

CURRENTS

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No. 2: Then and Now

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Edited by

Emilia Leszczyńska, Natalia Pałka & Marta Sibierska

Toruń 2016

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Editor-in-Chief: Edyta Lorek-Jezińska

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CURRENTS. A Journal of Young English Philology Thought and Review, based in Toruń, is a yearly interdisciplinary journal addressed to young researchers in the field of English studies. It was founded in 2013 by the Academic Association for Doctoral Students at the Department of English, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and its first issue was released in 2015. The journal is dedicated to all aspects of English studies, including linguistics, literary and cultural studies, translation, book editing and ESL teaching. It seeks to explore interconnections and differences between various sub-disciplines and approaches within English philology, providing a platform for debate to young scholars. *Currents* invites contributions from students of English departments in Poland and abroad, pursuing BA, MA and PhD degree programmes. The major part of each issue consists of academic articles related to the key themes described in call for papers published in the latest issue or on the journal website. A separate section is devoted to book reviews and conference reports. The journal applies a double-blind review procedure; each article is reviewed by two academic referees. *Currents* is edited by members of the Academic Association for Doctoral Students at the Department of English, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. All submissions and queries should be sent to the journal address: currents.journal.umk@gmail.com.

Editor-in-chief
Edyta Lorek-Jezińska

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CURRENTS EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

The collection of articles that we are pleased to deliver is the second issue of *CURRENTS. A Journal of Young English Philology Thought and Review*, edited by members of the Academic Association for Doctoral Students at the Department of English, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

The first edition, published in 2015, was devoted to *currents* in English philology studies, initiating a fascinating discussion among students of different academic subdisciplines. Encouraged by the number of submissions to the first edition, we intend to continue this tradition. It is our hope that by having invited young scholars of all disciplines we managed to create a platform for sharing their scholarly achievements. The result we happily hand to our Readers.

This time, we intended to address a broad concept of *then and now*. Students of English philology on different levels were encouraged to share their reflections pertaining to the key theme and discuss it from various viewpoints. Our suggested topics included, but were not limited to, the interrelations of the old and the new in translation methods, literary theories, cultural and media studies, linguistics and language evolution and, last but not least, ESL teaching and learning. As a result, the past theories, concepts, trends and methods have been revised and contrasted with the current ones, thus giving an insight into fundamental changes occurring within the given disciplines and in the humanities in general, pointing to the fact that *now* cannot exist without *then*.

Our second edition of *CURRENTS* is divided into four sections.

Culture and literature then and now

The opening article is **Marta Sibierska's** *What is Literature for? Insights from Evolutionary Theories of Art*. Here, the Author draws attention to the fact that literature can become the study subject to be approached from a wider—evolutionary—perspective. The main objective of the article is to discuss

evolutionary theories by applying them to literary studies and presenting to the Reader a critical analysis of the literature's functions together with their evolutionary locus. In his *The Death of the Author(ship)—Filmmakers in Crisis*, **Olivier Harenda** confronts the auteur theory with the Barthesian concept of the death of the author to comment on the ways in which film directors address the questions of a filmmaker's authority and status. Referring to two examples—Frank Oz's *Bowfinger* and Woody Allen's *Hollywood Ending*—Harenda examines the presentation of fictional directors' struggle for creative control over their work.

Can classical works be reinterpreted and combine past with what is modern? Seth Grahame-Smith introduced zombies into the fictional reality of *Pride and Prejudice* in his 2009 novel *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*. The text by **Emilia Leszczyńska**—*Pride and Prejudice: the Original and Zombies*—presents a comparative analysis of Austen's original novel and Grahame-Smith's adaptation, in order to discover and describe some schemata that are used in the rewriting of *Pride and Prejudice*. *Anne Boleyn's Image(s) in The Tudors* is **Paula Budzyńska's** text wherein she points out numerous differences in the depictions of the sovereign in a historical fiction series. Her image and representations vary, they can be either positive or negative, depending on the features of character the filmmakers decide to incorporate in their works.

Drawing upon the findings of cultural criminology, the article entitled *Perception of Criminal Celebrities in the 20th and 21st Centuries on the Basis of Bonnie and Clyde and Mariusz Trynkiewicz* examines the public's attitudes and reactions to the stories of criminal celebrities. Taking two examples from different historical, social and cultural contexts, **Ewelina Krupa** exposes how—in response to distinct types of crime committed—the public negotiates meanings attributed to them, taking advantage of the available media. **Tomasz Urban** presents yet another understanding of the “then and now” concept. His article *Old and New Habits in Country Music: A Short Glance at the Changes in the Williams Family Music Lyrics* is an intriguing study of the changes within

country music in the United States. These can be traced by taking a glimpse into the lyrics of the three generations of musicians in the Williams' family.

Language then and now

Where does language come from? How did it evolve and what makes it so unique? **Monika Boruta** in her paper entitled *The Third Way in the Evolution of Language* offers a possible application of evolutionary approaches. By providing an interesting perspective on the development of language and its origin, the Author takes the Reader to an outstanding journey over time, commenting on the possible third way of how language might have evolved.

Arm in Arm with Prosody: When Impoliteness is Hidden in Sound by **Natalia Pałka** is a review of the most recent theories of impoliteness, an issue of linguistics that has long been neglected. Here, the Author proposes a critical analysis of the current theories and indicates how these approaches have changed over time, paying particular attention to the prosodic aspects of impoliteness. In his paper entitled *Computational Linguistics and Natural Language Processing: The History and Present Application*, **Marek Placiński** presents the historical development of Natural Language Processing and Computational Linguistics. He enumerates the major advancements made in the areas, both theoretical and practical. Once the perspective is changed from the historical to the present one, he depicts the current applications of computation in linguistics.

The following two texts explore language from the perspective of its learners, learning processes and outcomes. In *Learner Autonomy outside the Higher Primary EFL Classroom in Rural Poland: The Study Based on Polish Higher Primary EFL Learners* **Izabela Batyra** discusses the results of a study conducted in 2013/2014. The article reveals that the forms of autonomous learning differ significantly among young learners of a foreign language. On the other hand, **Julia Trzeciakowska** in her article *Mistakes in Phonemic Transcriptions Made by Polish EFL Teacher Training College Students* explores

the relationship between some transcription errors and most common pronunciation errors made by Poles. The study provides novel empirical data and linkage between the two error types. The closing article of this section belongs to **Daria Tyblewska**. In *Literal (Mis)translations as a Form of a Linguistic Joke—The Analysis of the Content of Political Memes* Tyblewska examines the function of mistranslation in linguistic jokes created by the Internet users. Her study of memes commenting on the Polish politicians' knowledge of English proves how effective simple strategies based on calques and literal translations are in producing humorous effects.

Book reviews

Book reviews included in this section explore two different areas. Andrzej Beszczyński comments on Professor Branach-Kallas monograph *Uraz przetrwania. Trauma i polemika z mitem pierwszej wojny światowej w powieści kanadyjskiej*, indicating the importance of the study on Canadian war novels; whereas Katarzyna Rogalska in her *The Gap Filled: On Language Evolution in Polish* reviews a pioneering work on language evolution by Żywczyński and Waciewicz, *Ewolucja języka. W stronę hipotez gesturalnych*.

Conference reports

During the academic year 2015/2016 the members of the Academic Association for Doctoral Students at the Department of English, NCU, participated in several conferences held at our English Philology Department. This section provides brief descriptions of some of these conferences: *Shakespeare Applied*—devoted to the practical aspects of the Bard's presence in contemporary culture, *Easter Rising*—commemorating its centenary by discussing “writing,” “staging,” and “editing” of cultural texts connected with the event, and *Of Other Worlds*—hosted in the spirit of fantasy, which initiated a heated debate among its dedicated fans.

Acknowledgements

Had it not been for the great involvement of many people, the publication of the second issue of *CURRENTS* would not have been possible. We intend to express our profound gratitude to Professor dr hab. Mirosława Buchholtz, the Head of the Department of English at Nicolaus Copernicus University, for giving us an opportunity to work on the second edition of *CURRENTS*. Her encouragement and belief in students is always a great support.

We are particularly grateful to Professor dr hab. Edyta Lorek-Jezińska for her patience, whole-hearted support and guidance without which we would never have been able to go through the process of publishing this volume.

We greatly appreciate invaluable comments provided by our Reviewers. Their attention to detail helped to inspire our young scholars and substantially contributed to the quality of this edition.

CURRENTS editorial board

Emilia Leszczyńska, Natalia Pałka, Marta Sibierska

Toruń, September 2016

**CULTURE AND LITERATURE
THEN AND NOW**

Marta Sibierska

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WHAT IS LITERATURE FOR? INSIGHTS FROM EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES OF ART

Keywords: Evolutionary Psychology (EP), Darwinian Literary Studies (DLS), ultimate function, adaptive value of literature, evolutionary theories of art

Introduction: “the riddle of fiction”

Humans, and especially children, are all “creatures of story” (Gottschall 2012: 6). This predilection is at least as old as the oldest known literary artifacts, and probably even older than that if we think about the oral traditions of ancient cultures or the supposed instances of storytelling practices in the Paleolithic era (cf. Collins 2013). But why would our Stone Age ancestors, still bound more by nature than nurture, devote so much of their time and energy to composing narratives? “Why do humans tell stories at all?” (Gottschall 2012: 23).

This paper is an overview of the theories on the adaptive value of literature: i.e. its function that accounted for it not being selected against in the process of our species evolution, as viewed within evolutionary theories of art. Not all of what I herein call “theories” are primarily preoccupied with literature; some of them have been born within broadly conceived cognitive sciences (Pinker), some within, for example, ethology (Burghardt). The very paradigm positioning literature in the context of evolution has for the most part been the domain of the so called Literary Darwinism. The discipline, aspiring to be a sub-field of literary criticism, draws on the theory of evolution by natural selection to account for the workings of the fictitious worlds found in shared stories. Only recently have Darwinian Literary Studies—now also abbreviated to DLS, which is somehow a sign of their solidifying among other cognition—and evolution-oriented research fields—began to draw on the line of inquiry associated with Evolutionary Psychology (EP) in order to paint a broader picture of literature

as an evolved phenomenon. It thus has become their central concern to characterise it as a human behaviour (or a set of behaviours) in terms of Nikolaas Tinbergen's four questions: "where does it come from? (phylogeny); how does it develop? (ontogeny); what is it for? (ultimate function); how does it work? (mechanism or proximate function)" (Boyd 2008: 139). The importance of those questions with reference to literature has been stressed for instance by Gordon M. Burghardt. In his article *Evolution and Paradigms in the Study of Literature*, a response to Joseph Carroll, he underscores "the Tinbergen tradition" and the ethological research regime as an absolute necessity in Darwinian Literary Studies methodologies (2008: 147–9). He also notes that among all those questions, it is the one about the ultimate function ("what is literature for?") that has over the past years sparked the most of scholarly enthusiasm:

literary Darwinists seem particularly fixated on the issue of the adaptive value of literature and the arts. Certainly this is an interesting issue, and eventually may be critical, but perhaps not as urgent as Pinker, E. O. Wilson, George Williams and other might think. (2008: 148)

Indeed, the issue may not be urgent. But the question about the ultimate function ("what is literature for?") seems more than perplexing not necessarily—or not only—because of the evolutionist inclinations, but because of its potential to amend for a "malaise in academic literary study", as Jonathan Gottschall puts it (2008b: 186). A turn toward the sciences and "combining [...] humanistic virtues with scientific tools would create new synergies" (Gottschall 2008b: 186), and, especially with such an august question about literature's *raison d'être*, could be a way out of the doldrums that literary scholars have supposedly been trapped in.

The question is grand, indeed. The answer, in turn, "may seem obvious": as Gottschall notes:

stories give us joy. But it isn't obvious that stories should give us joy, at least not in the way it's biologically obvious that eating or sex should give us joy. It is the joy of story that needs explaining. (2012: 23–24)

The “riddle of fiction”, then, comes to the fact that natural selection does not allow for any “luxuries”—activities that consume time, effort and energy, but are fruitless from a biological perspective. How is it that literature has not been selected against so far? (cf. Gottschall 2012: 24). First of all, it has certainly not been selected against, for it has long been a universal in humans—there is no culture without art and without a literary tradition (be it oral or written) (cf. Boyd 2009: 70); second, all humans develop—at least to some extent—the ability to produce and/or read literature; third, producing and reading literature is indeed a “luxury”, for it requires much time and effort—in fact, too much to be of no adaptive value at all (cf. Carroll 2008: 119). The three arguments are commonly considered as strong enough a ground for the theory of literature as an adaptation. In spite of the almost-agreement on the adaptive character of the arts and fiction, though, there is little—if any—consensus as to the actual benefits that they bring us in terms of our overall fitness. As Joseph Carroll, someone of the founding father of the field of evolutionary approach to fiction, puts it:

Within evolutionary social science, divergent hypotheses have been formulated about the adaptive function of the arts. Theorists disagree on whether the arts have adaptive functions, and if they do, what those functions might be. (Carroll 2008: 103–104)

Below, I present the most influential models of literature function that have been put forward as alternative answers to the third of Tinbergen’s questions (“what is it for?”). Importantly, these models, which were born and developed during the last two or three decades, have hardly been juxtaposed. Rather, they have been mentioned in one breath (see e.g. introduction in: Gottschall 2012) and discussed mostly as alternative approaches, albeit they have many common points and could be seen as complementary just as much as contrasting. Here, by underscoring some of the gaps in the evolutionist line of reasoning, I try to point toward the possibility of a multifunctional perspective on the place of literature in human evolution. Thus, this article is at the same time a manifestation of the shift that has in recent years occurred in literary

studies: a shift toward cognitive, evolutionist, or empirical approaches to literature.

Model 1: Literature is for nothing

When situating literature in the spectrum of our evolved behaviours, the very first intuition was to assume that literature does not have any adaptive value whatsoever (e.g. Pinker 1997b): in other words, from the perspective of biology, it is “pointless” (Pinker 1997: 125), while “.. it is wrong to invent functions for activities that lack that design merely because we want to ennoble them with the imprimatur of biological adaptiveness” (Pinker 1997: 129). For Steven Pinker, the most eager proponent of this model, the status of literature and other arts—if it should be studied at all—should be the subject of the inquiry of such fields as aesthetics (though in his opinion, art is not a matter of aesthetics at all) or social psychology, but it is fruitless to muse over it in terms of biology—and, what follows, in terms of its adaptive value (Pinker 1997: 126). Pinker’s explanation of the phenomenon of the arts is that it is a shortcut—or, actually, a detour—to the pleasure circuits in the brain that are otherwise activated only with procuring our biological fitness (Pinker 1997: 128–129). He could argue, then, that if literature is for anything, it is for pleasure. But, as has already been alluded to with the words of Gottschall, it is precisely the pleasure of literature that is the central crux of the puzzle. As Brian Boyd, another of the chief Darwinian Literary scholars, stresses,

If art involved no benefit, if it only mimicked biological advantage, as drugs do, by delivering unearned pleasure, yet it had high costs in time, energy, and resources, then a predisposition to art would be a weakness that would long ago have been weeded out by the intensity of evolutionary competition. Nature selects against a cost without a benefit... (Boyd 2009: 83)

Indeed, our brains are not “*designed for story*.” In turn, “[s]tories, in all their variety and splendor, are just lucky accidents of the mind’s jury-rigged construction. Story may educate us, deepen us, and give us joy. [...] But that doesn’t mean story has a biological purpose” (Gottschall 2012: 29). In other words, the inclination for fiction may be more of an exaptation rather than an

adaptation: human mind has not evolved for composing narratives, but it has evolved a set of cognitive capacities, such as shared attention or Theory of Mind, that allow us, among other things, also to tell each other stories. Storytelling, and what follows—literature—are then by-products of the process rather than its prime result, just as bird feathers have evolved for heat regulation and only later turned out to be perfectly suited for yet another thing—flying¹. To use Pinker's words:

The mind is a neural computer, fitted by natural selection with combinatorial algorithms for causal and probabilistic reasoning about plants, animals, objects, and people. It is driven by goal states that served biological fitness in ancestral environments, such as food, sex, safety, parenthood, friendship, status, and knowledge. That toolbox, however, can be used to assemble Sunday afternoon projects of dubious adaptive value. (Pinker 1997: 128)

The idea that literature is indeed a project “of dubious adaptive value” is probably to provoke outrage in any literary scholar that should read those words. But, in fact, it has done more good in the field than any of the early conundrums of Literary Darwinism, as it has shifted scholarly attention to the Tinbergen tradition, which for instance Burghardt called for. The truth is flying in birds may be an exaptation—but it seems that we are quite reluctant to give up the idea that our own means of flying—which fiction certainly caters for—is just a mere evolutionary accident.

Model 2: Literature is a means of sexual selection

In one of the most widespread models that try to find a function for fiction in our species, literature, improbable as it sounds, is theorised to be a scheme for attracting sexual partners. Getting mates and arriving at a reproductive success—or actually a Differential Reproductive Success (DRS)—is one of the most basic drives of any organism. But in humans, reproduction success is not necessarily what we associate with bookworms or book-devouring geeks, nor with the literary figures in distress, such as socially anxious Emily Dickinson or bipolar suicide Sylvia Plath. Still, as for example Geoffrey F. Miller argues,

literature, just like any art, is a sort of a display of mental capacities, a costly signal that indicates the overall fitness of the sender (1999). This was inadvertently indicated also by Steven Pinker, when he classified art as a subject of study relevant for the psychology of status rather than the psychology of arts *per se* (1997: 126). Status is indeed of primary importance in here. Dickinson and Plath may not be successful socially but for this one. Literary behaviour—writing literature as well as being well-read in it—is a display of “virtuosity in overcoming technical difficulty” (Carroll 2008: 119) and thus intelligence, which, in turn, attracts mates (cf. Gottschall 2012: 27). In this way, literature is somehow similar to a peacock’s tail: it is a costly signal which would not be afforded by a less fit individual.

No matter how distressed some authors were, then, they were at least granted the access to “the canon.” But—and this aspect has been overlooked in the model—the status often comes only after their death. It is, then, of little benefit in terms of their reproductive success. The readers, in turn, do show off with some of the things they read (nowadays, for instance by means of social media); but certainly, not with all. There are books that make us look smarter, but there are also books—and they have long taken over the contemporary market, I daresay—that are more of a guilty pleasure than a display and we seek to conceal the fact we read them rather than share it. Taking our contemporary reading and writing habits into consideration, the intuition that they are an enhancer in the search of sexual partners seems a little bit far-fetched.

The model suffers then from the lack of empirical data that would support its socially-oriented suppositions. After all, the matter of status can be dependent on contingent and subjective perceptions. It can differ, at least to some extent, across cultures and social groups. It can be enhanced by reading and writing in some circles, but it can also differ depending on the quality of our reading lists or our own literary craft. These can bring us social advantage

in some contexts; but who would talk about social advantage when writing poems as an adolescent is so often mocked by school peers?

Definitely, the stance that literary behaviour is a part of sexual selection—which, as Carroll shows, seems plausible within evolution-theory logic—should be supported with some insights from not only evolutionary psychology, but also fields not enclosed within that same lines of reasoning: big data or social sciences.

Model 3: Literature is a cognitive play

Regardless of whether we conceal or share what we read, the very act of reading—at least to some—is pleasurable. According to Brian Boyd, the pleasure is due to the play potential of literature (2008; 2009). As he argues, art in general has evolved from animal play-pretend, non-serious behaviour into a cognitive play with pattern (Boyd 2008: 138). The hypothesis fits neatly into the body of research on animal play (e.g. Burghardt 2005): literature is a universal in humans, it is pleasurable and volitional, we engage in it throughout our lives and usually only when our other, more basic needs are satisfied (cf. Burghardt 2010: 346). As a play behaviour, literature, quite by definition, does not serve any direct purpose (e.g. Collins 63). The long-term benefits of it include increased competence in social skills and scenarios, as well as a boost of cognitive powers (Boyd 2008: 138–139, 142). However, these have to yet be verified on the neural level. Though there has been some evidence for neural growth in mammals engaging in play behaviour, as Boyd stresses:

Neuroscience has yet to show the long-term effects of visual art and storytelling on the brain, but in at least one art, music, there is already robust evidence for improved pattern detection in those who have had even some training. (Boyd 2008: 142)

Again, then, the theory put forward by Boyd is actually more of a starting point for further research than a fully-fledged model. Neuroscience, as he himself states, could support it by determining the actual biological benefits

that engaging in literary play has for our brains. It is yet some food for thought for other fields, such as, for instance, psychology or experimental semiotics, to determine the actual connections between this type of behaviour and abilities such as pattern detection.

Model 4: Literature is a means of organising information and cultural transmission

Information is a resource just as much as food or mates are: at least since it is often about food or mates and their whereabouts. But unlike in real life, in literature information is organised into patterns (Boyd 2009: 190). It does not mean—in a Vladimir Propp-like fashion—that all texts are composed according to the same, though concealed, template. On the contrary, in literature, with a more or less closed set of components (narrator, characters, time and setting, and so on) we are able to create endless combinations. The pattern is, then, creative and open-ended. That such patterns exist has also, at least to some extent, been confirmed by quantitative research methods. For instance, a group of Polish scientists under the supervision of Stanisław Drożdż recently published the results of a statistical analysis of a corpus of chosen works of literature by canonical writers, such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust, Julio Cortazar, Henryk Sienkiewicz, or Umberto Eco. These works revealed a purely mathematical pattern: their narrative structures turned out to be organised into fractals, or actually multifractals, which more or less means that they exhibit patterns of expanding or evolving symmetries (Drożdż et al. 2016).

This study, among others, suggests that there is indeed a pattern intrinsic in literary texts that gives rise to their structures. Thus organised information, according to the model, is more digestible for our brains and, moreover, can be appropriated “to intensify traditions and social commitments” (Boyd 2008: 139). In other words, it transmits codes of behaviours or social scenarios, so that the audiences or the readers can learn them without living them.

It does not necessarily mean, though, that literature's only function is to be didactic. As Carroll notes:

The idea of art as a source of information or of exemplary lessons in conduct has some merit, but information can be delivered in other ways more efficiently, and didacticism, like novelty, leaves out too much of what is peculiar and specific to art, while also excluding too many instances of art that could not plausibly be described as didactic. (Carroll 2008: 121)

It seems that the issue here is whether we are aware of the fact that we learn through literature. The trick may be that it happens effortlessly to such an extent that we are quite reluctant to recognise the phenomenon. From our perspective, it is still more about pleasure itself than a knowledge gain.

The model fails to verify whether its assumptions about the efficacy of learning through literature are just or not. At least, the (cognitive) psychological or sociological research on the subject² has hardly been incorporated within the evolutionary perspective, which would probably also benefit from a more detailed discussion of which types of information are transmitted through literature effectively and which are not; even a closer look at literary corpora, such as those used by cognitive narratologists, could give at least a hint of an answer to that. After all, "social commitments" mentioned by Boyd can mean many different patterns of information.

Model 5: Literature is "a social glue"

Literature is a vehicle for information and an imaginative training for our minds, but it also, importantly, is hypothesised to improve one mental mode in particular: social cognition (Boyd 2009: 195). It relies, to a great extent, on such cognitive pre-adaptations as shared attention—the ability to share goals and mental states with others—or Theory of Mind—the ability to acknowledge the mental states of others as different from our own—both of which are crucial pro-social abilities. In terms of neurology, it is also guessed that art-like activities and literature amplify the production of certain neurotransmitters, such as oxytocin, responsible for social recognition and bonding (e.g. Boyd

2009: 55). Apart from increasing “social cohesion” and promoting “prosocial models” (Boyd 2008: 139), literature is also evidently an education in empathic behaviour: “Story by its nature invites us to shift from our own perspective to that of another, and perhaps then another and another” (Boyd 2009: 197). Finally, apart from being a platform for shared attention and “a social glue” in our species (Gotschall 2012: 28), literature is also, as has already been said above, a space for “showing off”: in this way engaging in it as a behaviour can lead to a certain gain in social status:

Art depends on the unique human capacity to share attention. Other species, as they become more social, learn to attend to the attention of others, and individuals can command attention according to their status—which correlates with survival and reproductive success. While telling a tale a person is, for the time being, dominant over his listeners, and in the world of specialized storytellers, from a tribal storyteller or Homer to Shakespeare or Tolkien, status proves still more enduring. (Boyd 2009: 195)

In this case, the model seems well-grounded in the ideas long developed and discussed in cognitive sciences. The cognitive pre-adaptations mentioned above are strongly associated with humans’ unique sociality, and since they overlap with the abilities necessary for reading and/or writing literature, the conclusion that it boosts our social bonds seems inevitable, though not necessarily novel.

