emerge from the LPC score scale are: (a) **high-LPC** leaders who are more concerned with establishing good interpersonal relations and perceiving the least preferable “follower” in a more favourable manner, and (b) **low-LPC** leaders who put emphasis on task accomplishment and who describe their LPC in the most unfavourable terms. Given these caveats connected to the measurement of the leader’s style, it is to be pointed out that the LPC scale asserts the centrality of the leader behaviour in the *means* that are used to achieve a leader’s ends.

Although, both the task-centred and people-centred leaders are concerned with task accomplishment and use interpersonal relationships, they are driven by various motives. Under various conditions, the high-LPC leader would strive to effectively perform a task in order to develop and cement his relations with a group, while low-LPC leaders derive major satisfaction from task accomplishment regardless of poor interpersonal relations or try to keep them in good condition only to complete the task successfully. At that point, it is crucial to highlight that both high and low LPC leaders can be equally effective. The only determinant of this effectiveness, the dynamic variable, is the situation upon which the leadership is contingent. Although the leader’s preferred style of interacting is the point of departure in this analysis, it is highly correlated with the three situational dimensions that pertain to the so-called “situational control” and is labelled as the “favourableness of the situation.” Below is an account of these levels of generality that tie in with leadership effectiveness and if maximised, they establish the greatest amount of situational control.

According to the Contingency Model, the high LPC leader obtains rewards and seeks success based on extrinsic satisfaction derived from good social relations that are mirrored by positive others’ evaluations of performance. The relational nature of leadership is also reflected in presidential leadership research. Specifically, Joe Biden is likely to exhibit an interpersonal leadership style, characterised by cooperativeness, flexibility, compromise, risk avoidance, and emphasis on teamwork (*e.g.*, McAdams 2022: 257, Ghani and Hussain 2021: 10180, Griebie and Immelman 2020, Olsen 2022: 161, Turak 2021). However, on an emotional plane, when high-LPC leaders are faced with unsatisfying relations, their emotional state is triggered and they are prone to interact on an emotional

level (Fiedler 1967: 54). Furthermore, in socially-strained situations (unfavourable conditions), they tend to produce a higher rate of relationship-oriented comments (*ibid.*).

1.2. Situational control

The contingency model of leadership effectiveness has also tied its orientation to core variables of situational control, *i.e.*, (1) **leader-member relations**, (2) **task structure**, and (3) **position power** (Ayman *et al.* 1995: 158). According to its premise, leaders gain sense of influence and control from contingencies. In this study, I discuss how situational control can be operationalised within the three components of (1a.) polling, (2a.) seven standards of textuality (de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981), and (3a.) coercion (Cap 2013, Chilton 2004, Hart 2010) as contributors to control and predictability. Interestingly, the last category is defined as a political dimension that is not alien to any culture and contributes to the enforcement of rules in the process of establishing authority (Malinowski 1944: 99). I argue that the three optional variables essentially serve as **anthropo-linguistic tools** to study leadership effectiveness and are common to leadership performance. There exists a clear analogy at the conceptual level between the initial variables of the contingency model and the reformulated categories presented by the author that allow some modest generalisations with regard to the general rationale of the method for measuring leadership effectiveness.

Based on the analogies, leadership can be conceptualised as a transformational process of a transactional nature that takes place between the leader and his followers. Following from this two-way interactive event is the need to recalibrate the view of situational leadership via the prism of the interdisciplinary field of **anthropolinguistics** (Ahearn 2012, 2022; Duranti 2003; Einfield *et al.* 2014; Foley 1997; Klein 2006; Völkel and Nassenstein 2022). This involves above all the understanding of leadership as the feature of a specific socio-cultural context realised through language, which is "[r]elated to the knowledge, values, technologies, and practices that make up culture" (Einfield *et al.* 2014: 2). The cornerstone of this analytical specification is that leadership effectiveness is a system of practices that becomes a cultural system pertaining to a given society, its processes, structures and social life (Einfield *et al.* 2014: 2, Völkel and Nassenstein 2022: 4).

Analysis of effective American presidential leadership within the framework of the contingency model is much affected by a range of situational factors that are derived through the situational control, which is committed to the principles of the 'probabilistic modelling' for the dynamic situation processes and mechanisms as well as the 'positional power', *i.e.*, the authority bestowed on the leader. We are dealing here with central standards of texts produced by the President that allow him to guide the audience and move them toward the collective goal. The sense of clarity, certainty and predictability must be grounded in power that is the

source of administrative authority of the president. As such, the components of situational control provide the leader with credible discursive tools to influence and gain control.

1.2.1. Leader-member relations

The analysis of situational control can significantly benefit from the application of the reformulated concepts that govern contingent leadership. Central to Fielder's model is **the leader-member relations** parameter that "[s]eems nonetheless to be the most important single element in determining the leader's influence in a group" (Fiedler 1967: 29) and which is defined as a "[s]et of individuals who share a common fate, that is, who are interdependent in the sense that an event which affects one member is likely to affect all" (Fiedler 1967: 6). By the term "group" we generally mean a society whose members exist as individuals having a common cognitive dimension such as shared knowledge, values, beliefs, and representations, which are determined by the dynamically fluctuating context, in this case, the COVID-19 pandemic. In terms of the favourableness of the situation for the leader, his important dimension is given the highest priority since a leader who is supported and trusted by his members will be in the highest position of power to influence his group (Fiedler 1967: 143).

In the presidential discourse, leader-member relations seem to be of utmost importance because at the centre of the status function of the president also lies the synergetic relation with the society. Specifically, the role of the president entails that he is "[m]any men, or one man wearing 'many hats', or playing 'many roles'" (Neustadt 1960: 2). Therefore, a test for the presence of these institutional "traits" is whether or not leader could gain group support validated by group's cohesion derived from multiple sources, *i.e.*, polls on President Joe Biden's approval ratings.

As can be seen in Table 1, the LPC Scale parameter is assigned the status of a relationship-based orientation. In general terms, the indirect assessment of Joe Biden's leadership style can be recognised as the relationship-oriented type for two main reasons. First of all, the high LPC individual perceives his least-preferred workers or "followers" in a relatively favourable manner and is primarily concerned with gaining maximum support from the society. Consequentially, he gains prominence through these supportive relations. Secondly, the role of the president requires cementing the relations with society members and gaining the recognition received by others, *e.g.*, by means of impression management (Goffman 1959: 3, Hall 2009: 365, Strukowska and Chruszczewski 2022: 262). This suggests that, it will be in the interest of Joe Biden to achieve the strategic effect of building a favourable self-presentation for the purpose of establishing "[a] favourable definition of the service or product" (Goffman 1959: 77) that is dependent on the evaluation of the society.

1.2.2. Task structure

Among the main components partaking in an effective leadership construction, **task structure** emerges as the second crucial factor. In the contingency model, this variable is recognised as the aspect representing the clarity and certainty in task goals that allow the leader to gain control over the response of groups as well as guide them towards their collective goal. Because the creation of situation control entails building an authorial (presidential) effectiveness by communicating tasks in a clear and transparent way, it is especially imperative to have insight into leadership practice that exists within the ramifications of a COVID-19 pandemic. The need for a high task structure in times of crisis might help those in power to stay connected to and mobilize the society during a crisis. In view of the abnormal circumstances caused by the pandemic, society's sense of safety also lies in the hands of media, journalists, scientists, and politicians to provide credible and transparent information where presenting evidence and facts is key (Beilstein *et al.* 2021: 466, Dirani *et al.* 2020: 7, Finset 2020: 873).

An overview of situational leadership in “extreme” times of the COVID-19 pandemic is given, for instance, in Dirani *et al.* (2020) who signal that the government, organisations and various institutions have activated an emergency mode and are desperately in need of direction from their leaders. However, skilful leadership is frequently performed during pandemics with varying degrees of effectiveness. Recent studies report that there has been an increase in destructive politics with policies working against human interest (*e.g.*, Bieber 2022, Boin *et al.* 2021, Carney and Bennett 2014, Lipsy 2020, McKee *et al.* 2021, Maor *et al.* 2020, Wodak 2021a). It is to be noted that communicating tasks is assumed in the study as a common act of linguistic communication, *i.e.*, performance of speech acts which are the building blocks of social reality (Searle [1969] 2011: 16). Therefore, this part of the article postulates that the analysis could benefit from incorporating the methodology of seven standards of textuality proposed by Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler who view text as a communicative occurrence (de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981). Measuring task structure by means of the seven standards of textuality contributes in significant ways to reformulating and supplementing the existing model. The possibilities provided by incorporating seven standards of textuality as credible tools for researching the degree of communicativeness (task structure) ought not be underestimated for the following two reasons: first, they are parameters that exhibit relations that have a function contributing to the workings of the whole process of communication between a leader and members of the society in terms of clarity and coherence. Second, this measure of task structure requires that one uncovers the principles and mechanisms that manipulate the use of language under realistic conditions.

1.2.3. Position power

At the **position power level**, the review of leadership effectiveness is focused on the presidential authority bestowed on the leader. Concerning power as a component of situational control, I approach it from two convergent perspectives. In a broader sense, I approach it as the ability to influence others and gain control (Ayman *et al.* 1995: 157, Fiedler 1967: 22) and as a potential that the organisation provides for the leader's use (*ibid.*). In a narrower sense I understand it in terms of "coercive power" (Cap 2013: 32, Cap 2022: 7, Fiedler 1967: 143, Hart 2010: 64, French and Raven 1958: 83) viewed as a macro-strategy involving cognitive and emotive effects (Hart 2010: 9). Having said that, Biden's presidential power serves as a persuasive function which regulates the degree of influence and control. In this narrowest sense, coercive power is the type of macro-level discourse strategy that "[i]ntends to affect the beliefs, emotions, and behaviour of others in such a way that suits one's own interests" (Hart 2010: 63). This strategy would also be one correct description of any political communication.

Such type of power usually remains implicit, but it may be made explicit by means of speech acts, specifically their illocutionary force, that is a function of meaning of an utterance (Searle 1979: 64). Therefore, communicating coercive power at a high level is equal to acting coercively so that text-producers establish a certain type of reality by creating cognitive representations or producing certain "cognitive effects" (Hart 2010: 64, Sperber and Wilson 1995: vii). Following the perspective of speech acts theory, I approach coercive power as a mechanism organising the power-knowledge by means of "cognitive effects" achieved through cognitive coercion (Hart 2010: 64) occurring through speech acts that are mental representations "[c]apable of being realised in the form of actions" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 31). In this framework, the practice of forming frames, schemas, and conceptual metaphors stems from the strategy of conceptual coercion which is employed to explicitly communicate relevant information for the smallest possible processing effort on the part of a hearer (Sperber and Wilson 1995: vii). Therefore, coercive power is also a display of shared knowledge, which does not merely imply the communicated information but, most importantly, constitutes the communicated information that is relevant for both parties.

Following this premise, the study adopts the view that all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts, also called speech acts (Searle [1969] 2011: 16). Hence, studying language practices involves assigning utterances to various speech-act types that are functionally significant basic units of linguistic communication. Moreover, they are rule-governed forms of behaviour that impart predictable perlocutionary effects. It seems that speech acts create a controlling environment for causing text-receivers to construct cognitive representations based on the effects that are intended to be achieved by text-producers. For these reasons, coercive power is considered central to any situational control in determining leadership effectiveness.

Emotive coercion, on the other hand, takes advantage of the “emotive effects” (Hart 2010: 64) in text-consumers. In this framework, the audience is “swayed” by *pathos*- the appeal based on emotions that follow directly from cognitive effects. This chain reaction allows for the activation of emotion programmes that come from cognitive representations (Bruni 2019: 29, Tooby and Cosmides 2008: 116) and allows for the emotionalization of discourse that enhances the persuasive function of a leader’s power claim. I argue for the strong pragmatic effect of emotionalisation that has the underlying purpose of achieving personal goals and influencing opinions and judgments. The construction of various types of representations by means of strong emotions, and their impact, have been extensively discussed in media studies (Altheide 2021, Alba-Juez & Mackenzie 2019, Döveling *et al.* 2011, Döveling and Konijn 2021, Furedi 2018, critical discourse analysis studies (van Dijk 2006, Glapka 2019, Milani and Richardson 2020), or political discourse studies (Breeze 2019, Cap 2017, Chilton and Kopytowska 2022, Wetherell *et al.* 2015). As Alba-Juez and Larina (2018) point out, “[I]ndeed, when people feel emotions they may not only show their internal states physically, (...) but also perform speech acts which are interpersonal in nature and have particular consequences. And by so doing speakers manifest, and at the same time affect, certain aspects of the cognitive, social and discourse systems they belong to” (Alba-Juez and Larina 2018: 10). The performative potential of emotions resides in their high degree of expressibility combined with the type of effect they intend to produce in their hearers. In addition to their interactional pragmatic effects, they carry wide negative consequences, especially when leaders manipulate the public using fear by creating uncertainty in the time of conflict and construing closeness of an external threat in order to solicit legitimisation of preventive means to offset the effects of threat and claim power (Cap 2018: 285).

Another way to consider position power in leadership effectiveness is by appreciating the centrality of speech acts in connection with the concept of legitimisation which is often defined as a linguistic enactment of the speaker’s right to be obeyed (Chilton 2004). Legitimation as a speech-act-based strategy involved in coercion has a number of features that lend it to an explanation of Joe Biden’s presidential authority. Firstly, speaker’s performance is legitimised by means of speech acts, mainly assertions which are made explicit by their criterion of commitment to the truth of the claimed propositions. This level of explicitness allows to give reasons as to why the audience ought to accept the messages as true. The performative character of presidential authority through legitimisation has crucial epistemic implications that can be related to the status of President and his particular political role realised through *ethos* appeal, which refers to his credibility (Hart 2010: 90). The perspective of ethical behaviour is principal in establishing the success or failure of the presidency (Bornstein 2009: 1, Buthelezi 2022: 11, Tuomo *et al.* 2013: 149). Secondly, approaching presidential position power in terms of legitimising his actions casts the interpretation of his leadership

effectiveness in adaptive terms. Given certain features of context, meanings of the sentence(s) are made clear by means of the illocutionary force, which communicates the truth of the proposition. Thus, the function of assertoric force of utterances is grounded in an implicit claim that there exist certain conditions in the world under which it is appropriate to render the meaning of a given proposition as true or false. Therefore, the criterion of speech-act function is a *sine qua non* of accepting cognitive representations as true or false. By locating the processes of power enactment in legitimisation strategies, I make a clear set of predictions about the types of adaptive strategies that Joe Biden uses to enact his presidential credibility in times of crisis.

2. The analysis of the data

The data presented in this type of study is based on the collection of statements produced by President Joe Biden in his first year of presidency, derived from the webpage <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>. In this study, I adopt a mixed-method approach including both a qualitative analysis and a statistics-based correlational procedure to give an insight into President Joe Biden's leadership effectiveness during the first year of his office. In particular, I present an interpretive perspective guided by general principles of the contingency theory variables and offer empirical support for their statistical co-occurrences in the form of positive/negative correlations leading to the areas of a statistically significant activity between the variables, which amount to Biden's degree of effective leadership. Looking at emerging tendencies allowed to observe the correlation coefficient between variables that create real impact sources within the active leadership environment.

The methodology section included a corpus-based study, and the data was analysed in two steps. Initially, the sample consisted of 261 records (presidential statements in the form of transcribed documents). I conducted a preliminary filter analysis and created a keyword list which presented the statistically significant lexical items with the highest measure of saliency (Hardaker and McGlashan 2016: 85, Baker 2006: 125) using the log-likelihood (LL) test and the effect size. To create such a list the analysis was performed by comparing the frequency wordlist generated from the focus corpus by means of a software programme for a concordance analysis called *Ant Conc*. Then, the corpus was set against the reference corpus of American English. The results showed the strongest occurrence of the word [pandemic] with a very high keyness score at (910,383) and frequency at (202). In performing an examination of the keyword list, it was possible to recognise some culture-specific concepts in the form of keywords (Wierzbicka 1996: 25) that were the underlying factors in establishing effective leadership in the times of COVID-19. Consequently, such a systematic study of the most frequent lexical co-occurrences allowed us to map the predominant cultural

concepts because keywords always remain in referential relation to a wider socio-cultural context in which they operate.

The next step was to filter the existing corpus and look for texts that only included the keyword pandemic. The final corpus consisted of 66 texts, (28,394) words, delivered by Joe Biden from Feb. 01, 2021 to Jan 3, 2022. This preliminary twofold research design allowed the study of the context-specific patterned framework in order to tease out the dataset, which was recognised as a valid sociocultural background to the analysis of President Joe Biden’s contingency leadership. By combining structural methods of description, the keyword *pandemic* being the starting point in my analysis, followed by the study of the contingency model and its variables, I propose a characterization of **the culturally contingent leadership behaviour** of Joe Biden in the first year of his office.

2.1. Contingency model assessment: a case of President Joe Biden’s leadership

This part of the study employed an interpretative design based on the variables of the Contingency Model proposed by Fiedler (1967). The findings obtained in this study suggest that the leadership style represented by Joe Biden in the first year of his presidential office is based on **moderately favourable situations**. According to the contingency model, in the moderately favourable conditions, in which the leader has high power, communicates well-structured tasks, but does not receive maximum support of the society (moderate approval rankings-*Median: 51%*¹ derived from the online web-based platform <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/biden-approval-rating/>) (accessed: 5th April 2021), **the relationship-oriented leadership** style is more likely to result in effective leadership. Under these conditions, Biden’s leadership is found in Octant V situations (moderately accepted leader, structured task, high position power) (Fiedler 1967: 148) (see Table 2).

Variables	Measure	Score	Octant
Leader’s motivational orientation	LPC Scale	Relationship-Oriented	V
Situational control	Polls	Moderate (<i>Mean: 51%</i>)	
	7 standards of textuality	High	
	Coercion	High	

Table 2. Perceived parameters of President Joe Biden’s leadership based on a contingency model of leadership (Fiedler 1979). Author’s own elaboration

¹ Analysed data derived from the website covers the time in the first year of Joe Biden’s presidency, specifically texts from Feb. 01, 2021 to Jan 3, 2022.

My aim is to determine President Joe Biden's degree of leadership effectiveness. Therefore, I have tested the hypothesis that posits that in the situation represented by Octant V the effective leader is "[a]pt to be diplomatic and indirect in his dealings with his group members" (Fiedler 1967: 148). Furthermore, the relationship-oriented leader is more likely to be considerate and mindful of the feelings of the group. Such a framework also includes making commitments that are true and relevant for his group (Fiedler 1967: 148). These ways of dealing with society are articulated as strategic priorities that enable the president to achieve goals through taking a nondirective role and following a relatively permissive course of action.

In the next part of the study that follows, I look closely at the quantitative and qualitative findings, which were most likely to affect the degree of favourableness of the situation for the leader, *i.e.*, the extent to which the situation enables the leader to exert power and control the American society.