Model 6: Literature is an instinct-blocker

As Carroll argues, literature is a body of idiosyncratic images and impressions of our lived experience, whose aim is to add up to creating “motivational systems disconnected from the immediate promptings of instinct” (2008: 122). Accordingly, Carroll draws a line, after E. O. Wilson, between the “higher” cognitive capacities of humans, connected with engaging the frontal lobes of the brain, and of other animals: unlike the latter, humans are driven by biological predispositions and proclivities only to a certain extent. They are not entirely dependent on their instincts.

The arts mediate between the two modes: they offer

images of the world and of our experience in the world. Those images mediate our behavior and the elemental passions that derive from human life history. The arts are thus an adaptive response to the adaptive problem produced by the adaptive capacities of high intelligence. (Carroll 2008: 122)

A similar hypothesis has also been put forward by Peter Swirski. In his speculations, he stresses that instinct is the best way to respond in a more or less stable environment (“maximum efficiency for the minimum of fuss”); but in an environment which is constantly changing and which is composed of complex stimuli, we profit more from responses that are not instinctive (Swirski in Carroll 2008: 125). In this sense, the scenarios that are found in literature stimulate us to be more readily responsive to non-stable circumstances:

Because fiction extends our imaginative reach, we are not confined to our here and now or dominated by automatic responses. We can think in terms of hidden causes, of inspiring or admonitory examples from the past, fictional or real, of utopian or dystopian models, of probable scenarios or consequences, or of counterfactuals whose very absurdity clarifies our thought. (Boyd 2009: 198)

This line of reasoning is also present in Ellen Dissanayake’s *Art and Intimacy* (cf. Carroll 2008: 125). However, as Dissanayake stresses, it leads to a somehow spurious presupposition that literature is indeed an instance of human “higher” cognitive capacities. It is crucial to bear in mind that “the experience of literature, like music, may not be aesthetically high-minded [...]. Many people who read do not read fiction (stories) and those who read fiction often read what most of us [...] would call CrapLit” (Dissanayake 165).

Conclusion: toward a multifunctional perspective

The models summed up above have been born within a broader field of evolutionary theories of art as particular perspectives on the position of literature as a human behaviour. However, there has hardly been a tendency to combine them and treat them as complementary: such a multifunctional

perspective has been only briefly discussed by, for instance, Jonathan Gottschall (2012).

As can be concluded on the basis of the above, these models share a set of adaptive elements that one time appear in the foreground and another time in the back: pleasure gain, sociality (in its different guises, from building bonds and learning codes to selecting sexual partners), pattern, and play (connected with all the latter). These are of varying importance in all the scenarios, but, still, they suggest the answer to “the grand question” does not necessarily need to be short and sweet. The possibility of adopting a more complex, multifunctional perspective on the function of fiction in the evolutionary context seems a promising alternative to alternatives, then.

Apart from the shift toward the thesis on the multimodality and multifunctionality of fiction, yet another tendency is evident from all the hypotheses touched on above: a sway of literary criticism toward the sciences: cognitive studies, ethology, neuropsychology, and so on (e.g. Gottschall 2008). The shift, as well as the very emergence of DLS, is supposedly a result of dissatisfaction with the postmodernist paradigm and what came (or did not come) afterwards.

The ca. 25 years of research in the field—or, actually, integrating the research data from other fields into the theories on literature’s place on our evolutionary timeline—have not yet brought the answer to “the grand question” about the adaptive value. Instead, they have complicated an issue that initially, in the 1990s, seemed so simple, especially for scholars outside of literary studies as such, like, for example, Pinker. Undoubtedly, what we know so far is that literature does not lack design, as he would argue. Nor does it bring no biological benefit. Though in the case of most of the models mentioned above there is not enough empirical data to support their theses, still, they seem to point to some exciting possibilities for further research. The research will probably prove that the design of literature as a behaviour as well as its adaptive value are much more complex than it was assumed. Just like in the

case of language, literature calls for a whole set of cognitive pre-adaptations and has certainly more than one outcome on our fitness. Thus, Gottschall quite rightly compares literature to a human hand: an array of bones, joints, ligaments, nerves, and muscles, in which “everything [...] is *for* something” (2012: 24–25). The point is that, just like many other organs of our bodies, hands are tools similar to “a Swiss Army knife”, serving several purposes (Gottschall 2012: 26). Similarly, as Gottschall notes, fiction can also “be *for* a lot of things” (2012: 27).

Endnotes

1. For the discussion on the subject, see, for example: K. Parkes. 1966. “Speculations on the origin of feathers”, *Living Bird*, 5, 77–86; N. Bishop. 1997. *The Secrets of Animal Flight*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; S. F. Tarsitano et al. 2000. “On the evolution of feathers from an aerodynamic and constructional view point”, *American Zoology*, 40, 676–686.
2. For instance, Barbara Tversky’s research memorising and perceiving events as told in a story. See, for instance: B. Tversky et al. 2010. “Talking about events”, in: E. Pederson et al. (Eds.) *Event representation in language and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 216–227.

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Abstract

While investigating any feature in a species from an evolutionary perspective, the crucial question that should be asked about is the one about its function: "What is it for?" This question has been applied also in art studies, giving rise to evolutionary theories of art, which depict art, literature included, mainly as an evolutionary adaptation, i.e. a behaviour which is an outcome of natural selection and has an adaptive value in the species. The question "What is literature for?" has drawn the attention of many literary scholars, who, attempting to answer it, point to its role as a cognitive play, a stimulation of our social skills, or a handicap element in sexual selection. This article is a critical examination of the existing hypotheses on the function of literature in our species from an evolutionary standpoint, representing a shift that has in recent years occurred in literary studies—a shift toward cognitive, evolutionist, or empirical approaches to literature.

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THE DEATH OF THE AUTHOR(SHIP)—FILMMAKERS IN CRISIS

Keywords: auteur theory, Bowfinger, fictional auteurs, Hollywood ending, Roland Barthes

Introduction

There is a wide variety of different associations which people have in their minds after hearing the word *authorship*. Some may associate the term specifically with literary writers, whereas in most cases, the concept is treated rather holistically: it denotes “the creator of a work of art,” as defined by *Oxford Online Dictionary* (www.oxforddictionaries.com). In addition, *Cambridge Dictionaries Online* even narrows down this description to “the state or fact of being the person who wrote a particular book, article, play, etc.” (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org>). Significantly, on the basis of these two definitions, we can infer that *authorship* means the creator himself or herself, the independent and unique *author*. However, how the process of creating one’s work is structured?

It comes as no surprise that the author has an explicit concept which he or she wants to convey in their creation. Yet, in the world of today, we are surrounded by multiple collaborative efforts, mirages of reproductions, and numerous litigations about copyright ownership. The modern *auteur* is endangered with the threat of losing their status as “the creator of a work of art” (www.oxforddictionaries.com) due to the interference of third parties, who constitute the collective and industrial process of delivering the final product. In view of such a situation, how can the creator retain their righteous status?

As much as it is visible in all spheres of popular culture, the herein article attempts to examine the issues of authorship in the filmmaking process.

In order to conduct this analysis, the definition of the auteur theory and its understanding in contemporary times is firstly provided. In addition to this, this theory is referred to, and juxtaposed with, the assumptions behind the essay entitled “The Death of the Author” by Roland Barthes. Then, the clash between these theories is explored on the basis of two cinematic texts focusing on the fictional filmmakers who find themselves in *authorial crisis*. In consequence, the importance of the creator of a given work is analysed.

Auteur Theory

Historically speaking, the term *auteur* itself derives from critical works of the first half of the 20th century. It initially emerged in Germany with an innovative concept of “Autorenfilm” (Hayward 20). It is this idea that encouraged screenwriters to claim copyrights for the movies they wrote. Nevertheless, they did not intend to be granted royalties for the scripts only, but for the entire motion pictures because these stemmed from their ideas. As it is put in the work called *Cinema Studies: Key Concepts*, “the film was to be judged as the work of the author rather than the person responsible for directing it” (Eisner 1969: 39 in Hayward 2000: 20).

In France, on the other hand, the dilemma of “who’s the auteur” (Stachówna 2006: 15) was less drastic because in many cases the director and the writer of a motion picture were one and the same; or, if not, they closely collaborated with each other (comprising a *joint auteur* in this way). However, the debate on this issue was initiated again in the 1950s, this time by the famous film director François Truffaut in his essay *Une certaine tendance du cinema*, which coincided with the advent of the French New Wave. Afterwards, the *Cahiers du cinema* group began reinventing the theory of *the auteur* with relation to Hollywood productions. The American way of making motion pictures was so different from the European one that it led the critics to include in the theory the concept of *mise-en-scène*, that is to say, all visual aspects of a play or a film that are under the control of the director. The *Cahiers* admitted that the Hollywood style

of movie-making is so industrialised that directors have absolutely no control over the production process; yet, they can still be considered as auteurs due to the unique ways their movies are composed. In other words, it is all based on the director's visual style that forms their personal signature on the motion picture (Hayward 21).

Moreover, it was the American critic Andrew Sarris who technically coined the term *auteur theory*, as a result of mistranslation (<http://alexwinter.com>). Sarris claimed that one can only become an auteur after achieving technical excellence in the craft, an adequate understanding of cinema, and developing personal style in terms of the look and feel of the movie (Hayward 22, <http://alexwinter.com>).

Whereas French critics positioned the director as the central producer of meaning, the structuralists placed the auteur as not the exclusive, but one out of many (linguistic, social, and institutional) producers of meaning. The auteur ceased to be unique and became one of the *equal* factors in film production (like the studio which green-lighted the picture or the stars who have played in it). This transformation in turn was taken another stage further with post-structuralism and Louis Althusser's ISAs (Ideological State Apparatuses), according to which the spectator is not just a passive viewer of a movie, but an active *deconstructor* of its meaning on the basis of his or her own experience (Hayward 23, 26–27).

Regardless of how many changes the auteur theory has undergone throughout the decades, there is still great uncertainty on whether the motion picture director is indeed the author of their own creation (<http://alexwinter.com>). In addition to this, another dubious matter that surfaces is the one of auteur-spectator relationship and the production of meaning. To be more specific, who perceives a director's style as authorial? Is it the director or the viewers?

Roland Barthes' "The Death of the Author"

Interestingly, the French literary critic Roland Barthes explored the notion of authorship as well as the ambiguous auteur-spectator relation in his 1967 essay entitled "The Death of the Author." Namely, the theorist questioned who is the real author of a text that can be read by another person (such as a film, book, photograph, music, etc.). Even though it seems obvious that the author is a person responsible for a particular piece of work, Barthes rejected the whole notion of authorship. He argued that when a text is created, it is a unified manifestation of different concepts, languages, beliefs, and philosophies. When we read texts, we tend to focus on the author and the meaning conveyed by them in the work (often asking the question: what did the author mean?); however, none of their ideas are their own. The author is convinced that the ideas derive from their mind, but, in fact, the author has unconsciously borrowed everything from pre-existing texts that he or she has become aware of. For instance, the director makes a film and is considered its author; however, every method used to create this particular film has come from pre-existing ideas that have now become conjoined into something completely new and unique. Therefore, the conclusion seems quite clear: the author is irrelevant, and the truly important person is the reader of a text. According to the theorist, "the reader is the very space in which are inscribed, without any being lost, all the citations a writing consists of; the unity of a text is not in its origin, it is in its destination" (Barthes 6). Thus, when a text is finalised, its meaning can be interpreted in an infinite number of various ways. We ourselves, people deriving from diverse cultures, time periods, and having different experiences, decide what a text means, hence creating distinct and personal meanings in our minds. To sum up, it is the reader who is primarily responsible for the understanding of a text, whereas the author should not be taken into consideration at all (Barthes 1-6).

Authorship in Practice—Analysis of Fictional Auteurs

Needless to say, there are many real-life figures of cinematic auteurs about whom countless analytical and critical works have been written. For the sake of appropriateness, we may enumerate such exemplary movie directors known for their distinct styles as Orson Welles, John Ford, Alfred Hitchcock, Wim Wenders, and David Lynch, among many others. Nevertheless, this article does not aim to focus on authentic personas, but to evaluate the workings of authorship in fictional texts. The reason for assuming such an unconventional approach is the fact that a significant quantity of research has already been carried out in relation to real directors and their achievements; yet, very little attention was devoted to the films which provide a metafictional comment on the state of authorship by presenting fictional filmmakers in their authorial crises. Particularly, there are two films which perfectly balance the issues concerned with the processes of being the auteur and the death of the author. These motion pictures are *Bowfinger* (1999) and *Hollywood Ending* (2000). Their analyses are presented hereunder.

i. Bobby Bowfinger —the Accidental Auteur

Bowfinger is an American comedy film made in 1999 by director Frank Oz (the maker of such critically acclaimed pictures as *Little Shop of Horrors* (1986), *What About Bob?* (1991), and *Death at a Funeral* (2007)) with the script written by the comedian Steve Martin, who also stars in the leading role.

The movie tells the story of Bobby Bowfinger, a penniless, middle-aged, actor-turned-director who wanted to make a movie ever since he was a kid. Now, he finally has the opportunity when his accountant hands in the script entitled *Chubby Rain*. Needless to say, the idiotic title reflects the idiosyncratic Z-grade nature of the picture because it tells the story of aliens coming down in rain drops and invading Earth. However, Bowfinger is so fascinated by the script that he resolves to make it into a movie. He attends the meeting with an important producer to secure the budget, but his offer is turned down.

In turn, he pitifully tries to get the interest of “the most profitable Hollywood actor” (00:10:31), Kit Ramsey (played by Eddie Murphy), but he is kicked out of the celebrity’s limousine. Still, the undiscouraged director comes up with a brilliant idea: make the movie with Kit Ramsey, except the actor will not know he is in it...

Naturally, such a kind of idea leads to a comedy of mistakes. Bowfinger explains that Kit will be secretly followed around with a camera and the actors will simply walk up to him to say their lines. In an answer to a friend’s question about what Kit’s going to say in such surreal situations, the director replies: “What difference does it make? It’s an action movie. All he’s gotta do is run. He runs away from the aliens, he runs toward the aliens [...] and we don’t have to pay him” (00:21:39–00:21:46). Of crucial importance is also the fact that Bowfinger does not tell his cast and crew about his scheme, leading them to believe that Kit has actually agreed to play in the movie, but on his own *peculiar* terms, like, for example, one take per scene with him, or no camera visible because it distracts him. When one actress voices her objections, the director creatively lies that what they are doing is a completely new style of filmmaking, a style called “cinema nouveau” (00:43:16).

In this way, the filmmaker sets his insane idea into motion, literally following Kit Ramsey throughout Beverly Hills and setting up totally unexpected situations with the cast. Surprisingly, after such awkward interactions, Kit becomes so paranoid that he actually starts believing in the false reality of aliens wanting to kill him, which in turn only makes it easier for Bowfinger to lure the actor on the top of the planetarium, make him look up at the “alien antenna” and say the central line of the whole picture: “Gotcha suckers!”

After being exposed by Ramsey’s associates and later blackmailing them, Bowfinger finally completes and releases his “work of art.” Clearly, one cannot expect a movie called *Chubby Rain* (even if made in a proper way) to be a domestic box-office hit; nevertheless, when the director sits in the theatre at

the premiere of his movie, we may infer from the look of his face that Bowfinger achieved his long-awaited dream—he made a motion picture. What is more, he made a film almost singlehandedly, without any studio/producer interference, avoiding in this manner the industrial process of authorship.

Yet, did the filmmaker become successful after his creation? At the beginning of the movie, the viewers can hear Bowfinger's monologue about FedEx, how receiving letters from this company makes people important and that one day "he will also receive FedEx mail" (00:07:33). Indeed, this foreshadowing becomes real at the end of the movie, when a slightly confused FedEx courier arrives at Bowfinger's house and hands him over a sealed envelope. Its content establishes him as a true filmmaker because *Chubby Rain* was so well received in Taiwan that he received a proposition of shooting a new picture there. In consequence, Bowfinger becomes *the accidental auteur*, enjoying his new status on the set of *Fake Purse Ninjas*.

ii. Val Waxman—the Blind Auteur

Hollywood Ending is also an American comedy film, made in 2002, directed and written by Woody Allen (the director of such prominent motion pictures as *Annie Hall* (1977), *Manhattan* (1979), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), and *Midnight in Paris* (2011)). It is also worth mentioning that in spite of such a rich filmography, this particular picture is the second time in Allen's career when he decided to focus on the problem of the auteur theory on screen (the first time he did that was in a more literary dimension with *Deconstructing Harry* (1997)).

Hollywood Ending opens with the meeting of film producers in the prosperous Galaxy Pictures Studio. The cinematic moguls discuss the latest script called *The City That Never Sleeps* and potential candidates to direct the picture. Much to everyone's surprise, one of the producers, Ellie, proposes her ex-husband for the part, the *(in)famous* Val Waxman (played by Allen himself). Despite considerable reluctance from the studio executives, they green-light the

project with Waxman at the helm. The director himself, contemporarily forced to direct deodorant commercials in a Canadian blizzard, perceives this picture as his big Hollywood comeback. All the preparations for shooting the movie go smoothly until *day one*, when the director suffers a hysterical paralysis and unexpectedly becomes blind. However, unwilling to lose the chance of a lifetime, Waxman proceeds to direct the picture.

Contrary to *Bowfinger*, in *Hollywood Ending* the viewers are presented with the figure of a burnt-out auteur. That is to say, at the height of his career Val Waxman was a respected perfectionist, yet all of a sudden, he suffered a nervous breakdown and fell from grace. One of the producers states that “he’s a raving, incompetent psychotic [...] they should lock him up, throw away the key” (00:01:49), whereas the studio owner goes on to add: “Forget it. We’re gonna wind-up \$20 million over budget and maybe no picture to boot. [...] I’m not going to take temperamental antics from some ‘owteur’ genius” (00:12:36) Indeed, Waxman is an auteur in his own right, somewhat anchored to the past, constantly talking about “the good old days” (00:07:04). In addition, he won two Oscars (as Allen in real life) and became “a real artiste” (00:02:37) making flop after flop or not completing pictures at all. However, when he is finally hired by the studio, Waxman enumerates that he would like to:

- shoot the whole film in black and white (an intertextual reference to *Manhattan*),
- employ a Chinese cameraman, because they allegedly get the depth unfamiliar to Americans (00:27:15),
- hire a creative art director (who would build Times Square and Central Park from scratch).

Furthermore, prior to losing his eyesight, Waxman has a conversation with his friends about the nature of being a filmmaker and they point out to him that he “[has] to be both [artist and commercial]. In order to make movies, you have to think about the audience. Otherwise, you’re making movies for yourself, like artistic masturbation” (00:18:29–00:18:36). “I’m a classic narcissist then”

(00:18:42), Waxman cheerfully replies and severely pays for his arrogance.

Again, similarly to the case of *Bowfinger*, the blind director serves as a source for a comedy of mistakes. Blind Waxman faces a lot of difficulty when forced to choose the right colour for the background set, pick appropriate props, or direct actors, which leads to bumping into things or even falling from a height. Nevertheless, in order not to become exposed, he relies on the help of a Chinese translator, his agent, and ex-wife. Only on the basis of their spoken opinions, he is able to more or less direct the film and fool the producers. This unusual tactic strangely works to Waxman's advantage because halfway through the film a press journalist writes down in her diary the following passage:

To observe Val Waxman directing one would think he has no idea what he's doing. I wonder if he is one of those cinema geniuses who thrive on chaos, like Fellini. He always seems distracted, he never looks anyone in the eye and must be juggling a million things in his mind at once. It's easy to see why his reputation is one of an eccentric. (00:52:20–00:52:40)

Needless to say, it is quite surprising to infer that absolutely nobody notices Waxman being blind for the whole time. His spastic pretence, constantly bumping into something, and not looking in the eye are taken as features of *the auteur at work*. Nevertheless, when the director finally regains his vision, he views his completed picture and is absolutely horrified. "This looks like the work of a blind man!" he exclaims and quite rightly so. *The City That Never Sleeps* is negatively reviewed by both the audiences and the critics, becoming a \$60 million flop. Val Waxman himself, the auteur, is finished in the business, but at least he managed to rebuild the relationship with his son and ex-wife. Yet, in the concluding scene, Val's agent rushes in with a newspaper, telling him that the French loved the movie and hailed it as the greatest American film in 50 years. Uplifted Waxman immediately leaves for Paris, already scheduled to shoot a love story there. "Oh, thank God the French exist" (01:43:08), he says at the very end. *The blind auteur* becomes appreciated.

Conclusion

On the basis of the two aforementioned motion pictures, we can observe the ambiguous nature of authorship as well as the clash between the notions of the auteur and the death of the author. Recapitulating, what is the importance of the creator of a given work? *Bowfinger* shows us that it is crucial, because even though the titular protagonist relied on luck and sheer coincidence, he set the campy tone of his film that was appreciated in Asia. In the case of *Hollywood Ending*, Val Waxman is shown as an unimportant figure. French viewers were the ones who noticed the value of his picture and if he had not been blind, the film's reception could have been completely different (praised domestically, hated overseas).

All things considered, the nature of authorship does not entirely depend on the director. His control over the production depends on whether or not he is working in collaboration with a film studio, but ultimately it is up to the spectators to decide. Adding to Barthes' way of thinking, they not only construct meaning, but also the auteur.

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Abstract

The article examines the issues of the auteur theory, or, to be more specific, the idea of authorship as being the movie director's sole creative vision of the filmmaking process. The paper firstly focuses on the definition of the auteur theory itself and then the theory addresses the assumptions behind Roland Barthes' essay "The Death of the Author." Next, the contradicting concepts are exemplified in the form of motion pictures that depict two fictional filmmakers struggling with *authorial crisis*. These movies are as follows: *Bowfinger* (1999) and *Hollywood Ending* (2002). The abovementioned comparison is done in order to evaluate how much creative freedom one individual creator is given while making a motion picture and whether indeed their distinct style shines through after the movie is done.

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PRIDE AND PREJUDICE: THE ORIGINAL AND ZOMBIES

Keywords: adaptation, Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, Seth Grahame-Smith, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*

Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) has become an inspiration for a plethora of literary adaptations. Sybil G. Brinton's *Old Friends and New Fancies* (1913) is considered to be the first one, and new works continue to appear. Kathryn Sutherland claims that "[the readers'] appetite for [Austen's novels] reinvention is determinedly unappeased and unsettling" (2005: 5). The character of adaptations differs: some of the stories are prequels to Austen's novel (for example Pamela Aidan's *Young Master Darcy—A Lesson in Honour*, published in 2010), many of them are sequels (for instance Elizabeth Aston's *Mr. Darcy's Daughters*, which appeared in 2003), other works give voice to those characters who were not prominent in Austen's story (for example, Colleen McCullough's *The Independence of Miss Mary Bennet*, 2009, or Marsha Altman's *Georgiana and the Wolf*, published in 2012 as the sixth book in the *Pride & Prejudice Continues* series). Changes other than perspective and temporal location in relation to the original narrative are also being introduced into the world of *Pride and Prejudice*. Mary L. Simonsen's *Becoming Elizabeth Darcy* (2011) is a story of a girl who falls asleep in 2011 and wakes up in the early nineteenth century as Elizabeth Bennet Darcy. The title of Amanda Grange's 2009 novel *Mr. Darcy, Vampyre* directly reveals the alterations the author has made in the story. In short, literary adaptations of Austen's classic vary greatly in their approach to the original narrative. Some try to imitate the atmosphere and place themselves in the universe created by Austen. Some overtly abandon the universe, creating a different one and positioning some of

the original characters or events in new circumstances. Seth Grahame-Smith's 2009 novel *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* is a peculiar mixture of approaches. It acknowledges Jane Austen as the co-author on the cover, and though it may seem to be a joke, or a marketing strategy, there is an explanation: Grahame-Smith uses entire fragments of Austen's work, copying them word for word, with some omissions, additions and alternations of different types. Without Austen listed as a co-author, the book could probably be seen as plagiarising the original. This approach can also be seen as a very strong manifestation of T. S. Eliot's postulate: "No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead" (Eliot: 55). Grahame-Smith associates his adaptation with the original author in the most direct manner by listing Austen as the co-author of his book and this act seems to be an invitation for his readers to compare the two works. He openly acknowledges the presence of the "precursor's shadow" (Glenn: 9), establishing Austen as a co-author or an active agent in his book.

The relation between the contents of the original and the adaptation is quite complex. Grahame-Smith introduces zombies into the world and events depicted by Austen, but their presence has some important consequences for the character of the story. The changes and their effects are the topic of the present article.

Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* opens with the famous lines: "It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife" (Austen: 1). Grahame-Smith rewrites this sentence as follows: "It is a truth universally acknowledged that a zombie in possession of brains must be in want of more brains" (Grahame-Smith: 7). The zombies are introduced as early in the novel as it is possible. Furthermore, by appearing so early, they are made highly important. It seems that the major topic, the focal point of the novel, is changed: what is mentioned in the opening lines is not

fortune and marriage, but the undead. It seems that zombies will dominate the story. In a sense, they will. Their presence will lead to many changes in events and meanings. However, Grahame-Smith's novel is still a story of Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy's relationship, with Jane Bennet and Mr Bingley's one in the background, with Lydia's elopement, and Lady Catherine de Bourgh in all her ridiculousness and pretentiousness. Zombies are present, but not omnipresent. In other words, the living dead are present and they do influence the story. However, despite the initial lines, the novel is not essentially about zombies and they do not dominate it literally, they do not appear directly in every scene or event. Nevertheless, their presence has some significant implications.

It is theoretically possible to determine how much content Grahame-Smith has borrowed from Austen and to express the relation between the two books in numbers or percentage—to state how many words, phrases, sentences or passages in Grahame-Smith's work have been taken from Austen's version. The calculations, however, if they were to be carried out, would not be easy, since the technical relations between the two books—the correspondence in physical contents, in words—are not simple. In fact, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* is not simply the original *Pride and Prejudice* with passages about “the unmentionables” (7) added here and there. Grahame-Smith both adds, omits and alters fragments. With two types of changes, omissions and alterations, one would have to look at the two books on two levels. The first one would be deciding how many of Jane Austen's passages are actually present in Seth Grahame-Smith's work. On the second level of investigation, one would have to determine how similar or different they are. The matter becomes highly complicated, however, when additions are taken into consideration. Their presence would have to be calculated on a third level: how many passages that have absolutely no corresponding fragments in Austen's novel are present in *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*. The theoretical proposal of calculating the correlation between the two books makes it possible to notice the complexity of

the technical relations between Austen's classic and Grahame-Smith's new version of the story. However, the physical correspondence will not be considered here for its own sake. A change in words, phrases or passages, their alteration, removal or addition can—and in many cases does—modify the meaning or the possible interpretation of a scene or an event.

Grahame-Smith's story seems to be considerably shorter than the original. With two different books, two different fonts, sizes and editorial arrangements, such as division into chapters, it is difficult to establish how much shorter the newer novel exactly is. For example, in the edition of *Pride and Prejudice* published by Harper Collins each chapter starts on a new page, and in the Quirk Books edition of Grahame-Smith's book a new chapter starts immediately under the previous one. However, having read and compared the two versions, the reader can notice that many passages from the original book were omitted, and the added ones are not equally numerous. Even though it is difficult to determine how much shorter Grahame-Smith's book is—counting words would probably be the only exact way of measuring this relation—it is easy to observe that it is shorter by paying attention to the passages that are removed.

The character of the omissions is peculiar. Grahame-Smith has chosen to remove such fragments of Austen's novel that, as a result, the general meaning of a scene or the whole story does not seem to be changed. It would be highly risky to claim that some sections in Austen's novel are simply redundant and, therefore, when they are removed, nothing is missing from the story in terms of meaning. Some subtle aspects, some details, certainly are absent. However, the fragments that are present in Grahame-Smith's novel are enough to convey the core meaning of scenes and preserve their atmosphere. In subjective terms, it can hardly be felt that something is missing at those points at which sections were removed.

A few examples can demonstrate how Grahame-Smith shortens certain passages in his version of the story. Chapter 6 (the division into chapters and events described in each remain the same in both books) presents the

beginning of the acquaintance between the ladies of Netherfield and the Bennet sisters. The following quotation presents the passage as it is in the original, with fragments that are omitted in Grahame-Smith's version written in brackets. If there are any other changes, they are minor and do not influence the meaning: for instance, "Miss Bennet" was replaced with "Jane," perhaps for the sake of clarity. Since the phrases referring to Mr Bingley were omitted, the pronoun "he" had to be replaced by the full name for the same reason:

The ladies of Longbourn soon waited on those of Netherfield. (The visit was returned in due form.) Miss Bennet's pleasing manners grew on the good-will of Mrs Hurst and Miss Bingley; and though the mother was found to be intolerable and the younger sisters not worth speaking to, a wish of being better acquainted with them was expressed towards the two eldest. By Jane this attention was received with the greatest pleasure; but Elizabeth still saw superciliousness in their treatment of every body, (hardly excepting even her sister, and could not like them; though their kindness to Jane, such as it was, had a value, as arising in all probability from the influence of their brother's admiration.) It was generally evident whenever they met, that he did admire her; and to her it was equally evident that Jane (was yielding to the preference which she had begun to entertain for him from the first, and) was in a way to be very much in love; but she considered with pleasure that it was not likely to be discovered by the world in general, (since Jane united with great strength of feeling a composure of temper and a uniform cheerfulness of manner, which would guard her from the suspicions of the impertinent.) (Austen 19)

The paragraph in Grahame-Smith's novel certainly conveys the same meaning as the original, even though some parts of it are missing. The second sentence, for example, generally repeats the sense of the first one, adding only the information that the visit had a proper form. The fragment describing Jane's character adds details to a statement made earlier. Subtleties are absent and without them the story is not exactly the same. The reader, at least in this moment, is not allowed to become acquainted with the particular characteristics and behaviour of Jane. At the same time, Elizabeth's ability of observe and analyse people's characters is not presented. Thus, the missing fragments cannot be identified as redundant. They certainly do add to the meaning of the whole story and a given scene. However, what remains is enough to convey the general meaning.

Another example of how omissions work in the novel can be found later in the same chapter, in the scenes showing an evening at Sir Lucas' house. The original devoted a paragraph to the description of Mary Bennet's musical abilities. Grahame-Smith's novel mentions the beginning and end of Mary's concert, without using the occasion to present some aspects of her personality. Thus, she loses some of the complexity of her character. She is still established as the dull Bennet sister, focused on books and uttering pompous comments every now and again. However, it is not emphasised as much as in Austen's original, and Mary's character is not presented in an equally complex way. There are enough signals to establish Mary's personality and "enough" is the key word here: enough, and no more.

Pride and Prejudice and Zombies does not only omit passages from Austen's classic novel. There are also some additions. Their length and character vary considerably: sometimes a word or two are added, providing a hint of humour or indicating the presence of zombies in the story. Sometimes it is a whole passage—a scene which does not have its counterpart in the original novel.

Examples of short additions can be found, among other places, in Chapter 7, in the scene in which Elizabeth is planning to go to Netherfield Park and visit Jane, who is sick. Mrs Bennet opposes the idea. In the original, the dialogue looks as follows:

"How can you be so silly," cried [Elizabeth's] mother, "as to think of such a thing, in all this dirt! You will not be fit to be seen when you get there."
"I shall be very fit to see Jane—which is all I want." (30)

In Grahame-Smith's novel, Mrs Bennet's remark includes the presence of zombies, and Elizabeth's response, accordingly, differs significantly from the one she gives in Austen's version.

"How can you be so silly," cried [Elizabeth's] mother, "as to think of such a thing, with so many [zombies] about, and in all this dirt! You will not be fit to be seen when you get there, assuming you make it alive!"
"You forget that I am a student of Pei Liu of Shaolin, mother. Besides, for every unmentionable one meets upon the road, one meets three soldiers. I shall be back by dinner." (Grahame-Smith 27)

The added elements are directly connected with the fact that in the reality created by Grahame-Smith, zombies belong to everyday life. The main focus of the exchange between Elizabeth and her mother is no longer dirt and the heroine's physical appearance. It is her survival and her fighting abilities, in which she prides herself. The attention of characters and the reader is drawn towards zombies and away from matters which are important in the original story. The presence of the unmentionables changes values.

Another similar example can be found at the beginning of Chapter 11, in the passage describing the ladies of Netherfield Park—Mrs Hurst and Miss Bingley. Austen's narrator says that "[t]heir powers of conversation were considerable" (Austen 50), while the corresponding comment in the second novel includes a reference to their fighting abilities: "Despite their lack of fighting skill, [Elizabeth] had to admit that their powers of conversation were considerable" (Grahame-Smith 43).

A similar addition is present in Chapter 4. Jane and Elizabeth are talking about Mr Bingley and his sisters and in Austen's version Elizabeth's thoughts about the ladies are as follows:

"They were rather handsome, had been educated in one of the first private seminaries in town, had a fortune of twenty thousand pounds, were in the habit of spending more than they ought, and of associating with people of rank, and were therefore in every respect entitled to think well of themselves, and meanly of others." (Austen 13)

Elizabeth also thinks about the fact that the Bingleys belong to "a respectable family in the north of England" and that the sisters seem to think more about this than the fact that their brother's and their money comes from trade, as opposed to being an inherited fortune (13). They are, in fact, nouveaux riches. In her thoughts, Elizabeth criticises them for "thinking meanly of others", while in fact, as a family, they are not as noble as they maintain and therefore have no right to disrespect other people.

In the second novel, the protagonist's musings about her new acquaintances are different in content and meaning. She thinks:

“They were rather handsome, had been educated in one of the first private seminaries in town, but knew little of the deadly arts in which she and her own sisters had been so thoroughly trained—both in England, and during their trips to the Orient.” (Grahame-Smith 17)

Both texts share remarks about appearance and education, but their different aspects are mentioned. Money does not seem to be worth mentioning. Instead, people are defined by their abilities to fight zombies. Mr Bingley’s sisters significantly lack these abilities, and Elizabeth notes the superiority of her family in this field. Thus, with respect to the original story, the relations between characters are relocated in Grahame-Smith’s novel. The values are also different: people are not judged according to their fortune. Instead, their fighting abilities are evaluated. The matter of fighting and being a warrior can be as complex as money is. For example, on one hand, Elizabeth takes pride in the fact that she and all her sisters are highly trained and proficient zombie slayers. On the other hand, such attributes of a warrior as “[m]usket and Katana swords [...] [are] considered unladylike” (27)—as opposed to ankle daggers, which can be invisible, hidden under a dress, and thus they allow a woman to look as if she is not a warrior. Weapons are associated with manners, with what is and is not ladylike. Even though, in relation to the original story, they are outside elements, just like zombies, they have been blended into the tradition of applying judgment and hierarchy to notions such as fortune, house, family, education, social skills and appearance. Just like for any of those elements, one can be assessed according to his or her status as a warrior, and praised or criticised, depending on the perspective and attitude of the judge.

Apart from numerous short additions, such as these presented above, there are a few longer scenes added to the new version of *Pride and Prejudice*. For instance, when Elizabeth walks to Netherfield to see ill Jane, her walk is, if tiring and indeed making her dress dirty, peaceful (Austen 30). However, in the other novel the protagonist encounters a few unmentionables and the very detailed description of the fight as well as the zombies takes nearly a page and includes

a moment in which Elizabeth, “disregarding modesty,” lifts her dress so that she can kick one of the attackers (Grahame-Smith 27–28).

Another prominent and long addition is the one in Chapter 30. Elizabeth is at this time visiting her friend Charlotte and her husband Mr Collins in their house, located near Lady Catherine de Bourgh’s mansion, Rosings. In Austen’s novel, Chapter 30 recounts Mr Collins’ activities, describes the pleasant time the protagonist spends with Charlotte, and mentions regular invitations for dinners that come from Rosings. Mr Darcy and Colonel Fitzwilliam arrive and pay a visit in Mr Collins’ house. These elements are also present in the new version of the story, however, a major event is added. During one of the evenings spent at Rosings, “Elizabeth [is] solicited to spar with several of her ladyship’s ninjas, for the amusement of the party” (129). Lady de Bourgh’s dojo, the ninjas and Elizabeth’s preparations are described shortly. Then, the fighting is recounted almost move by move, emphasising Elizabeth’s skills. The protagonist kills three ninjas and, opening the chest of the last one, she takes the “still-beating heart, [...] [and takes] a bite, letting the blood run down her chin and onto her sparring gown” (129-130). This event has no counterpart whatsoever in Austen’s story. Its presence is linked with zombies, for they are the reason why Lady de Bourgh has ninjas in her house. The existence of zombies can also explain Elizabeth’s behaviour, unthinkable in the original story. The protagonist is at that moment cruel, violent and, in fact, inhuman. In her act of eating a living person’s organ—in this case, it is the heart, while zombies eat brains—she becomes like one of the unmentionables.

It could be argued that in Austen’s story Elizabeth’s only fault is her prejudice and, in fact, pride, because these two characteristics can be found in both the heroine and Mr Darcy. As Wright points out,

[t]o say that Darcy is proud and Elizabeth is prejudiced is to tell but half the story. Pride and prejudice are faults; but they are also the necessary defects of desirable merits: self-respect and intelligence. Moreover, the novel makes clear the fact that Darcy’s pride leads to prejudice and Elizabeth’s prejudice stems from a pride in her own perceptions. So the ironic theme of the book might be said to centre on the dangers of intellectual complexity (106).

The complexity of characters was of great importance for Jane Austen, as she openly admitted in a letter to her sister Cassandra (Austen 297 in: Wright 106), and as Wright points out, the complexity of a person is directly linked to his or her importance in a novel. Jane Bennet is too simple to be the main protagonist but Elizabeth makes a perfect heroine (106). Zombies add to her complexity. Even in the title, their presence is equally important as the notions of pride and prejudice. Prejudice is no longer the heroine's only fault. She also becomes violent. Violence in itself is, rather universally, viewed as a negative trait. However, is it clearly so in a world plagued with zombies that need to be fought with force? In this context, violence can be read as a positive characteristic, linked to strength or the warrior code which prompts Elizabeth to defend her honour. Just like the two original elements of the title, the new traits in the heroine's character, such as violence (which arises in her character due to the presence of zombies) can be read in a non-obvious way. They are not necessarily simply good or bad.

After omission and addition, the third type of changes that can be found in Grahame-Smith's novel is alteration. (Some elements of alteration can also be found in the examples of additions presented above.) Often, a fragment undergoes a mix of two or three of these changes, but there are passages in which nothing is removed or added but something is altered.

In Chapter 29, a fragment of the original conversation between Lady de Bourgh and Elizabeth is devoted to a governess:

"Has your governess left you?"
"We never had any governess" (Austen 159).

However, in the new version, ninjas replace the governess:

"Have your ninjas left you?"
"We never had any ninjas" (Grahame-Smith 126).

Their appearance in a conversation about upbringing and education is linked to zombies. Formal education is no longer important, and its position is

occupied by the ability to defend oneself and the country. This shift in priorities is caused by “the unmentionables.”

A similar difference in wording occurs in Lydia’s utterance in Chapter 7. “[Aunt] sees [Colonel Forster and Captain Carter] now very often standing in Clarke’s library” (Austen 28) becomes “[Aunt] sees [Colonel Forster and Captain Carter] now very often burning crypts in Shepherd’s Hill Cemetery” (Grahame-Smith 24). Once more, the alteration is associated with zombies. Casual social activity, such as standing in a library—a place linked with culture and education—perhaps waiting for acquaintances to appear in this popular place, has been replaced with work linked to “the unmentionables.” Crypts have to be burned, so that people will not emerge from their graves as zombies.

Changes do not appear only on the level of wording and the implications brought by some of them are more significant than indicating or emphasising the presence of “the unmentionables” in everyday life. In Chapter 6, Mr Darcy, wanting to know Elizabeth better, starts listening to her conversations with other people. In Austen’s story, the protagonist in an exchange with Charlotte reacts as follows:

“What does Mr Darcy mean [...] by listening to my conversation with Colonel Forster?”

“That is a question which Mr Darcy only can answer.”

“But if he does it any more, I shall certainly let him know that I see what he is about. He has a very satirical eye and if I do not begin by being impertinent myself, I shall soon grow afraid of him” (Austen 22).

Elizabeth is puzzled, seeks Charlotte’s advice, and her attitude is that of slight fear. With her own impertinence as the only weapon she can use, she thinks it is possible that she will become afraid of Mr Darcy if he continues behaving as he does.

However, in the new version of *Pride and Prejudice*, Elizabeth is a warrior. Her reaction to Mr Darcy’s action is significantly different:

“What does Mr Darcy mean [...] by listening to my conversation with Colonel Forster?”

“That is a question which Mr Darcy only can answer.”

“Well if he does it any more, I shall certainly let him know that I see what he is about. I have not yet forgiven him for insulting my honour, and may yet have his head upon my mantle” (Grahame-Smith 21).

The protagonist adopts a contrastive attitude. She is not afraid. Instead, she reacts with anger and a threat. As a warrior, she is ready to defend her honour and even kill Mr Darcy. She becomes active in this conflict, as opposed to being passively afraid, and reveals her violent nature. Just like the scene with ninjas, this moment shows that Elizabeth in Grahame-Smith’s story is not exactly the same as Austen’s protagonist. Zombies seem to be the cause of the changes. Being a highly trained warrior occupied with fighting “the unmentionables”, Elizabeth introduces the warrior code into other aspects of her life and the violence of her everyday struggles with monsters finds its way into her other activities and relations with people.¹

Grahame-Smith’s *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* has essentially the same storyline as Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* in the sense that it tells the tale of Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy’s antagonism which turns into love. Other events, such as Charlotte Lucas’s marrying Mr Collins, Lydia’s elopement, and Elizabeth’s journey with her aunt and uncle are also present. Many fragments have been omitted, but the core meaning and content of the original are present. Alterations and additions all seem to be linked with the existence of zombies. The unmentionables cause people to be uncivil and disregard manners. They make characters violent and, at times, inhuman. They also bring a shift in values according to which the characters live. The framework of the two versions is the same and the main plot line ends in the same way—Elizabeth becomes Mrs Darcy. Some other events undergo modifications—Charlotte becomes a zombie and Mr Wickham an invalid, which puts Lydia in the rather unhappy role of his nurse. However, there are changes within the story that are significant. Elizabeth can be vindictive and violent, but at the same time it makes her more active. Even though they do not necessarily modify the outcome of the narrative, the alterations can be fascinating to observe and their effects are noteworthy.

Endnotes

1. A more detailed study could look at how the presence of zombies influences the relations between Elizabeth and Mr Darcy—for example, Burr Steers, a director who worked at the production of the film based on Grahame-Smith's novel, said that “the zombies [are] just a giant obstacle that [makes] it more difficult for Liz and Darcy to come together” (Gant 16)—but this is beyond the scope of the present article.

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Abstract

Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) has become an inspiration for a plethora of literary adaptations. Sybil G. Brinton's *Old Friends and New Fancies* (1913) is considered to be the first one, and new works still appear. Currently, there are over eighty five authors, many of whom have written more than one work inspired by Austen's classic. Some try to imitate the style of the original creating a similar atmosphere and setting the action of their works in the world that was created by Austen. However, there are authors who represent a different approach. For example, Seth Grahame-Smith introduced zombies into the literary world of *Pride and Prejudice* in his 2009 novel *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*. This article presents a comparative analysis of Austen's original novel and Grahame-Smith's new version, in order to discover and describe some schemata that are used in the rewriting of *Pride and Prejudice*.

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ANNE BOLEYN'S IMAGE(S) IN *THE TUDORS*

Keywords: Anne Boleyn, biography, Charles Jannott, *Anne of Thousand Days*, Eric Ives, *The Tudors*, TV series

Anne Boleyn has been the subject of heated debates among historians since the early eighteenth century (<http://worldcat.org>) most probably due to her complex personality, a crucial role in the life of Henry VIII and a controversial life story that ended in the Tower of London on 19th May 1536, when she was beheaded after having been found guilty of adultery. Moreover, this, perhaps, most distinct Henry VIII's wife and an incredible historical figure has become an inspiration for numerous novelists and film directors, who apparently regarded her story as a perfect plot for their works. What is worth noticing is that they portray the Queen in contradictory manners, either in a positive or an entirely negative way, depending on the aspects of her life they decide to emphasise as well as changes they introduce into her story, probably in order to attract more readers or viewers. The aim of this paper is to analyse one of the most recent depictions of the Queen provided by a historical fiction television series entitled *The Tudors*.

The Tudors is a television series produced by Showtime Network and broadcast originally by Showtime in 2007–2010, with Jonathan Rhys Meyers playing Henry VIII and Natalie Dormer as Anne Boleyn (<http://www.imdb.com>). It can be argued that the series has not only been a smashing hit among the critics, which can be supported by the fact that it has won 47 awards, including prestigious Emmy Awards (<http://www.imdb.com>), but it has also been discussed thoroughly by the historians studying its historical accuracy (Hough, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>). Taking into consideration Anne Boleyn's image in *The Tudors*, it can be argued that notwithstanding the plot being based

on real events from the times of Henry VIII, the viewer can notice some contrasts between the Queen's story described by historians, such as Eric Ives, and the one presented in the series. Significantly, the following paragraph aims at comparing the plot of *The Tudors* with the biography of the Queen written by the aforementioned scholar and published in 1986 for it offers a broad and detailed description of Anne Boleyn's life—from her childhood, through adolescence, marriage with Henry to her death in 1536. Furthermore, even on the book's cover it is stated that it is "the first full biography [of the Queen] in 100 years."

Initially, while scrutinizing the major discrepancies between the series and the Queen's biography created by Ives, the viewer should remark that despite the fact that the first encounter between Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII in March 1522 is portrayed in *The Tudors* rather faithfully to the historian's description (Ives 47–48), no historical evidence exists showing that Anne attracted the King's attention already at that time, whereas it is clearly suggested in the series that she did. Moreover, Natalie Dormer's appearance differs from the real Queen, who, according to Ives's book, had olive complexion and fine eyes (52), while the actress's complexion is fair, her eyes are blue, and, arguably, she fits the contemporary canon of beauty much better than the Queen in her day. Next, in the series, only one of Anne's suitors is mentioned, namely a poet named Thomas Wyatt. Yet, in accordance with the analysed historical source, Anne was also involved in the relationships with both Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, and James Butler, to whom she was betrothed (81). Finally, a significant contrast between the position in question and *The Tudors* is visible in the second season of the series, in the scene of Anne's coronation procession, when the Pope's obsessive servant makes an attempt on her life. It can be advanced that this event did not take place in fact as it is not mentioned by any of Anne Boleyn's biographers and, most probably, it was the scriptwriters' idea aiming at highlighting the Queen's unpopularity.

What is worth mentioning is that one of the possible reasons for the above-mentioned discrepancies was provided by Ben Stephenson, a controller of BBC's drama commissioning, who stated in 2009 that the main objective of a TV drama, such as *The Tudors*, is to entertain people, whereas these are documentaries that should be concerned with historical details (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk>). It can be put forward that the scrutinized series presents a complex, but at the same time pejorative, image of Anne Boleyn, which is particularly transparent in the episodes included in the first season. In the following sections of the paper, the depiction of Henry VIII's second wife in terms of her character, the role of the Queen and attitude towards Catherine of Aragon and her daughter, the future Queen Mary I, is examined in more details as these are arguably the most distinct aspects of Anne's image in the series.

Anne Boleyn's character

Taking into consideration the Queen's character in *The Tudors*, it can be noticed that she is portrayed as a particularly complex figure. Nevertheless, it can be advanced that what is frequently emphasized is her cunning, cold and flirtatious nature, which helps her achieve some of her goals. First of all, Anne may be perceived as cunning since she knows not only how to attract the King's attention, but also how to hold it. This point can be supported with the scene presenting her conversation with the father, when he states: "Perhaps you could imagine a way to keep his interest more prolonged? I daresay you learned things in France, how to play his passions? There's something deep and dangerous in you, Anne. Those eyes of yours are dark hooks for the soul" (*The Tudors* 1.2). Significantly, having heard these words, Anne is smiling as though she agreed with him. In this scene, Thomas Boleyn implies that his daughter is both a clever and sophisticated gambler who knows how to play with one's feelings that are treated only as an element of a game. Moreover, the woman's destructive and dangerous potential is reflected in her eyes, which may be

indicative of her bad character for eyes are sometimes called “the windows to the soul.”

Furthermore, Anne Boleyn is portrayed as a cold person who frequently follows wit instead of her heart. A good illustration of this point is her conversation with Thomas Wyatt, when he pretends to recite a poem for the future Queen, while thinking in fact of her. He says: “And will you leave me thus? And have no more pity of he that loves thee? Alas your cruelty!” (1.3). In these words, the man suggests that Anne has no pity and she is cruel since she leaves him in order to join Henry VIII’s court. Although she knows that Thomas loves her, Anne replies: “Never ask of me and never, if you value your life, speak of me to others. Do you understand?”(1.3). At this particular moment, she is unhesitating and her language is sharp. It may be argued that her answer constitutes a threat, which proves that she does not care for Thomas and his feelings. The future Queen decides to reject Wyatt’s love as it is too little for her. Hence, it can be stated that in this case her common sense overrides her heart.