2.1.1. Qualitative findings

As demonstrated by the keyword analysis, the token of the highest saliency was **pandemic** in the focus corpus. This suggests that content-wise, it is aligned with a cultural knowledge map embedded in the midst of pandemic turmoil. Such a point of reference creates a semantic area that reflects culturally specific "ways of thinking and living" during Joe Biden's presidency. The function of the keyword pandemic goes beyond a domain of social *in situ* experience that taps into local discourses but presents cognitive importance of this word in terms of its projecting potential (Dunmire 2011) that triggers threat, uncertainty, and most importantly, focuses on the consequences that the COVID-19 pandemic poses to the future of the civilisation, such as the COVID-19 pandemic emergency, its control, public perception and awareness of it, or even denial of its existence (Wodak 2021a: 145-6, Wodak 2021b: 338, Flinders and Wood 2018: 608). I postulate that the projective function of the keyword [pandemic] legitimises Joe Biden's leadership for one simple reason; it creates **a past-present-future trajectory that creates narratives** of strategic, functional and purposeful nature (Riessman 2008: 8, Holmberg and Lundgren 2018: 109, Leach and Dry 2010: 6). These framing processes are realised through the themes based on the destruction caused by the pandemic which has surged across the globe and has created a snowball effect of pandemic precedents, leading to the current crisis situation. As a result, keeping the continuity of this link is one step in legitimising his power as president of the U.S. This symbolic progression creates space for presidential agentivity in the form of preemptive action (Cap 2013, Dunmire 2011) that needs to be taken as a response to imminent threat; the enemy-the virus. As noted above, having demonstrated the keyness of the word pandemic, it became evident that lexically-driven thematic

frame is suggestive of the general socio-cultural frame centred around pre-, inter-, and post-outbreak pandemic phases.

2.1.2. Correlational analysis

This part of the study employed a correlational design to examine the relationships between the variables of the Contingency Model, specifically position power variables, and it shows some meaningful correlative patterns. The computer program IBM SPSS Statistics 22 was used for data analysis. To test the relationship between each contingency model variable, I employed statistical analysis using Spearman's rank correlation technique. This test is a method to determine the significance of the correlation (its strength and direction represented by a negative or a positive value) based on a relationship between two variables. The result will always be between 1 and minus 1. In this part of the study I assessed the correlational links between the elements of the contingency model and President Joe Biden's relationship-oriented style of leadership.

Table 3. summarises correlations between the variables of the Contingency Model. This analysis enabled to tease out the following correlation patterns which were statistically significant.

	informativity (LD)	CC (cognitive coercion)	assertive	commissive	EC (emotive coercion)	Threat	struggle	criticism	praise	hope	wishes
informativity (LD)	1.00										
CC (cognitive coercion)	0.07	1.00									
assertive	0.04	0.94	1.00								
commissive	-0.04	0.36	0.12	1.00							
EC (emotive coercion)	-0.01	0.53	0.57	0.14	1.00						
threat	0.04	0.40	0.46	0.20	0.55	1.00					
struggle	0.06	0.47	0.50	-0.09	0.84	0.11	1.00				
criticism	-0.07	0.52	0.31	0.39	0.52	-0.10	-0.30	1.00			
praise	-0.01	0.34	0.40	0.07	0.71	0.36	0.61	-0.83	1.00		
hope	-0.29	-0.24	0.30	0.15	-0.58	0.50	0.00		-0.50	1.00	
wishes	0.87	0.87	0.87	1.00	1.00		1.00				1.00

Table 3. Correlations of President Joe Biden's position power variables based on the Contingency Model (Fiedler 1967)

Table 3. demonstrates that: (i.) the two general areas of CC (Cognitive Coercion) and EC (Emotive Coercion) positively correlate with each other (+0.53); and (ii.) within the respective areas, other significant positive correlational variations have been observed. They are shown in the Table 4. I have selected only those correlations whose value was above (+0.40), which is the threshold of statistically relevant data.

Position power patterns	Correlation coefficient
CC with EC	0.53
CC with struggle	0.47
EC with threat	0.55
EC with struggle	0.84
EC with praise	0.71
EC with assertive	0.57
Assertive with threat	0.46
Assertive with struggle	0.50
Struggle with praise	0.61

Table 4. Spearman's correlation coefficient of Joe Biden's leadership performance by position power patterns

CC and EC correlation

The observed correlations suggest that, the discursive construction of President Joe Biden's leadership effectiveness involves primarily the parameter of Position Power reformulated for the sake of this analysis as coercive power consisting of two fluctuating variables of **CC (Cognitive Coercion)** and **EC (Emotive Coercion)** which show a moderate positive correlation of **(+0.53)**.

Most importantly, what is particularly striking about the results in Table 3. is that, out of eight correlations that have been distinguished, four correlations deal with EC. This observation supports the view in Section 2.1 and Section 2.2.1 above, according to which the relationship-oriented style of leadership also pertains to the presidential leadership that is anchored in keeping a synergetic relationship with society and reacting emotionally to unfavourable situations. Therefore, the results of the study corroborate the assumptions of Fiedler's contingency theory of leadership that high-LPC leaders are more emotionally inclined towards the group(s) they manage. It is markedly demonstrated in the frequent use of speech acts of praising, expressing threats and focusing on the previous and ongoing COVID-19 struggles. The investigation of the relations-oriented leadership style of Joe Biden from the perspective of coercion demonstrated that in a position of power level, he skilfully used this argumentation technique to exert influence and control over his nation.

The positive correlation between CC and EC indicates the type of relation that is also in line with a broad theoretical account of emotions derived from the Evolutionary Psychology perspective that highlights the emotion-cognition interface (Toby and Cosmides 2008: 98). According to this theoretical framework, emotions coordinate mental mechanisms, *i.e.*, discourse achieves emotive effects in text-consumers when emotion programs get activated in response to specific cognitive representations (Hart 2010: 64). In causing text-consumers to activate certain cognitive representations (in the forms of frames, conceptual metaphors, and image schemas), text-producers may act intentionally to influence and control text-consumers' actions. These mental associations are automatic and deeply ingrained in the behavioural patterns and it is only through knowledge and affect that they can be activated, maintained and developed. This mechanism works well in political discourse presented by Joe Biden; he establishes his position of power by inducing emotional effects by specific categories of language usage, in this case, speech acts of assertives, commissives, and expressives, which allow him to act coercively due to their illocutionary force and the perlocutionary effect that is achieved. The above correlational pattern laid the foundation for a detailed correlation-based analysis, which is provided below.

CC correlation with struggle

The results of the analysis demonstrate a pattern of a moderately high positive value of **CC with struggle (+0.47)**. Based on the assumptions that text-producers may act coercively by producing information that relies on rules and conditions that govern speech acts (Hart 2010: 66), the study points to co-occurrence of assertives and commissives with Struggle. It has been shown that Biden's position of power is located in the illocutionary force of assertions, which are always commitments to the truth of the speaker's propositions. Commissives on the other hand, *e.g.*, promises, are obligations that the speaker makes which are commitments to changes that he will make in the future. The former type of illocutionary force is based on the beliefs of Joe Biden, and the latter refers to his intentions, which act as the sincerity conditions of these acts (Searle 1979: 5), *i.e.*, the beliefs of the speaker that they are true based on the factual information that he presents as the actual state of affairs. These dimensions are given more attention in relation to Struggle. With reference to this correlation set, the findings of the study highlight one main area of Joe Biden's position power claim. It relies on the illocutionary force of CC specified in the sincerity conditions of assertions (the Speaker believes that a presupposition is true) and commissives (the Speaker makes an obligation to the promisee to perform some future action). It follows from my analysis that President Joe Biden's leadership discourse involves undertaking a high degree of obligation to speak truthfully represented by assertives (consisting of 67.3% of all marked speech acts) and a rather low degree of commitments and obligation to perform a given course of action in the future (11.2 %).

What is most striking in this analysis is that Joe Biden's discourse is observed to include statements that are concerned with a struggling society (a relatively high positive correlation of $+0.50$). This suggests that the more he commits to the truth of his propositions by stating facts about the world, the more he reflects on the struggles of the American nation with the pandemic. Central to his leadership discourse is the inclusion of arguments that ultimately refer to the massive destruction caused by the pandemic, as well as his concern that it continues to bring devastating consequences across the country. President Joe Biden's truth-based claims with reference to a struggling American nation are among the most noticeable features of his discourse and include the following examples:

- (1) The pandemic has further ripped the path of destruction through every community in America, but we see its acute devastation among Black Americans who are dying, losing jobs and closing businesses at disproportionate rates in the dual pandemic and economic crises. (...) We are already seeing rising mental health concerns due in part to isolation. (...) Educational disparities that have always existed grow wider each day that our schools remain closed and remote learning isn't the same for every student. (...) We have sacrificed so much in the last year. (...) We are very much in a battle for the soul of America. (...) But since the start of this pandemic, more than 400000 small businesses have permanently closed and millions more are hanging by a thread.

As observed, Joe Biden's presidential leadership has its point of departure in its functions, here assertions, which are ways of creating the representation of his presidency. What I mean by that is that Joe Biden gives meaning to his actions through the functional deployment of his power, which takes place by means of information that he communicates, that consequently give reasons for his actions. Given this background, when Joe Biden makes statements (assertives) about the pandemic, he also asserts that the Covid-stricken America has not yet recovered from this great socio-economic depression. As noted above, although he has extensively built his position power based on assertions which raise the credibility of his propositions, he has failed to maintain his credibility as president since he cannot provide solutions for social recovery in times of crisis.

It has also been argued that commissives, being elements of CC, have played a significant part in establishing Biden's position of power. In the case of promising, these acts involve the intention to do something for someone in the future and an obligation to perform it. Furthermore, a promise is a highly situational feature of context since it normally requires some sort of situation that calls for a promise. For that reason, the correlational pattern found in the data revolves around the idea that Joe Biden is committed to taking action to confront the COVID-19 pandemic by making an obligation that he will address the immediate challenges brought on by the pandemic. I restrict myself to an illustration of only some of the promises he makes to tease out the most predominant thematic tendencies, which are the following:

- (2) We will get through this crisis if we look out for one another and work together to expand coverage, lower costs, and ensure that health care is a right for all Americans. (...) My administration will not make the mistake of taking this threat lightly or just assuming the best. (...) And if we work together with our democratic partners, with strength and confidence, we will meet every challenge and outpace every challenger. (...) We will build back better our economic foundations; reclaim our place in international institutions, lift up our values at home and speak out to defend them around the world, modernize our military capabilities, while leading first with diplomacy; and revitalize America's unmatched network of alliances and partnerships. (...) We will strengthen collaboration on G7 action on clinical trials for vaccines and therapeutics. (...) We will work together to help increase global vaccine supply. (...) The U.K. and U.S. will work together with like-minded countries to explore options for a new sustainable, catalytic health security financing mechanism.

Example (2) shows that these promises frequently involve the use of the Pluralisation of the 'I' pronoun strategy such as 'we', which refers to the plural of authority, solidarity, power, and social status (Ilie 2005: 182, Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987: 199). This also shows his commitment to cooperating in joint action. The use of the first-person plural also demonstrates his membership to a group and displays the fundamental social standing that he derives from the American nation. Another striking feature of this study is the global collaborative effort that needs to be made to combat crisis. The study demonstrated that his promises obligate him to initiate collaboration with other countries to fight the global scale of the pandemic. Biden's promises as seemingly collaborative power forms (see a discussion in Körner *et al.* 2020: 636) are powerful tools to create social coordination, solidarity, and concern for others.

However, the data presented in my study shows that his use of action-fuelled promises constitute only (11.2%) of his texts, compared to assertives (67.3%). The results show that although he stated that American nation is in the state of a pandemic emergency, apart from the dramatic wording of his assertives we do not learn much about formal declarations which would allow for a prompt presidential executive action. His first-year administration has also been characterised by a lower positive emotionality, lower achievement motivation, and more negative emotions such as threat, struggle and criticism, which are indicative of a coercive power leader (Cheng *et al.*, 2010; Körner & Schütz, 2020; Körner *et al.* 2020; ten Brinke & Keltner, 2022; see also Widmann, 2021). Interestingly, the study has revealed an issue that has not been reported by any research findings. My analysis provides relevant information about the preponderance of coercive power over collaborative power, which is characteristic of Biden's leadership. I propose that the differences mainly comprise **passivity and emotion**. Therefore, this paper fills this gap and argues for another perspective on power type through the level of speech act analysis in terms of performing language according to certain rules and conditions. The negative emotional tone of President Joe Biden's rhetoric is further analysed in the Section "Correlations with EC."

Correlations with EC

Another cluster of correlations that has been identified deals with EC and its emotive effects which relevantly cooccur with the variables of **threat (+0.55)**, **assertives (+0.57)**, **struggle (+0.84)**, and **praise (+0.71)**. Given the fact that all four variables demonstrate positive correlations with EC, I have analysed them under one heading.

Empirical results from the analysed data found much evidence of linguistic features which provide cognitive representations triggered by emotive effects and which are based on predications that refer to the deep-seated emotions such as fear. Crucially, activating these biologically determined emotion programs can be one simple way of taking over the reactions of the nation and taking advantage of them. Following the premise of contingency theory, position power rests on leader's ability to influence others and gain control. Furthermore, it acts as the potential which the organisation/nation provides for the leader's use, and which is established and built by intending to "[a]ffect the beliefs, emotions, and behaviour of others in such a way that suits one's own interests" (Hart 2010: 63). Given this background, the instrument of emotive coercion is a strategy used to produce the position power claim that enables the leader to get the nation to accept his leadership. With regard to the analysis, the variables that relevantly cooccurred with EC, *i.e.*, Struggle, Praise, Threat, and Assertive, are examined as crucial determinants of Joe Biden's leadership effectiveness.

A correlational pattern obtained in the study for EC and **threat** demonstrates rather clearly that President Joe Biden uses emotionalization of threat that enhances the persuasive function of his power claim. It has been observed that the threat construction pattern found in Biden's speeches draws upon the "anticipatory mode" activated by the existing effects of the pandemic but also is based on projecting its future trajectory through the lens of sequential catastrophes that are bound to happen following the COVID-19 pandemic. The threats in Example (3) show the two most pronounced topics which project particular representations of the future that necessitate prompt action.

- (a) VIRUS: As I have said many times, things are still likely to get worse again as new variants spread, and the current improvement could reverse./ We must continue to remain vigilant, act fast and aggressively./ We are still on a wartime footing/ (...) in the face of the more transmissible Omicron variant.
- (b) GLOBAL CRISIS: New crisis demand our attention./ (...) preparing for the next biological threat/ (...) this moment of accelerating global challenges- from the pandemic to the climate crisis to nuclear proliferation to the fourth industrial revolution./ (...) from the COVID-19 pandemic to the threat of climate change./ We agree to deepen cooperation (...) to ensure the effective joint response against the emerging threats./ contemporary threats and challenges require us to deepen our partnership in new areas./ (...) a time of considerable international hardship and rapid global change./ (...) to better prevent, detect, and respond to the next threat./

The climate crisis has reached a critical point./ We call on partners (...) to prepare countries for COVID-19 and future biological threats.

Interestingly, the threat-based pattern shows a relevant characteristic of Biden's rhetoric that is based on designing present actions as sequential disaster events. It seems that the momentum of recovery in the pandemic times has been determined by the catastrophic visions that bring crucial implications to triggering effective and dynamic social change. His anticipatory type of discourse (Scolon and Scollon 2000, de Saint-Georgs 2012) allows to position himself and the American nation with respect to knowledge of the "here and now" and agency over the future (Dunmire 2011: 56). Bearing in mind the context of the pandemic and global crisis, the future orientation is manifested linguistically through representing consecutive events shown in (3a) and (3b) as consequential to the American nation (Cap 2013: 12). As a result, it essentially acts as a preventive measure taken to offset the negative impact of a pandemic, to rationalize the present by projecting certain visions as "potentialities" of imminent danger, and to legitimise Biden's actions through **assertives** which involve fear appeals. The catalogue of threat-based mechanisms used by Joe Biden have been identified as potentially powerful tool to materialise the direct threat and build a rationale for a prompt pre-emptive response.

Regarding the **struggle** variable, the study shows a clear correlation with the EC component that mainly focuses on the use of *pathos* as the emotional bridge between Biden's statements and the "emotive effects" they create in the American nation. The relevance of this observation may be that Biden builds trust through emotion dynamics which are triggered by the message of struggles multiplied in post-Covid times. As for the thematic scope of struggle-related topics, the most common remarks that reappear are:

- (a.) The downgrade of the economy, e.g., "COVID-19 is hitting the poorest and most marginalized"; "America works to recover from the devastating challenges of a deadly pandemic, an economic crisis"; "since the start of this pandemic, more than 400,000 small businesses have permanently closed and millions more are hanging by a thread"; "while our recovery is far from complete"; "inflation is a global challenge",
- (b.) The increase of hate crimes/social inequality, e.g., "the systemic and persistent obstacles that fuel gender disparities and undermine women's potential"; "1 in 3 women are subjected to domestic violence, COVID-19 has only exacerbated the threat of intimate partner violence"; "ongoing struggle for racial equity and social justice"; "anti-Asian bias and violence have accelerated",
- (c.) The crisis of press, e.g., "the truth is increasingly under attack"; "online abuse and harassment of journalists"; "authoritarians are striving to undermine the free press, manipulate the truth, or spread disinformation"; "threats to a free and independent media."

With regard to *pathos*, we see the examples that bring to the fore the type of post-pandemic agenda that has nothing to do with Biden's manifesto of "Building Back Better Plan." It is argued that the emerging dimension in this study is dissatisfaction, lack of social resilience, and instability. The combination of these issues resonating in Biden's leadership discourse has potentially significant implications for dealing with crisis and adapting to change. In catastrophic times, the core mission is to build resilient organisations and resilient leaders who can lead a disrupted society. The findings highlight that Biden's leadership hinders agile response to disruption, mainly caused by the negative attitudes that he projects toward society. In this vein, he has shown his inability to withstand the pandemic effects and, therefore, his incompetence in performing effective risk management.

In terms of EC and Praise correlation (+0.71), the pattern shows that the emotive aspects are combined with a public speech act of praising. This group comprises statements made with positive sentiment that manifest Biden's favourable assessments of his own actions as well as the performance of other public actors. In general, the corpus of praise shows a tendency to positively evaluate the following areas: (i.) Biden's administration: (healthcare programmes, job/economic growth), (ii.) The strength of America: (the brilliance of scientists, the resilience and eagerness of the people, strong military force), and (iii.) High morals: (bravery, truth, courage, commitment, strong work ethic). It can be observed that the gamut of topics is forms of Biden's favourable assessment of the post-pandemic situation, which mainly focuses on maintaining a positive self-face and demonstrating praise as solidarity-oriented actions. These messages communicate that while acknowledging the difficulty of the pandemic situation in which society has been immersed, Biden's leadership also acknowledges accomplishments that serve as examples of successful persuasive efforts. Using Biden's applaudable speech may suggest distracting the public from his response to the unfolding stages of the pandemic crisis. In line with these findings, I postulate that ingratiation was the *pathos*-based tactic consistently used by President Joe Biden to gain a significant rhetorical advantage, which affects persuasiveness.