What is also worth noticing is the fact that in *The Tudors*, Anne’s flirtatious nature is frequently highlighted, presenting her in an unfavourable manner for she often uses her appeal to gain what she wants. It is especially visible in her relationship with Henry, whom she seduces, firstly, to attract him, and then, to make him advance his divorce from Catherine. The character’s seductive nature can be illustrated with the scene from the beginning of her affair with the King, when they meet privately. At this moment, the monarch confesses that he desires Anne with all his heart (1.4) and having kissed him, Anne escapes. In this scene, she is attractive and tempting; yet, she flees not only in order to enhance Henry’s arousal, but also to hold his interest. A good summary of the Queen’s character depicted in *The Tudors* may be found in one of Thomas Wyatt’s utterances, when he states that she may seem to be just a girl, but “if she gets her way, she will set [the] whole country in a roar” (1.6), which indicates that despite the fact that Anne can be regarded as an inconspicuous

person, she is, indeed, strong and dangerous, like a predator. It is possible to argue that she is such a powerful figure that she may even destroy England since, importantly, Thomas uses a word “roar” that is associated with a fire that burns bright and loud (Hornby 1325).

Anne Boleyn as the Queen

What an insightful viewer of *The Tudors* may immediately notice in Anne Boleyn’s image as the Queen of England is that she is sharply contrasted with the former Queen, Catherine of Aragon. It is worth mentioning that this contradiction has already been pinpointed by certain historians, for example Albert Pollard in his work *Henry VIII* (1902). Aside from emphasizing the contrast between the Queens, *The Tudors* depicts also Henry’s second wife attempting to prove that she is better than her rival at everything she undertakes. It can be pointed out that while Catherine is presented as modest, religious and admired by people, Anne is haughty, hedonistic and she takes advantage of her position to influence the King’s decisions and degrade her enemies.

First of all, the new Queen can be perceived as supercilious since every time she walks through the court, she keeps her head high and she does not look at anyone, which arguably does not contribute to her gaining the people’s support. Furthermore, Anne wears purple, a royal colour, even before her coronation and her head is often decorated with rich circlets highlighting her superior position. By contrast, Catherine of Aragon is kind to her subjects and the viewer may observe the mutual friendliness between them and their beloved Queen, for instance in the scene of Catherine’s departure from London (*The Tudors* 2.1). Moreover, Henry’s first wife is full of humility and it is transparent in the scene in which she comes barefoot to the church, prays passionately and kisses the ground (1.2). This gesture may be interpreted as the symbol of both human nakedness in the face of God and full devotion to him.

Furthermore, it may be put forward that Anne Boleyn is portrayed as a hedonistic Queen, whose private chambers are full of poets and musicians, such as Mark Smeaton. Noticeably, it can be related to the fact that Henry's second wife indeed influenced the English culture at that time and a part of her royal expenditures was allocated to patronage (Ives 258). In *The Tudors*, Anne loves parties and dancing and it is obvious, for instance, in one of the scenes in the ninth episode of the second season, when she teaches her ladies-in-waiting how to dance. What is more, as the plot unfolds, the Queen starts to overuse alcohol and it is regarded as reprehensible, which is demonstrated in the sixth episode of the second season, during the banquet organized by Henry for the French ambassador. In contrast to her rival, Catherine of Aragon is focused on religion; she prays a lot and no merriment is present in her privy chambers since she is aware of the fact that she is cheated on by her husband, whom she still loves. Nonetheless, she is loyal to the King and she proudly represents him and England at the feasts, for instance in the third episode of the first season, at the banquet prepared in honour of the Emperor.

Most importantly, Anne benefits from occupying the position of the Queen when she needs to influence Henry's decisions and degrade her enemies, mainly Thomas Cromwell. The rightness of this point is obvious in their quarrel in the seventh episode of the second season, when the Queen exclaims: "You are far too high-handed, Mr. Cromwell! You ought to be careful, or I will have you cropped at the neck" (*The Tudors* 2.7). As presented in *The Tudors*, animosity between these two characters has its roots in the moment when in order to please Henry, Cromwell gives his own private chambers, which are next to the King's, to the Seymours. This incident annoys Anne and for this reason she threatens Thomas in the above-quoted scene. Arguably, her aim is to demonstrate power and superiority over Master Secretary since as the Queen, she cannot stand competition. Thus, she attempts to make Cromwell cognizant of this fact, which may be related to his dominant role in politics during Henry VIII's reign, as Master Secretary was allowed at that time, for instance, to

"[shape] institutions to fit [his] style of leadership" (Block 34) and it angered Henry's second wife. Significantly, it ought to be remarked that in *The Tudors*, Anne Boleyn has numerous enemies and she is unpopular among English people, who do not trust her and, moreover, blame her for the fall of their beloved Queen, Catherine.

Anne Boleyn's attitude towards Catherine of Aragon and Princess Mary

It appears to be crucial that throughout the series, Anne Boleyn frequently expresses her hatred against Henry's former wife, Catherine of Aragon, and their daughter, Princess Mary, who is referred to as "Lady Mary" after the new Act of Succession. Firstly, the new Queen talks openly about her animosity towards Catherine, like in the tenth episode of the first season, when she tells one of the courtiers: "You know, I sometimes wish that all Spaniards were at the bottom of the sea. I care nothing about Catherine. I would rather see her hanged than acknowledged her as my mistress" (*The Tudors* 1.10). These extremely strong and terse words prove that Anne is ruthless about Henry's first wife and she does not respect her whatsoever. In the statement quoted above, the character shows her superiority over Catherine, whom she associates with the whole Spanish nation. By such generalization, not only does Anne commit a mortal sin, as she wishes death to the former Queen of England, but she also demonstrates her superficiality since she appears to put the blame for her conflict with Catherine on all the Spanish people.

Moreover, it is clear that Anne Boleyn is jealous of her rival and she is focused on convincing the King that he ought to send his former wife away. This point can be exemplified with the scene in which Anne quarrels with Henry, the reason being the fact that Catherine still makes shirts for him:

"Sweetheart." "How could you?" "What?" "Your shirts! She still makes your shirts! How could you let her?" "I haven't even thought about it." "You told me there was nothing intimate between you anymore." "There isn't. What intimate. They're just shirts for god's sake." "No, they're not just shirts. They're you and me. They're you and her! (...) It's so hard when we're to be married, but she's still here! You can't have three

people in a marriage, why can't you see that?" "And why can't you understand that I have more things to think about than my shirts!" (2.1)

In the dialogue presented above, Anne is angry with the King and she becomes suspicious because of the shirts made for him by Catherine. Although it is only a nice custom, she is envious and still thinks that a certain kind of intimacy exists between Henry and his first wife. One of the possible reasons for such a violent reaction of the new Queen is that she is afraid of competition, as it has already been mentioned in the present paper. Significantly, shirts may be associated with the King's body. Hence, the fact that Catherine sews them for Henry all the time may mean that she has not ceased to be close to him. In this way, she demonstrates that her former husband still belongs to her and that is why Anne feels insecure and offended. As a result, a seemingly insignificant thing becomes for the character the reason for reminding the King that their relationship seems to exist between three people and it makes her suffer. By taking the victim's position, Anne attempts to force her lover to repudiate Catherine. Yet, the King does not understand her grievance since he is overwhelmed by more important problems.

Finally, what can be argued is that Anne Boleyn is obsessed with Catherine and Mary as she makes them responsible for any misfortune in her life. The new Queen repeats several times that as long as Mary is alive, she is "her death" (2.5), which implies that Anne is conscious of the fact that the King has the power to restore his daughter's right to the throne and if it happened, Mary would destroy her then. This anxiety may be related to Henry VIII's changeable nature and his tendency to make decisions in a rushed and emotional way (Smith 226). Furthermore, Henry's second wife accuses Catherine of Aragon and Mary of her miscarriages and it can be illustrated with the scene from the seventh episode of the second season, when she states in one of the conversations with the King:

"I want to conceive a son. A son to be the living image of his father. But I can't." "Why?" "As long as they're alive, I can't conceive a son." "What are

you saying?" "Catherine and her daughter." "Are you saying you want me to kill them?" (The Tudors 2.7)

Anne leaves Henry's question without reply, yet it is clear that she would be happy if he killed the two women. Significantly, she invokes the thought of conceiving a son, whom the King desires so much, to persuade him that it is Catherine and Mary's fault that she cannot give birth to a healthy boy. In fact, the moment of happiness comes when Anne Boleyn receives the message that her rival is dead and she can say that she is indeed the Queen (2.7), which constitutes another instance of her extreme cruelty. Moreover, in the subsequent scene, Anne wears a yellow dress and celebrates Catherine's death. What is the most meaningful at this moment is the hue of the Queen's clothes for yellow may be the symbol of light, energy and the sun (Kopaliński 506). Therefore, presumably, by selecting this colour, the character's aim is to highlight her happiness. Furthermore, according to Weir, "Anne's choice of garb was no less than a calculated insult to the memory of the woman she had supplanted" (21). To conclude, Anne's attitude towards both Henry's former wife and his first-born daughter is a vital aspect of the Queen's pejorative image in *The Tudors* since, apart from the fact that she is obsessed with them, she also feels penitence neither for her cruel words nor the lack of any respect for Catherine.

The analysis of Anne Boleyn's depiction in *The Tudors* conducted above proves that the Queen is presented in an unfavourable way in the series as her negative features of character are emphasised numerous times, her self-interest is transparent, and she is contrasted in several scenes with the previous Queen, Catherine of Aragon, who is shown as Anne and Henry's victim and the beloved Queen of the English people. Importantly, Henry VIII's second wife may be portrayed in this specifically pejorative way for several reasons. Firstly, gender scholars could say that it is due to the fact that modern culture is rather male-centred and "[i]mages of strong, publicly competent women are still hard to come by (...), while images of women who are evil because they

possess too much power are fairly easy to find" (Ryan 132), which means that a woman can be depicted in culture as evil if she is powerful and, as a result, poses a threat to male identity. It seems to be fully applicable to the image of Anne Boleyn in *The Tudors* since the more power she gains, the more cruel she becomes, especially to her rival, Catherine, and Princess Mary.

Secondly, it can be argued that the depiction of a historical figure may be distorted in culture owing to the fact that in the academic field, scholars are required to use historical sources and their works have to be consistent with them, whereas writers and film directors can fictionalize what has not been explored yet, which appears to be a relevant argument particularly in the case of Henry VIII's second wife, whose life is still associated with several unresolved mysteries.

Furthermore, it can be advanced that the expectations of the contemporary receivers may have a significant influence on cultural images of vital historical characters (Pieter 108). Significantly, it has already been mentioned in this essay that Ben Johnson from BBC said that *The Tudors* aims at entertaining people and not presenting the Queen's life faithfully to historical sources (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk>). Thus, the purpose of depicting Anne Boleyn in a pejorative way was probably to attract the attention of more viewers for the producers could have been convinced that it would be more interesting than portraying the Queen as a weak woman subordinated to a cruel husband.

Finally, certain negative stereotypes concerning Henry VIII's second wife might have had a crucial impact on her unfavourable image in the series. This point can be exemplified with the scene from the ninth episode of the second season in which it is stated that the child the Queen miscarried in 1536 was deformed (*The Tudors* 2.9). Notwithstanding being in line with Retha Warnicke's hypothesis (<http://www.historytoday.com>), it ought to be emphasised that no evidence confirming this theory exists today. Moreover, in the same episode, after the Queen's arrest, Henry tells his friend, Charles Brandon, that he has proof that Anne poisoned Catherine (*The Tudors* 2.9),

whereas, again, no historical documents have been discovered that would include such information.

What is also worth noticing is that not only *The Tudors* provides the pejorative depiction of Henry VIII's second wife in the modern culture. Such a negative attitude towards the figure is reflected in several historical novels that have been published in recent years and portray the Queen, including Philippa Gregory's *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2001), or Hilary Mantel's best sellers: *Wolf Hall* (2009) and *Bring Up the Bodies* (2012). It can be advanced that the latest works presenting Anne Boleyn juxtapose her sympathetic images promoted in the past, for instance that shown in the film entitled *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) directed by Charles Jarrott². Noticeably, the movie depicts the Queen in a positive manner, for example in terms of her character, although it ought to be remarked that it does not portray her as ideal or saint and the director occasionally makes the viewers cognizant of Anne's faults. Moreover, the film presents the character in question as the victim of the era she lived in—particularly the struggles for the King's mercy between various factions at the court, embodied, for example, by the Boleyns' ambition and determination to make Anne Henry's mistress, or the necessity of maintaining the monarchy by giving birth to a healthy son. Taking into consideration the latter concept, it can be hypothesised that the Queen is treated only as a fertility object in the film since when she fails to fulfill her task, she is rejected by her cruel husband. For these two reasons, the viewers may feel sympathy towards Anne while watching the movie. All the above-mentioned examples prove that Anne Boleyn is still a controversial figure in history and culture, and I believe that her cultural images will vary until all the mysteries from her life are explored.

Endnotes

1. This article is based on a thesis entitled *Cultural depictions of Anne Boleyn* written under the supervision of dr Joanna Mstowska at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

2. Due to the constraints on the length of the article, it is impossible to analyse meticulously the Queen's portrayal in the works listed in the previous paragraph. However, those readers who are interested in the topic are encouraged to consult the Author's BA thesis entitled *Cultural depictions of Anne Boleyn*, in which both favourable and pejorative images of Henry VIII's second wife are further scrutinized on the basis of Jean Plaidy's *Murder Most Royal*, the aforementioned film called *Anne of the Thousand Days*, Philippa Gregory's *The Other Boleyn Girl* and *The Tudors* series.

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Abstract

In spite of the fact that almost 480 years passed from Anne Boleyn's death, she still constitutes inspiration for numerous writers and film directors who decide to present her story in their works. However, the discrepancy between the ways of depicting the Queen is obvious as one can encounter both her pejorative and favourable images in a contemporary culture. The aim of the following article is to analyse the depiction of Henry VIII's second wife in a popular and successful TV series entitled *The Tudors* produced by Showtime Network and broadcast between 2007 and 2010. First of all, the article describes selected differences between the Queen's story offered by the series in

question and her biography written by Eric Ives, which is one of the most complex and recognized works devoted to the Queen's life in the last several decades. Then, the paper presents Anne Boleyn's features of character which, in the author's opinion, define her image in *The Tudors* as well as it analyses her depiction as the queen in comparison to her greatest rival, Catherine of Aragon. Moreover, the article characterises Lady Anne's relations with Henry's first wife and his first-born daughter, Mary. In the final part of the article, the author briefly compares the Queen's depiction in *The Tudors* with her image in highly acclaimed *Anne of Thousand Days*, which was directed by Charles Jarrott and released in 1969.

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**PERCEPTION OF CRIMINAL CELEBRITIES IN THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES
ON THE BASIS OF BONNIE AND CLYDE AND MARIUSZ TRYNKIEWICZ¹**

Keywords: Bonnie and Clyde, cultural criminology, crime, criminal celebrities, Trynkiewicz, perception.

Cain killed his brother, Abel, Jack the Ripper murdered prostitutes, Al Capone, Don Corleone and John Dillinger were the American gangsters of the 20th century, Richard Kuklinski and Anders Behring Breivik were the murderers of hundreds of people—there are countless examples of crime in chronicles, old newspapers, mythology, and even in the Bible. Numerous poets, novelists, and film directors have been portraying all the types of transgression of the law in their works and certainly they will not stop doing so due to the fact that the malefaction-fascinated audience finds felonies attractive. Moreover, fascination with atrocities, the real as well as the fictional ones, popular among ordinary citizens made criminals aware of the effects of their outlawed actions; and these effects include recognisability, popularity, and being labelled as a celebrity. However, enthrallment with the transgression of the law is not the only reaction; many are disgusted and appalled by wrongdoings committed by famous criminals. In addition, people's reactions to and perception of a crime and a culprit have always been conditioned by historical, geographical, and political contexts (Penfold-Mounce 69–70); what is more, in the twenty-first century, technological inventions, such as the Internet, enable people to express their thoughts and ideas on celebrities which might be different from the official representations. Bonnie and Clyde, the criminals of the early twentieth century, and Mariusz Trynkiewicz, a murderer of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, illustrate the change of the perception and representation of criminal celebrities over time. They also can be classified as

two different types of criminal celebrities, likely to elicit divergent responses from the public.

Cultural criminology

Cultural criminology approaches crime from a cultural perspective (Penfold-Mounce 2). According to Jeff Ferrell (1-3), *cultural criminology* is a tool which—applied to criminal behaviour—enables one to read and interpret data in a new context and to see a felonious act in cultural as well as sociological frames. The beginning of the study is said to date back to the 1970s. During that decade the National Deviancy Conference, a symposium consisting of scholars of Birmingham School of Cultural Studies, took place and the "new criminology" was created in the United Kingdom. In that time American sociologists began to approach crime and deviant behaviour in a new—"symbolic interactionist"—way. British scholars explored the cultural and ideological aspects of social class, free time activities and illegal cultural subgroups viewed as a stylistic form of opposition. American researchers' interactionist approach focused on the disputed comprehension of crime and deviance which led to the examination of a culprit's *[mis]demeanour* in a political context. The mixture of the two underpinnings—British and American—became the foundations of cultural criminology. In the 1990s scholars started to merge cultural criminology with certain aspects of postmodernism and deconstruction; they also focused more on the meaning of "symbolic" in symbolic interaction and as a result they were able to analyse cultural images of the phenomena of crime and justice. Moreover, amusement associated with "the currents of carnivalesque excitement" is highlighted by cultural criminology; such emotions appear when certain daily activities are out of control, e.g. when an individual makes a risky decision. This pressure is also visible in the media that treats crime as a source of entertainment, in blurring the distinction between pornography and art forms, recreation and violence, music lyrics, video clips or performances on stage and political insult, an offence against the

law and opposition. Cultural criminologists then are able to explore the common sense of “crime and control” and by doing so they can perceive how images in contemporary media can influence and construct policies and practices of crime control, thus evolving into something which is on constant “public display” and judgement (Ferrell 2–3). Therefore, the main foci of *cultural criminology* are the transgression of crime within culture, the presentation and representation of criminal data by the media, the perception of the data by an individual, and the reaction of a society to certain crime rates (Ferrell 2–3).

Psychological, cultural and sociological aspects of interest in criminality

Cultural criminology proves that culture and criminology can be interrelated; criminals can be perceived as celebrities due to the fact that felonies such as murder, money counterfeiting, or theft have gained interest and even fascination. Ruth Pefold-Mounce (2009) managed to detail reasons for such an occurrence; these include psychological, cultural, and sociological aspects of the attraction by misdemeanour.

Psychological fascination with crime is caused by feelings and emotions which are evoked in people when reading about atrocities in newspapers or novels or watching news on television. Citizens usually experience “the thrill” as if they committed a crime themselves; this feeling is accompanied also by fear, horror, and pleasure which can be addictive as well. Paradoxically such emotions give relief and adrenaline to an ordinary person since he or she is unable (or not brave enough) to break the law due to governmental limitations. It is tempting to become a rebel; however, it is unsafe and uncertain and this is why ordinary and obedient civilians stay in the safe zone of law and order having the rebellious feelings. What is more, criminals become representations of a society’s will to oppose certain regulations imposed by the government but the society is not ready or willing to commit an offence against the law. In this circumstance, citizens feel relaxed after having heard that there was such an

individual who ventured to disobey the rules. Then, citizens celebrate that person and his or her behaviour in psychological terms. Moreover, crime and violence are praised in “times of identity crisis” when the violation of the law is increasingly entertaining and when there is the need to see atrocities in current photos and films (Penfold-Mounce 71–74).

Apart from the psychological influence, criminal celebrities can evoke fascination at the cultural level. It can occur in specific times when taboos are broken and societal norms are violated due to social oppression, economic instability, and dissatisfaction with political leaders. Felons then can be treated as heroes because they represent people’s frustration and disappointment with their government. What is more, such fugitives commit often spectacular crimes and make memorable escapes from police officers and in the future a history of a criminal hero may be “revived and reinterpreted,” e.g. portrayed in a new context. The real as well as the new stories can serve as an “escape from the [depressing] reality.” Robin Hood is considered a perfect example of a criminal hero (Pefold-Mounce 75–77).

Sociological enthrallment with criminal celebrities is the result of social problems, especially when justice and legislative regulations are questioned not by ordinary people but by the government. Citizens often perceive felons as role models and celebrate their outlawed actions due to the fact that they are not satisfied with their class position or economic status. A fugitive lauded by the society does not have to live and perform his or her viciousness during a specific historical period or does not have to be regarded as a criminal hero. Another reason for sociological fascination with felons is the omnipresence of atrocity. The mass media enable people to acclimate to violence, blood, injuries; the *wound fashion*, i.e. wearing safety pins, bandages with blood stains, becomes visible in the streets (Pefold-Mounce 79–82).

Perception of felons in the early twentieth century

The beginning of the twentieth century was critical period for people living in the United States. First of all, when World War I broke out in Europe, the US leaders wanted to stay neutral, but in April 1917 they decided to involve in the war (Boyer et al. 681). With the end of the war the death toll of American soldiers was over one hundred thousand (Boyer et al. 708). Secondly, Prohibition, i.e. an act which outlawed production, transportation and trade of liquor, was passed by the government on the 16th of January, 1920, and lasted until the 5th of December, 1933 (Welskopp 31). Moreover, Great Depression, the worst economic recession in the twentieth century, began on the 24th of October, also known as Black Thursday, when a substantial decrease in shares occurred on Wall Street, and five days later, on the 29th of October, Black Tuesday, the harsh situation worsened on a stock market (Johnson in Rothbard xiii). Many of American citizens lost their savings and job positions and hence hope for the future (Fishback 395). Therefore, Americans living in the 1920s and 1930s had a number of reasons to be worried about, dissatisfied with their current situation in life or just overwhelmed by the incidents appearing in the world and thus they might have been interested in various criminal affairs, including [in]famous Bonnie and Clyde.

Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, the most well-known American gangster couple from Texas of the 1930s, are known for numerous bank robberies, car thefts, kidnappings of policemen, murders, and repetitive escapes from police officers. Bonnie and Clyde were “on the run” for two years, from February 1932 to the 23rd of May 1934 when they were captured and killed by police officers, who shot one hundred sixty seven bullets (Strickland <http://tshaonline.org>). Journalists representing newspapers of the whole United States wrote articles about the *legendary* couple and their crime spree, often adding some untruthful information, so enormous was the interest in the two outlawed lovers (Parker and Cowan 1). The stories presented in magazines served as a therapy for citizens who must have been frustrated with the situation present in the

country—World War I breakout, prohibition, Great Depression. Articles containing information about thefts and murders enabled people to forget about unpleasant emotions connected with the here and now. In addition, growing dissatisfaction with the government made many Americans identify with the couple and experience the feeling of breaking the law without doing it. Reading about felonious adventures of Bonnie and Clyde enabled them to feel as if they were the ones who committed a misdeed. What is more, the couple's criminal path reported and described with attention to detail brought entertainment to ordinary people despite the fact that they were petrified at the very thought of encounter with the gangsters (Parker and Cowan 207–208).

One of the important facts is that Bonnie and Clyde robbed numerous banks while there was shortage of money, which was unbelievable for many American citizens. Newspapers made the couple look mysterious and portrayed them as if they had been metaphysical beings; Clyde, for example, was believed to “appear and disappear at will” as well as to use telepathy with family members (Parker and Cowan 184, 204). Their outlawed actions, photographs printed in the press, their whole lifestyle became *iconic*, i.e. all these elements inscribed themselves in culture and people were constantly exposed to references, expressions or images associated with the couple. It was not necessary to summarise their story when one heard “Bonnie and Clyde” because he or she had already known who the gangsters were (Penfold-Mounce 78). Furthermore, in the 1930s the story of Robin Hood was revitalised, however, in a different form. Since Robin Hood stole from the rich, he was seen as a hero. So did Bonnie and Clyde—they started to be compared and even characterised as “modern-day Robin Hoods,” becoming heroes at the same time. Robbing banks was associated with stealing from the rich, i.e. the government, and such a crime called capitalist social structure into question. Bonnie and Clyde were seen as the representation of the resistance to the officials and thus as less criminal than other fugitives (Penfold-Mounce 77; Long <http://tshaonline.org>); the United States has always been a country praising democracy and in times

when this system was challenged by authorities, civilians strongly opposed to it, whether by means of art or misdemeanour (Boyer et al. 673) and thus the lifestyle of Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, appearance, and adventures appealed to so many people.