3. Concluding remarks

The conclusions to be drawn from the present study have potentially significant implications for presidential discourse and leadership communication studies. As for this study's research question, regarding President Joe Biden's leadership effectiveness, the findings show that it exhibits a low degree of effectiveness in the pandemic times. It has also been observed how the reformulated framework of the contingency model works, one which is modified by the anthropolinguistic elements and which can be a solid platform for documenting Biden's culturally contingent leadership practices. The results add to linguistic knowledge on how

certain mechanisms operate to produce leadership effectiveness. Furthermore, there are still no similar studies within the anthropolinguistic studies that would encapsulate features of president's leadership language in the pandemic context. In terms of my specific hypotheses, first, I have argued that Joe Biden represents a relationship-oriented leadership style falling into Octant V of the model, which predisposed him to collaborative forms of power. Although there already exists a bulk of studies which support this outcome, my analysis has not corroborated these findings and highlighted that he deploys the coercive stance in claiming power and control.

Following Austin's (1962) original proposal that speech acts not only impart information but most importantly, perform specific actions through language, the pragmatic functions of Biden's leadership mainly rest on assertives which potentially raise his credibility, but at the same time undermine his performativity in the context of risk management as they do not provide the solutions for the social recovery in the times of crisis (a limited number of commissives). In addition, the data quantitatively demonstrates that there exists a strong correlation with EC and CC, which consistently reports that the increasing *pathos* presence in the leadership rank can be a strategy for promoting, maintaining, and developing power and control over American society. To further support this claim, this study shows that Biden legitimises his actions through the strategy of emotionalization as a discursive practice that creates patterns of social thinking which become social facts. Due to these patterns, society attributes emotional quality to pandemic messages that carry threat-based evaluations and attitudes that lack hope.

As a concluding remark, apart from the findings which deal with Biden's response to the pandemic, the study emphasises the potential effect that his leadership style could have on community resilience as a type of cultural change. Here, this phenomenon is recognised as the "[c]hange in social practices and ideas from a broader perspective (...) that occur in the larger field of collective struggles and individual strategies, which shift depending on values assigned to them and adjust as new positions take hold, and alter other positions in the field" McCabe and Briody 2018: 15). Indeed, building resilient communities requires large-scale assessment and involves a continuous process that is often not planned and purposeful. However, on this higher plane, the study has brought to the focus of attention the anthropolinguistic tools incorporated in the contingency model (Fiedler 1967) which help to document the shifting practices and explore disruptive changes determined by the pandemic context. Specifically, at the macro level dynamics of Biden's power, this analysis accentuates that his relationship-oriented style ought to come under the rubric of sharing (furthering mutual goals), action (taking steps to achieve practical effects), and rational logic. Such analytical focus must also take into account the fact that emotionalisation serves as a proximising strategy that "[p]resents physically and temporally distant occurrences, events and states of affairs (...) as increasingly and negatively consequential to the political

speaker and her addressee” (Cap 2020: 228). From a leadership perspective, the change that is taking place draws on the societal struggles with the pandemic and on the imagining of the closeness of a looming danger, which ultimately demobilizes the society and triggers the deactivation mode in the process of building post-pandemic resilience.

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CZĘŚĆ II

LITERATURA I KULTUROZNAWSTWO

Nikolai Gumilev's Italian poems: The quest for image

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Abstract: This article analyzes the Italian poems of Nikolai Gumilev, with particular regard to the use of ekphrasis and ekphrastic vision. The poetic cycle in question marks a pivotal stage in author's artistic path, relating to the foundation of Acmeism – a short-lived, yet influential, phenomenon within Russian Modernism. The analysis shows how programmatic quest for spatial and visual poetry grounded in literary tradition relates to the phenomenon of Italian literary travel.

Abstrakt: Niniejszy artykuł analizuje wiersze włoskie Nikołaja Gumilowa, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem wykorzystania ekfrazy i wizji ekfrastycznej. Cykl poetycki, o którym mowa, wyznacza kluczowy etap na drodze twórczej autora, związany z powstaniem akmeizmu – krótkotrwałego, lecz istotnego zjawiska w obrębie modernizmu rosyjskiego. Analiza pokazuje, w jaki sposób programowe poszukiwanie poezji przestrzennej i wizualnej zakorzenionej w tradycji literackiej wiąże się ze zjawiskiem włoskiej podróży literackiej.

Key words: ekphrasis, literary travel, Italianism, Acmeism, Nikolai Gumilev

Słowa kluczowe: ekfrafa, podróż literacka, Italianizm, Akmeizm, Nikołaj Gumilow

1. Literary travel to Italy and artistic path of Nikolai Gumilev

Literary travels tend to be at least as revelatory of their authors as they are of the places they describe. Autobiographism and self-creation demonstrate to varying degree but remain intrinsic to the genre. This aspect of literary travels became evident in Romanticism. Secularizing the tradition of pilgrimage, Romantics established a trope of the quest for personal reinvention. Italian poems authored by Nikolai Gumilev are manifestos of artistic renewal, declarations of spiritual rejuvenation and testimonies of authorial views on philosophy and art. This article demonstrates how ekphrasis is a vehicle of intertextuality, allowing the author to position himself among generations of predecessors.

Nikolai Gumilev (1886–1921), together with Sergei Gorodetsky, was the founding father of Acmeism. Along with Osip Maldelshstam and Anna Akhmatova

(at the time, Gumilev's wife; married in 1910, poets officially divorced in 1918), he was the most eminent member of this transient literary school. While the movement was short-lived, it was a momentous episode for Russian literature, with influence extending to the next generations of writers – notably, Vladimir Nabokov and Iosif Brodski. Composed in spring of 1912, the Gumilev's cycle of Italian poems is thematically and chronologically linked to the origins of Acmeism. Established the same year, the group distanced itself from Symbolism, perceived as impoverished, declining and infatuated with mysticism. Nevertheless, this did not presume a complete rupture. Elaine Rusinko aptly notices that "in spite of their sometimes antagonistic rhetoric, they [Acmeists – O.N.] saw themselves as part of reform and development of main-line Symbolism, rather than a reaction against it" (Rusinko 1982:495). A crucial point of the "Acmeist reform" was the reintroduction of the spatial, the visual, and the image. In the article *Symbolism's legacy and Acmeism* (Наследие символизма и акмеизм), Gumilev discusses "that element of light which distinguishes objects, which sharply outlines" as an alternative to "very Symbolist melding of all forms and things, this inconstancy of their images" (tr. Robert T. Whittaker, Jr; Forrester, 2015: 291). Drawing on Nietzschean concepts of Apollonian and Dionysian, Gumilev positions himself on the side of "that measured restraint, that freedom from the wilder impulses, that calm wisdom of the image-creating god" (tr. Douglas Smith, Nietzsche, 2000: 21). If Symbolists loved music and its ephemerality, Acmeism wanted architectural solidity. Russian Symbolism seemed overly elusive to Gumilev. He explains it in another article (not published in his lifetime):

Symbolists explored all the musical potentialities of the word, showed how the same word in different combinations of sounds can mean different things, but they could not prove that this different meaning is the real meaning, and not just one of the possibilities. (...) In their poems there is no consistent interplay of foreground and background; with an overdeveloped metaphor, hypermetaphor, I would say, a man is all too easily replaced by a star, and the star, in turn, by an idea, and so on. How could they, totally subordinated to the temporal art of music, know about the spatial laws of plastic perception! (Translations are mine unless otherwise stated; Gumilev 1998: VII, 170)¹

In contrast to that, Gumilev was seeking the poetry of the concrete, poetry attentive to the spatiality. *Italian poems* can be seen as the embodiment of this new

¹ "Символисты использовали все музыкальные возможности слова, показали, как одно и то же слово в разных звуковых сочетаниях значит иное, но доказать, что это иное и есть подлинное значение данного слова, а не одна из его возможностей, не смогли. (...) В их стихотворениях отсутствует последовательное смешение планов переднего и заднего; при помощи чрезмерно развитой метафоры, гиперметафоры, сказал бы я, человек с исключительной лёгкостью подменяется звездой, звезда какой-нибудь идеей и т. д. Откуда ж бы им, всецело подчинённым временному искусству музыки, знать о пространственных законах пластического восприятия!" (Gumilev 1998:VII, 170).

ideal. George Nivat aptly noticed that Gumilev's Italy is a response to the Italy of Alexander Blok (Nivat 1982: 706), an alternative to the somber and pessimistic vision of the master of Russian Symbolism. For Blok great culture of the days long gone seemed suppressed by modern civilization, and the contemporary Italy of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel seemed unworthy of the nation's past (Nivat 1982:709). Gumilev's Italian poems are devoid of such tones. Past and present are not opposed to each other. For Gumilev, history remains present "in the land, where graves of dead are silent // Yet their will, power and force are alive"² (*Фра Беато Анджелико – Fra Beato Andželiko* – Gumilev, 1998: II, 123). The vehicle of that is the continuity of culture embodied in the artifacts. The poem *Genuya* provides a poignant example of this. Observing merchants depicted on a Renaissance painting, speaker can almost feel their presence in the current moment:

Миг один, и будет чудо;
Вот один из них, смелея,
Опросит: «Вы синьор, откуда,
Из Ливорно иль Пирея? [...]»³ (Gumilev 1998: II, 114)

Images are a source of connection to the past, and a model for Acmeist poetry. Travel in geographical space becomes a quest for spatiality in poetry, for making "poetry as image" – "ut pictura poesis"⁴. Maria Rubins claims that "Gumilev deliberately creates in his Italian cycle an impersonal account of his journey, disposing of any profound extra-aesthetic content" (Rubins, 2000:174). This article demonstrates that such criticism is misguided. The quality of being "descriptive" is closely linked to the quest for spatial and visual poetry and does not undermine the profoundly personal character of those poems.

2. *Paduanskij sobor*

On the surface *Italian poems* may seem to add little to the standard formulas of Italian travelogue (or "Italianism"⁵), established in European literature.

² „В стране, где тихи гробы мертвецов // Но где жива их воля, власть и сила” (Gumilev, 1998: II,123)

³ „One moment, and the miracle will come/One of them, getting bolder/Will ask:”You, signore, where are you from/Livorno or Piraeus?”

⁴ It's worth noting, that this usage of the phrase, while commonly accepted, is not etymologically correct. In the original context of Horace's *Epistole to the Pisos*, famous author is simply suggesting to look at poetry like one looks at a picture (this is to say, looking close, paying attention to the details. However, throughout ages the Latin phrase "ut pictura poesis" was interpreted as a claim that poetry is, or should be, like image, and is widely used in this context until today (Krieger, 1992:78-79)

⁵ Conceptualizing the study of non-Italian literary texts, engaging with Italian culture, and intertextually linked with each other, Polish Italianist and comparativist, Olga Płaszczewska, proposes studying "Italianism" defined not as a mere influence, but rather – as a discourse and field of interest, as well as a mode of expression, entangled in multidirectional relationships with described

Descriptions of the weather and landscape (Неаполь [*Neapol*], Пиза [*Piza*], Падуанский собор [*Paduanskiĭ sobor*]) echo the traditional motifs of picturesque Italian beauty. In an equally typical manner, the poems are abundant in references to cultural artifacts and historical figures, while saying little about modern Italy and its inhabitants. They interpret contemporary spaces through the lens of the past. This is because in the eyes of many European writers, Italian reality was ‘a museum’ or even a ‘mausoleum’ (Luzzi, 2002:50). Such perception is focused on artifacts and landscapes, which serve as a background for cultural showpieces, thus it is visually oriented. It comes as no surprise that literary “Italianism” is typically ekphrastic. Margaret Topping notes how the “frequent presence of quasi-ekphrastic descriptions of the culture visited, which associate it with pre-defined esthetic commodity” (Topping, 2019:80) is a characteristic of traditional travel literature in general. Thus, both ekphrasis *sensu stricto* – verbal representation of a work of visual art – and ekphrasis *sensu largo* – “sought-for equivalent in words of any visual image (...) all word-painting” (Krieger, 1992:9) – are characteristic traits of “Italianism”⁶. In modern critics, “gaze” and “ocularcentrism” are frequently subject to ethical scrutiny, particularly in regard to travel literature. However, the visuality of Gumilev’s Italian poems cannot be isolated from the author’s broader aesthetic orientation discussed above. Gumilev’s ekphrastic visions are projections of the author’s theoretical inclinations and his project of poetry, modelled after spatial arts. Poem *Paduanskiĭ sobor* provides a good example of this.

The English title *The Cathedral at Padua*, used in translation by Earl D. Sampson and by Alla Burago and Burton Raffel, creates certain ambiguity regarding the architectural prototype. The Russian word *собор* (*sobor*) could refer to two of the Florentine churches: Basilica Pontificia di Sant’Antonio di Padova and Basilica Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta. However, the reference to “Gothic towers” in the final stanza makes clear that the former was the architectural prototype of the poem, which leaves the English title somewhat misleading. With various architectural styles leaving their mark on the basilica, it seems appropriate that

territory and other texts (Płaszczewska, 2010:269). Thus understood “Italianism” is, in many regards, analogous to Saidian definition of Orientalism (Płaszczewska 2010: 262). However, unlike Said, Płaszczewska does not concentrate on discourse criticism; rather, she explores intersections between transnational discursive patterns, individual artistic expression, and context of author’s national literature. The article at hand has no theoretical ambitions, however, author finds thus understood “Italianism” an useful tool of analysis.

⁶ Murray Krieger’s inclusive definition of ekphrasis, however interesting as a starting point of author’s exploration of the visuality of writing, has been frequently criticized, mostly for impracticality (see Heffernan 1993:3). While applying inclusive definition of the term may go against common practice, I find it appropriate due to its historical accuracy, and, most importantly, due to impossibility of “finding the object of ekphrasis”. Elusive character of those “objects” will be illustrated in the subsequent part. In subchapter *Fra Beato Angelico* I will return to Krieger’s theory of ekphrasis. However, I’m using the term ‘ekphrasis’ without further classification only in reference to ‘verbal representations of the works of visual art’ in order to avoid confusion.

the poem is dominated by contrast. The rising and falling sound of the Russian iambic pentameter corresponds to vertical dynamism built by the concentration of opposing kinetic verbs, which matches the juxtaposition of oppositions on a semantical level. The reader can observe the unity of form and content. The aesthetic experience fixated in the poem is characterized by fragmentation. Only the first two verses give a generalized view of the temple, describing it in abstract and intellectualized terms. The visual experience is rendered in rapid succession of isolated images: “windows of confessional booths” with “eyes weary of desire”, metaphorical “blood” and “veins” of “granite walls”, “naked bodies” of the martyrs, “dim vaultings”, altogether creating the sense of heightened carnality. The living people are reified (reduced to “eyes”), while sculpture – a thing – is seen as a “body” (Gumilev 1998: II, 154).

The lyrical hero finds himself on the verge of being consumed by the cathedral. This pushes him to hurdle outside to sit in a tavern with a glass of wine. As the hero leaves the temple, a contrasting image is introduced, providing a counter-balance. The exterior of the basilica, namely – the perpendicularity of the Gothic towers, weakens him, suggesting the victory of the temple.

This paradoxical resolution can be elucidated through juxtaposition with the architectural prototype. As stated before, descriptions of the temple presented in the poem are rather elusive, in contrast with the declarative “concreteness” of Acmeist poetry. Rather than describing a work of visual art, the text reproduces the emotive state produced by it. Though such perception is subjective, and, mediated through other literary texts, the contrasting mood fixated in the final quatrain remains linked with aesthetical ambiguity, characterizing the cathedral itself.

Yuri Zobnin interprets the poem as a refutation of Catholicism by Orthodox conscience (Zobnin, 1999). Like a large part of the interpretations in the monograph *Николай Гумилёв – поэт Православия* (*Nikolaj Gumilev – poët Pravoslavija*), this one says more about the critic's ideological inclinations than about the text itself⁷. In fact, Gumilev does not condemn the Roman Church. This is visible in the final lines, where “Catholicism” is associated with the Acmeist ideal of paradoxical solidity found in movement:

Готические башни, словно крылья,
Католицизм в лазури распростер. (Gumilev 1998:II, 154)⁸.

More accurate conclusions were drawn by Georges Nivat, who asserts that “Gumilev felt the mixture of strength, health, sensualism and mysticism of Italian Catholicism” (Nivat 1982:706). It is worth noting, however, that those various

⁷ Although this book presents a good overview of Christian motives in Gumilyev's oeuvre, the explicit ideological bias of the “Gumilyev-as-a-poet-of-Orthodoxy” narrative is a source of many misguided interpretations, such as the one discussed here.

⁸ “Gothic towers, like wigs/Catholicism has spread in lazure” (Gumilev 1998:II, 154)

aesthetical categories are put in a logical order. Introducing some additional literary context will help elucidate it.

The peculiar mixture of religious affection and sensuousness, reflected in the poem, was a common trope of European Decadence, a known influence for Gumilev. In the Italian context, the most obvious association would be works of Gabriel d'Annunzio. Gumilev had a profound reverence for this author. The poem *Ода д'Аннунцио* (*Oda d'Annuncio*) testifies that. However, in the context of the discussed poem, other influences, common for D'Annunzio and Gumilev, seem to be more relevant. This includes "decadent Catholicism" of Oscar Wilde and John Gray. We can see it in juxtaposition of *Падуанский собор* (*Paduanskij sobor*) with visions of peculiar intimacy of confession in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* or erotic fascination with suffering and martyrdom in Gray's *Madonna*.

Горят в окошечках исповедален
Желаньем истомленные глаза (Gumilev 1998:II, 154)⁹.

As he passed out, he used to look with wonder at the black confessionals and long to sit in the dim shadow of one of them and listen to men and women whispering through the worn grating the true story of their lives (Wilde, 2008:128)

... от мучеников томных,
От белизны их обнаженных тел (Gumilev 1998:II, 154)¹⁰

O foul voluptuousness! when I have made
Of every deadly sin a deadlier blade,
Torturer filled with pain will I draw near
The target of thy breast, and, sick with fear,
Deliberately plant them all where throbs
Thy bleeding heart, and stifling with its sobs (qd. in Lockerd, 2020:31)

Those common tropes of Decadent Catholicism likely had an impact on imaginary, employed in *Paduanskij sobor*. Even more profound parallels can be traced to Joris-Karl Huysmans's trilogy, culminating in the novel *The Cathedral*. The dynamics of Huysmans's cycle is similar to Gumilev's poem in its passage from frenetic Decadence to religious clarity and a sense of order, with art being a vehicle for that. Litwinowicz observes that:

By combining two different aesthetics, the Issenheim Altarpiece bridges the gap between the macabre vanitas of *Là-bas*, in the spirit of Holbein and Bosch, and the apology of life of *The Cathedral* (Litwinowicz, 2018:135).

⁹ "In the windows of the confessionals burning//eyes, exhausted with desire." (Gumilev 1998:II, 154)

¹⁰ "...from exhausted martyrs, from the whiteness of their naked bodies" (Gumilev 1998:II, 154)

Gothic architecture can symbolize tension between the nature and the artifice, between the senses and the spirit. Organic, arboreal forms, inspired by primordial hierophany of primary forest, are filled with uniquely human meaning. This tension is crucial for the Decadent esthetics.