Bonnie and Clyde not only evoked fear and interest among Americans; they were also perceived as role models. During Great Depression and in the years after it most citizens of the United States had financial problems and so did the Texans. Being constantly “on the run,” Bonnie and Clyde sometimes had no food and no money for a few days. However, they always managed to overcome the difficulties by, of course, thefts (Parker and Cowan 190). Despite this fact, ordinary citizens identified Bonnie and Clyde as exemplars of survival in difficult times and managing problematic situations. Moreover, some of ordinary Americans did also transgress certain legislative regulations during the Prohibition era; they owned illegal pubs selling alcoholic beverages thus “gaining” the status of a criminal in the eyes of the law (Welskopp 40).

Therefore, in the early years of the twentieth century, criminal celebrities, especially the gangsters from Texas, Bonnie and Clyde, were perceived as heroes as well as role models. The interest in their outlawed path was enormous; newspapers were abundant in photographs of the felonious couple and in articles containing police reports and data as well as fictional information. In times difficult for American citizens the whole story of Bonnie and Clyde served as a surprisingly satisfactory source of entertainment and thus the couple has become a *legendary* and *iconic* image inscribed in both criminal and popular culture.

Perception of criminals in the twenty-first century

As opposed to the previous century, the twenty-first century can be characterised as the one with multiple technological advancements and improvements. The expansion of the Internet has changed the ways in which the information spreads as well as enables ordinary people to interact, share

and create new pieces of information. In this type of participatory media “the boundaries between producer and consumer are increasingly blurred” (Meyers 4–5). This means that the perception of celebrities has changed since everyone can participate in culture, follow and comment on current events organised by famous individuals. Citizens have the opportunity to share their opinion on recent happenings as well and publicly disapprove of inappropriate behaviour of criminal figures, such as Mariusz Trynkiewicz, Polish serial killer and paedophile.

Mariusz Trynkiewicz gained the status of the infamous person when he murdered four teenage boys near Piotrków Trybunalski, a town in central Poland, using knives to stab and his own hands to brutally suffocate the young victims to death. He was sentenced to quadruple death penalty, each sentence for each killing. Trynkiewicz committed the awful crimes in the year 1988, a year before changes in Polish criminal law (Iwanicki 13, 18, 58–59, 77). Had not been the Polish system transformed in 1989 and capital punishment changed into a twenty-five-year imprisonment on December 7, 1989, Mariusz Trynkiewicz would not be alive today and Poles would not become worried about the criminal’s future (<http://prawo.legeo.pl>; Gomułka 2014: 7). Polish citizens were left with the feeling of terror that such a monster would still live. The media began to warn the nation against Trynkiewicz, and these attempts met with fear but also caused hilarity (<http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/>). At the beginning of 2014, days before his release from prison, the Polish nation was outraged and demanded justice since due to the amnesty Trynkiewicz’s sentence, as they believed, was not just (Pytlakowski 5).

Both in the time in which the case appeared in the media in the 1980s and when it reappeared after twenty five years, Trynkiewicz was perceived as someone involved in devil worship. Polish citizens were petrified of what Mariusz Trynkiewicz did and nicknamed him *Satan* (Pytlakowski 6). What is more, even Eugeniusz Iwanicki who wrote a book which was the account of Trynkiewicz’s trial entitled it “Proces Szatana?” [“The Trial of Satan?”]. Disgust

and terror were visible among people who heard about the case. Some even thought that the four boys were the offerings for the devil by the Polish murderer (Iwanicki 34). Such rumours could be heard everywhere—in Piotrków Trybunalski, in the surrounding villages, on the radio; in Poland, a religious country, the panic which arose from speculations made Polish citizens act irrationally and think that black colour served as the connection channel between humans and evil beings; in consequence, for many people a person in black was simply a satanist (Pytlakowski 7–8).

Mariusz Trynkiewicz regained his recognisability in the year 2012 when the press and Polish TV stations began to warn against criminals who were active almost twenty five years before. All the forgotten stories, photographs and reports were now alive again. Trynkiewicz returned to be seen as a beast, Satan, and pure evil (Pytlakowski 11). Nevertheless, this time not only fear and outrage were visible, but also derision. Kuba Wojewódzki, a famous Polish publicist and satirist, jeered at the paedophile and the whole media halo around him; Wojewódzki used to say “We are looking for children for Trynkiewicz” (5–6). What is more, an access to the Internet enabled its users to share their own opinion on the issue. In general, they have been able to comment on celebrities’ demeanour, disapprove of it or even deride that celebrity; the construction of new meanings of a star’s image by the Internet users has been also possible (Meyers 140). Memes, which are photos with funny or ironic captions, have become particularly fashionable. A great number of them appeared on the Internet to ridicule Mariusz Trynkiewicz. The authors hammered the fact that Trynkiewicz murdered boys and that it was an indecent assault. The most perfect example of derision of the Polish felon is a picture portraying *Teletubbies*, and each character of the children's television series, instead of having its own face, has the “mask” of Trynkiewicz’s face (<http://ask.fm>). It can be interpreted as the mockery of his wrongdoing and himself. Mariusz Trynkiewicz murdered four children so it is not a coincidence that the picture of *Teletubbies* was chosen. *Teletubbies* is a TV programme for children in pre-

school age and thus all the four characters may represent the four boys stabbed and asphyxiated to death. Furthermore, Mariusz Trynkiewicz was diagnosed with personality disorder, as result of which he turned to homosexuality and later to paedophilia (Iwanicki 74; <http://absolutvodka.blox.pl>). The image of Teletubbies refers to the controversy around this series which was started by conservative politicians in Poland. According to one of the Polish politicians, Tinky Winky, one of the Teletubbies, was sexually attracted to the same sex. The Polish politician concluded that a red handbag was an attribute of women and gay people so Tinky Winky must have been gay and the whole series is a homosexual propaganda that should not be broadcast on TV (<http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/>). Thus the Teletubbies meme drew controversial connections between children as innocent victims, the criminal as a homosexual, and the allegations of gay propaganda in children's programmes. Internet users also jeered at Trynkiewicz for what he did since for many paedophilia, especially connected with bloodshed of the innocent children, is a shameful and squalid act. Thus, when Trynkiewicz's sentence of twenty five years of imprisonment was about to end, the revival of media interest in Trynkiewicz's case became an occasion for many Poles to ridicule and mock the Polish murderer. Irony can be noticed in one comment on the fact that there are one hundred seventy seven people in Poland whose surname is Trynkiewicz; the website member noted "But there is only one Mariusz Trynkiewicz" meaning there is the only one that murdered four boys and has become recognisable (<http://bezuzyteczna.pl>). The press and the Internet enabled Polish citizens to alter the perception of the Polish murderer from someone extremely dangerous to a comical person and the object of ridicule.

To sum up, the twenty-first century does not treat criminal celebrities favourably. The Internet has changed the way the information is transmitted and received by its users; as a result, fear and terror have been replaced by jeering and laughter at well-known criminals. Mariusz Trynkiewicz, a Polish serial killer, was ridiculed by the press as well as other famous individuals

despite the fact that he was a dangerous and frightening criminal. Memes appeared in the cyberspace to deride his felonies and the fact that he was a homosexual offender. What is more, Trynkiewicz was also perceived as a monster with devilish features who evoked petrification and disgust. Thus, the Polish criminal was seen as a negative figure whom many liked to ridicule and present unfavourably.

Conclusion

The perception of felon celebrities has changed over time together with technology. The development of the press and social media enabled ordinary citizens to express their positive attitude or disfavour. The factors that contributed to this alteration include the development of the press, the expansion of the Internet, the political and social situation in a particular country, the appearance of cultural criminology. Criminals began to be shown as cultural figures and thus the portrayal of them changed. Even the most notorious culprits started to appear in the press or, later, on the Internet.

American gangster couple, Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, and Polish serial killer and paedophile, Mariusz Trynkiewicz, were perceived differently by the societies they lived within. The most important reason of this difference is the type of crime they committed and the victims they attacked. However, the distinct cultural and historical contexts in which they appeared seem to have resulted in divergent models of reacting to the criminals and their stories. Almost one hundred years ago Bonnie and Clyde, being “on the run,” frightened people with guns, bank robberies, and fast driving for those times. Some, instead of or despite of being petrified, were fascinated with the gangsters’ actions. The press in the United States presented the outlawed couple quite favourably imparting distinction and iconicity to them. They were seen as heroes and role models who were able to manage in difficult times in the US of the 1930s—recession and Prohibition; and thus, Bonnie and Clyde were

presented as a representation of ordinary people's needs and wishes. They were almost praised for every crime they committed.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the story of Mariusz Trynkiewicz, a man who was to leave the prison after twenty five years of imprisonment, revived in Polish press, television as well as on the Internet. What he did in 1988 staggered the whole Polish nation and thus Trynkiewicz started to be portrayed as a monster, Satan, and as pure evil. The negative attitude towards him was also visible in memes that were created by Internet users in large quantities. Polish citizens wanted to show their feelings and what they thought about the criminal, and the Internet enabled them to do so. Poles were also willing to present the criminal differently, unlike the Polish mass media did. Ordinary citizens' online activity aimed to ridicule the paedophile, jeer him and laugh at his mental disorder and sexual orientation rather than warn against him.

In conclusion, the two cases examined in this paper illustrate the influence of the media development on the way ordinary people react to criminal celebrities' misdemeanour as well as contrastive reactions to different types of crime committed. While the transgressions perpetrated by Bonnie and Clyde were received with a mixture of disapproval accompanied by fear and admiration, the murders committed by Trynkiewicz caused predominantly negative reactions: fear and strong disapproval were fused with hatred and jeer.

Endnotes

1. The basis for the article was my BA thesis.

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Abstract

The aim of the article is to present the change in the perception of criminal celebrities in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries on the basis of the histories of Bonnie and Clyde, the most famous American gangster couple of the 1930s, and Mariusz Trynkiewicz, the Polish serial killer-paedophile of the late 1980s who was released from prison after twenty five years. Using the theory of cultural criminology and the background of psychological, cultural, and sociological aspects of interest in criminality, the analysis was conducted on the reactions of the audiences towards the culprits, the times they lived in, and general situation in the country. It becomes visible that Bonnie and Clyde are as positive criminal figures, whereas Trynkiewicz as a negative and ridiculous murderer.

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OLD AND NEW HABITS IN COUNTRY MUSIC: A SHORT GLANCE AT THE CHANGES IN THE WILLIAMS FAMILY MUSIC LYRICS

Keywords: country music, the Williams family, Hank Williams, Hank Williams Jr., Hank III, lyrics analysis

This article is an attempt at musical lyrics analysis and tries to show the changes of the artists' attitude to sadness. The study is based on three members of a family well-known in the American South, the temporal scope being almost sixty years (1949–2006). The texts created by these songwriters\vocalists are rich in terms of stylistic devices, cultural references and pragmatic impact on the listener. In the age of *multimodality*, it is essential to ponder not only on traditional literature, but devote considerably more time to other media contributing to the development of the English language. The samples of musical lyrics will be analyzed as poetry would be, since the two are so very alike:

Poetic composition is like musical composition. Just as the composer combines the simple elements of tonality—notes and chords and harmonies—into musical phrases and musical movements of great richness and complexity, so the poet combines ordinary concepts, everyday metaphors, and the most mundane knowledge to form conceptual compositions, orchestrations of ideas that we perceive as rich and complex wholes. (Lakoff & Turner 72)

To specify the topic further, this article will deal with one genre: country music. This essentially American style is bound to the southern parts of the United States and is necessarily linked to such typical American issues as *slavery*, *The Great Depression*, *freedom* (expressed both in the southern state of mind and in the geographical vastness and openness); it is a music by and for, as Hank Williams, with whom we will be acquainted shortly, phrased it, "the common people" (Dawidoff 7). It is a curious and contradictory crowd: poor,

rural folks working hard on farms and ranches, who bow humbly in church on Sunday mornings and party lively at *hoedowns* or *hootenannies* on Saturday nights; combining gentility and rebelliousness, love for freedom and respect for authority—southern bells and cowboys.

Although country music is predominantly, or almost exclusively, white (with the artists' bloodlines matching those from "northern England, Ireland, and Scotland", cf. Dawidoff 16), without the influence of Negro blues music, it would not be the same. Lightnin' Hopkins, a black blues musician, famously said "that country music ain't nothing but the white man's blues anyway." As Dawidoff (10) puts it: "A persistent fiction holds that country music is of pure, white, rural origins. In fact, right from its commercial beginnings, country was a hybrid form conflating many extant styles of popular and religious music." Furthermore, the Father of Country Music, Jimmie Rodgers (1897–1933), was called at his time "everything from 'a white man gone black' to 'a busboy in a roadside cafe singing nigger blues'" (Dawidoff 10). Country music and blues both express feelings of sadness, loneliness and weariness, help the listeners deal with the struggles of life.

I would like to bring the reader closer to country music by recalling the late Hank Williams (1923–1953), a country music classic, together with his son (Hank Williams Jr., born 1949) and grandson (Hank III, born 1972), who all carry the family tradition by playing and singing similar styles of music. From this short analysis, we may see how country music has aged in a straight bloodline; how it was then and is now.

Let us begin with the oldest of the three family members. This man is, in my opinion, the epitome of sadness, a poor soul that after suffering from back pains and heartaches died untimely at the age of twenty nine ("Hank Williams always slouched when he sang, physical evidence that the world rested heavy on him", cf. Dawidoff 17). To properly put his country blues to words, we shall analyze the song "I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry" (1949).

1a) Hear that lonesome whippoorwill
He sounds too blue to fly
The midnight train is whining low
I'm so lonesome I could cry

From the first stanza we can notice two very important motifs in country music, which are characteristic of the southern atmosphere. The first one is the theme of nature, here exemplified by the 'whippoorwill' (a nocturnal bird). The second motif is the love for trains by the southern people—as the United States is vast and the population spread, traveling by train became common and necessary, and the train itself turned into a symbol of nostalgia, passage of time, or even hope. However, the primary theme seen here and onwards is the great sadness of the speaker, more specifically his loneliness. It is noteworthy that the attitude is, in a sense, holistic, it does not cumulate inside the speaker, but spreads around, as if the troubled person sought out for other sad elements to complement his own. The bird is said to be “too blue to fly”—a common use of a color metaphor strengthened by the directional antithesis of *low* and *high* (as the bird cannot fly up). This contrast will follow into the next couplet when the train is said to be “whining low” instead of giving out a typical high-pitched noise. The entire stanza is filled with the vocabulary implying sadness: 'lonesome', 'blue', 'low', 'cry', even the bird's name 'whippoorwill' contains the word 'poor' in it.

1b) I've never seen a night so long
When time goes crawling by
The moon just went behind the clouds
To hide its face and cry

In the second stanza we see a continuation of the observation of nature in search for similarity to the speaker's emotions. Day and night are contrasted, the first being a sunny and happy time, while the latter a cold, dark period. In the southern states where the climate is warm, nights are usually quite short; that is why the poet stresses the night's length—the nighttime being melancholic and reminding one of regrets. The next image we are presented with is a personified 'moon' that is said to have hidden “behind the clouds” and,

like the speaker, is crying. As this is the middle of the four-stanza poem\song, the metaphor is indeed very powerful, being the apogee of the whole—even the moon with all its greatness cries hiding “its face”; perhaps this is supposed to uplift the blues-stricken poet.

1c) Did you ever see a robin weep
When leaves begin to die?
Like me he's lost the will to live
I'm so lonesome I could cry

Here we notice another use of a bird character emphasizing the motif of freedom seen in the carefree flight of winged creatures. The personified ‘robin’, like every other element in the song, is sad and ‘weep[s]’. The atmosphere is here taken to a further level of depression and evokes even suicidal thoughts with phrases “begin to die” and “lost the will to live.” The speaker explicitly admits to the already observed tendency to compare himself to the enumerated entities with the phrase “like me”, indicative of a simile—“[c]omparison can definitely be singled out as one of basic cognitive processes, a mechanism of perceiving the similarity among entities, which seems to be an universal endowment of human mind” (Chrzanowska-Kluczevska 106).

The last stanza reveals, however subtly, the reason for the speaker’s sadness, or more specifically, loneliness—he is pining for a loved one, who is no longer here. The author, to amplify these emotions, uses synesthesia, i.e. “the experience of two or more modes of sensation when only one sense is being stimulated” (cf. Abrams 1971: 171), to employ various senses of the listener (combining ‘silence’ and ‘light’).

1d) The silence of a falling star
Lights up a purple sky
And as I wonder where you are
I'm so lonesome I could cry

Hank Williams Jr., representing the next generation, started his career very early by re-singing his father’s material. However, after some time he developed a distinguishable sound. The song that will be presented here shortly (“Whiskey Bent And Hell Bound”, 1979) is like the previous one in the

atmosphere of sadness, but the topics at hand seem to be dealt with from a certain distance:

2a) I've got a good woman at home
Who thinks I do no wrong
But sometimes Lord she just ain't always around
And you know that's when I fall
I can't help myself at all
And I get whiskey-bent and hell-bound

Here, the woman character is shown as a casualty of the speaker's battle with his own weaknesses. We can observe the focus on directions: up and down, with their symbolism through the 'fall[ing]' and the title phrase "whiskey-bent and hell-bound" (a cleverly put parallel and compound construction). This reminds us of the country motif expressed in one of Waylon Jennings and Willie Nelson's songs "Good Hearted Woman [in love with a good-timin' man]." The theme reflects the inclination towards hedonism (possibly partly excused by remorse) despite the sorrow felt by the "good woman at home."

We can see that country sadness has been inherited by Hank Williams Jr. from his father, however, guilt is ascribed to the artist instead of the object of his affection. The continuity is very strong and it is visible amply in the next stanza:

2b) Play me some songs about a ramblin' man
Put a cold one in my hand
Cause you know I love to hear those guitar sounds
Don't you play 'I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry'
Cause I'll get all balled up inside
And I'll get whiskey bent and hell bound.

Here we are presented with another country motif—the love for music. The speaker discloses his great fondness of music, more specifically "those guitar sounds." In Nicolas Dawidoff's book, we can read the "Southern definition of a true music lover"; according to this source, it is "a man who, if he hears a woman singing in the shower, puts his ear to the keyhole" (Dawidoff 8). Taking into consideration the obvious love for women in country music this is saying a lot. The Southern man really adores music—its happy and cheerful side, in

order to dance and enjoy company, and the sad and gloomy side, for those heartbreaking, moonlit, porch-sat nights.

To add to this argument and to the overall topic of this article, it must be noticed that Hank Williams Jr. refers to his father's music with the phrase "songs about a ramblin' man" (which has a double meaning: it reminds us about Hank Senior's song "Ramblin' Man" and may also refer strictly to him). However, more important to us at this point is the line "Don't you play 'I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry'" with the complementing "Cause I'll get all balled up inside." Hank Williams Jr. does not wish to hear his father's lovesick blues, because it makes him extremely sad (be it through the lyrics or because of the author's untimely death).

In 1972 the third member of the family (that we shall discuss) is born, and he will be called, appropriately, Hank III. As the theme of women and alcohol continues, let us read the first stanza of the young Williams' "My Drinking Problem" (2006):

3a) She said she's gonna quit me
If I didn't quit the booze
So I just started drinkin' more
To see if she would really choose
And I have to hand it to that girl
She meant every breath
An' I'm glad she did 'cause I was about
To drink myself to death.

Despite the fact that the older motifs survive through the turn of the century, the attitude towards them has changed (at least when dealing with this example). The speaker uses not only drinking, but also irony to alleviate the pain. The joke on which this song has been built is that the artist's drinking problem is not *nomen omen* the alcohol abuse itself, but the woman character because of whom he is drinking. Usually we might find lyrics describing how the speaker drowns his sorrow as his lady does him wrong or walks out, but here the speaker's condition for drinking is synonymous with her presence. Alongside with her leaving, his "drinking problem" disappears. Actually,

metaphorically speaking: the lady was a drinking problem (a human being turned into abstraction).

3b) Because my drinkin' problem left today
She packed up all her things and walked away
Well it looks like off the bottle now is where I'm gonna stay
Because my drinkin' problem left today

It is noticeable how this rhetoric differs from the previous examples, and how it took three generations to develop irony, to overcome the depression and both dependencies. The speaker is victorious, but if one ponders over these lyrics, especially in the context of the previous gateway from which they came, there still seems to be a fair amount of blues, sighs and tears.

We can see the development of the approach to the topic of sadness by the Williams family members on the basis of these songs. Hank Senior has done his best to show his misery by applying it to the surroundings (the night, trees, birds, a train). Hank Junior bottled up his feelings and tried to drown them with alcohol (we can notice that the method of coping with the blues has become more explicit). The former assumed the imagery of the country outdoors and employed nature as his companion, while the latter chose a bar-scenery and surrounded himself with people, liquor and music. The youngest of the three, as if, continued his father's drinking streak dealing with sadness, but with a more modern approach of irony. Finally the problem resolved itself, because the woman character—the cause of the artists' blues—disappeared. We shall wait for the fourth generation, perhaps to witness a circular pattern—the next Hank may turn to post-irony, i.e. be straight-forward in his expression, and with that return to being “so lonesome [he] could cry.”

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Songs

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Abstract

My article is a short glance at the evolution of country music in the United States. It focuses on three very important figures in the US Southern culture: Hank Williams, Hank Williams Jr. and Hank III. As the 'call for papers' is themed around the phrase "then and now", this father-son-grandson example fits perfectly. Excerpts from all three artists' songs have been analyzed and compared. We can see how the attitude towards tackled topics has changed and how the younger generation is influenced by their forefathers. It is a great opportunity to notice generation differences and similarities.

**LANGUAGE
THEN AND NOW**

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THE THIRD WAY IN THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE

Keywords: language evolution, compositional view of LE, holistic view of LE, gestural primacy hypothesis, multimodality, multimodal perspective on language origin

Introduction

The question how language, the essential tool for communication, emerged has not been answered properly. Yet, it is known today that language is not one single phenomenon that can be analysed and viewed from only one perspective, but rather a chain of complex processes happening in the body and the mind. Therefore, we cannot speculate whether it was *either* sound or gesture that dominated language development and emergence, as data and evidence for only one of them is insufficient. The present article is not an attempt to resolve the question about the way in which language originated or evolved; instead, it comments upon the most widely embraced language emergence hypotheses and accounts for the credibility of *the multimodal perspective* on language origin.

Language evolution

Evolution of language has been a very general concept to speak about the emergence, shaping, gradual changes in language, and other language-related topics (such as biological, motor and cognitive development and functions that go along with it) widely discussed until this day (e.g. Lieberman 2007b: 45–47). What Culotta and Hanson state is that “language evolution never stopped” (2004: 1315) and the latest research on, e.g. tool making, cave painting, or apes’ ability to learn sign language communication shows that there is still a great deal to be discovered (see: Pollick and de Waal 2007, Faisal et al. 2010).

However, what Bickerton seems to be positive about is that “it [language evolution] has stopped, because the biological evolution of humans (...) has, (...) stopped also” (2007: 511). Nonetheless, this position cannot be taken for granted, as evolution does not plan ahead (see: Salverda and de Visser 2011, Stevens 2013: 9) and evolutionary changes that will happen in the future cannot even be speculated about. As for the language emergence, it is not clear whether there was an abrupt (see: Bickerton 1990, 1998) or a gradual change (see: Pinker and Bloom 1990, Aitchison 1991, Dediu 2008) in hominin language development; yet, there have been two pairs of major hypotheses taken into account: *compositional* or *combinatorial* (see: Bickerton 1995) versus *holistic* or *holophrastic* (see: Mithen 2005, Wray 2000) and *speech* (Dunbar 1996, MacNeillage 2008) versus *gesture* (Armstrong, Stokoe and Wilcox 1995; Corballis 2002).

The two approaches

Our communication with others happens with the help of various modalities—if interlocutors hear each other, the modality is auditory (vocal channel); however, if we cannot hear our conversational partner properly or the sound signal is being interrupted, we tend to include other modalities, and our main choice is usually visual (von Kriegstein 2012: 683–684). Nonetheless, the two main propositions for the view on language entertain the first—vocal strategy—as a major explanation for human language emergence (see: Arbib and Bickerton eds. 2010).