In *The Cathedral*, art constitutes a part of authentically religious experience of unification of opposite principles. Resolution of the poem *Падуанский собор* (*Paduanskij sobor*), in which the speaker, exhausted by the intensity of the stimuli, attempts to “escape” the temple only to find himself ultimately defeated by its exterior, by the counterbalance provided by perpendicular Gothic towers, is analogous to the case of Huysmans's Durtal:

The Soul, distraught by the joy of union, heartbroken at having still to live, only aspires now to escape forever from the Gehenna of the flesh; thus it beseeches the Bridegroom with the uplifted arms of its towers, to take pity on it, to come to fetch it, to take it by the clasped hands of its spires and snatch it from earth, to carry it up with Him into Heaven (Huysmans, n.d.)

Much like for Huysmans's Durtal, a sense of order reveals itself for Gumilev's speaker through reaching limits of excess. This sudden clarity, achieved through artistic “visions of excess” can be understood both in religious and aesthetical context. Italian poems represent a breakthrough period in Gumilev's oeuvre, marked by re-embrace of Christianity and push towards clarity. In this context, his poem can be read as an Acmeist manifesto, demonstrating the passage from Symbolism towards the Acmeist clarity.

3. *Fra Beato Andželiko*

Programmatic questions are equally important in the poem *Fra Beato Andželiko*, which is considered an Acmeist manifesto. Pondering upon the role of image in this poem, one can notice several layers of ekphrasis. The first layer is evident: “the verbal representation of visual representation” (Heffernan 1993:3) – in the case of the discussed poem, descriptions of Fra Angelico's paintings. The second layer of ekphrasis is less obvious to the extent that I failed to encounter any mention of it in the existing literature. In my assessment, those descriptions are partially derived from Vasari's *Lives of Artists*, which complicates their relationship with the visual source. Third layer of ekphrasis is pictorial character of the poem itself. Descriptions of paintings are inscribed into an imaginative landscape, created with such emphasis on the visual element, that it evokes the primary meaning of the term “ekphrasis”:

The early meaning given “ekphrasis” in Hellenistic rhetoric (...) was totally unrestricted: it referred, most broadly, to a verbal description of something, almost anything, in life or art. (...) Whatever the object was to describe, and whether in rhetoric or

poetry, it consistently carried with it a sense of a set verbal device than encouraged an extravagance in detail and vividness in representation, so that – as it was sometimes put – our ears could serve as our eyes (Krieger 1992:7)

Valetine Cunningham notices that „ekphrasis grants a demonstration of literature’s persistent resurrectionist desires – the craving to have the past return living, to live again, to speak again”¹¹ (Cunningham 2007:63). This tendency is evident in Gumilev’s poem, which explicitly reflects upon history and tradition, affirming their life. This mode of perception, prototyped in Petrarch’s *Famous Letters* by the account of wandering through the ruins of Rome, transgressed linguistic and temporal boundaries to become one of the staple motifs of “Italianist discourse” (see footnote 5) – and, occasionally, an object of understandable ethical scrutiny (Luzzi, 2002 is one example). Trespassing temporal boundaries may be seen as emulation of spatial arts, such as painting. The nature of the visual medium is to present everything at once. This overlaps with a tourist’s experience confronted with remains of different epochs, with different epochs revived in his mind. Knowledge of the space includes literary and mythological sources along with historical ones; for this reason, the mental landscape unfolding in traveler’s mind blurs distinctions between fiction and reality. Such is the fictionalized and aestheticized Italy *painted by* Gumilev in the first two stanzas. Deictic expressions (“In this country where...”) (Gumilev 1998:II, 123), which tend to ground in concrete reality, are paired with mentions of conspicuously fantastic beings: “hippogryph”, this “second generation monster or invention” (Borges & Guerrero, 1974:79), “winged lion”, “crystal nymphs” and “crowned furies”¹². A common, non-capitalized word for “night” is used in a personalization, indicating association with the Roman goddess Nox – mother of the Furies. The effect of pictoriality is achieved through condensation of images and adjectives referencing visual characteristics; among them, „lazure” and „crystal” emphasize the artifice of this landscape. The historicity, on the other hand, is represented by the graves – graves of “the dead” whose “force, power, and will” remain alive¹³ (Gumilev 1998:II, 123).

Subsequent part, enlisting masters of the Italian Renaissance, serves as a starting point for the praise of Fra Angelico. First, the names are enlisted together with positive characteristics, only to be repeated with rejection. In a manner typical for broadly understood ekphrasis, the speaker in the poem acts as a guide, who “not only ‘shows’, but directs his or her audience’s attention, adding order and

¹¹ Cunningham operates on more narrow definition of ekphrasis: “that pausing, in some fashion, for thought before, and/or about, some nonverbal work of art, or craft, a poiema without words, some more or less aestheticized made object, or set of made objects” (Cunningham 2007: 57).

¹² В стране, где гиппогриф весёлый льва//Крылатого зовёт играть в лазури,//Где выпускает ночь из рукава//Хрустальных нимф и венценосных фурий (Gumilev 1998:II, 123)

¹³ “В стране, где тихи гробы мертвецов,//Но где жива их воля, власть и сила” (Gumilev 1998:II, 123)

meaning to the undifferentiated mass of sights which is presented to the visitor” (Webb 2016:54). Having set the scene through painting this *cultural landscape*, the author narrows down the focus to a detail on this map of Italy – the town of Fiesole, the house of Fra Angelico. This, in turn, serves as an introduction to what is normally understood as “ekphrasis” by modern critics – that is, descriptions of particular works of art. Those descriptions are preceded by general praise of the painter, to which I will soon return. For now, it is important to note how this panoramic view effortlessly transcends into a discussion of concrete works.

Critics frequently noticed that the references to particular paintings are vague, making identification of visual “prototypes” problematic (Malyx, 2009). Fra Angelico’s tendency to return to specific subjects and depict them in a similar manner further complicates the task. The critical edition of Gumilev’s complete works quotes two hypotheses. Georges Nivat refers to “altar paintings of St. Mark’s Monastery in Fiesole”, as the “unquestionable prototype”, while Nikolai Bogomolov considers that descriptions refer to depictions of Madonna with the Child and Saints Cosmas and Damian in San Vincenzo d’Annalena in Florence (Gumilev 1998:II, 284). However, neither of the explanations is satisfactory. “St. Mark Monastery in Fiesole” does not exist; there is, St. Mark’s Monastery in Florence and St. Dominic’s Monastery in Fiesole, both decorated by Fra Angelico. While the explanation proposed by Bogomolov is plausible, as the paintings on the altarpiece correspond with details of Gumilev’s description, it ignores the image of the mounted knight described in the seventh stanza. The structure of the poem signals the passage from “general picture” to ekphrasis of particular paintings, which follow after the line “but what he did paint was perfect”¹⁴ (Gumilev 1998:II, 123). Accordingly, the image of the mounted knight portrayed against “rocks” and “groves”, “flocks” walking “through the streets of the suburbs” (Gumilev 1998:II, 124) in the lights of dawn, has to be the first one of them. However, there is no corresponding work not only in San Vincenzo d’Annalena, but anywhere in the oeuvre of John of Fiesole¹⁵. Perhaps the poem alludes to one of depictions of the Three Wise Man, like the *Adoration of the Magi* recorded in 1492 in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi in Florence as work of Fra Angelico¹⁶. However, some elements (“flocks”) are missing, and by the time Gumilev visited Italy, this painting was in a private collection in Britain (Cook et al., 1913).

¹⁴ “Но то, что рисовал он, — совершенно.” (Gumilev 1998:II, 123)

¹⁵ Description in the poem resembles the youngest king depicted in the famous work *Procession of the Magi* authored by Benozzo Gozzoli, the greatest among Fra Angelico’s disciples, in 1459. This painting is a jewel of Chapel of the Magi in Palazzo Medici Riccardi (Florence). Before that, Gozzoli assisted Fra Angelico in painting the *Adoration of the Magi* in Cosimo Medici’s cell in San Marco (Florence).

¹⁶ Today this painting is displayed in National Gallery on Art (Washington) as a work of Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi (*Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo Lippi, The Adoration of the Magi, c. 1440/1460*, <<https://www.nga.gov/collection/highlights/angelico-lippi-the-adoration-of-the-magi.html>> (last accessed: 15.5.2022)

Palazzo Medici Riccardi features another depiction of the Magi – the famous *Procession of the Magi* by Benozzo Gozzoli, a disciple of Fra Angelico, who also assisted the master in painting the *Adoration of the Magi* in Cosimo Medici's cell in San Marco (Florence). All the elements referenced in the poem can only be found in Gozzoli's *Procession of the youngest king*. If we reject the possibility of such confusion, the seventh stanza of the poem remains a mystery. Regarding the next two stanzas, we can agree with Bogomolov's supposition regarding San Vincenzo d'Annalena altarpiece as the prototype. At the same time, Fra Angelico approached the theme of the martyrdom of St. Cosma and St. Damian twice and authored numerous depictions of Madonna. Descriptions in the poem are vague, thus preventing readers from confidently identifying prototypical paintings.

Discussion of concrete objects transcends effortlessly into general observations again in the tenth stanza, as the speaker characterizes the color palette, linking the purity of colors with the spirit of the painter: "They were born with him and with him died"¹⁷ (Gumilev 1998:II, 124). The final part moves from description towards narration and reflection. The assessment of Fra Angelico's life and art, presented in this part, as well as the preceding descriptions of his paintings, is strikingly similar to the model provided in Vasari's *Lives of Artists*, a classic work which was a common currency among Modernists. To illustrate those affinities, relevant chapter in Vasari's opus magnum needs to be quoted in length:

Brother Giovanni Angelico of Fiesole (known in the world as Guido), was no less an excellent painter and illuminator than a worthy priest, and he deserves for both of these reasons to be greatly honoured by posterity. (...) could have earned whatever he wanted from the arts in which, even as a young man, he was already quite proficient, he nevertheless desired, for his own satisfaction and tranquility (being by nature calm and gentle) and, principally, for the salvation of his soul, to join the Order of the Preaching Friars (...) after Cosimo had built the church and monastery of San Marco, he had Fra Angelico paint the entire Passion of Jesus Christ upon one wall of the chapter house (...) But astonishingly beautiful is the panel on the high altar of the church, for, besides the Madonna whose simplicity inspires devotion in anyone who gazes at Her, as do the saints who resemble and surround Her, there are scenes in the predella from the martyrdoms of Saints Cosmas, Damian, and others which are so well done that it is impossible to imagine seeing anything created with more care, or figures executed with greater delicacy than these. (...) a person who led a most holy life, quiet, and modest (as he actually was) (...) And what more can or should a man desire than to gain the heavenly kingdom by living a holy life and earning eternal fame in this world by working with skill? And in truth, a sublime and exceptional talent such as that Fra Angelico possessed could and should not be bestowed upon anyone but a man leading the most holy of lives; for this reason, those who engage in ecclesiastical and holy works should be ecclesiastics and holy men themselves, for we see that when such things are executed by people who have little faith and hold religion in low esteem, they often fill the mind with impure appetites and lascivious

¹⁷ "Они родились с ним и с ним погасли" (Gumilev 1998:II, 124)

desires, with the result that the work is censured for its impurity but praised for its craftsmanship and skill. But I would not wish anyone to be mistaken and to construe that clumsy and inept works are pious, while beautiful and well-done ones are corrupt, as some people do when they see figures either of women or young boys that are a bit more pleasing, beautiful, and ornate than usual and who immediately seize upon them and judge them as lustful, without realizing that they are very much in the wrong to condemn the good judgement of the painter (...) In short, this friar who could never be sufficiently praised, was in all he did or said most humble and modest, and in his paintings articulate and devout; the saints he painted possess more of the expression and the appearance of saints than those by any other artist (Bondanella et al. 1998:169–177).

Some similarities are apparent on a textual level, but parallels go beyond that. Vasari was an inventor of Renaissance theory of art, uniting the artistic and human ideal. Both for Vasari and Gumilev artistic perfection is related to the individuality of the artist; Gumilev follows Vasari's suit in describing not so much the paintings as Fra Angelico's art in general. This was routine in the Renaissance period; Vasari's novelty, as observes Svetlana Leontief Alpers, lies in linking this optics with his theory of art: "absolute perfection refers not to the general perfection of art, but to the particular perfection of the representational means; the ends are susceptible not to a single perfection, but to infinite variety" (Alpers 1960:204). This helps to explain paradoxical lines:

О да, не все умел он рисовать,
Но то, что рисовал он, – совершенно (Gumilev 1998: II, 123)¹⁸.

Fra Angelico was a perfect artist, even though he could not paint everything, because there are as many *perfections* as artists. Alpers also observes how, when describing paintings, Vasari's focus is psychological, he concentrates on artist's ability to portray internal states authentically. As Gumilev in *Fra Beato Angelico*, he does not indicate the arrangement of the figures depicted, instead concentrating on the unfolding story (Alpers 1960:193). Finally, *Lives of Artists* are a source of moral characteristics of Fra Angelico, the "humble simplicity" praised in the poem. Gumilev follows Vasari's suit in linking those moral values and esthetic qualities.

The article *Symbolism's Legacy and Acmeism* asserts that "ethics becomes esthetics" (tr. Robert T. Whittaker, Jr; Forrester, 2015:292). Accepting Christianity leaves no need for imprudent excursions in the realm of mystics, as poetry does not usurp a religious role (Forrester, 2015:293). Interest in painting and sculpture is linked to this return to concrete reality, hence this "thingly" esthetics. The Christian virtue of modesty transmits into acceptance of the limitations of human knowledge, as well as own talents, requiring continuous development through

¹⁸ "Yes, he could not paint everything/But what he did paint was perfect".

meticulous study of form. Poetry was seen as a particular sort of craftsmanship, hence the humble name of “Guild of Poets”, adopted by Acmeists. It is not difficult to see why Fra Angelico was a suitable role model for Gumilev. Yuri Zobnin summarizes it:

Is it necessary to look for the divine only in the transcendence, given that the whole world is a God’s creation? In order to achieve brightness and purity of color, it is necessary only to “dissolve the flowers in bishops” consecrated oil (Zobnin, 1999).

Here, the critic aptly notices the importance of the earthly aspect, symbolized by “flowers”. Elsewhere, however, he provides a misguided interpretation, in which the Dominican monk becomes a holder and a symbol of “the Orthodox view on religious art”, “abandoning curiosity about the “particulars” of life and pay attention to the values of a different, higher order. The canon of religious painting asserts its spirituality, “humbling” the natural human attraction to the “carnal” principle of existence” (Zobnin, 1999)¹⁹. This reading is puzzling, it is the “particulars of life” that interest Gumilev the most. On the other hand, Oleg Lekmanov notices the “carnality” of Gumilev’s Fra Angelico, but claims that this interpretation is “a glaring contradiction with the traditional, centuries-old perceptions of Fra Beato²⁰”. This statement is extremely inaccurate. In the excerpt quoted above, Vasari himself praises depictions of saints for their similarity to real people. This is because the works of Fra Angelico are not examples of strict adherence to the canon and exclusive focus on spiritual beauty (in a manner expected in Russian Orthodox theology of icon). Instead, they present a unique blend of canonical and individual, traditional and innovatory, earthly and heavenly:

He combined much of traditional Byzantine and Gothic styles with increasingly influential Renaissance techniques, following traditional iconography in many respects, but departing from it in other ways (...) seeking to reconcile apparent tensions between the preaching matter of religious art and the new forms of expression sweeping through the West which would inevitably affect its content. (...) The Dominican Order was founded in direct opposition to the dualist sects. The friars preached that we should not view the material world as evil or manifesting a struggle of uncertain outcome between good and evil. (Fisher 1994:262)

The contingency of this attitude towards the material world with programmatic declarations of Acmeism proves that Gumilev’s view of Italy was highly

¹⁹ „Канон религиозной живописи утверждает ее духовность, “смиряющую” естественное тяготение человека к “плотскому” началу бытия” (Zobnin, 1999)

²⁰ „Автор стихотворения «Фра Беато Анджелико» не мог не понимать, что созданный им образ вступает в кричащее противоречие с традиционными и овечьими веками представлениями о Фра Беато” (Lekmanov, n.d.)

individual and marked by significant contextual awareness. One can hardly agree with Rubins when she concludes:

Like most of Gumilev's writing, his ecphrastic verse promotes bright external impressions and visual details over subjective response. In a group of poems about Italy, for example, the speaker presents himself as an enthusiastic traveler, who delights in the aesthetic effects of the places he visits. (Rubins 1998:59).

To perceive Italian poems in such a manner means, in my assessment, to take at face value particular literary masks Gumilev assumes. Indeed, the speaker in the poems of this cycle often takes a stance of a naïve tourist gazing in stupefied astonishment. However, the poet is nowhere as simple-minded as his lyrical hero; he carefully chooses the sights and the images he presents and uses them for his ends. When doing so, he emulates esthetical qualities of the described objects, as if following the advice of ancient masters of rhetoric, instructing to "fit the language to the subject, so that if the subject shown is flowery, the style should also be flowery" (Theon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. M. Patillon, reprinted in Webb 2016:198).

If in *Paduanskij sobor*, opposing esthetical categories create a sense of disorder, mitigated only in the final, in *Fra Beato Angelico* oppositions unite seamlessly. In both, Gumilev uses *enargeia* of visual art to create mood in his poem and comes closer to his ideal of creating "spatial poetry". Finally, in both renderings, the veil of pictoriality conceals complicated semantic operations, reminding us of the fictional character of every representation.

4. Conclusions

Thriving on the interplay between alterity and selfhood, travel literature entails a necessity of othering and a power imbalance in representation, for the other is always constructed according with the author's opinions, prejudices and artistically motivated necessities. Gumilev's Italy is unapologetically subjective, providing a stage for the author's artistic and personal reinvention project. In some respects, this travelogue reproduces tropes of "Italianist discourse", as defined by Olga Płaszczewska. Most notably, Italy is perceived through the lens of art and serves as a stage for aesthetical reflection. Though Gumilev observes Italian art with a keen eye, there is no doubt that this experience is mainly pre-conceptualized, and Italy showed the poet precisely what he anticipated to see. Following the antiquarian view prototyped in Petrarch's *Famous Letters*, Gumilev makes his journey a dispute with the past. The descriptiveness of Italian Poems does not indicate an attempt to present "impersonal account of the journey". Both as a theoretician and as an author Gumilev was concerned with image-making and spatial aspects of poetry. He uses ekphratic descriptions not to represent, but for "clarity (*saphēneia*) and the vividness (*enargeia*)" they provide, as prescribed

by ancient rhetoric (Theon, *Progymnasmata*, ed. M. Patillon, reprinted in Webb 2016:197). The aesthetic objects serve to embody Gumilev's theory; they borrow their palpability, helping to overcome the inherent aspatiality of poetry. Valetine Cunningham says, "making the painting and so forth a subject, or object, of the writing is, in effect, a way of laying claim, by proxy, to the presence, reality, truth of the writing" (Cunningham 2007:62).