I shall start with the *compositional view*, which suggests that “*Homo erectus* communicated by a protolanguage in which a communicative act comprises a few nouns and verbs strung together without syntactic structure” (Bickerton 1995 in: Arbib 2012: 254). This concept argues that as far as language is uniquely human, it is also the process of word use and gradual development of complex syntax that gives us an advantage over other species’ communication systems. Yet, it is visible that the argument opts for *nouns* and *verbs* usage,

which would suggest that sound-symbolism was present from the very beginning; moreover, “adding syntax” to the proto-words (Arbib 2012: 254) does not account for compositional language emergence as the question: “How were *the words* created, then?” arises. In addition, it is only our ability to consider language in all these categories since we have come up with definitions that help us understand better whatever we are talking about. Even though the *compositional view* is an intuitive, albeit simplified, description of language emergence as compositionality accounts for “structure usage and the meaning of its components” (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy), it is doubtful that our ancestors had the ability to use it. Therefore, it seems impossible for proto-humans to use the form of communication as understood today, or a variation of proto-syntax in their proto-structure of proto-language simply because it would involve activation and usage of structures that they probably had not fully developed at that time (Lieberman 2002: 37–57) and grasping the idea of abstract concepts while words no longer have iconic meaning. As “different brain regions came to be responsible for the production of innate primate *vocalizations* and for the production of protowords” (Arbib 2012: 256), we cannot say that “production” (or even more structuring) of proto-words or language, as it is known to us today, occurred; it rather “‘just happened’ in a community” (Arbib 2012: 256).

In opposition to the hypothesis presented above, the *holistic* or *holophrastic view* of language emergence seems much more credible to me (see: Arbib 2005a, Wray 1998). The idea proposes that proto-language expressions were made of sounds standing for whole “utterances.” Moreover, the sounds from which the message was created had no meaning on their own and made sense only when put together in the context (Arbib 2012: 254), which reflects the animal communication that is “limited to a relatively small number of signals, and restricted to limited contexts” (Corballis 1999 (online access)). Mithen adds that it was also the role of pitch variation, rhythm and melody to

communicate information or express emotion (2005: 93). Moreover, we can address a number of positions and evidence to support the *holophrastic* theory:

- (i) it does not state the presence of rules or particular structures to which *words* apply for the whole *utterance* to make sense;
- (ii) it is open to propositions that both holophrastic and compositional strategies for communication were used by various groups (Arbib 2012: 255);
- (iii) it facilitates the development of vocal apparatus to produce more varied and, gradually, more complex sounds (Arbib 2012: 255, Lieberman 2002: 45–47);
- (iv) words are cultural phenomena, whereas calls are genetically based (Bickerton 2007b: 513);
- (v) words are symbolic structures, while calls are indexical, which means calls work with the presence of the object being referred to (Bickerton 2007b: 513);
- (vi) gradualism and not abrupt change explains the adaptive complexity of human evolution (Pinker and Bloom 1990:713).

Furthermore, research on vervet monkey calls shows that sounds vary depending on the context of use (see: Cheney and Seyfarth 1990: 754–755); therefore, this idea can also apply to our ancestors' communication, whose evolution, enhanced by the change in posture, hunting, change of environment, mating and tool production and usage, enforced the process of information exchange to advance. Moreover, as Arbib states, different brain regions are responsible for vocalizations and proto-words (2012: 256) and, apart from their anatomy, taking into consideration apes' ability to learn the human language (see: Gua or Lucy experiment), it is doubtful that our ancestors were producing symbolically created chains of *verbs* and *nouns* in a grammatical structure.

Gesture and speech—the third way

“The third way” mentioned in the title refers to the combination of speech and gesture that led to language emergence. Since gesture studies is a rapidly growing field and vocal hypotheses can no longer provide a sufficient explanation for language, *multimodal perspective on language origin* has assumed a firm place. However, even in this seemingly compromising perspective researchers have not reached an agreement. There are two main positions regarding the relation between gesture and speech; first: (a) these are separate phenomena and gesture can only be considered as support for speech (in: Bernardis and Gentilucci 2006: 178); and second: (b) “there is no separate ‘gesture language’ alongside spoken language” and therefore, it should be considered one system (McNeill 1992: 1–2, McNeill 2015). Most of the recent studies support the second view—that the two phenomena are closely connected (see: Bernardis and Gentilucci 2006: 178–190, Goldin-Meadow and Wagner 2006: 211–232, Müller 2013: 202–217, Żywicznyński and Wacewicz 2015). In addition, research from cognitive studies has given evidence for speech and movements of the articulators to be produced in the same region of the brain (Lieberman 2007b: 59, Bates and Dick 2002, Nishitani et al. 2005), but also for gestural communication together with appropriate motor skills, to be likewise executed there. Brain imaging studies show that imitation (Chaminade et al. 2005: 115–127) or observation of gestures (Andric et al. 2013: 1619–1629) activates language areas in the brain (Bernardis and Gentilucci 2006: 178); hence, we can predict that the two phenomena have overlapped and have not been executed separately or independently from one another.

Corballis argues that gestures are “‘behavioural fossils’ coupled to speech” and that “alarm calls of monkeys and the hooting of apes (...) are in some form related to human spoken language” (1991 (online access)) (which again opts for the *holistic view*); moreover, he says that the call-resembling language might have persisted in modern humans’ emotional expressions rather than in

speech (Corballis 1999 (online access)). Furthermore, he proposes the following evidence for the gestural language development hypothesis:

- (1) “primates are largely visual animals”—their motor control is much further developed than their vocal abilities;
- (2) it has been much more successful to teach apes sign language variations than to teach them vocal language used by humans;
- (3) bipedalism released hands and arms for activities other than walking or keeping balance; what I would add to this one is that the brain got much more stimulus for development due to the erected posture and manual abilities stemming from hand usage;
- (4) change of living environment and conditions enforced a shift in the mode of communication—in a situation of danger in open terrain, visual signs were safer to execute than vocal ones due to predators or prey;
- (5) manual gesture might have initiated as the reflection of physical properties of an object (Corballis 1999 (online access)), and
- (6) the mirror neurons hypothesis, nurtured by Rizzolatti and Sinigaglia (2008) or Michael Arbib (2012), in which brain is activated by just looking at actions of others (see also: Arbib, Liebal and Pika 2008: 1053–1069).

The title of the paper also points to the blend of *combinatorial* and *holistic* views. Our ability to create limitless clusters from meaningless sounds to produce words, phrases and sentences is purely *combinatorial* (Perlmutter 2013); on the other hand, sign languages, composed of hand and arm movements and facial expressions, are also made of small meaningless parts that are combined to express new meanings (Stokoe 2005). Moreover, there is an inventory of movements within the gesture space, places, positions, and shapes that serve to form words in sign languages. Therefore, we can say that both speech and gesture are of combinatorial nature. Yet, both these forms of communication develop, change and evolve. Hence, in a wide range of words of

a sign language we can find these holistic gestures that are based on iconic resemblance. As for spoken language, it relies to a much greater extent on combinatoriality (cf. Tallerman 2007) and yet, even in its current form is not utterly devoid of holistic expressions such as idioms. Furthermore, if we consider animal calls—their nature is holistic, too. If we think of protolanguage, it is highly possible that our ancestors utilized that form of communication as it was easier in the environment they lived in (Wray 1998).

Summary

I attempted to show that gesture and speech interplay. The hypothesis that language emerged from gesture and not from speech or *vice versa* seems to be too narrow to grasp all of the aspects that might have played a role in language development. If speech and gesture are viewed as one, it makes the perspective and room for experiments wider. With the development of research and analysis tools, technology and theory, it is possible to find perhaps an even more complex explanation for gesture and language interplay. However, it also brings new questions and problems, such as: Why should there have been a shift in modality? or How did metaphoric use of gesture emerge? Gesture and speech is a great area for discovery on various issues ranging from brain functioning and motor abilities through language acquisition and learning to human evolution or language evolution. The *multimodal hypothesis for language emergence* or *the third way in the evolution of language* raises many questions, but at the same time has much to offer; therefore, we should stay open, yet critical to research.

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Abstract

Human communication is multimodal. Our knowledge of the language phenomenon no longer allows us for a systematic examination from only one perspective. It is a fact that different modalities are used to convey a message; therefore, both visual and vocal-auditory channels must be taken into consideration while analysing a communication act. The article aims at a revision of literature on language origin hypotheses and discusses "the third way in the evolution of language." It presents *compositional view* (Bickerton 1990, 1995, 1998), *holistic view* (Arbib 2005; Wray 1998), and the way *gestural primacy hypothesis* (Corballis 1999) came into play and changed the *vocal perspective* into *multimodal perspective* on the nature of protolanguage (Arbib 2012; Müller et al. 2013).

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**ARM IN ARM WITH PROSODY.
WHEN IMPOLITENESS IS HIDDEN IN SOUND**

Keywords: non-verbal communication, prosody, prosody in impoliteness, politeness, impoliteness

Introduction

Impoliteness is an inseparable part of human communication. Thus, reflection on the nature of this phenomenon is also a reflection on how humans interact. Nowadays, research on impoliteness is in the centre of interest among linguists in leading research centers (e.g. Jonathan Culpeper from Lancaster University, Derek Bousfield from Manchester Metropolitan University) who have noticed its importance in human communication.

In this article, I intend to briefly introduce impoliteness and discuss the influence of prosody on its delivery, thus indicating a possible new path in the research on this phenomenon.

What is impoliteness and where does it come from?

At the beginning of the eighteenth century im/politeness functioned within the frame of socio-political correctness whereby politeness was associated with abiding by the code of socially and politically approved behaviour (Sorlin 2013).

To be polite meant not only to have good manners but was also applied to almost every aspect of cultural life in England of the time. Everything considered as good, acceptable, appropriate or generally valued positively, was referred to as being polite. Interestingly, that meaning of the word “polite” coincided with the emergence of the middle class, becoming a distinguishable characteristics of those who wanted to belong to it. People from the middle

class were denouncing those using inappropriate language, abiding, at the same time, by the unwritten code of good behaviour (Sorlin 2013). Linguistic forms “[...] that differed from the »pure« polished language were thus perceived as illegitimate” (Sorlin 2013: 49) and this attitude bears resemblance to how we understand impoliteness nowadays.

Long before the study of impoliteness entered linguistics, politeness had been overwhelmingly dominant. This is evidenced particularly in the number of publications on politeness reaching over 1,000 books and articles, and the figure is still growing (Bousfield 2008: 2). Culpeper and Bousfield indicate that classic politeness theories represented by such researchers as Lakoff (1973, 1989), Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]), or Leech (1983) “[...] tend to give the impression that impoliteness is either some kind of pragmatic failure, a consequence of not doing something, or merely anomalous behaviour, not worthy of consideration” (Culpeper and Bousfield 2008: 161). Hence, the issue of aggravating language was rather ignored and the phenomenon itself was treated as marginal and non-existent (Leech 1983: 105). It was the consequence of firmly established research on harmonious communication whereby interactants act cooperatively so as to eliminate potential confrontation (Grice 1975: 70–73). However, due to the research conducted by Culpeper (2011), it became evident that linguistically impolite behaviour has an important place especially in army training discourse, doctor-patient discourse or family discourse, to name just a few.

In literature, linguistic impoliteness is defined as an entirety of behaviours, both verbal and non-verbal, which go against socially accepted rules. However, there are as many definitions as researchers studying it, but what they have in common is how the self-image can be aggravated in language (see e.g. Culpeper and Kadar 2010). As Bousfield indicates, “[...] impoliteness [is] the broad opposite of politeness, in that, rather than seeking to mitigate face-threatening acts (FTA’s), impoliteness constitutes the communication of intentionally

gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts (FTA's) which are purposefully delivered" (2008: 72).

Only until recently has there been a considerable growth of interest in the phenomenon of impoliteness. Studies conducted so far show that conflictive talk is more complex and cannot be grasped within the frames of standard descriptions of language, especially those connected with politeness.

Impoliteness

In 1996 Jonathan Culpeper wrote an article in which he distinguished impoliteness strategies following the patterns of, and being parallel to, politeness strategies by Brown and Levinson (1987 [1978]). Hence, he enumerated the following: *bald on record impoliteness*, *positive impoliteness*, *negative impoliteness*, *sarcasm* and *mock impoliteness*. Building on the model of politeness, Culpeper assumed that it could be easily applied to impoliteness. However, these works are construed in such a way as to fit in the research of politeness; thus, their methodology and concepts are not suitable for impoliteness (Eelen 2001). What is more, Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness does not provide us with sufficient information on context for their principles discuss linguistic items in isolation only. Consequently, such analyses are often limited to a small number of data sets studied in isolation, which prevents researchers from making generalisations.

Culpeper points out that impoliteness "[...] is a multidisciplinary field of study [which] can be approached from within social psychology (especially verbal aggression), sociology (especially verbal abuse), conflict studies (...), media studies (...), business studies (...), history (...), literary studies, to name but a few" (2011: 3). This clearly indicates that impoliteness can be analysed from different perspectives, each having their own methodology depending on the field of study. As a result, impoliteness is labelled differently according to the nature of a given study, its methodology and requirements.

Some researchers pay attention to the fact that in order to determine whether someone is impolite, the hearer has to take into consideration several factors such as social norms, relations between participants and the context of a given act (e.g. Culpeper 2011, Bousfield 2008) as well as emotions and non-verbal signs. Also, intentions seem to play an important role, for, as Anscombe (1957 in Haugh and Jaszczolt, 2012) notices, people can be accidentally offensive. Thus, it is intention that distinguishes impoliteness from rudeness or “over-politeness.”

As mentioned previously, the research on impoliteness has focused almost entirely on lexical items, especially swear words (e.g. Montagu’s *Anatomy of Swearing*, 1968; Hughes’s *An Encyclopaedia of Swearing*, 2006), video-taped television documentaries, letters or recordings (see: Bousfield 2008, Culpeper 2005; 2011), thus discussing impoliteness in artificially created environments. Consequently, there is a considerable lack of empirical data regarding the realisation of impoliteness, its properties and mechanisms that go beyond lexical items.

Prosody in impoliteness

Human communication is multimodal, which means that in order to fully convey and understand a message, one has to interpret a number of signals coming from different channels: verbal, vocal and kinesic (see e.g. Arndt and Janney 1983). People constantly infer from bodily actions about feelings, ideas, emotions and intentions of the speaker for they “[...] provide important information about how they are engaged with one another and about the nature of their intentions and attitudes” (Kendon 2004: 1). By following non-verbal cues, the hearer has a greater chance to interpret what the speaker truly has in mind and can decode the speaker’s intentions more accurately (see e.g. Arndt and Janney 1987).

Intentions and intentionality seem to gain more and more interest among linguists who notice the importance of relation between purposefully delivered

impoliteness and its manifestation through prosody (especially intonation). Following Wilson and Wharton's remark: "[...] prosody typically creates impressions, conveys information about attitudes, or alters salience of linguistically-possible interpretations," (2006: 427) the author assumes that perceiving impoliteness by the hearer can be strongly influenced by prosodic inferences.

It should be noted that the way we speak is a key to understanding our utterances as impolite. Even though prosody is an inseparable part of speech, there is no empirical data and explanations as to how intonation, pace or rhythm influence the perception of utterances as impolite. Only few studies have been conducted, the most outstanding one being the recent work by McKinnon and Prieto (2014). Their work is influential for it examines, through a series of experiments, prosodic features of mock and genuine impoliteness and their perception in laboratory conditions. By comparing mock to genuine impoliteness in the Catalan language, the authors came to the conclusion that the context, accompanied by gestures and prosody, strongly influences the perception of an utterance as impolite. Interestingly, they observed that an increase in the pitch range has significant impact on decoding an utterance as im/polite. What is more, impoliteness seems to be prosodically related to disgust and anger with such acoustic cues as "[...] slightly faster, much higher pitch average, wide pitch range, louder, breathy, chest tone, abrupt pitch changes on stressed syllables, tense articulation" (Murray and Arnott 1993: 1103–4, 1106 in Culpeper 2011: 149).

Although McKinnon and Prieto's results are limited to mock and genuine impoliteness, they deliver some crucial remarks concerning prosodic and gestural patterns. As they noticed:

[if] we find evidence that evaluations of mock impoliteness by listeners are (a) modulated by the listeners' sense that they are facing potentially impolite behavior; and (b) characterized by a more active use of prosodic and gestural cues signaling the speaker's intentions, then we will have motivation for a more thorough interactive model of the processing of mock impoliteness. (McKinnon and Prieto 2014: 188)

It can be argued that it is not only true to mock impoliteness, but impoliteness in general. Intentions may constitute an inseparable element of impoliteness mechanisms allowing participants to decode utterances as im/polite (Terkourafi 2008: 45). However, in order to understand these mechanisms and separate the study of impoliteness from politeness, we need a greater understanding of interactants' behaviors (both verbal and non-verbal) (see: Bousfield 2008). This will enable us to develop unique tools more appropriately equipped for describing impoliteness.

Conclusions

As it was mentioned previously, impoliteness is a part of linguistic competence. By knowing the language we use, we know which linguistic behaviors are not only appropriate and acceptable but also incorrect and aggravating. While communicating, interactants follow the conversational maxims to be maximally cooperative and to improve the transfer of information (Grice 1975: 67–68).

Studying impoliteness may be important for the development of linguistics. So far, research on social interaction and communicative behaviour has focused entirely on polite supportive illocutions. For this reason, conflictive talk has been ignored, which lead to the imbalance between studies on politeness and impoliteness. Thus, it is argued that this knowledge may fill the existing gap and that the theories of politeness can only be complemented if its counterpart is taken into consideration (see e.g. Bousfield 2008), since both politeness and impoliteness constitute a part of pragmatic knowledge of language.

The research on impoliteness is currently becoming more and more popular but there are many questions that remain unanswered, e.g.: How is impoliteness realised and what are its mechanisms? How is it generated by means of prosody? What is the nature of impoliteness and how can we distinguish it from politeness? What cues are hidden in the manner of speaking? Are there any universal patterns of expressing impoliteness? Experimentally oriented analysis may provide evidence for the role of prosody

both in expressing and understanding impolite utterances and its acoustic structures giving answers to the questions mentioned herein.

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Abstract

This article is a review of contemporary theories on impoliteness and its relation to prosody. It aims to serve as a critical analysis of current approaches to the phenomenon and its development in linguistics. Until recently, impoliteness has been treated as

marginal, and how it should be defined is an ongoing discussion presenting difficulties to the researchers seeking resemblance to its counterpart—politeness. So far, the study of impoliteness has been almost entirely focused on the level of semantics and exploring lexical items, ignoring, at the same time, non-verbal communication. Nevertheless, recent studies on impoliteness tend to take another direction and indicate the importance of non-verbal hints. As Terkourafi points out, hearers seem to infer the meaning through prosodic clues which may allow them to identify speakers' intentions (2008). However, it seems that the issue of modality in impoliteness is still neglected and scarce empirical evidence is not sufficient to unambiguously determine the value of such a hypothesis. Thus, the author intends to provide a critical analysis of the current theories on impoliteness in order to summarise the prevailing trends and provide the reader with the latest theories in the research of conflictive interaction.

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COMPUTATIONAL LINGUISTICS AND NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING: THE HISTORY AND PRESENT APPLICATION

Keywords: NLP, natural language processing, CL, computational linguistics, psycholinguistics, parsing, historical overview

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview and the history of Natural Language Processing and Computational Linguistics. The discussion of the areas begins with explaining differences between CL and NLP. Next, the focus shifts to the historical perspective. Such themes as first NLP experiments and algorithms are explored. Each decade, from the first investigations of the subject, until the end of the 20th century is discussed. The second part of the paper is dedicated to the present-day areas of interest in CL, such as computational psycholinguistics, semantic analysis, and statistical parsing.

To begin with, it is necessary to distinguish what Computational Linguistics (CL) and Natural Language Processing (NLP) are. In principle, CL is purely scientific and the aim of this discipline is to analyse language with the use of computer programs. The programs which are designed for CL purposes are supposed to test linguistic hypotheses through syntactic analysis or parsing. On the other hand, the aim of NLP is to design software to process language. For instance, Machine Translation is the product of NLP. Among other programs developed within this field are information extraction and question-answering programs. Thus, CL is said to be more scientific, whereas NLP to be more commercially-driven (Wilks 213).

The beginnings of Natural Language Processing can be dated back to the emergence of computers. In the 1940s and 1950s scholars were focused on two issues: automata and probabilistic methods (Jurafsky and Martin 11).

An automaton was developed by Turing in his model of algorithmic computation (Jurafsky and Martin 11).

The outcome of Turing's work was that he inspired McCulloch, Pitts, and Kleene in their investigations. Kleene developed finite-state automata and regular expressions (Jurafsky and Martin 12). Regular expressions are text strings of words that specify what we are looking for. An example may be a Google query (Jurafsky and Martin 21). Automata, and more precisely, finite state automata are used to model regular expressions. An automaton consists of a finite number of states. The aim of the automaton is to accept strings which fit to our query. If the string contains elements which do not fit to our query, it is rejected by the automaton (Jurafsky and Martin 34). The major achievements of the period between the 1940s and 1950s include the development of the sound spectrograph and research in instrumental phonetics, which later resulted in machine speech recognisers (Jurafsky and Martin 11). Another contribution to the field was the Turing Test. What triggered the test was the lack of possibility to answer the question whether a machine could think or not. This dilemma stemmed from the ambiguity of the "machine" and "think" terms. The test involved three participants, two of whom were people and one was a computer. One of the human participants was an interrogator whose task was to ask a series of questions via a teletype. The second human participant was interrogated and his or her task was to convince the interrogator that he or she was a human being. The third participant, a computer, was also supposed to convince the interrogator to be a human being. If the computer had won the game, it would have been deemed intelligent (Jurafsky and Martin 7).

The next decade saw a schism within the field of NLP, which divided into the symbolic and the stochastic approach. The symbolic approach emerged from two other research projects, the first of which was formal language theory and generative syntax. First parsers also emerged in this period. The second contribution to the symbolic approach was artificial intelligence (Jurafsky and Martin 12). Scholars who pursued the symbolic approach in artificial

intelligence believed that intelligence in computers could be achieved by shaping symbols within computers according to certain principles. Thus, AI was based on algorithms and resembled all other computer programs (Franklin 15). The stochastic approach was the second line of research in this period and it was mainly developed within the field of statistics (Jurafsky and Martin 12). Stochastic models in NLP can omit the obstacles which may hinder the symbolic approach. Despite lack of knowledge of a given linguistic area, stochastic models can operate well. The hidden Markov model (HMM) is a well-known example of the stochastic model. HMM is similar to finite-state automata (FSA); however, as opposed to the FSA, the hidden Markov model “has two sets of probabilities associated with it.” The first probability indicates which symbol should be transmitted, and the second probability shows which state should be realised next (Manaris 20).

Another model in this field is probabilistic context-free grammar. Similarly to HMM, it also employs probabilities, but it does it in context-free grammar. The significance of each rule is thus calculated on the basis of its statistics—the more often it appears, the more significant it is (Manaris 15). The major achievements of this period were first models of parsing human language and the first online corpora: the Brown Corpus of American English, comprised of one million words from texts of different genres, and Dictionary on Computer, which was a Chinese dialect dictionary available on-line (Jurafsky and Martin 12–13).

The next period, between 1970 and 1983, also saw a great development in the field. Some of the previous approaches were still applied; however, new ones emerged as well. Importantly, the stochastic model found its application in the speech recognition area (Jurafsky and Martin 13). Generally, five areas of research were pursued in this period.

To begin with, speech recognition developed at that time. Although early in the beginning the systems still depended on HMMs (Bridle 211), nowadays they are generally recognised to be inefficient (Riccardi and Gorin 1). The research

within the stochastic approach was also focused on the noisy channel (Jurafsky and Martin 13). This metaphor was first introduced by Shannon. The noisy channel can be described as a middle state between an initial information and the final interpretation of the information. Thus, the word “pay” may, due to the noisy channel, be interpreted as “bay.” The role of information processors is, in consequence, to attempt to reconstruct the initial message from a number of choices (Dipper 79–80).

The next paradigm developed in this period was the logic-based approach. It was initiated by work on Q-systems and metamorphosis grammars. A Q-system is a group of principles which permit the performance of certain transformations on graphs. The transformation may entail analysis, synthesis, and a formal manipulation. It is also possible to use Q-systems to represent a single process. Hence, it can be applied to describe analysis as well as its reversed process, which is synthesis (Colmerauer 1970: 2). The second aspect of Q-systems is that they can be chained together and the results of the previous chain are adapted by the following one. This “chaining” ability of Q-systems found its application in Machine Translation (Colmerauer 1970: 5). Another Colmerauer’s contribution to the field was the development of metamorphosis grammars. These were used to “obtain in PROLOG the facilities of the Q-systems, thus obtaining a very powerful instrument for all syntactic and semantic treatment of languages” (Colmerauer 1978: 134).