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***Malombra* di Antonio Fogazzaro: Il romanzo gotico all'italiana e la nuova spiritualità**

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Abstract: The article develops the theme of the Italian novel of the age of decadentism, Antonio Fogazzaro's *Malombra*. The text demonstrates the writer's approach to the possible evolution of national literature. The author proposes following the model of the English bourgeois novel that could best correspond to the situation and needs of Italian society in the second half of the 19th century. Another factor that distinguishes *Malombra* from the background of literary production in Italy in this period is the author's visible interest in the issues of mysticism and spiritualism, due to his reflection on the place of believers in the increasingly industrialised, secularised world, but at the same time in search of spiritual values. All this led Fogazzaro to write a particular form of gothic novel *all'italiana*, in which contemporary discoveries in the field of psychiatry are also reflected. In my analysis, I will introduce the historical context of the work, present Fogazzaro's ideas, approach the plot of the novel and, finally, study it from the point of view of the stylistic and thematic innovations proposed by the author.

Abstrakt: Artykuł rozwija temat włoskiej powieści z epoki dekadentyzmu, *Malombra* autorstwa Antonio Fogazzaro. Tekst ukazuje podejście pisarza do możliwej ewolucji literatury narodowej. Autor proponuje naśladowanie modelu angielskiej powieści mieszczańskiej, która najlepiej mogłaby odpowiadać sytuacji i potrzebom włoskiego społeczeństwa drugiej połowy XIX wieku. Kolejnym czynnikiem wyróżniającym *Malombę* na tle włoskiej produkcji literackiej tego okresu jest widoczne zainteresowanie autora kwestiami mistycyzmu i spirytualizmu, wynikające z jego refleksji nad miejscem ludzi wierzących w coraz bardziej uprzemysłowionym, zlaicyzowanym świecie, który jednocześnie poszukuje wartości duchowych. Wszystko to doprowadziło Fogazzara do stworzenia szczególnej formy gotyckiej powieści *all'italiana*, w której znajdują odzwierciedlenie również współczesne odkrycia z zakresu psychiatrii. W swojej analizie przedstawię historyczny kontekst dzieła, zaprezentuję idee Fogazzara, przybliżę fabułę powieści oraz przeanalizuję ją z punktu widzenia zaproponowanych przez autora innowacji stylistycznych i tematycznych.

Key words: Antonio Fogazzaro, *Malombra*, decadentism, gothic novel, spirituality

Słowa kluczowe: Antonio Fogazzaro, *Malombra*, decadentismo, romanzo gotico, spiritualità

1. L'Italia decadente dopo l'unificazione: il contesto storico dell'opera di Fogazzaro

L'inizio dell'età del decadentismo in Italia risale al periodo dopo il Risorgimento e l'unificazione dello Stato nel 1861. La corrente si sviluppava il più dinamicamente alla fine dell'Ottocento, a partire dagli anni Ottanta. Il termine stesso doveva descrivere la sensazione del crollo della società. La parola non era nuova: nella storia era già apparsa tante volte in quei periodi in cui si sentiva l'impossibilità dello sviluppo successivo della civiltà. Negli ultimi decenni del diciannovesimo secolo si sottolineavano le analogie con la caduta dell'Impero Romano, riferendosi per esempio a tali opere come *Declino e caduta dell'impero romano* di Edward Gibbon (Giovannetti, 2011:25). Come la più celebre espressione di questo sentimento si può considerare la poesia di Paul Verlaine *Langueur* del 1883 con il famoso verso "Sono l'Impero alla fine della decadenza". In secondo luogo, il termine "decadentismo" si riferiva anche "all'uso della critica ufficiale di designare come *décadents*, "decadenti", gli artisti anticonformisti la cui vita e la cui opera costituivano uno scandalo per il pubblico borghese" (Ferroni, 2002:27).

Le basi filosofiche di questo movimento artistico-letterario corrispondevano alle tendenze diffuse in Italia ai tempi della crisi dei valori e della delusione nella società, causata dai gravi problemi che apparvero dopo l'unificazione nazionale: la mancanza dell'unione culturale, sociale ed economica fra il Nord e il Sud del paese, gli enormi contrasti fra queste due macrorealtà, un grave deficit causato dalle guerre d'indipendenza, una difficile situazione d'Italia al livello internazionale, dovuta fra l'altro dal conflitto delle istituzioni laiche del nuovo stato con la Chiesa cattolica, una debole coscienza politica fra il popolo, l'analfabetismo, le tensioni sociali che risultavano dalla posizione crescente della borghesia, la sconfitta delle aspirazioni espansionistiche d'Italia in Africa (Sabbatucci, Vidotto 2018; Olivieri 2007; Mack Smith 2019; Wituch 1987).

Nato come una reazione contro la fiducia positivista nella scienza, il fenomeno del decadentismo in Italia corrispondeva ai problemi europei: il sentimento della stanchezza, la convinzione del crollo inevitabile della civiltà e il pessimismo, i quali si combinarono, in più, con la situazione difficile del Regno d'Italia.

Si perse la fede nel pensiero; gl'ideali della bontà, della patria, dell'umanità non parlarono più ai cuori; ricomparvero torbidi conati di misticismo; l'amore [...] fu [...] sostituito da frenetico e spasmodico sensualismo; si disconobbe l'idea del progresso [...] e si ripresero a vagheggiare i regimi di forza e violenza; il pessimismo non operò come stimolo di maggiore attività ma di abbassamento verso la carne, l'animalità e la libidine; e ciò fu ben definito «decadenza», ma stranamente questa parola [...] assunse un significato positivo, come di un atteggiamento spirituale distinto tra gli altri atteggiamenti, legittimo quanto gli altri e [...] i letterati se ne fecero un pregio e un vanto (Croce, 1947: 3).

Nel presente articolo verrà studiata una delle più interessanti risposte letterarie a questo fenomeno, che unisce l'originalità del messaggio filosofico e intellettuale con la riflessione sullo sviluppo della letteratura italiana: il romanzo *Malombra* di Antonio Fogazzaro, pubblicato nel 1881 dall'editore Brigola. Uno stimolo decisivo per sviluppare questo argomento può costituire l'opinione della studiosa polacca, dr hab. Katarzyna Biernacka-Licznar, prof. UW, che si è occupata della produzione letteraria dello scrittore italiano nella sua monografia *Antonio Fogazzaro i jego epoka* (Biernacka-Licznar, 2009). Lo studio menzionato si concentra sulla presentazione del patrimonio dell'autore sullo sfondo dell'epoca, con un'attenzione particolare posta sugli avvenimenti storici in Italia e sullo sviluppo del modernismo cattolico. Nel capitolo dedicato al romanzo *Malombra* (Biernacka-Licznar, 2009:89-102), nel quale l'autrice analizza il testo e presenta la storia della sua ricezione, ella menziona nelle frasi conclusive i motivi spiritualistici che arricchiscono il romanzo (Biernacka-Licznar, 2009:102). Io vorrei svilupparle, collocarle nel contesto delle teorie di Fogazzaro sul futuro della letteratura in Italia e crearne il tema principale di quest'analisi.

2. Antonio Fogazzaro: la voce di uno scrittore cattolico nell'epoca tormentata dal conflitto spirituale

Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911) appartenne al gruppo dei precursori del movimento decadente in Italia. Egli presentava nelle sue opere soprattutto il conflitto inconciliabile tra la modernità e la religione:

Per oltre un trentennio – fra Leone XIII e Pio X e fra il duo Depretis-Crispi e Giolitti – Antonio Fogazzaro [...] ricopre consapevolmente il ruolo di un tormentato scrittore cattolico di confine, rappresentando nei suoi fortunati romanzi l'invocata crisi evolutiva della Chiesa cattolica: come necessaria autoriforma religiosa, ma anche nei rapporti fra Chiesa e Stato, fra cattolicesimo e democrazia e fra la «Patria» e la fede (Isnenghi, 2011:189).

Nelle sue più celebri opere, il romanziere introdusse uno dei più significativi archetipi della letteratura italiana ottocentesca: la figura del santo, cioè un rappresentante del cattolicesimo liberale, molto spesso ex-sacerdote, cattolico ardente che desiderava una riforma istituzionale della Chiesa, entrando in conflitto con la gerarchia. Il termine, coniato ovviamente dalla chiara ispirazione religiosa, apparve per la prima volta esplicitamente come titolo del romanzo pubblicato nel 1905, ma le sue prime rappresentazioni letterarie vennero create già prima, ad esempio nel romanzo *Daniele Cortis* (1885).

Il personaggio tipico di Fogazzaro sembra paragonabile alla figura dell'idota dostoievskiano che sacrifica la sua vita per le idee del Cristianesimo.

Paradossalmente invece, il messaggio dell'autore decadente non venne apprezzato dalle autorità religiose:

L'assenza di Dio. Questo sarà il grande tema del romanzo cattolico dell'epoca moderna: la religiosità, nella scrittura di Fogazzaro, vive più drammaticamente, anziché nella sua stabilità di consolazione, nell'eco dolorosa della notte di Getsemani [...], proprio cioè in questi momenti terribili di vuoto, di assenza divina, in questo fremito di ricerca affannosa. Ed è veramente significativo che l'ultimo grande scrittore cattolico della nostra letteratura ci offra questa immagine ansiosa del Cristianesimo, questo senso agonizzante di una coscienza cristiana, che, se non è preludio di una dissoluzione, è certo segno di presagio della profonda crisi novecentesca (De Renzo, 1994:24).

Già il suo primo romanzo, *Malombra*, del 1881, suscitò nei lettori un pensiero sugli aspetti religiosi nella vita dell'uomo contemporaneo che domina anche in tutti i suoi ulteriori romanzi.

3. La letteratura della nuova Italia secondo Fogazzaro

Importante anche la riflessione teorica fogazzariana sullo sviluppo della letteratura italiana nella particolare situazione storica della nascita dello stato unito e indipendente. Il letterato contribuì alla discussione su questo tema con il suo intervento teorico *Dell'avvenire del romanzo in Italia*, pronunciato nel 1872 a Vicenza. Il discorso si concentrava soprattutto sulla necessità dei cambiamenti nella letteratura italiana.

Secondo Fogazzaro, la tradizione italiana in cui dominava la poesia, non rifletteva la situazione sociale contemporanea. L'autore riteneva che in un paese marcato non soltanto dal cambiamento del sistema politico, ma anche dall'evoluzione rapida della situazione sociale rispetto a quella dei decenni delle lotte per l'indipendenza come l'Italia, fosse necessaria la promozione di un genere letterario che non aveva prima una ricca tradizione – il romanzo. L'autore del *Piccolo mondo antico* si espresse a favore del modello della letteratura inglese, nella quale proprio questo genere letterario da anni svolgeva la funzione più importante. Il romanzo fu considerato dallo scrittore come l'unico in grado di rispecchiare la società moderna.

La celebre opera di Alessandro Manzoni, *I promessi sposi*, il primo romanzo vero e proprio nella storia della letteratura italiana, non causò la diffusione di questo genere, l'unico filone narrativo adeguato alla situazione della crescita di potenza del ceto medio nella società. L'autore indicava gli esempi delle altre nazioni nelle quali la letteratura seguiva meglio i suoi tempi: la Germania e soprattutto l'Inghilterra:

In Inghilterra il romanzo ha radici salde e profonde negli scrittori del secolo XVIII [...]. Il popolo pratico, operoso per eccellenza, [...] prova necessariamente più intenso il bisogno del romanzo [...]. Il libro più letto in Inghilterra dopo la Bibbia è il roman-

zo, ne mai si apre la *season* senza che l'uno o l'altro degli scrittori più celebrati scenda nella lizza. Il romanzo inglese sa d'essere il libro delle famiglie; parla un linguaggio semplice e puritano, racconta i casi quasi sempre volgari del vicinato, ha gran cura dell'economia domestica, s'intenerisce nelle intime effusioni e, convien pur dirlo, la sua coscienza serena gli permette di sonnecchiare talvolta accanto al fuoco [...]. Dickens e Thackeray hanno appena cessato di toccare; dopo Bulwer, le grandi passioni e le grandi intelligenze hanno trovato i loro posti in Disraeli e nell'autrice di Jane Eyre; Collins, Reade, M.r.s. Wood sanno come si affascinano i lettori (Fogazzaro, 1872).

Nella sua opinione, il romanzo moderno doveva evolvere secondo il modello inglese e cominciare a rispondere alle esigenze della società contemporanea: esprimere il suo stato psicologico e dare l'occasione di divertimento per i lettori. Fogazzaro pose l'attenzione sulla debolezza della letteratura italiana in questo campo:

Se è vero che il romanzo è la forma prevalente del sentimento poetico nel nostro tempo, la povertà dell'arte italiana è ben grave. È duro dover chiedere agli stranieri il pane quotidiano, poco adatto al nostro palato, anche quando non è affatto insalubre, mentre potremmo assai bene provvedere a noi col nostro (Fogazzaro, 1872).

Mettendo in pratica la sua teoria, Antonio Fogazzaro pubblicò alcune opere in cui realizzava, fra l'atro, l'ideale del romanzo come la voce del popolo e proprio al popolo dedicato. Il suo primo romanzo, ispirato chiaramente alla tradizione romantica anglosassone *Malombra*, in poco tempo raggiunse un grande successo e le recensioni positive dalla parte dello stesso Giovanni Verga, il più importante scrittore del tempo, l'iniziatore del movimento verista nella letteratura italiana. Paradossalmente, il suo romanzo più famoso associato proprio a questa corrente, così diversa dal decadentismo, *I Malavoglia*, uscì nello stesso anno.

4. La trama del romanzo *Malombra*

Prima dell'analisi del romanzo, occorre introdurre brevemente la trama, abbastanza complessa, del testo di Fogazzaro, attualmente poco conosciuta dal pubblico fuori dall'Italia. L'opera è stata tradotta in polacco nel 1900 dal traduttore con lo pseudonimo Szet. Purtroppo, il testo non è completo: mancavano alcuni frammenti, probabilmente a causa della scelta soggettiva del traduttore (Biernacka-Licznar, 2010: 57-58).

La storia comincia dall'arrivo da Milano di un uomo sconosciuto, "viaggiatore fantastico" (Fogazzaro, 2004:5), in un paese spopolato vicino alla riva del Lago di Como, R., nascosto nella montagna lombarda. Il giovane ospite, Corrado Silla, vuole recarsi al Palazzo del Conte Cesare D'Ormengo, un nobile stravagante che l'ha invitato tramite una lettera e gli ha proposto un impiego: voleva che

lo scrittore preparasse un lavoro scientifico-letterario. Alla stazione viene invitato da un uomo che si presenta come amico del suo ospite. Silla non sa niente a proposito della casa in cui sarà accolto. Dopo un lungo viaggio “attraverso paeselli oscuri, deserti, dove le case pareano difendere accigliate il sonno della povera gente” (Fogazzaro, 2004:8) entra nel palazzo ma il conte già dorme. L’immagine misteriosa del nobiluomo che Corrado si è creato viene rafforzata dalle voci inquietanti che corrono a R. Gli abitanti hanno paura del gran signore. Non è proprio il conte che gli apre la porta: lo fa il suo segretario. Dalla loro conversazione emerge la notizia che l’uomo non è italiano ma viene dalla Germania, di Nassau. Steinegge chiede Corrado sorpreso “cosa si dice a Milano di Ottone il Grande”, chiamando così il Cancelliere Bismarck. Il segretario rivela a Corrado che il conte conosce il giovane molto bene, ma non vuole dire che cosa esattamente pensa su di lui. Corrado va a dormire nel palazzo immerso nel buio e silenzio. I vecchi ritratti delle donne malinconiche, visibili in penombra, provocano in lui l’angoscia; l’arredamento dell’interno assomiglia a quelli che Corrado ricordava dalla casa di sua madre che era già morta qualche anno fa. Trova una lettera enigmatica del proprietario che non spiega alcun dubbio di Silla. L’uomo sta riflettendo: “Era un amico o un nemico, questo signore che gli gettava silenziosamente in viso la memoria di sua madre e del tempo felice?” (Fogazzaro, 2004:18). La sua inquietudine diventa ancora più grande a causa del paesaggio tenebre: “il silenzio notturno e la eco sonora del luogo sottoposto” (Fogazzaro, 2004:20). Non potendo addormentarsi, Corrado decide di rispondere alla lettera di una certa Cecilia. La loro corrispondenza prima trattava soprattutto il romanzo di Silla intitolato *Il sogno*, scritto sotto lo pseudonimo “Lorenzo”, ma dopo si è trasformata in una discussione angosciante sulle questioni di libertà e spirito umano. Sia l’uomo, sia la donna nascondono i loro veri nomi. Per la prima volta nel romanzo appare un’allusione al tema della metempsicosi: “Non ricordo se ci siamo incontrati mai in una vita anteriore; non so quale aristocratica stella di madre-perla sarà degna di accogliere Lei quando avrà fuggito questo nostro borghese pianeta ammobigliato, questo sucido astro di mala fama dove non c’è, per una dea, da posare il piede” (Fogazzaro, 2004:20).

La mattina seguente, Silla conosce finalmente il conte, un bibliofilo introverso, il proprietario della biblioteca piena fra l’altro di opere dell’ambito delle scienze occulte. Nella discussione appare una dissonanza delle opinioni politiche tra gli uomini. Silla sostiene il re con cui ha combattuto nella guerra d’indipendenza, Cesare D’Ormengo “non servirebbe un re se non quando dovesse scegliere tra lui e il canagliume democratico” (Fogazzaro, 2004:32).

Marina trova alcuni oggetti nascosti nel palazzo: una ciocca di capelli, uno specchio, un guanto e una lettera scritta dalla la contessa Cecilia Varrega di Camogli, la prima moglie del padre del conte che aveva abitato nel passato la stanza di Marina. Le parole del manoscritto la convincono di essere un’incarnazione di donna defunta. La scoperta misteriosa le sembra ancora più impressionante e probabile perché è proprio il nome Cecilia che Marina si è attribuita

scrivendo le lettere all'autore del romanzo. Marina legge che il marito della sua antenata la chiuse nel Palazzo per punirla per un presunto tradimento con un giovane ufficiale Renato. La donna divenne folle e morì, ma secondo le leggende che raccontano i paesani, il suo spirito erra ancora nell'antica dimora. La protagonista comincia a considerare Cesare come il marito geloso di Cecilia e cercare di vendicarsi sullo zio per le colpe commesse da suo padre nel passato.

Finalmente il nobiluomo rivela a Corrado i motivi della sua proposta. Nel passato era stato in una stretta relazione di amicizia con la madre dello scrittore e sapendo delle sue condizioni finanziarie difficili, gli offriva tante volte il suo aiuto.

Poi, il giovane conosce la nipote del conte, la marchesina Marina Crusnelli di Malombra, orfana da qualche anno. La bella donna, enigmatica e affascinante, soffre tanto nella casa dello zio perché nel passato conduceva una vita mondana e allegra a Parigi. La donna teme che "il principe nero", come chiama Corrado, sia un figlio del conte e che il nobiluomo la costringa di sposarlo. Infatti, le relazioni della donna e suo zio sono molto difficili. Litigano molto spesso soprattutto perché l'uomo non apprezza le passioni di Marina per la musica e la letteratura. La ragazza non cela la sua ostilità.

Dopo un certo tempo del carteggio tra Corrado e Marina, nascosti dai nomi di Lorenzo e Cecilia, lo scrittore sente una critica delle sue parole pronunciata da Marina, incosciente del fatto che l'autore de *Il Sogno* sia proprio l'ospite del palazzo. Silla si rende conto chi è l'autrice delle lettere. La ragazza lo attrae fortemente e questo sentimento viene corrisposto anche da lei, ma la sua personalità egoistica e tempestosa causa che la coppia litiga tutto il tempo.

Offeso pubblicamente dalla marchesina, Corrado vuole lasciare R. e tornare a Milano. Prima di partire, durante una passeggiata notturna, incontra Marina che è convinta di esser perseguitata da lui. L'uomo nega e la salva durante una tempesta pericolosa. La donna gli rivela di esserne innamorata. Quando si avvicinano, Silla si rivolge a Malombra con il nome di Cecilia. La donna percepisce questa situazione come una realizzazione di profezia della sua antenata e riconosce in Silla l'amante di Cecilia.

Nell'assenza di Corrado, al Palazzo arrivano i parenti del conte, la contessa Fosca Salvador e suo figlio Nepo. Il cugino vorrebbe sposare Malombra per ereditare le ricchezze di D'Ormengo. Sua madre lo sostiene in quei progetti. I Salvador portano con sé la figlia di Steinegge, Edith, una ragazza mite e tranquilla. Il segretario tedesco, felicissimo dall'incontro con la figlia, vuole ricostruire i loro rapporti. Edith è molto credente e prova a convincere il padre di ritornare alla fede. Entrambi diventano amici di Don Innocenzo, il parroco di R. Il padre e la figlia decidono di trasferirsi a Milano dove abita anche Silla. Marina non prova nessun sentimento per Nepo, ma si prende gioco di lui e lo accetta. Crede che la sua decisione susciti la gelosia di Corrado.

Allo stesso tempo si rafforza la relazione dello scrittore con Steinegge. Il giovane conosce sua figlia Edith che si unisce con il padre dopo anni di separazione e si innamora di lei, ma viene attirato sempre da Marina. Non è capace di scegliere

tra due donne. Informato sul matrimonio della marchesina, cerca di dimenticare della loro relazione. L'amore che prova per la ragazza tedesca è diverso da quello che sentiva per la marchesina. Si basa sul sentimento puro e innocente, e non come nel caso di Malombra, sul desiderio e sulla passione. Corrado le regala il suo romanzo e spera che la ragazza condivida il suo amore, ma Edith non sa cosa fare: è innamorata di Silla, ma non vuole abbandonare il padre con cui si era appena riunita. Il giovane, incosciente di questi dubbi, inizia a pensare di nuovo alla marchesina.

La nipote rivela a zio di conoscere il segreto della sua famiglia. L'uomo si ammalava seriamente e Corrado, convocato dal telegramma di Malombra, ritorna a R. Il conte è in fin di vita. Il padre Tosi, prete che si occupa del nobile, sospetta che qualcuno abbia voluto ucciderlo. Cesare muore e il comportamento della marchesina diventa sempre più angosciante. La donna ammette di aver voluto vendicarsi sullo zio. Tutti la considerano folle e pensano che soffra delle allucinazioni. I progetti del matrimonio con Salvador vengono annullate. Corrado decide di abbandonare il Palazzo, ma Marina, delusa dalla scelta di quello che considerava il suo amante e complice della vendetta, lo uccide e in seguito si suicida. Edith si dispera per la tragedia di Silla, ma trova la consolazione in Dio.

5. *Malombra* nel contesto della letteratura gotica

Un'indubbia ispirazione per Fogazzaro nella stesura di *Malombra* era il romanzo gotico, chiamato anche il romanzo nero. La sua genesi risale alla fine del Settecento in Inghilterra. Nata come una reazione contro il razionalismo dell'illuminismo, la corrente del preromanticismo nero influenzò fortemente la direzione dello sviluppo del romanzo inglese, soprattutto nel periodo del romanticismo.

La nascita del filone avvenne nel periodo delle rivoluzioni: quella industriale che permise all'Inghilterra di diventare un paese moderno, e la rivoluzione francese, la quale significò per tutto il continente una trasformazione politica e sociale (Perazzini 2004:38-44). La lettura divenne popolare anche nella classe media, il che causò uno sviluppo dinamico della letteratura in quell'epoca. Questo processo coincise con le nuove tendenze nella cultura: la ricerca delle tracce del passato del paese, l'interesse per una storia sconosciuta. L'ispirazione degli autori del tempo costituiva il Medioevo, un'epoca storica considerata come misteriosa e affascinante. Un avvenimento significativo costituiva la presunta scoperta e dopo la pubblicazione de *I canti di Ossian* di James Macpherson, un'opera composta dai poemi di prosa lirica, attribuita falsamente a un bardo leggendario scozzese. Questa testimonianza del gusto preromantico, piena di atmosfera malinconica e del sentimentalismo, dei paesaggi tenebrosi e dei personaggi misteriosi suscitò la curiosità per i temi gotici, rivelò una fascinazione per i tempi oscuri del Medioevo.

Come il precursore del romanzo gotico si considera invece Horace Walpole, scrittore e aristocratico inglese, l'autore del libro *Il castello di Otranto*. Il genere narrativo si diffuse molto velocemente ed ebbe l'influenza su tutta la letteratura del diciottesimo secolo in questo Paese:

Castelli italiani, conventi spagnoli, passioni violente ed inestricabili misteri popolarono le pagine di grandi autori così come di occasionali imitatori con immutato vigore fino alla fine degli anni '20. dell'Ottocento, periodo in cui la grande onda delle *gothic stories* inizia a dissiparsi nell'orizzonte di realismo del ciclo di *Waverley* e del romanzo storico. Non del tutto esaurito ma sicuramente molto più frammentato, il discorso gotico continuerà poi a persistere in alcune tematiche del romanzo vittoriano fino a risorgere, in una sorta di nuova primavera, nell'oscuro immaginario finzionale *fin de siècle* (Neises, 2006).

Effettivamente, numerosissime opere inglesi si caratterizzavano dall'atmosfera tenebrosa del romanzo gotico: i suoi motivi comuni apparivano non solo nel romanticismo, ma durante tutto il secolo. L'immaginario tradizionale gotico, cioè l'ambiente storico misterioso, la malinconia, i paesaggi angoscianti, la storia dell'uomo coinvolto nel gioco delle forze misteriose, il pessimismo e la tristezza dominano nelle famose opere del preromanticismo come *I misteri di Udolpho* e *L'Italiano* di Ann Radcliffe o *Il monaco* di Matthew Gregory Lewis che sfruttava il motivo della lotta tra il bene e il male, rappresentato dalla protagonista demoniaca *femme fatale* che seduce l'uomo e porta la sua anima alla tragica fine della perdizione inevitabile (Mroczkowski, 1999:304-305). In seguito, le tradizioni gotiche ispiravano le generazioni seguenti degli autori, tra cui Walter Scott con i suoi romanzi storici ispirati dalle leggende scozzesi, Mary Shelley, l'autrice di *Frankenstein*, una visione inquietante del possibile sviluppo erroneo, ed Emily Brontë i cui *I colli di vento* reinterpretano i motivi gotici della solitudine, della storia misteriosa di una famiglia e della vendetta (Mroczkowski, 1999:347). Racconti dell'incubo e del terrore di Edgar Allan Poe, un'unione del gotico e della fantascienza oppure *La lettera scarlatta* di Nathaniel Hawthorne testimoniano della vivacità della corrente che si diffuse oltre il continente, essendo immersa profondamente tutto il tempo nella tradizione anglosassone. L'impressione dell'incertezza nel mondo contemporaneo e dell'orrore viene manifestata attraverso i romanzi dell'età vittoriana di Thomas Hardy e soprattutto di Bram Stoker, Robert Louis Stevenson e Oscar Wilde (Mroczkowski, 1999:369-372) che coincidono con l'epoca del pieno sviluppo delle tendenze decadenti e appartengono allo stesso modo alla reazione contro la razionalità del positivismo.

Si potrebbe iscrivere quindi *Malombra* nel panorama di queste tendenze del tardo Ottocento, nel quadro del ritorno ai temi scabrosi della *fin de siècle*, il periodo della perdita di fede nello sviluppo della società continuo. L'opera fogazzariana sfrutta la maggior parte dei motivi tradizionali della narrativa gotica. L'esistenza del soprannaturale influisce sulla vita della gente. La marchesina di Malombra assume il ruolo del personaggio demoniaco che porta le sue vittime

alla perdizione. Il paesaggio invece rispecchia lo stato d'anima dei personaggi: è bello e pittoresco, ma rende ancora più profonda l'impressione del timore e del sovrannaturale malvagio.

6. *Malombra*: il primo romanzo decadente o un'opera romantica tardiva?

Il romanzo fogazzariano unisce gli elementi decadenti con la tradizione gotica. Il più importante fattore che permette di classificare l'opera come decadente è l'esistenza di un nuovo tipo del personaggio:

Infatti il fantasma, leggendogli nel pensiero, gli sorrise. Quel sorriso fu per Silla un'altra rivelazione. Vide in se stesso tutta la occulta via di un pensiero, dai giorni dell'adolescenza sino a quel momento. Aveva cominciato da una dolce malinconia, dal desiderio vago di una patria lontana: era diventato poscia presentimento fugace, quindi sospetto sempre combattuto, sempre più gagliardo, sempre coperto di segreto come qualche lento male orribile che ci rode, di cui si vede il nome col pensiero e non vogliamo confessarlo mai; prevaleva finalmente, alla volontà, diventava un ragionamento irrefutabile, una sentenza opprimente in tre parole: **INETTO A VIVERE** (Fogazzaro, 2004:412-413).

La figura dell'inetto, molto diffusa nella letteratura italiana, era emblematica particolarmente per i testi dello scrittore triestino Italo Svevo. Corrado, un artista non realizzato, povero e passivo, rinuncia all'azione, permette alle forze esterne di dirigere della sua vita. Sicuramente non è un personaggio dinamico, deciso. Queste tendenze ci conducono alle altre osservazioni: "La dicotomia tra inetto e adatto a vivere corrisponde ad un'altra dicotomia, di derivazione schopenhaueriana: quella tra sognatore e lottatore" (Di Nunzio, 2014:74). Infatti, Silla come inetto si presenta come uno schiavo dei suoi sogni, delle sue aspirazioni impossibili da realizzare. Molto significativo è già il titolo del suo libro che mostra il suo allontanamento dalla vita reale. L'uomo sogna della carriera e dell'amore, ma la sua passività non gli permette di raggiungere i suoi scopi. Si può considerarlo anche come un sognatore delle idee politiche, a cui è ciecamente fedele nei confronti del conte Cesare D'Ormengo, piuttosto pragmatico nel suo approccio per le ideologie.

In questo senso Corrado, similmente agli altri personaggi, è un personaggio decadente, nonostante le associazioni con la figura del protagonista della narrativa gotica che attribui alla nascita dell'icona dell'eroe romantico, del ribelle, prometeo (Stasikowska, 2007:9-11).

Il romanzo si differenzia dalla tradizione preromantica anche per il motivo dell'introduzione di numerose allusioni alla vita contemporanea. Nei libri classici della corrente anglosassone, lo sfondo sociale non svolge alcun ruolo importante; nell'opera fogazzariana invece costituisce la base per la creazione psicologica

dei protagonisti. Così accade per esempio nel caso di Corrado, le cui opinioni politiche e filosofiche si sono formate grazie all'esperienza del Risorgimento, o di Steinegge, grazie al quale i lettori possono conoscere l'approccio dell'autore alle differenze tra la cultura italiana e quella tedesca.

Gli elementi detti rendono *Malombra* particolare in confronto alle opere del sottogenere inglese e permettono individuarne una nuova qualità nella letteratura italiana: il romanzo gotico mediterraneo, legato strettamente alle radici tradizionali del tardo Settecento, ma più immerso nei problemi attuali della società dopo l'unificazione. Va sottolineato in questo posto che il libro di Antonio Fogazzaro può essere descritto anche come un romanzo borghese. Malgrado la localizzazione dell'azione in un palazzo nobile, si osservano attraverso la storia narrata i segni di un cambiamento della società. Gli aristocratici nel romanzo: D'Ormengo, i Salvador, appartengono all'epoca passata; quelli che personificano il futuro, sono proprio i rappresentanti della classe borghese, come i personaggi positivi della storia – la famiglia Steinegge. L'autore creò un ritratto della società contemporanea, indebolita dalle sue inquietudini e disuguaglianze.

La modernità del romanzo viene confermata attraverso il paragone con le altre correnti, le quali coesistevano in quel periodo in Italia. *Malombra* può essere un'espressione del romanticismo tardivo che sulla Penisola aveva un altro carattere che in Inghilterra, ma nello stesso tempo preannuncia le tendenze novecentesche nello sviluppo della letteratura:

Tradizionale – e forse anche un po' abusata – è una constatazione relativa all'anno 1881: a quella data le storie della letteratura italiana devono ascrivere opere all'apparenza inconciliabili come *I Malavoglia* di Giovanni Verga, cioè il romanzo più importante del verismo, e *Malombra* di Antonio Fogazzaro, con cui ci si avvicina ad atmosfere, se non decadenti in senso stretto, certo anticipatrici di quel senso del mistero i di quella crisi del personaggio che caratterizzano il romanzo del Novecento (Giovannetti, 2012:47).

Reinterpretando i motivi della tradizione nata all'estero nel secolo precedente, Fogazzaro riuscì allora ad annunciare il carattere del decadentismo italiano, concentrato sul problema dell'inefficienza dell'uomo moderno nei confronti della civiltà contemporanea, apparentemente industrializzata e allontanata dalla storia, ma allo stesso tempo soffrente delle ansie universali.

7. I personaggi decadenti di *Malombra*

I personaggi di *Malombra* rappresentano perfettamente la generazione decadente italiana. Nonostante che siano immersi nella realtà politica e sociale, si isolano da essa, esprimendo il sentimento della delusione e della noia. La figura principale che incarna i motivi decadenti è ovviamente la marchesina di

Malombra, una donna demoniaca, il simbolo del male che porta la sfortuna a tutti gli altri. La sua personalità viene creata nel contrasto con il personaggio di Edith Steinegge, una donna innocente, vittima degli avvenimenti che succedono nel Palazzo. Le due protagoniste costituiscono un'antinomia tradizionale del bene e del male, simboleggiano la visione manichea decadente che decide del futuro di Corrado. La fine tragica di Marina, Cesare e Corrado mostra paradossalmente in un certo modo la vittoria del bene rappresentato dalla ragazza tedesca che soffre per tutta la vita, ma la fede le porta la consolazione. Malombra si presenta nello stesso tempo come vittima e carnefice, il suo carattere risulta dall'infelicità e dalla solitudine, ma il lettore non può trovare la pietà per lei.

Marina è una donna affascinante, seducente ed enigmatica che suscita i desideri. Come una *femme fatale*, la discendente della figura simbolica di Salomè che per i modernisti divenne un archetipo del pericolo della seduzione femminile (per esempio nel dramma *Salomè* di Oscar Wilde), coinvolge gli uomini nei suoi intrighi. Secondo una delle descrizioni di questa icona della *fin de siècle*, l'immagine di Malombra realizza pienamente le sue caratteristiche:

La figura della *femme fatale* e Salomè stessa erano prodotti del loro tempo, la loro immagine era associata ad una moda esotica e orientaleggiante, che nasce dal desiderio di fuggire in un mondo lontano. Il soggetto di Salomè era utilizzato come una metafora del potere seducente delle donne. In un clima decadente, la figura di Salomè è legata all'esaltazione della *femme fatale*: una donna crudele e seducente che porta alla morte un uomo (spesso il suo amante) (Owens, 2013:57).

Malombra si comporta egoisticamente e antipaticamente verso gli altri, non prova la gratitudine per lo zio che ne ha preso cura, anzi, lo detesta, ma la situazione l'ha costretta di abitare nel Palazzo:

L'aspetto, i modi, i discorsi austeri dello zio le ripugnavano; ma gli amici del tempo felice s'erano dileguati; i parenti di suo padre le mostravano certa grave commiserazione con un nocciolo nascosto di rimproveri che ella indovinava fremendo di sdegno; sola non poteva vivere; quindi accettò. [...] Non si sgomentava della futura dimora; anzi si compiaceva dell'idea di questo palazzo perduto fra le montagne, dove vivrebbe come una regina bandita che si prepari nell'ombra e nel silenzio a riprendere il trono (Fogazzaro, 2004:59).

Il suo contrario romanzesco, Edith Steinegge, rappresenta invece una figura tipica per le opere successive di Fogazzaro, cioè una credente mite e placida. La trama suggerisce che il suo amore per Corrado avrebbe potuto salvarlo, ma l'uomo inetto sceglie la cattiva strada e ne subisce le conseguenze. La ragazza tedesca deve invece accettare il destino con umiltà. La decadenza di questo personaggio si esprime attraverso forti inclinazioni religiose e una certa passività dei comportamenti e delle decisioni, la quale è invece causata dalla prontezza di sacrificarsi per la felicità altrui.

Probabilmente le più visibili caratteristiche del decadentismo vengono personificate da Corrado Silla, un personaggio basato sul modello dell'artista, intellettuale inetto, sostenitore delle idee vaghe. Viene presentato nel libro come un giovane uomo con tante aspirazioni, ma non è capace di realizzarle. Il suo approccio idealistico si vede molto chiaramente nelle sue discussioni con Cesare, quando l'aristocratico ironizza sulle opinioni ingenuie del giovane:

Ingegno non lucido, mistico di tendenze, potente per certe intuizioni fugaci. Piuttosto che per nerbo suo proprio e costante, egli aveva idee poco definite, poco pratiche; ardente spiritualista e perciò proclive a considerare di preferenza, nell'umanità, la origine e il fine; amava, anche in tenue materia, appoggiarsi a qualche grande principio generale (Fogazzaro, 2004:303).

Anche Cesare D'Ormengo mostra le qualità decadenti conosciute dalle opere di questa corrente. La sua descrizione assomiglia ai frammenti degli altri romanzi che crearono l'immagine del periodo nella letteratura. L'ultimo discendente di una grande famiglia aristocratica, vive nella solitudine in un palazzo isolato dal mondo moderno. Si comporta eccentricamente e suscita la paura tra gli abitanti di R. Già il primo incontro di Corrado con Cesare mostra un'immagine antipatica, anzi, tenebrosa, del nobiluomo. Il conte crea un intrigo per far arrivare Corrado e ferisce i suoi sentimenti, suggerendogli di conoscere i segreti dolorosi della famiglia dell'ospite. All'inizio non vuole rivelare perché ha invitato il giovane uomo alla sua casa, ma provoca in lui il ritorno dei ricordi dolorosi della sua vita. Avendo offeso il suo ospite, gli spiega il suo comportamento insensibile:

È forse crudele [...] di ricordare queste cose, ma io non sono amico di certe mollezze sentimentali moderne; io credo che è molto bene per l'uomo il ripassare ogni tanto le lezioni e i precetti ch'egli ha avuto, direttamente o indirettamente, dalla sventura, e di non lasciarne estinguere, di rinnovarne il dolore, perché è il dolore che li conserva (Fogazzaro, 2004:39).