The third area of research that commenced in this period was natural language understanding (Jurafsky and Martin 13). Winograd created a computer system, SHRDLU, which was able to *understand* English. The system could respond to questions, fulfil requests, and receive information. Information given to the system could be understood and disambiguated by the system itself. What is more, each sentence had to be syntactically analysed. Apart from purely syntactic analysis of sentence, SHRDLU used data about whole discourse and general information about the world as well. The system was able to hold a conversation in English, asking for disambiguation if its

subsystems failed to analyse an utterance. It could also formulate plans, manipulate toy objects, and deduce information (Winograd 3). SHRDLU proved that the problem of language parsing was understood and research on semantics and discourse could begin (Jurafsky and Martin 13).

Next, in this period, the discourse modelling paradigm emerged as well. Barbara Grosz and Candace Sidner introduced two new concepts to the field, namely discourse focus and discourse structure (Jurafsky and Martin 14). Discourse structure consists of interaction of three elements which are linguistic structure, intentional structure, and attentional structure. All three elements focus on separate aspects in discourse. The linguistic element deals with actual linguistic production of utterances. The intentional element is concerned with intentions and relationships between these intentions. Attentional structure is related to information about the relations within the discourse that are the most important at a particular time. Thanks to the information provided by the three constituents, conversational participant can establish how a particular utterance fits within the bigger picture and can give the reason for expressing a particular utterance. What is more, the participant may formulate expectations as to next utterances (Grosz and Sidner 177). Their research was aimed at contributing to the creation of discourse-processing systems thanks to the segmentation of the discourse into three elements (Grosz and Sidner 202).

The last influential framework in this field from that period was the belief-desire-intention model. It was inspired by a philosophical concept of practical reasoning, which describes what needs to be done in order to achieve our goals. The process is divided into two components: deliberation and intention. Deliberation refers to stating goals and intention to the steps, which must be taken to achieve the stated goal. The process of practical reasoning is not terribly complex for human beings. Nevertheless, it can be a challenge for computers due to several constraints. Because deliberation is a “means-end process”, it indicates that it uses a great deal of computer resources.

In consequence, the process is time-consuming. The aim of BDI models is to create autonomous systems which will be able to perform actions (Simari and Parsons 3). Thanks to BDI models, the speaker, who is looking for information, can formulate a question and receive an answer from an AI (Jurafsky and Martin 755).

Between 1983 and 1993 finite-state models and probabilistic models re-emerged. Their development was initially hindered due to Chomsky's criticism. However, Kaplan and Kay started researching finite-state phonology and morphology, whereas Church performed research on finite-state models of syntax (Jurafsky and Martin 14).

Kay and Kaplan decided to analyse morphology and phonology via finite-state transducers, which are similar to finite state automata; however, their transitions are not single symbols but pairs. The consecutive states are accepted just as in an FSA. Finite-state morphology emerged as an answer to the problem of analysing surface forms with the application of "grammars expressed in terms of systems of ordered rewriting rules" (Kay 2). Due to finite-state transducers' ability to reflect a considerable class of rewriting rules, they could be applied in the analysis of morphology and phonology. There are two reasons why finite-state transducers are a viable option in the analysis of morphology and phonology.

First of all, they translate between tapes (reject or accept input) with equal facility. Secondly, one transducer can perform the work of many. This means that in place of many linked transducers, researchers can use one that accepts the same input as the linked transducers. In the analysis of morphology, Kaplan and Kay followed the paradigm of two-level morphology, which is a relation between surface and lexical forms of lemmata. Finite-state transducers mediate directly between surface and lexical form without creating a transition state (Kay 2).

Probabilistic models were applied in the field of automatic speech recognition. At that time, most speech recognition systems were based on

HMMs, which consisted of two elements: phonetic states and acoustic emissions. In the stochastic view, when an utterance is produced, the speaker proceeds from the phonetic state to the acoustic one. However, probabilistic models emerged in opposition to this view. The probabilistic approach holds the view that many more variables, not only phonetic states, have to be taken into account in the production and recognition of speech. These include the movement of articulators which generate sound. To analyse speech via probabilistic models, Bayesian networks were applied. These networks are probabilistic models which can consist of an infinite number of variables, a directed acyclic graph, where each variable occurs only once, and conditional probabilities. Bayesian networks have this advantage over HMMs that every time frame can acquire a set of variables, not only two variables. Thus, more factors can be taken into consideration in the analysis of speech (Zweig and Russel 3011–3012). Thanks to the application of Bayesian networks, speech recognition was significantly improved (Zweig and Russel 3015).

In the last period of the 20th century it became clear that there were many changes going on in the field. Probabilistic and data-driven approaches became a standard. For instance, probabilities were applied in a part-of-speech tagging and discourse processing. What was also important during that period was the significant increase in the computing abilities of machines. Many areas of NLP were applied commercially, for example spell checkers (Jurafsky and Martin 14–15).

The next part of the paper discusses the current approaches to NLP and CL. The following section includes such areas of inquiry as computational psycholinguistics, computational semantics, and statistical parsing.

The aim of computational psycholinguistics is to produce computer models that will resemble the human brain processes. Hence, NLP and computational psycholinguistics are closely related due to the need to develop algorithms which allow retrieval of meanings of both spoken and written sentences. Apart from producing models resembling human cognitive processes, computational

psycholinguistics is also interested in explaining the functioning of the human brain in relation to the language faculty. Therefore, computational psycholinguistics is also tied with areas of research such as language acquisition and language evolution (Crocker 482).

Theories are typically vague and not specific as to what algorithms might be used to apply to the theory. For example, human cognitive processes are said to occur at three levels. The first level is computational, which determines the object of computation. The second level is algorithmic, which defines the procedure of computation. The last level is the implementation, which defines the actual realisation of algorithms. Since language processing is a complex cognitive function, there is little evidence of the third level. Human cognitive processes are also defined on the basis of their restriction or non-restriction. Restriction in language processing means that cognitive abilities are limited by resources. If the human language processor is limited, three classes of limitations can be distinguished. The first class is working memory, which is the place where data is stored. The space available for data is limited. The next class is serial processing, which means that only one piece of data is analysed at a time. The last class is modularity, which is restricting an utterance to a single context; rather than referring to the general knowledge or the whole discourse, language is processed on-line. However, if we believe that cognitive processes are not restricted, we can assume that processing language is not limited in any way. Present-day models are placed somewhere between the two extremes (Crocker 485–486).

The computational approaches towards psycholinguistics are symbolic and probabilistic models, connectionist models of sentence processing, and hybrid models. However, the following discussion is limited to connectionist and hybrid models.

Connectionist networks are constructed in such a way that they resemble the human brain. Simple processing units operate simultaneously and are grouped into layers. These models, due to their ability to learn, acquire the

experience-based behaviour. Connectionist systems learn through exposure to certain linguistic stimuli, which underscores the importance of the linguistic environment. Previously, they were successfully applied in lexical analysis; however, nowadays, they are also used in the analysis of sentence structure with the emphasis on distributional information. The first architecture for this approach are Simple Recurrent Networks (SRNs). Rather than processing symbolic representations, they process vectors. SRNs analyse sentences on the word-level, one word at a time. New words are represented in the input layer and analysed according to the context of the sentence. The context is represented in the context layer, which is a duplicate of the hidden layer (from earlier steps). The input layer and context layer are connected by a hidden layer, which allows the network to incrementally create the representation of the input sentence. The algorithm applied to train the network is “backpropagation.” Backpropagation involves providing the network with two inputs, namely a sentence to process and target outputs. The results, which are obtained in the algorithm, are the differences between the target solution and the solutions produced by the network. When the network is updated, the results are more approximate to the desired ones. The advantage of SRNs lies in their ability to be used on unannotated linguistic data with the use of a prediction task. Predictions are trained through exposure to stimuli (Crocker 505–507).

Hybrid models combine symbolic representation of linguistic structure and limitations together with constraint satisfaction and competitive activation techniques. The aim of this combination is to connect the advantages of both approaches: unambiguous linguistic representation with competitive processing mechanisms. An example of a hybrid model is CAPERS. First, in this model, every word is assigned to a particular phrase, which is followed by an analysis of its connections with the left-context. Next, “each possible attachment is assigned an activation, based on the extent to which it satisfies or violates lexical and syntactic constraints” (Crocker 509). However, there are

limits to activation, and when some nodes become more significant, others are weaker. Iteration is continued until one stable parse is achieved (Crocker 509).

Computational semantics is the CL approach towards the analysis of meaning (Fox 394). The computational analysis of semantics is performed through elements which are detectable by computers. Its foundations are in formal semantics—the analysis of meaning through the logical system of analysis and calculus (Crystal 428). The following section of the paper is devoted to discussion of approaches towards the analysis of semantics.

The standard approach to computational semantics is adopting a formal language and translating natural language into the formal language. An important notion in this field is compositionality, which means that a complex meaning is achieved through smaller, simpler bits of an utterance. Compositional functions can be determined in two ways, which are unification or lambda-calculus. In the unification method, syntactic elements are represented in the form of feature-value structures, which are unified according to rules of composition provided by a grammar or any other additional constraints. In lambda-calculus, on the other hand, semantic forms are expressed through arguments substituted by variables (Fox 397).

Currently, computational semantic analysis is applied, among others, in the analysis of discourse. This paragraph describes various approaches to discourse analysis. The paradigm of discourse representation theory (DRT) seeks to resolve anaphoric pronouns “by reconsidering the representation of quantifiers and some of the other logical connectives” (Fox 405). In consequence, individuals present in the discourse are represented and can be referred to in the discourse whenever it is proper. To achieve this result, a construction algorithm is applied. In effect, the representation of discourse participants, their qualities and relationships between them is constructed. Discourse representation structure (DRS) is a basic notion in DRT, which describes the relation between referents and conditions. The second approach to discourse analysis is dynamic accounts. This method can also be used to

resolve pronominal anaphora. The aim of this approach is to apply dynamic logic to “allow variables to be bound outside the syntactic scope of existential quantifiers and to give existentials a universal interpretation appearing as the antecedent of a conditional” (Fox 407). Finally, discourse can also be analysed through type theoretic approaches. Constructive type theory behaves in a way that it can be used in the discourse processing. An interesting approach is in the opposition of looking for a pronoun referent to resolve anaphora. What should be found is the type of the variable which serves as a representation of the pronoun (Fox 405–407).

The final part of my paper is devoted to the issue of statistical parsing. Parsing, in general, can be characterised as creating some structure for natural language data. The structure for parsed data has to show hierarchical relations between items (Clark 333). Statistical parsing is based on statistical inference, which is mainly applied as a technique for disambiguating sentences. Due to distributional tendencies in data, sentences can be disambiguated, which provides the most plausible interpretation of the sentence. However, there is one constraint to the current statistical parsing models. Nowadays most of these models require annotated data for analysis (Nivre 237–238). The aim of a statistical parser is to provide a single output or a number of outputs. The following part of the paper is devoted to generative parsing models and discriminative models.

Generative models provide a combined probability distribution for input and output data. It characterises the probability $P(x,y)$, for any data, where x is the input data and y is the output data (Nivre 240). The history-based model is one of the most influential approaches. The derivation of a syntactic structure is created through a stochastic process. Various phases in the process are thus conditioned on events in the derivation history. The history-based model is frequently defined as “head-driven” as a result of the significance of phrase heads (Nivre 245–246). Another generative model approach refers to PCFG transformations. PCFG transformations apply parent annotation, which

improves the accuracy of parsing. Parent annotation is used to demonstrate the relation between sentence constituents, for example NP^S. A noun phrase is here assigned to a higher value S. It is an instance of state splitting, which is defined as splitting raw linguistic categories into categories which are more suitable for disambiguation (Nivre 247). Generative models in statistical parsing allow creating one model for both language parsing and modelling. Furthermore, machine learning is more effective and efficient because of clean analytical solution. However, rigid independence assumptions must be made, which constrains the range of dependencies that can be considered for disambiguation (Nivre 249–250).

Discriminative models, in contrast to generative models, apply only conditional probability of the output data. It is the probability $P(y/x)$, where y is the candidate analysis and x is the input data. Deriving a joint probability is impossible in discriminative models. However, in contrast to generative models, discriminative models do not have to assume independence between items which are key to disambiguation. What is more, the evaluative component of the parser is not connected with the generative component. Discriminative models are divided into local and global models. Local discriminative models are similar to history-based models. Additionally, they include input x data as a conditioning variable. Decisions can be adapted on random values. As a result, history-based models are used to produce near-deterministic parsers, which makes it possible to parse sentences from left to right. Global discriminative models, as the name indicates, allow analysing global structures. Features must be encoded numerically; apart from that there are no limitations on the kind of features that may be used (Nivre 249–252).

This paper provides only a selective overview of the areas of interest in computational linguistics and natural language processing. The history of the field dates back to the emergence of the computer itself and contributed to technological boost over the years. The computational analysis of language, in my view, will thrive due to its wide-spread application in everyday life.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, computational models can and will assist confirming linguistic theories.

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Abstract

The paper provides a historical overview and present-day approaches in CL and NLP. The paper can be roughly divided into two themes, which are history and present-day application. Various algorithms, models, and experiments conducted in the areas over the years are discussed in the first part of the article. First advancements in the area, such as FSA, HMM, and the Turing test, which triggered the development of the area, are included. The various schisms within NLP are also addressed in the paper. The first AI system, SHRDLU, a tangible effect of NLP research is also discussed in the "historical" part of the paper. The "present" day component of the paper is devoted to psycholinguistics, semantic parsing, and statistical parsing.

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**LEARNER AUTONOMY OUTSIDE THE HIGHER PRIMARY EFL CLASSROOM IN
RURAL POLAND: THE STUDY BASED ON POLISH HIGHER PRIMARY
EFL LEARNERS**

Keywords: English as a Foreign Language, EFL, learner autonomy, Polish higher primary EFL learners

Introduction

Fostering learner strategic competence, organizational skills, motivation, positive attitude towards language learning, learners' interests, raising learners' awareness of their language strengths and weaknesses, learning preferences and modes has become one of the most desired goals of all language learning educators and autonomy practitioners.

The development of *learner autonomy*, which is defined as the capacity or ability to take control/charge of one's own learning, learners' readiness and willingness to plan, evaluate, negotiate and make decisions about their learning process is the key to successful language learning.

Most of these terms defining autonomy have been initiated by Henri Holec (1981), the autonomy pioneer and one of the first powerful creators of independent learning and have effectively dominated autonomy research both locally and internationally, at least for some time.

In the course of over ten to twenty years, Holec's and his followers' terms defining autonomy have been remodeled and adjusted to the changing needs and scenario of ESL/EFL education in the works of Little (1991, 1995), Kohonen (1992), Esch (1996), Benson (2001) etc. and they are cited and referred to in the research of Polish autonomy practitioners such as

Komorowska (2002), Michońska-Stadnik (2004), Wilczyńska (2004), Orchowska (2006), Myczko (2008), Pawlak (2008, 2011) etc.

Following the introduction section, the paper is divided into two main parts. In part one, a closer look is taken at a short historical outline of learner autonomy and how its definitions have evolved since the appearance of the first self-access language centres and how the term is viewed in the context of Polish education. Furthermore, the features of an autonomous language learner as well as the taxonomy of language learning and communication strategies proposed by Oxford (1990, 2011) are discussed marking their reference to autonomous learning. Part two centres around the presentation and analysis of the outcomes of the study devoted to autonomous learning beyond the classroom setting generated by over a hundred language learners studying English in two school backgrounds in rural Poland.

The aim of this paper is to present the outcomes of the part of the research, which was carried out in 2013/2014 in two primary schools in the countryside. The part of the study concerns 115 language learners' autonomous behaviours outside the EFL classroom, who all come from rural Poland and whose autonomous actions were measured on the basis of the interview questions.

The beginnings of autonomy and first attempts to define this issue

The appearance or disappearance of the phenomena in the languages owe their popularity or decline usually due to historical, economical, political or social processes. Learner autonomy was no different, it was born conventionally as Benson (2001) confirms it gained its popularity due to socio-political changes occurring in the Western countries whose advanced industry sectors were developing rapidly at the end of the 1960s. Consequently, expanding industrial activity triggered off in the individual a growing need to develop socially and invest in their quality of life receding consumerism and individual well-being into the background.

The first formal study of autonomy dates back to 1971 when the Council of Europe's Modern Languages Project was launched. Benson (2001) explains that one of the distinguishing results of the project was the emergence of the *Centre de Recherches et d'Applications en Langues*, in short CRAPEL, established in France at the University of Nancy. The aim of the project was initially to provide adults with endless learning opportunities. Benson (8) claims the learning approach at CRAPEL was dictated by "the emerging field of adult self-directed learning," whose objective was to improve each individual's freedom and the ability to make responsible decisions in handling daily matters in their lives.

Soon CRAPEL became a research centre for autonomy practitioners. Benson (2001) asserts that Yves Chälon was considered a founding father of CRAPEL and regarded by many as the inventor, initiator and father of autonomy in language education. He died in 1972 and CRAPEL was run under Henri Holec's management. Benson (2001, 2006) further explains that since 1972 Holec's intensive activity in the field of autonomy and seminal report to the Council of Europe, which was published in 1981, made him an exceptionally identifiable and leading figure until today in the arena of autonomous learning.

In the report, autonomy is defined as "the ability to take charge of one's own learning [...] to have, and to hold the responsibility for all the decisions concerning all aspects of this learning and the specific decisions, such as: determining the objectives, defining the contents and progressions, selecting methods and techniques to be used, monitoring the procedure of acquisition and evaluating what has been acquired" (Holec 3).

Dickinson's (1987: 11) definition of autonomy, that is "the *situation* in which the learner is totally responsible for all of the decisions concerned with his learning and the implementation of those decisions" is close to Holec's idea of autonomy. In their view, autonomy is considered as a truly individual process or self-reliance, self-management, self-monitoring, self-assessment or a form of taking a more learner-centered, self-directed learning approach.

For Allwright (35), learner autonomy involves “the rejection of the traditional classroom and the introduction of the wholly new ways of working.” Benson, (2006: 22) claims that “this definition is the result of the first experiments on learner autonomy, which primarily aimed at adults who did not have enough time, inclination and opportunity to attend classroom-based courses.” Benson (22), further claims that Allwright’s definition of learner autonomy had to be restructured if it was to be applied in the classroom setting.

The 1990s bring in a noticeable interest in learner autonomy in the classroom context; before the 1990s, language educators and autonomy practitioners viewed autonomous learning as independent, self-directed learning and any intervention on the part of the teacher was considered as redundant. The interest in autonomous learning in the context of the EFL and ESL classroom comes with Little, who argues that

collaboration is essential to the development of autonomy as a psychological capacity, stating that the development of a capacity for reflection and analysis is central to the development of learner autonomy and depends on the development and internalization of capacity to participate fully and critically in social interactions. (1991: 211)

Benson (2011) indicates that the idea of interdependence in the classroom led to the development of work on teacher autonomy—interdependence between learners and teachers, which suggests that the development of learner autonomy depends on teacher autonomy:

A number of researchers, in the United Kingdom and Australia, preferred the term independence to autonomy, creating two terms for the same concept. When independence is synonymous to autonomy, it is opposite to dependence, which implies excessive reliance on the direction of teachers or teaching materials. The problem is that this term might be understood as the opposite to interdependence, which implies working together with the teachers and other learners towards a shared goal. Many researchers would argue that autonomy does imply interdependence and develops through negotiations of curriculum and language tasks. (Benson 2011: 15)

Kohonen (19) implies that “autonomy is interdependence. Thus, being responsible for one’s own conduct in the social context, being able to cooperate with others and solve conflicts in constructive ways.” Little (1995: 175) asserts that “the decisive factor in fostering the growth of learner autonomy will always be the nature of the pedagogical dialogue. The dialogue is important as human nature is innately dialogic and first language acquisition and all learning depends on social interaction.”

Little (175) claims that autonomy is not autism: it is not a situation in which learners are to work on their own, autonomy develops in interaction with others. Little (175) indicates that the growth of learner autonomy is impossible if teachers themselves do not realize what it means to be an autonomous learner. Komorowska (2002) strengthens Little’s view indicating that the development of learner autonomy depends, to a considerable degree, on teachers’ autonomy.

Esch (37) defines what learner autonomy is not: “It is not self-instruction or learning without a teacher, it does not mean that intervention or initiative on the part of a teacher is banned, it is not something teachers do to learners, i.e. a new methodology, it is not a single easily identifiable behaviour, it is not a steady state achieved by learners once and for all.”

A 30-year extensive study of autonomous learning proves that it is a highly complex phenomenon and still an unresolved issue in language education. It involves the learners’ readiness, ability, capacity or willingness to plan, evaluate, negotiate and make decisions about their learning process; it takes place in and beyond the EFL classroom; it is a form of collaborative work or self-directed learning; it is a systematic and constantly developing process, which may develop consciously or unconsciously.

i. Learner autonomy in the context of Polish education

In the past 30 years there has been a marked interest in learner autonomy in the context of Polish education. Changing roles of the teacher and learners

in the classroom and particularly in the EFL classroom, cognitive method, communicative approach to language teaching as well as a few unconventional methods of teaching foreign languages motivated Polish teachers and language educators to produce empirical as well as theoretical papers devoted to autonomy.

Autonomy practitioners in Polish publications generate various interpretations of the term autonomy, which are not always straightforward. We clearly see the framework of *behaviorists' tradition* towards education and learner development in Polish schools. Behaviorists rejected the concept of a cognitively active and independent person who is driven by internal motives and aspirations. If we understand autonomy as a freedom and independence from external factors (Jezińska, 2003), in the light of behaviorists ideology, autonomy is interpreted as a set of skills or learners' behaviours which may help them manage a language material better. Learner independence, in this view, is understood as working without the teacher's or other learners' help.

According to Michońska-Stadnik (1996), *half autonomy* is the term that should be applied to a Polish educational context since (complete) autonomy is an ability that can be developed in adults whose language competence is at least at the intermediate level. It is difficult to refer to *complete autonomy* if it is not developed since early education. She claims that young learners should be gradually, systematically and methodologically implemented to make autonomous decisions.

Dickinson (1992) and Zawadzka (2004: 223) also refer to the term *half autonomy*, which is defined as "the road to preparing learners to complete autonomy and to responsibility, codecision, participation in managing one's own learning process" or "due to numerous limitations in the process of developing autonomy in the Polish classroom context, the essence of the teacher's roles and actions in developing autonomy in learners and their active attitude towards learning" (Wilczyńska 2004: 52, trans. IB). It appears that is difficult to achieve *complete autonomy* in the classroom context.

Zawadzka (2002) defines learners autonomy as “the responsibility for the process of learning in and outside the classroom, determining the objectives, content, method, techniques, control and assessment of the learning process.” Komorowska (2002: 167, trans. IB) defines autonomy as “*the ability to complete tasks individually, flexibly and unconventionally in a new context... the ability to work without supervision and to transfer new knowledge into new linguistic situations and contexts*” (trans. IB). Orchowska (2006: 251), on the other hand, highlights the importance of developing *self-consciousness* in learners and the habit of self-educating and integrating the acquired knowledge and skills.

Zawadzka claims that learner autonomy, to a large extent, depends on teacher autonomy, that is developing in teachers educational identity, tendency to transformations and pedagogical creativity. There is a direct relation between learner autonomy and teacher autonomy, which was proved in the project conducted by Pawlak (2004). Wysocka (2003: 38) asserts that “successful learner autonomy can be achieved through an autonomous teacher” (trans. IB). Michońska-Stadnik (2004: 18) claims that “no autonomous learners are generated without an autonomous teacher” (trans. IB) and that autonomous behaviours need to be developed among this working group if we want autonomous learners in a Polish EFL classroom.

Chudak (2007: 46) puts forward a claim that “it is doubtful if the development of autonomy in the context of an EFL Polish classroom is possible” (trans. IB) and most would probably agree with this claim due to traditional approach to teaching and a still dominant role of teachers. It is the teacher who decides on the content of the language, formulates the teaching aims and controls the learners’ results. The learners’ individual learning preferences are taken into consideration to a marginal extent so that they do not disturb the concept of teaching. Chudak particularly highlights the importance of the pedagogical dialogue between the teachers and their learners. Henceforth, it is

misleading to consider autonomy as individual learning—learning without a teacher.

Michońska-Stadnik refers to a *psychological* version of autonomy in the context of a Polish EFL educational system, which is defined as the ability to take responsibility for the learning process (Benson 1997). This version of autonomy is closely related to the tradition of *constructivism*. In the light of constructivists ideology, each learner constructs/acquires knowledge in a characteristic and individual way, independently of how knowledge is presented by a teacher. This process depends on learners' social background and all people from their surroundings.