La sua casa è riempita di opere d'arte che testimoniano della grandezza passata della sua dinastia. Una descrizione dettagliata della biblioteca nel Palazzo rivela che i suoi unici amici siano i libri:

Parecchi eruditi e bibliofili lombardi conoscono la biblioteca del Palazzo; [...] i libri vi si erano andati accumulando da più generazioni di signori, molto disformi tra loro di opinioni e di gusti, cosicché ne durava la in quelle scansie, e certe categorie di libri paraevano attonite di sopravvivere a chi le aveva raccolte. Non vi era un libro di scienza fisica tra moltissime opere forestiere o nostrali di scienze occulte; dietro a libri d'ascetica o di teologia si celavano opuscoli soverchiamente profani. La biblioteca deve la sua fama a copiose e bellissime edizioni antiche di classici greci e latini, non che a una ricchissima collezione di novellieri italiani, di scritti matematici e d'arte militare, tutti anteriori al 1800. Il conte Cesare scompigliò la raccolta dei classici greci e latini; cacciò i filosofi e i teologi verso le nuvole, come diceva lui, si tenne sotto la

mano storici e moralisti; fece incassare e gittare in un magazzino umido i novellieri e i poeti, tranne Dante, Alfieri e le canzoni piemontesi di Angelo Brofferio. Vennero a prenderne il posto parecchie opere straniere di soggetto storico, politico o anche puramente statistico, per lo più inglesi; nessun libro entrò sotto il regime del conte che trattasse di letteratura, né d'arte, né di filosofia, né di economia pubblica (Fogazzaro, 2004:25-26).

Quest'uomo misterioso ed eccentrico assomiglia a un altro personaggio-simbolo della letteratura decadente, Jean Floressas Des Esseintes, protagonista dell'opera di Joris Karl-Huysmans *A ritroso*, oppure alla figura del Lord Henry Wotton de *Il ritratto di Dorian Gray*: qui soprattutto nell'aspetto dell'influenza dell'aristocratico potente su un giovane uomo. Tutte queste figure si caratterizzano dell'affascinazione per l'arte e dello stile di vita eccentrico, lontano dalla moralità tradizionale. In questo senso lo si può paragonare a un altro conte letterario, probabilmente il più famoso nella storia dei romanzi gotici: il protagonista del libro di Bram Stoker *Dracula*:

Il Palazzo, la sua grandezza e le sue stanze numerose e serpeggianti contribuiscono tutti all'atmosfera misteriosa della storia. Nel Palazzo, il conte vive orgogliosamente "oltre il mondo", circondato dalla compagnia della sua "società", dai libri nella sua biblioteca. [...] La relazione del conte D'Ormengo con i suoi libri ci ricorda un altro conte in un castello: Dracula. Anche lui, parlando al suo ospite Jonathan nella sua biblioteca dice: «Questi amici» – e pose le sue mani su qualche suo libro – «erano per me i buoni amici»¹ (Parrino 2012).

Nello stesso modo Cesare tratta gli autori rimasti nella sua biblioteca:

"Prima di tutto" diss'egli additando le librerie "mi permetto di presentarvi la società dove passo molte ore tutti i giorni. Vi è della gente come si deve, vi sono dei furfantoni e una forte maggioranza di imbecilli che io ho mandato, da buon cristiano, quanto più vicino al regno dei cieli ho potuto. Là ci sono poeti, romanzieri e letterati. Posso ben dire questo a Voi sebbene siete un poco uomo di lettere, perché l'ho detto anche al cavalier d'Azeglio, il quale, con tutte le sue manie di scambiccherar tele e di scriver frottole, ha un certo fondo di buon senso, e si è messo a ridere. Ci sono anche molti teologi lassù. Là, quei domenicani bianchi. Vengono da un Vescovo di Novara, pio prozio, che aveva molto tempo da buttar via. Quanto a' miei amici, spero che ne farete la conoscenza Voi stesso. Sono tutti sotto gli occhi e sotto la mano. E adesso andiamo, se Vi piace, a fare questo giro" (Fogazzaro, 2004:27).

¹ "The castle, its size and its many rooms and meanderings all contribute to the mysterious atmosphere of the story. At the castle, the count proudly lives his life "out of the world", surrounded by the company of his "society", the books in the library. [...] The relationship of Count D'Ormengo and his books reminds us of another count in a castle: Dracula. He, too, speaking to his guest Jonathan in his library says: «These friends» – and he laid his hands on some of the books – «have been good friends to me»." – trad. KK.

L'autore di *Malombra* presenta il nobiluomo come una persona impenetrabile che pare avere delle forze segreti, creando un vero e proprio personaggio tenebre. Lo scrittore usa d'altronde nella sua descrizione gli stessi simboli del soprannaturale che Stoker:

Il conte [...] si teneva coperto il viso con ambe le mani appoggiando i gomiti al tavolo. [...] Il conte pareva di pietra; né parlava, né si moveva. Solo qualche volta le otto magre dita nervose si alzavano dalla fronte tutte insieme, si tendevano; poi, ripiegandosi, parevano volersi imprimere nell'osso. Silla guardava rotare sul pavimento l'ombra d'un pipistrello che non trovava la via di uscire, batteva le librerie, il soffitto angosciosamente. Anche dentro alla fronte severa del vecchio gentiluomo v'era un'angoscia di parole che non trovavan la via di uscire (Fogazzaro, 2004:37).

Il conte si crea un'immagine dell'eccentrico solitario che disprezza gli altri e non tende a stringere le relazioni con la gente. È un tipico individualista decadente che critica la realtà moderna e la società. Si nasconde quindi nella sua dimora, il suo posto perfetto d'isolamento, di cui l'arredamento rispecchia eccellentemente anche il suo stato d'anima. Presentando la casa a Corrado, gli racconta:

“Vi farò vedere il mio Palazzo, come dicono questi zoticoni di paesaniche potrebbero lasciare alla gloriosa civiltà moderna i nomi molto grandi per le cose molto piccole. La mia casa è una conchiglia” diss'egli, alzandosi in piedi. “Già, una conchiglia dove son nati molti molluschi che hanno avuti umori differenti. Forse il primo aveva sì, degli umori un poco ambiziosi; Voe qui dentro che ha lavorato il guscio alla diavola, senza risparmio. Non ce ne fui poi nessuno che avesse umori epicurei, per cui la conchiglia è molto incomoda. Quanto a me, ho l'umore misantropo e faccio diventar nero il guscio ogni giorno più” (Fogazzaro, 2004:27-28).

Cesare D'Ormengo non si preoccupa della sua reputazione, è indifferente alle voci che corrono su di lui e sua nipote nel villaggio.: “Il signor conte [...] ora ci ha insieme una ragazza. Chi la dice sua figlia, chi sua nipote, ma è la sua amoroza senza dubbio” (Fogazzaro, 2004:9). In realtà, i parenti si detestano. Il conte ha accolto Marina, ma la donna prova avversione per lui. D'Ormengo non era mai stato in buone relazioni con i genitori di Marina e la sua presenza nel Palazzo lo irrita, similmente alle sue passioni. L'odio è d'altronde reciproco e profondo. Marina spiega così una delle ragioni dei litigi con Cesare: “Ebbi una gran scena drammatica con mio zio, il quale pretende aver diritto di vita e di morte sui miei libri francesi [...]; mi buttò orsinamente dalla finestra un de Musset che avevo lasciato davanti al mio caro Canaletto” (Fogazzaro, 2004:53). Proprio questo odio causa il dramma finale del romanzo.

Le caratteristiche decadenti si dimostrano in un modo anche attraverso personaggi minori. Un esempio può essere il segretario tedesco Steinegge. La sua biografia triste permette di interpretare questa figura come uno schiavo delle illusioni

politiche e del dramma personale. L'uomo definisce se stesso nella conversazione con Corrado come un "bandito dal suo collegio per aver troppo amato il vino, dalla sua famiglia per aver troppo amato le donne, dal suo paese per avere troppo amato la libertà" (Fogazzaro, 2004:14). Infelice e deluso, all'inizio simbolizza i dubbi dell'epoca:

Steinegge era un esempio singolare di rettitudine morale accoppiata alle opinioni più false in ogni argomento. V'erano nei suoi errori un candore, una sincerità leale senza pari. Egli non poteva neppur credere, in fatto, alla menzogna né alla disonestà negli altri benché discesse male, in astratto, di mezzo mondo. Parlava da scettico e sarebbe caduto in ogni trappola di briccone volgare. Il suo calor generoso si apprendeva altrui, la sua schiettezza; e le opinioni, violente e zoppe, lungi dal nuocere, non si reggevano in piedi. [...] Sotto il suo cerimonioso abito del secolo decimonono v'era un gran cuore barbaro, pieno di idee sbagliate e di sangue sano (Fogazzaro, 2004:305).

Nel romanzo subisce una metamorfosi grazie all'amore di sua figlia Edith e ritorna alla religione. Conferma in questa maniera il desiderio decadente dello sviluppo spirituale, la necessità dei valori superiori dopo lo scetticismo del periodo della crisi del razionalismo.

8. L'uscita dalla crisi spirituale dell'epoca in *Malombra*. L'esplorazione dei misteri dell'anima

Il romanzo rispecchia proprio queste nuove tendenze nella società della fine dell'Ottocento. La percezione del mondo moderno, dominato dalle aspirazioni del positivismo, tra le persone più sensibili poteva manifestarsi come nel frammento che parla delle convinzioni di Corrado Silla:

Stava ora lavorando a un saggio sull'ipocrisia. Inconscio seguace d'idee preconette e assolute, voleva dimostrarvi che la menzogna e la debolezza morale sono caratteristiche di questo tempo, salvo a dedurne in seguito che discendono dalle sue tendenze positiviste, ossia dall'essersi oscurato nelle anime il principio metafisico del vero; e che la verità conquistate nell'ordine fisico, infinitesimali raggi di quel principio, non hanno né possono avere il menomo valore di sostituirlo quale generatore di salute morale. Molto più grave gli pareva questo prosperare della menzogna di tanta libertà di parola e d'azione. Perché ne trovava infetta la vita sociale e politica, come le arti, le lettere e le industrie stesse, nelle quali discende a complice abietta d'inganno persino la scienza. Osservava ne' suoi conoscenti il fenomeno frequentissimo dell'ipocrisia a rovescio, ossia la dissimulazione dei sentimenti più retti e più nobili, delle opinioni più ragionevoli; l'opposto linguaggio che erano usi tenere sulle persone e le cose, secondo il numero e la qualità degli uditori. [...] Una sì larga infusione di falsità volontaria, corrompendo interamente le parole e le azioni umane, deve generare il falso, che è quanto dire il male, nell'organismo della società, poiché questo si modifica senza

posa per le parole, per le azioni umane. Silla preferiva la sincerità, anche nell'errore, a qualunque men dionesta ipocrisia (Fogazzaro, 2004:56-57).

La crisi della credenza nella scienza e nel razionalismo contribuì alla fuga nella fede. La prospettiva della fine inevitabile causò una crescita della religiosità, ma anche delle tendenze parareligiose, non del tutto conforme alla dottrina della Chiesa cattolica e assolutamente contrarie alla scienza:

La gente della fine del secolo guarda il futuro con angoscia. Il varcare la soglia del nuovo centenario sembra una sfida pericolosa. Il timore non sempre genera gli atteggiamenti razionali, perciò non tutte le decisioni dell'uomo sono ben considerate e analizzate esattamente. La paura suscita diverse emozioni e induce ai comportamenti variegati. La gente fugge nella religione, nella metafisica o nella parapsicologia. I viventi alla fine del diciannovesimo secolo scelsero l'atteggiamento della passività e del pessimismo (Płóciennik, 2008)².

Si sviluppavano le correnti non apprezzate dalla logica dell'epoca precedente, soprattutto lo spiritismo che prese le sue radici dalle ricerche settecentesche sul magnetismo di Mesmer (Pesoli, 1999:8) e dalla filosofia del mistico svedese Emanuel Swedenborg. Una vera e propria moda per lo spiritismo nacque invece a metà dell'Ottocento con l'attività del filosofo francese Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rivail, conosciuto dallo pseudonimo Allan Kardec, assunto dopo una presunta rivelazione secondo la quale l'uomo doveva essere un'incarnazione del druido dello stesso nome (Pesoli, 1999:22). Nelle sue opere come *Il Libro degli Spiriti* o *Le rivelazioni degli Spiriti: il Cielo e l'Inferno* Kardec descrisse la teoria dello spiritismo moderno. In queste tendenze si iscrive la narrativa fogazzariana che intraprese il tema della metempsicosi nell'asse compositiva del romanzo: la storia della reincarnazione di Cecilia in *Malombra*. Secondo Marina, la sua antenata è ritornata in lei per vendicarsi su suo marito e in questo modo consolare la sua anima. I dubbi sul principio della reincarnazione vengono spiegate da Kardec alla luce dei dogmi cristiani:

La dottrina della reincarnazione, cioè quella che consiste nell'ammettere per l'uomo più esistenze successive, è la sola che risponda al nostro concetto della giustizia di Dio per riguardo agli uomini di condizione morale inferiore, la sola che possa spiegarci l'avvenire, e affermare le nostre speranze, poiché ci offre il mezzo di espiare i nostri errori con novelle prove. La ragione ce lo dimostra, e gli Spiriti ce lo insegnano. L'uomo, che ha la coscienza della sua inferiorità, trae dalla dottrina della reincarnazione i più consolanti presagi (Kardec, 2009:97).

² "Ludzie końca wieku patrzą z niepokojem w przyszłość. Przekroczenie progu nowego stulecia wydaje się być zadaniem niebezpiecznym. Lęk nie zawsze rodzi postawy racjonalne, a w związku z tym, nie wszystkie decyzje człowieka są przemyślane i dokładnie przeanalizowane. Strach wyzwała różne emocje i skłania do rozmaitych zachowań. Ludzie uciekają w religię, metafizykę czy parapsychologię. Żyjący w końcu XIX wieku wybrali postawę bierności i pesymizmu." – trad. KK.

Nel romanzo appare anche un altro aspetto della ricerca di spiritualità nel tardo Ottocento: il motivo del ritorno alla religione. Fogazzaro, il quale credeva profondamente in Dio, attraverso le sue opere esprime la sua convinzione sul ruolo della fede nella lotta contro la crisi spirituale del positivismo di cui si parlava comunemente nel caso degli artisti decadenti (Piras, 2011:127-132):

[...] gli artisti creavano nell'epoca di una grande crisi spirituale legata alla modernità nascente ai loro occhi. Loro stessi con le loro opere costruivano la strada per un nuovo mondo in cui la posizione privilegiata di Dio doveva essere contestata. Tuttavia, le tracce del mondo pre-moderno che non si immaginava l'esistenza umana senza Dio erano così presenti nel loro mondo che bastavano di suscitare il languore. Quale era quindi la condizione spirituale dei poeti decadenti? In quale stato era immersa la loro anima? Assomiglia a un tempio abbandonato in cui una volta presente Dio era stato perso, ma i credenti non cessano di cercare per poter donargli di nuovo un posto particolare nella loro vita. Non hanno invece la certezza se Dio riconquistato sia lo stesso che era stato perso (Czajka, 2013:54)³.

Tranne l'aspetto mistico e religioso, esiste anche un'altra chiave di interpretazione dell'opera fogazzariana. L'epoca del decadentismo coincise con le grandi scoperte nell'area della psichiatria. Alcuni critici sostengono che la trama del romanzo venne ispirata fra l'altro proprio allo sviluppo di questa scienza. Si può notare in *Malombra* un interesse particolare per la sfera della psiche umana. Al di là delle considerazioni sullo spiritismo, un ruolo importante nella costruzione della trama svolge la psicologia dei personaggi. Le ricerche neurologiche del tempo furono dovute soprattutto all'epoca del positivismo. Uno dei temi centrali delle considerazioni degli scienziati erano le malattie mentali e le patologie, "la sostanziale identità tra normalità e patologia" (Adriano, 2009:10). Tra i precursori di questa innovazione in medicina si deve nominare prima di tutto il famosissimo neurologo francese, Jean-Martin Charcot.

All'inizio, in tutta l'Europa, in seguito anche in Italia, "le prime ricerche di psicologia si svilupparono in ambiente culturale positivista ed in clima evolutivistico darwiniano" (Adriano, 2009:11). Proprio per questo motivo la maggior parte degli studi si svolse tra i biologi e medici. La psicologia veniva considerata una nuova branca della fisiologia (Adriano, 2009:10). Gli scienziati si ispiravano alle opere di Auguste Comte e Herbert Spencer.

³ "[...] artyści tworzyli w epoce wielkiego duchowego przesilenia związanego z rodzącą się na ich oczach nowoczesnością. Oni sami swoimi dziełami budowali drogę ku nowemu światu, w którym uprzywilejowana pozycja Boga w życiu człowieka musiała zostać zakwestionowana. Jednakże ślady prenowożytnego świata, który nie wyobrażał sobie ludzkiej egzystencji bez Boga, były jeszcze na tyle obecne w ich świecie, że wystarczyły do wzbudzenia w nich tęsknoty za Nim. Jaka jest więc duchowa kondycja poetów dekadentyzmu? W jakim stanie pogrążona jest ich dusza? Przypomina ona spustoszoną świątynię, w której niegdyś obecny Bóg został utracony, ale wierni nie ustają w poszukiwaniach, by móc Go ponownie przywrócić na wyróżnione miejsce w ich życiu. Nie mają jednak pewności, czy odzyskany Bóg będzie tym samym, który został utracony." – trad. KK.

Malgrado l'arretratezza nel campo della medicina e la mancanza delle strutture, alcune ricerche scientifiche in Italia contribuirono allo sviluppo della psicologia moderna. Già nel 1850, venne istituita a Torino la prima cattedra di psichiatria (Adriano, 2009:15). Alla fine del secolo il suo direttore divenne il famoso psichiatra e antropologo Cesare Lombroso. Le novità scientifiche influivano fortemente la cultura. Si arriva quindi a un legame molto forte tra le ricerche sulle malattie mentali e il periodo della fin de siècle:

L'equazione modernità – decadenza era un *topos* condiviso da Baudelaire, dai naturalisti e dai simbolisti, fino a ritrovarsi presso i decadenti della *fin de siècle*. Per i positivisti la nozione di «decadenza» si colora d'implicazioni fisio-patologiche che l'approssimano al concetto di «degenerazione», sminuendone le componenti storiche a favore di quelle biologiche: l'uomo moderno è decadente perché ha perduto l'armonia biomorfologica, così che l'ipertrofizzazione cerebrale non si coordina con lo sviluppo delle parti muscolari (Adriano, 2009:23).

Un esempio eccellente per le analisi del romanzo alla luce delle suddette teorie sintomi è la sua protagonista eponima. Nel corso dello sviluppo dell'intreccio dell'opera, si rivelano sempre i nuovi comportamenti della donna che assomigliano ai sintomi della malattia mentale. Si osservano per esempio la sua violenza e i pensieri distruttivi:

Mandami una bocsettina d'egnatia; ho i nervi scordati come un pianoforte di collegio. [...] Cosa faccio? Sempre la stessa vita. Leggo, suono, scrivo, passeggio, vado in barca, e adesso mi batto anche alla pistola con la noia. Alla lettera! Sai le belle pistole da sala che il povero papà aveva regalate a miss a Sarah e a me? Dopo quattr'anni mi sono ricordata d'aver qui le mie e tiro sulle statue del giardino, specialmente sopra una Flora annerita che somiglierebbe tutta alla mia istituttrice, se riuscissi a farle un viso butterato come aveva lei (Fogazzaro, 2004:51-54).

L'idea irrazionale della metempsicosi dell'antenata conduce Malombra alla follia. La donna sospetta le persone innocenti, esprime apertamente il suo odio per la famiglia. Reagisce sempre in un modo lontano dal ragionamento logico. Un caso esemplare di questo approccio è la situazione in cui comincia a credere che Corrado Silla sia il discendente simbolico dell'assassino di Cecilia. Da questo punto, la sua vita cambia in ricerca della vendetta. La credenza di Marina nella sfera sovrannaturale si conclude con la tragedia della morte dello zio e del giovane scrittore. Soffrendo probabilmente di un disturbo mentale, diventa un altro personaggio inetto, così tipico per il decadentismo italiano che cerca invano attraverso diverse filosofie le soluzioni dell'uscita dalla crisi dopo la delusione del positivismo:

Si tratta di un'anima tormentata e confusa che resta vittima delle sue stesse passioni, che è incapace di vivere fino in fondo ciò che le dettano in contemporanea il cuore e la mente: una di quelle figure che resta nell'immaginario del lettore per l'ossimoro che la pervade tra forza e fragilità, concretezza e fantasia, incapacità di adeguarsi ad una realtà che non accetta. [...] Tutto è cornice dello sviluppo complesso delle confuse – eppure indiscutibilmente possibili – manifestazioni mentali di Marina. In lei le dicotomie del Novecento letterario sono già preannunciate e passate in rassegna quasi come un *déjà vu*: dal mistero al misticismo, dalla follia alla consolazione religiosa, dalla ragione che lotta contro la dottrina sino al reale contrapposto al sovrannaturale, tutti elementi della poetica che regnerà nella Scapigliatura e nel Decadentismo, ma anche capaci di rendere il romanzo sorprendentemente attuale laddove l'indiscusso protagonista diventa, alla fine, l'animo umano con tutte le sue complessità e contraddizioni (Demi, 2013).

Fogazzaro nel suo romanzo propose quindi dopo i decenni della dominazione del razionalismo la via dell'esplorazione della sfera mistica. Nella realtà sempre di più laicizzata dell'Italia dopo il Risorgimento, suggerì la sua propria soluzione, legata ovviamente alla religione (nonostante le controversie suscitate dallo spiritualismo) e all'analisi della profondità dell'animo. In più, va notato anche il ruolo dell'inconscio nella trama della storia di Fogazzaro. I sogni decidono della realtà dei protagonisti. Una conferma simbolica di questo fatto è il titolo che Corrado ha attribuito al romanzo su cui lavorava: *Il sogno*. La visione onirica del mondo, inclusa in *Malombra*, confrontata con la fine delle speranze nello sviluppo continuo della civiltà, mostra visibilmente l'approccio dello scrittore che consiglia di cercare i metodi dell'evasione nei fenomeni al di là della logica, annunciando un interesse alle aree della psiche umana, analizzata dopo dalla celeberrima teoria di Sigmund Freud, ampiamente discussa alla fine dell'epoca del decadentismo.

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CZĘŚĆ III
MISCELLANEA

Polska neofilologia w obliczu zmian cywilizacyjnych zachodzących w XXI wieku: Krótki esej historyczno-diagnostyczno-prognostyczny

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Abstract: The evolution of Polish neophilology is briefly discussed. It is presented here on the basis of the premise that Polish neophilological studies underwent gradual changes, starting from the orthodox bulk comprising linguistics-literature-methods of second/foreign language teaching (also termed ‘glottodidactics’, after Profesor Ludwik Zabrocki’s seminal contribution to the field), later extended to the fourth component of ‘translatology’. This initial and orthodox four-element system of Polish philology was primarily and mainly addressed to prospective teachers of foreign languages. Only later, owing to dynamic changes taking place across the world and in the European community, in particular, did the orthodox shape of Polish philology start to change, while attempting to accommodate the diversified needs of a rapidly growing group of recipients of neophilological education who were seeking non-teaching communicative competencies. These changes are currently taking place in Poland much in accord with what has been taking place in the European foreign language teaching institutions (e.g. European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe, ECML) which have been focusing their attention on the development of the communicators’ general communicative fitness in the plurilingual/multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Abstrakt: W artykule omówione są pokrótce zmiany w obrębie polskiej neofilologii, które następowały w ciągu ponad półwiecza jej stopniowego rozwoju. Rozwój ten rozpoczął w okresie tzw. odwilży 1956 roku etap obsługi dydaktycznej słuchaczy typu wąsko neofilologicznego, przygotowujących się przede wszystkim do zawodu nauczyciela w zakresie języków nierodzimych, początkowo tzw. ‘ciężkich’ języków naturalnych (angielski, francuski, niemiecki i rosyjski). Rozwinięty został tzw. klasyczny (ortodoksyjny) nurt neofilologii, obejmujący początkowo językoznawstwo, literaturoznawstwo i glottodydaktykę. Został on później uzupełniony o równie ważny komponent translatologiczny. W tym cztero-składnikowym kształcie nurt ortodoksji neofilologicznej przetrwał do dnia dzisiejszego. Tymczasem powstała w XXI wieku potrzeba uzupełnienia programu studiów neofilologicznych o elementy niezwiązane bezpośrednio z tym nurtem, gdyż zaczął przeważać nowy typ słuchaczy tych studiów, pragnących rozwijać kompetencje kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjne zdecydowanie poza zawodem nauczyciela języków nierodzimych, a więc w profilu ogólnoneofilologicznym. Taki rozwój programów nauczania jest zgodny z profilem studiów neofilologicznych rozwijanym w Unii Europejskiej. W artykule przedstawiono

szczegółowy zestaw zagadnień, które powinien zawierać nowy program studiów neofilologicznych. Jednocześnie podkreślono dodanie do istniejącego nurtu ortodoksji neofilologicznej konieczność rozwoju kompetencji ogólnoneofilologicznej obejmującej sprawności kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnych i konieczność poprawienia ogólnego dobrostanu komunikacyjnego słuchaczy studiów neofilologicznych w Polsce.

Key words: Polish neophilology (neophilological education in Poland), foreign language teaching competencies, non-teaching (general) competencies, plurilingual/multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Słowa kluczowe: polska neofilologia (edukacja neofilologiczna w Polsce), kompetencje w zakresie nauczania języków nierodzimych, kompetencje ogólnoneofilologiczne, konteksty plurilingwalno-multilingwalne w kontekstach multokulturowych.

1. Wstęp

Współczesny świat pędzi naprzód. Ten zwrot będący nieoryginalnym przecieź wątkiem, często powtarzanym banałem (tzw. *cliché*), oparty na metaforze pędzącego i uciekającego czasu (zob. łacińskie *tempus fugit*), w pełni jednak oddaje to, co dzieje się z ludzkością. Pędzi ona poprzez nieuchronne zmiany we wszystkich wymiarach naszego gatunkowego trwania na nośniku ziemskim: zmiany społeczne, polityczne, technologiczne, ekonomiczno-handlowe, edukacyjne, estetyczno-obyczajowe, zwłaszcza zawodowe, zmierzając ku nieznanym jeszcze wymiarom naszego życia jako gatunku. Wszystkie te zmiany znajdują – prędzej czy później – swoje odbicie w nieustannie zmieniających się systemach edukacyjnych świata, pilnie rejestrujących owe zmiany i starających się je realizować poprzez uwzględnianie tychże w szybko i skutecznie aktualizowanych programach edukacyjnych. Nie inaczej jest w obrębie polskiej neofilologii, która stopniowo i raczej nie spiesząc się zbyt, dostosowuje jednak swoje programy nauczania do zmieniającego się świata.

Taki jest bezwzględny wymóg teraźniejszości podporządkowanej bezlitosnej strzałce czasu, czyli ‘pędzącemu naprzód światu’. Fakt ten narzuca każdej zainteresowanej osobie baczniejsze przyjrzenie się zmianom, jakim podlega już dziś i podlegać będzie w przyszłości polska neofilologia. Stąd esej niniejszy zawiera dwie części: część pierwszą opisującą pokrótce ‘neofilologię polską wczoraj’ i część drugą opisującą ‘neofilologię polską jutro’, obie opatrzone krótkimi wnioskami końcowymi.

1. Neofilologia polska wczoraj

Neofilologia polska rozwijała się bardzo intensywnie w okresie ostatniego półwiecza (w szczególności od roku 1956, czyli od początku zaistnienia po tzw. stalinowskiej ‘odwilży’), starając się odpowiadać na rosnące potrzeby otwierającego

się stopniowo na świat społeczeństwa polskiego w zakresie znajomości języków obcych (czyli nierodzimych) po niezwykle bolesnej traumie II wojny światowej i próbującego izolować Polskę od reszty świata okresu stalinowskiego. Przede wszystkim, czyniła to rozwijając w sposób w pełni zrozumiały swoje programy nauczania w wymiarze uniwersyteckim i w odniesieniu do dominującego typu słuchacza studiów neofilologicznych w owym czasie w Polsce, któremu można nadać miano słuchacza 'wąsko neofilologicznego' (lub słuchacza specjalistycznego) w obrębie trzech swoich 'filarów', tj. językoznawstwa, literaturoznawstwa i metodyki nauczania języków obcych (w tradycji Profesora Ludwika Zabrockiego (1907-1977) nazywanej powszechnie 'glottodydaktyką'), obsługującej tzw. praktyczną naukę języków obcych oferowaną każdemu wąsko neofilologicznemu słuchaczowi w zakresie wybranej przez siebie neofilologii, reprezentowanej w początkowej fazie jej powojennego rozwoju przez następujące 'ciężkie' języki naturalne powojennego świata: angielski, francuski, niemiecki i rosyjski.

Celem tak zorganizowanego programu nauczania, stosowanego na wszystkich polskich uniwersytetach, było przede wszystkim wykształcenie licznej i coraz bardziej potrzebnej kadry dydaktycznej w zakresie nauczania języków obcych (czyli nierodzimych) na poziomach średnim i wyższym edukacji neofilologicznej w Polsce. Po wprowadzeniu w okresie tzw. transformacji ustrojowej do polskiej przestrzeni edukacyjnej licznych Kolegiów Nauczycielskich cel programu nauczania polskiej neofilologii został odpowiednio rozszerzony, tak, by pozwolił młodym Polakom na nabycie kompetencji nauczycielskich z jednej strony, tym razem na potrzeby szkolnictwa podstawowego (także przedszkolnego), z drugiej zaś strony na nabycie przez młodych Polaków jako takiego poziomu znajomości tychże języków, a więc nie tylko na potrzeby dydaktyki w zakresie edukacji w odniesieniu do języków nowożytnych (na początku owych ciężkich języków naturalnych wymienionych powyżej) na poziomie podstawowym, średnim i wyższym. W ten sposób stopniowo poszerzony został już w latach 90-tych ubiegłego wieku skład słuchaczy wąsko specjalistycznych o dodatkową grupę słuchaczy, którym można wyraźnie nadać miano słuchaczy 'ogólnoneofilologicznych', a więc dużą grupę słuchaczy kształconych już poza bezpośrednią potrzebą zatrudnienia w polskim systemie edukacyjnym w charakterze specjalisty w zakresie konkretnego języka nierodzimego.

W międzyczasie do wymienionych powyżej i realizowanych w ciągu przeszło trzydziestoletniego okresu trzech filarów programu nauczania polskiej neofilologii dołączony został, w wyniku rosnących kontaktów międzynarodowych, bardzo ważny i jednocześnie, jak się okazało, równoważny znaczeniowo komponent tłumaczeniowy (inaczej: przekładoznawczy/translatologiczny/traduktologiczny), którego celem stało się nabycie przez słuchaczy znajomości założeń teorii przekładu, a także umiejętności tłumaczeniowych w zakresie np. literatury pięknej, czy nabycie umiejętności w zakresie dokonywania przekładów pisemno-ustno-maszynowych o wszelkich możliwych stopniach trudności. Oczywiście jest, że ten właśnie komponent, komponent translatologiczny, wzmocnił grupę słuchaczy

ogólnoneofilologicznych, jednocześnie profilując ich wąsko zawodowo jako ‘tłumaczy’, czy to ustnych czy dokonujących tłumaczeń tekstów graficznych.

W konsekwencji taki cztero-częściowy schemat programu nauczania w obrębie polskiej neofilologii, obejmujący językoznawstwo, literaturoznawstwo, glotodydaktykę i translatorykę, stał się na wiele lat klasycznym kanonem. Przetrwał on do dnia dzisiejszego i nadal obowiązuje w większości kierunków neofilologicznych w Polsce. Możemy go nazwać nurtem ‘ortodoksji neofilologicznej’, który to nurt w pełni definiuje stan neofilologii polskiej ‘w dniu wczorajszym i po części dzisiejszym’.

2. Neofilologia polska jutro

Tymczasem pędzący do przodu świat stawia społeczeństwu, zwłaszcza społeczeństwu postindustrialnym i nadchodzącej coraz wyraźniej ery cyfrowej z jej największym osiągnięciem w postaci sztucznej inteligencji (*artificial intelligence, AI*), w tym społeczeństwu polskiemu, nowe zadania. Także w obrębie neofilologii polskiej mamy do czynienia z powstaniem zupełnie nowych wyzwań. Są one związane z wyraźną potrzebą, wręcz koniecznością, stworzenia zupełnie nowych ofert dydaktycznych dla nowego typu odbiorców programów neofilologicznych, którzy nie tylko poprzez swoją liczebność niejako uzyskali pełne obywatelstwo w krajobrazie polskiej neofilologii ale którzy już wyraźnie umieszczają (bądź już umieścili) siebie i swoje kariery zawodowe zdecydowanie poza tradycyjną karierą nauczycielską na różnych jej szczeblach zaawansowania, i to w kontekście rosnącego cyfrowego kosmopolityzmu społeczeństw europejskich, w tym ujawniającego się coraz bardziej kosmopolityzmu społeczeństwa polskiego. Kosmopolityzm ów, kiedyś postrzegany negatywnie, nazywamy jest w Polsce odpowiednio ‘kontekstem międzynarodowym’ studiów neofilologicznych i umieszczany jest już obowiązkowo w organizacji programów nauczania i przebiegu studiów neofilologicznych w Polsce.

Ponieważ słuchaczom typu wąsko neofilologicznego przybyli z czasem i w sposób zupełnie naturalny słuchacze ogólnoneofilologiczni, i to w stopniu statystycznie równoważnym do pierwszego typu słuchaczy, klasyczny program nurtu ortodoksji neofilologicznej realizowany w Polsce stał się wysoce niewystarczający i wymaga on w chwili obecnej poważnych uzupełnień o charakterze długotrwałym. Kierunek tych uzupełnień jest już wyraźnie zasygnalizowany, chociażby w programie zarysowanym przez European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML) i programach innych centrów nauczania neofilologicznego (np. Centre International de Formation Européenne, CIFE), tworzących Wspólną Europejską Bazę Referencyjną dla Języków (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, CEFR).

W programach tych, obok dalszego prowadzenia tradycyjnej edukacji językowej w kontekście diady ‘nauczyciel-uczeń’, znalazło się miejsce, przede

wszystkim, dla tworzenia globalnych standardów sprawności językowych (*global language proficiency standards*), w tym dla takich zagadnień szczegółowych jak: nauczanie języków nierodzimych w szerokim kontekście ekologiczno-komunikologicznym, nauczanie w zakresie wizerunkowości i umiejętności mediacyjnych, nauczanie języka migowego, plurilingwizmu i interkulturowości, szerokie stosowanie nowych mediów w edukacji językowej, nauczanie najmłodszych (edukacji przedszkolnej i wczesnoszkolnej), nauczanie komunikacji językowej w triadzie: skuteczność-sukces-komfort, nauczanie umiejętności prowadzenia komunikacji empatycznej, prowadzenie edukacji językowej dla rosnącej rzeszy migrantów, dalsze rozwijanie komunikacji językowej dla międzynarodowego świata korporacyjnego (tj. komunikacji ściśle biznesowej), tworzenie odpowiednio zmodyfikowanych programów studiów językowo-komunikacyjnych i ich ewaluacji, wdrażanie programów obejmujących ochronę języków naturalnych (w tym ochronę języków mniejszości etnicznych w kontekście plurilingwizmu i multilingwizmu) i rozwijanie umiejętności komunikacyjnych w zakresie komunikacji politycznej, w tym rozwijanie programów podkreślających istotę światowego porządku demokratycznego i procesów demokratycznych zachodzących na świecie (w obowiązkowym kontekście Powszechnej Deklaracji Praw Człowieka), rozwijanie programów wzmacniających tożsamość i integrację europejską, czy wreszcie tworzenie i realizacja programów promujących ideę obywatelstwa europejskiego i europejskości (*Europeanness*) w kontekście dialogu między Europejczykami i przedstawicielami innych regionów i kontynentów.

3. Wnioski

Tak szeroko zarysowane programy edukacji neofilologicznej na kontynencie europejskim, wskazujące na wykształcenie się wyraźnej już dominacji nurtu ogólnoneofilologicznego w kontekście nowych wyzwań stojących chociażby przed Wspólnotą Europejską, wymagają wprowadzenia istotnych uzupełnień w kształceniu neofilologicznym w Polsce. Powinno to ostatecznie doprowadzić do tego, by polscy słuchacze tych studiów pod żadnym względem nie odstawali od nieustannie rozwijającego się i modyfikowanego profilu ogólnoneofilologicznego obejmującego cały wachlarz możliwości przygotowujących absolwentów studiów neofilologicznych, w tym polskiej neofilologii, do nowych wyzwań w duchu wykształcenia się u słuchaczy tych studiów wystarczająco bogatych kompetencji zawodowych i osiągnięcia dobrostanu zawodowego. Są nimi przede wszystkim:

- w zakresie wąskoneofilologicznym (tj. ciągle obecnego i potrzebnego nurtu ortodoksji neofilologicznej) przygotowanie nowego typu nauczyciela języków nierodzimych, coraz bardziej wrażliwego na wielokulturowość i wielojęzyczność (w wymiarach pluri- i multilingwizmu),

- w zakresie ogólnoneofilologicznym przygotowanie nowego typu obywatela Polski i Europy, w istocie (zawodowego) kosmopolity, posiadającego odpowiednią kompetencję językowo-komunikacyjną w zakresie przynajmniej dwóch języków naturalnych, będącego w stanie przemieszczać się swobodnie i bez doświadczania tzw. szoku kulturowego pomiędzy poszczególnymi kulturami i językami,
- w zakresie ogólnoneofilologicznym przygotowanie nowego typu uczestnika szeroko pojętych procesów cywilizacyjnych, gotowego do tworzenia innowacji, przyjmowania innowacji i aktywnego udziału w ich rozpowszechnianiu i realizacji, w kontekście wystarczającej znajomości wybranych przez siebie języków nierodzimych, z koniecznym uwzględnieniem całej różnorodności kostiumów narodowo-etniczno-kulturowych jak i w zróżnicowanych rejestrach kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnych.

Teksty, w których podejmowałem tematykę przyszłości studiów neofilologicznych w Polsce:

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