Michońska-Stadnik (2004) claims that learners who are not autonomous have problems constructing their knowledge individually, they are incapable of taking responsibility for their own language process. They have problems integrating with other learners or social groups and social factor plays irrelevant role in their learning as they tend to regard teachers as the only authority.

Since the 1990s, after marked changes in the political, economic and social system, the Polish society has faced new potentials and perspectives. However, the scenario is that teachers born after the 1950s and 1960s have stuck in stable socialist living conditions. They are afraid of initiatives, changes or new technology, while being reluctant to develop professionally. Most of these teachers are still active in the Polish educational system. The question is if they can transform their attitude towards life and teaching/training to become autonomous teachers (Michońska-Stadnik 2004).

A few empirical studies (Michońska-Stadnik 2004), (Batyra 2013/2014) prove that the young generation of teachers know a lot about learner autonomy and have a very positive attitude towards shifting more responsibility onto learners so that they take more authority over their learning process and discover their own individual way of handling linguistic problems. However,

they do not promote any forms of autonomous learning and autonomy is a complete surprise in a Polish EFL classroom and particularly in district areas.

Henceforth, for Michońska-Stadnik (18), autonomy is viewed as “an *attitude towards life*, and not only the possibility for the learners to decide about tasks and topics, [...] it is *responsibility* that lies at the bottom of any change in Polish educational EFL system” (trans. IB).

The elements of learner autonomy can be traced in ministerial documents (The Directive of the Ministry of Education from 1st December, 1999 and 26th February, 2002). In the core curriculum designed for pre-school education, it clearly states that teachers should support *independent learning* in young learners, enable the child to *make decisions*, assist in *planning* and support *creative action*.

In the Directive of the Ministry of Education from 15th February, 1999 and 21st May, 2001, the core curriculum for primary schools and junior high enumerates which skills learners should develop to be able to work effectively in the conditions of the contemporary world. They are directly related to the concept of learner autonomy: *planning, organizing, self-evaluation, taking more responsibility, solving problems creatively, using and organizing resources, etc.*

Educational documents as well as Polish literature prove that autonomy does exist; however, it is difficult to isolate any systematic autonomous behaviours in the classroom probably due to the traditional, clichéd and secure behavioral system.

ii. The characteristic of an autonomous (good/successful) language learner

Achieving success in the target language is the most desirable goal of all language educators as well as language learners who struggle with achieving linguistic and communicative competence in the target language (Batyra 2015). The concept of learner autonomy evidently correlates with success in the target language as well as the concept of a good, efficient language learner as

evidenced by the study of Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012), Nunan (1992), Omaggio (1978) or Rubin and Thompson (1983).

In this section, an attempt is made to demonstrate the characteristics of an autonomous or successful/good language learner. Dickinson (1992) enumerates five essential characteristics of an autonomous learner which are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *The features of an autonomous learner*, Dickinson (1992).

1. Autonomous learners understand what is being taught, they understand the essence of the learning and pedagogical process.
2. Autonomous learners can formulate their own learning aims.
3. Autonomous learners can use learning strategies.
4. Autonomous learners can monitor how the use of learning strategies affects their learning process.
5. Autonomous learners can evaluate as well monitor their learning process.

In the light of Dickinson's proposed criteria of an autonomous learner, he/she is viewed as a conscious operator of the learning processes, responsible for the effectiveness and organisation of the process of learning (Batyra 2015).

Boud (1988), on the other hand, claims that an autonomous learner is a person who actively participates in the learning process, producing their own ideas and making the most of all possible learning opportunities not limiting themselves only to initiatives triggered by the teacher. Henceforth, in Boud's view, an autonomous learner is a creative agent taking advantage of learning opportunities which arise.

Holec (1981) regards an autonomous learner as someone who is willing to take responsibility for their learning process and whose learning decisions and actions are not teacher dependent and who constantly takes an active role in their learning process. Thus Holec's idea of an autonomous learner excludes cooperative character between a teacher and learners which was particularly promoted, in the context of autonomous learning, by Esch (1996, 1997), Kohonen (1992) and Little (1995).

It is assumed that learners take responsibility for their learning process when they recognise if their learning actions are effective or not, if their choices of learning strategies facilitate or slow down the learning process, and if the latter is the case, what it is that has to be done to improve their actions so that their tools work for them and not against them. This scenario appears to be an ideal portrait of an autonomous learner.

Most language learners will be always teacher dependent. However, autonomy, as Benson (2003, 2013) claims, is available to all, although it is displayed in different ways and to different degrees according to the unique characteristics of each learner and each learning situation. Learners who lack autonomy are capable of developing it given appropriate conditions and preparation. Thus, the role of the language teacher, among others, is to instruct learners how to become autonomous by scaffolding (Bruner 1978) their learning so that they take more responsibility for their learning process, e.g. the teacher can gradually remove teacher-initiated tasks from the lesson and replace them with learner-initiated so that learners feel they are active participants in their learning process, decision makers and negotiators of their learning needs and preferences.

In the study of learner autonomy, Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012) interviewed language teachers in a large university English language centre in Oman to find out if, among others, they can identify any characteristics of autonomous learners in their students based on their teaching experience. Figure 2. demonstrates a description made by three respondents who noticed some autonomous behaviour in their learners:

Figure 2. *Autonomous acts identified in learners by the teachers from Language Centre at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman (Borg and Al-Busaidi, 2012: 17).*

Teacher 1

At least, they're aware of the ideas, whether it's 'Ok, I need to make my own schedule', or 'I need to plan', things like this. Or 'I need to be doing more outside of the classroom than just the required homework'. I see students

that are at least aware of that, and at least they claim to be doing those things, even though maybe not all of them surely are.

Teacher 2

Once you have introduced skills like skimming and scanning and getting the meanings of vocabulary and you give them certain approaches to the way you can do it, some like looking up the difficult vocabulary first, introducing them, others like just reading and guessing the vocabulary at the end. So I have given these possibilities to them and so what I do is, because different students have different ways of doing it, I would put them into groups and say, 'Ok who likes to study the vocabulary first and then read?' and, so I find that students are able to make decisions like that. It is because they have seen how best they can operate with certain abilities.

Teacher 3

I would say, with Level 5 because that's the level of class that I have experience with, students do have [autonomy], because they're doing the presentations and they're doing some of the essay writing choosing the topic. They weren't able to choose the main topic, the main structure I chose that but then they had the freedom to choose within that something that interests them and so there's some structured autonomy there. And with the Moodle [an online learning environment] it's a lot heavier than the Level 2 so there's a lot of extra stuff that if they feel they want more practice with lectures or something else then they can get that. So there are a lot of services there.

In the first case, as Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012) essentially point out, the teacher characterizes an autonomous learner as being *aware of their needs*. Teacher 2 sees autonomous behaviour through *the learners' willingness and ability* to decide upon the procedure of the tasks proposed by the teacher. Teacher 3 identifies *decision making* and *seeking opportunities* initiated by the teacher for making autonomous decisions which Borg and Al-Busaidi (2012) do not consider as a successful guarantee of autonomy.

In my study of teacher and learner autonomy of 2013, whose aim was to, among others, distinguish, classify, isolate and examine any forms of autonomous learning in and outside the classroom among 115 higher primary foreign language learners, studying English at two random state schools in the countryside in Poland, their four female English teachers with varied teaching experience of 5th and 6th grades (11, 12 and 13-year old learners) were asked to fill in an extensive, three-part questionnaire and take part in the interview.

In question two of the interview, they were asked to give the characteristics of an autonomous learner, which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *The teachers' responses to question 2 of the interview: What are the characteristics of an autonomous learner?*

Teacher A-School I Teacher B-School I, Teacher C- School II, Teacher D- School II, Interviewer

What are the characteristics of an autonomous learner?
TA: <i>He/she is active..., persistent, I mean he/she realizes their learning goals, which have been planned, she/she is responsible..., takes responsibility for what he/she does and is motivated to achieve better results.</i>
TB: <i>[laughter] An ideal learner..., the one who can plan things, prepare materials, can select resources and most of all is responsible for his learning, he/she is aware of the need to participate in and contribute to his work. I think, children find it difficult to achieve this. Learners' motivation to..., take responsibility lies within learners themselves and not only within school, teachers, parents or colleagues. Learners should decide about their effects, and this is motivation and persuading learners to this is..., responsibility.</i>
TC: <i>I think, he/she is more interested in the lesson than other learners because he/she wants to learn more, he/she is inquisitive, open to different forms of studying, he/she is clever, I think that he/she is sometimes..., how to put it? [laughter]</i> I: <i>Clever-clever?</i> TC: <i>Exactly! Clever-clever. They think they know and can do more and thus want to learn more...</i> I: <i>So, do you mean clever - more intelligent? Do you associate an autonomous learner with an intelligent learner?</i> TC: <i>I think so.</i> I: <i>So you trying to say that the level of intelligence of an autonomous learner is...</i> TC: <i>...is a bit higher, let's say, than other learners, I don't mean to offend others [laughter]</i> I: <i>So, are you trying to say that the higher the level of intelligence, the more autonomous learner is?</i> TC: <i>Yes.</i>
TD: <i>An autonomous learner is independent, can evaluate their knowledge, can check their knowledge, what he/she is good or bad at, I think, is more willing to work. Hm...works individually or in groups, both possibilities. I think, it is important for him/her how he/she is assessed and what grades he/she receives.</i>

TA defines an autonomous learner as an *active and determined person* who realizes their *learning goals*, the person who is *responsible for* and *motivated to* achieve better results. TB claims that an autonomous learner is an *ideal learner* who knows how to *plan* and *organize* their work, the person who is *responsible*

for and motivated to take responsibility for their learning process and aware of the importance of learning. TC associates autonomous learner with an *intelligent and clever person* who is more *curious* about and *ready to accept* different forms of learning and teaching. TD, on the other hand, suggests that an autonomous learner is *independent*, *can assess their knowledge*, knows their *strengths and weaknesses*, is *willing to study individually or in collaboration* and for whom the assessment forms are particularly important (Batyra 2015).

Given the characteristics of an autonomous learner, Omaggio (1978) enumerates seven characteristics of a successful learner in the context of educational setting which are presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. *The characteristics of a successful language learner*, Omaggio (1978), adopted from ERIC/CLL News Bulletin, May, 2–3.

1. Successful learners have insight into their learning styles and strategies.
2. Successful learners take an active approach to the learning task at hand.
3. Successful learners are willing to take risk, i.e., to communicate in the target language at all costs.
4. Successful learners are good guessers.
5. Successful learners attend to form as well as to content (pay attention to language fluency as well as accuracy).
6. Successful learners develop the target language into a separate reference system and are willing to revise and reject hypothesis and rules that do not apply.
7. Successful learners have a tolerant and outgoing approach to the target language.

The characteristics of an autonomous learner and Omaggio's ideal of a successful learner evidently overlap. However, point five from the list calls personality factor (extroversion/introversion) into question implying that an autonomous or successful learner attends to both language fluency and accuracy. This characteristic discriminates against learners' natural modes of behaviour and cognition (see Batyra, 2015, p. 28-30).

Similarly, Rubin and Thompson (1983) cited in Nunan (2000), enumerate a few characteristics of a good/efficient language learner presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. *The characteristics of a good language learner*, Rubin and Thompson (1983) cited in Nunan (2000: 171)

1. Good learners find their own way.
2. Good learners organize information about language.
3. Good learners are creative and experiment with language.
4. Good learners make their own opportunities, and find strategies for getting practice in using the language inside and outside the classroom.
5. Good learners learn to live with uncertainty and develop strategies for making sense of the target language without wanting to understand every word.
6. Good learners use mnemonics (rhymes, word associations, etc. to recall what has been learned).
7. Good learners make errors work.
8. Good learners use linguistic knowledge, including knowledge of their first language in mastering the target language.
9. Good learners let the context (extra-linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the world) help them in comprehension.
10. Good learners learn to make intelligent guesses.
11. Good learners learn chunks of language as wholes and formalized routines to help them perform 'beyond their competence'.
12. Good learners learn production techniques (techniques for keeping a conversation going).
13. Good learners learn different styles of speech and writing and learn to vary their language according to the formality of the situation.

All of the data demonstrated in this section as well as the empirical study presented exhibit a strong relation between autonomous forms of behaviour and achieving success in the target language. Active learning, willingness to plan, implement, the ability to evaluate, monitor, negotiate, assess and make decisions about their learning process, organizational skills, creativity as well as cleverness are important criteria in the autonomy research that seem to lie at the bottom of an autonomous and successful language learning.

iii. The importance of strategy training in autonomous learning and the classification of learning and communication strategies

The motto of CRAPEL was clearly defined. It was believed that self-directed learning functioned effectively so long as adult learners developed the skills of self-management, self-monitoring and self-assessment, whereas those learners

who had been exposed to teacher-centered approach would have to shift psychologically to a more learner-centered approach (Benson 2001).

For Holec (1980), training learners how to learn in a self-directed way would be ineffective because learning at CRAPEL was meant to be teacher-independent and self-directed. Learners at self-access centres could be scaffolded by counsellors or other colleague learners provided that their learning process was grounded on self-directed learning which was considered as the successful means to effective language learning and training.

In the 1980s and 1990s learner training was so popular that it spurred autonomy researchers and practitioners to take advantage of the learning strategies research. According to Benson (2001), the study of learning strategies was initiated to help less successful learners imitate the behaviours of more successful learners. Though initial study of learner autonomy did not overlap with research concerning learning strategies, Oxford (1990), O'Malley and Chamot (1990), Wenden (1991) defined a direct connection between learner autonomy and the use of learning strategies.

Learner training in CRAPEL is considered as an essential element leading to the development of autonomy in language learners (Holec 1980). The central aim of learner training was to help poor or ineffective learners become good or successful language learners. Wenden (1991) claims that successful or good language learners act autonomously as they know and have learned how to apply the repertoire of learning strategies, which they can use independently. Poor learners, on the other hand, need strategy training to become more effective language learners by adopting those strategies used by successful language learners (Rubin 1975). The diagram in Figure 5. illustrates the correlation between language learning strategies and learner autonomy.

Figure 5. *The relation between language learning strategies and learner autonomy*

1. Strategy training → 2. Good/successful language learner →
3. Autonomous learner

Learning Strategy, according to Oxford (1990), is an external skill often used unconsciously or consciously by learners to improve the quality of the learning process; it is leadership, the plan for winning a battle, the art of war (taken from a military lexicon). Generally, any action that is taken to make the learning process suitable, enjoyable, effective and transferable.

In Brown's (2000) view, learning strategies are those specific tricks that learners use to overcome a particular language problem, a set of techniques employed to solve a problem posed by second language input and output. Brown also suggests that learning strategies are particular methods which assist a learner in approaching some tasks, modes of operation in order to achieve an exact plan and gain control over the manipulation of certain information.

Finally, Cook (1991: 78) defines learning strategy 'as a choice that a learner makes while learning or using the L2 that affects learning'.

According to Oxford (1990, 2011), language learning strategies are divided into two main categories: *direct* and *indirect*. Direct strategies refer to the manipulation of the language material, whereas indirect ones refer to the organization of the process of learning. Direct strategies are subdivided into *cognitive* ones, these are limited to specific learning tasks, and *compensation* or *compensatory* strategies, allowing learners to cope with a difficult situation. Finally, *memory* or *mnemonic* strategies are based on associations and refer to the mechanical process of learning. Indirect strategies are divided into *metacognitive* ones, which involve the planning and organizing of the learning process, monitoring one's production or comprehension; *social* strategies, which involve receiving assistance from the interlocutors; and *affective*

strategies, which are responsible for encouraging learners to work, rewarding them for both positive and negative effects and decreasing fear.

Table 2. presents a more detailed typology of language learning strategies, which can be successfully used by autonomous learners inside or outside the classroom context. (Oxford 1990, 2011):

Table 2. *The typology of language learning strategies useful in teaching speaking skills (Oxford 1990, 2011)*

DIRECT STRATEGIES
<i>COGNITIVE STRATEGIES</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Repeating—effective strategy for those learners who wish to develop their speaking skills by imitating a language model, including practice and silent rehearsal. ▪ Formally practicing with sounds—useful strategy for achieving perfection (accuracy) by formal repetition or drilling. ▪ Recombination—constructing a meaningful sentence or larger language sequence by combining known elements in a new way. ▪ Using resources for receiving and sending messages—using print or non-print resources, dictionaries, phrase books when conversing in English. ▪ Translating—when all else fails, a learner may resort to a language switch. ▪ Transferring—using previously acquired linguistic knowledge to facilitate a new language task. ▪ Note taking—writing down the main ideas, important points, outline or summary and giving an oral presentation. ▪ Contextualization—placing a word or a phrase in a meaningful language sequence.
<i>COMPENSATION/COMPENSATORY STRATEGIES</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using linguistic clues—guessing the point of the utterance from the context. ▪ Using other clues—a learner may resort to non-linguistic hints by asking questions, e.g. When? How? Who? Where? etc. to diminish uncertainty in a conversation. ▪ Language switch—a learner uses a native language term without bothering to translate it e.g. the Polish word <i>balon</i> for <i>balloon</i>. ▪ Getting help—cooperating with more proficient users of the target language or with peers. ▪ Using mime or gesture—a learner uses nonverbal strategies in place of a lexical item or action e.g. clapping one’s hands to illustrate the idea: <i>I’m delighted</i>. ▪ Topic avoidance—a learner avoids talking about concepts for which the target language item or structure is not known. ▪ Selecting the topic—a learner chooses the topic he or she wishes to discuss, the topic which the learner possesses some information on. ▪ Word coinage—the learner makes up a new word in order to communicate a desired concept, e.g. <i>airball</i> for a <i>balloon</i>.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Approximation—the use of a single vocabulary item or structure which a learner knows is incorrect, but which shares enough common semantic features with the desired item to satisfy the speaker e.g. <i>pipe</i> for <i>a water pipe</i>.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using a circumlocution or a synonym—a learner describes the characteristics of the language item or provides a word with a similar meaning instead of using the appropriate target structure.
MEMORY/MNEMONIC STRATEGIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Associating/elaborating—relating new information to other concepts in memory.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contextualization—placing a word or a phrase in a meaningful language sequence.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using imagery—relating new information to visual concepts in memory through familiar, easily retrievable phrases or locations.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Key words—remembering a new word in the foreign language by identifying a familiar word in the source language that sounds like or resembles the new word.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using physical response or sensation—effective strategy for kinesthetic learners who learn through associating actions with lexical chunks.
INDIRECT STRATEGIES
METACOGNITIVE STRATEGIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Organizing—planning a timetable for one’s own learning.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Seeking practice opportunities—a learner can improve their speaking skill by using resources or talking to natives.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Self-monitoring.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Self-evaluation.
SOCIAL STRATEGIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Asking for clarification or verification—asking an interlocutor for repetition, paraphrasing, explanation or an example.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cooperating with peers or more proficient language learners—working with one or more peers in order to obtain feedback or a language model.
AFFECTIVE STRATEGIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using progressive relaxation, deep breathing or meditation.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Using music and laughter.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Making positive statements.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rewarding yourself.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Listening to your body.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Discussing one’s feeling with somebody else.

The study of learner autonomy beyond the classroom context

The study concerning autonomous learning was carried out in two school backgrounds in the countryside in Poland and launched in mid September, 2013 and continued until August, 2014. The respondents, who took part in the study, were 115 male and female English learners at the age of 11, 12 and 13 from three fifth and three sixth grades as well as their four female English teachers with varied teaching experience.

The study of autonomous learning was divided into two phases. Phase I encompassed long-term classroom observations. For a period of nine months, the work of 115 English learners and their English teachers was observed and described in the form of observation notes. The aim of the observations was to isolate and classify any autonomous behaviours generated by the learners or/and the teachers in the classroom setting. Before the study began, written permissions from the learners' parents, carers as well as both schools had been granted. The outcomes of Phase I are not included in this paper as they concern autonomous learning inside the classroom context. However, a few comments are made with reference to the findings of Phase I.

Phase II of the study covered intensive interviews with four English teachers and over a hundred language learners. The interviews for the teachers as well as the learners were based on a different set of questions. Additionally, the teachers were asked to fill in an extensive questionnaire based on a 100 statements which the teachers were to agree or disagree with and 30 unfinished sentences devoted to all possible aspects of autonomous learning. In this paper, only the data gathered during the interviews with the learners are presented as the study is too extensive and the interviews tell us more about the respondents' possible autonomous behaviours outside the English classroom context. The aim of the interviews with the learners was to examine if there are any attempts and signs of autonomy in the learners and if there are some, how their autonomous behaviours are generated off the classroom setting.

Table 3. presents an exact number of the respondents who took part in the first and second phase of the study.

Table 3. *The number of the respondents, including English teachers, who agreed to take part in the first and second phase of the study.*

School I					School II		
Teachers:	TB	TA	TA	TA	Teachers:	TC	TD
Grades:	VA	VB	VIA	VIB	Grades:	V	VI
No of learners in the group:	17Lrs	18Lrs	22Lrs	21Lrs	No of learners in the group:	19Lrs	18Lrs
No of learners who were observed during English lessons:	17Lrs	18Lrs	22Lrs	21Lrs	No of learners who were observed during English lessons:	19Lrs	18Lrs
The overall number of the observed learners:	78Lrs				The overall number of the observed learners:	37Lrs	
The overall number of the observed learners (School I and II)	115Lrs						
No of learners who were interviewed:	10Lrs	17Lrs	21Lrs	20Lrs	No of learners who were interviewed:	15Lrs	18Lrs
The overall number of the interviewed learners:	68Lrs				The overall number of the interviewed learners:	33Lrs	
The overall number of the interviewed learners (School I and II):	101Lrs						

Table 3. shows that out of 115 language learners, whose work was intensively observed for nine months, as many as 101 learners agreed to take part in the interviews. The level of anxiety and the learners' individual personality factors may have discouraged the rest from being exposed to new experience.

Some learners, as they had admitted, did not feel like participating in the interviews and answer any questions. A few learners did not grant their parents' permission to participate in the second phase of the study.

Finally, the study aims at answering a few research questions, namely:

1. Is there any autonomy inside an English classroom? (Phase I)
2. Who generates/initiates autonomous behaviour in the classroom—the learners (consciously/unconsciously?), the teachers or the learners and the teachers? (Phase I)
3. Are there any attempts to act autonomously off the classroom setting? (Phase II)
4. How are autonomous behaviours generated off the classroom setting? (Phase II)
5. Do learners' autonomous behaviours influence the quality of their linguistic competence and the learning process? (Phase I, Phase II)
6. Is there anything that the teachers do to facilitate independent learning outside the classroom? (Phase I, Phase II).

i. The characteristic of the respondents

The respondents who took part in the study were 115 male and female English learners from three fifth and three sixth grades and their four female English teachers. As the study encompassed one school year, the respondents were initially at the age of 11 (fifth-grade learners) and 12 (sixth-grade learners) and continued as 12 and 13-year olds respectively.

Due to an anonymous character of the research, the learners as well as their teachers and schools adopted a new identity. In the study, the learners' names were replaced with numbers which they chose themselves. The teachers were renamed as Teacher A, Teacher B, Teacher C and Teacher D respectively and each primary school was named—School I and School II (see Table 3).

The learners' first formal experience with English started at the age of seven, thus they must have been formally exposed to English for the past four and five years. The learners were studying English in the classroom context two or three times a week. Their English course was based on two course book series at the pre-intermediate level: *Steps in English 2/ Steps in English 3* and *New Friends 2/ New Friends 3* accompanied by a workbook and a class CD.

As to the features of an autonomous learner, the teachers, who took part in the study were asked during the interview sessions if they could identify and enumerate any characteristics of autonomous learners among their 5th and 6th-grade learners, who took part in the study. Table 4. Presents the teachers' comments.

Table 4. *The teachers' responses to question 3 of the interview: What characteristics of autonomous learners can you identify among 5th and/or 6th-grade learners whom you are teaching now?*

Question 3, part IV: What characteristics of autonomous learners can you identify among 5 th and/or 6 th -grade learners whom you are teaching now?

TA: <i>My 5th-grade learners are curious and willing to study English. 6th-grade learners, on the other hand, their motivation and willingness dramatically drops as they start to be interested in the opposite sex, have more important things to do.</i>

TB: <i>Some learners do not exhibit any autonomous characteristics, some don't not exhibit any characteristics at all, basically any attempt to plan their work or look for some materials.</i>

TC: <i>Clever, ask frequently questions, inquisitive, hardworking, more active.</i>

TD: <i>Those better and clever learners are more spontaneous, their reaction time is quicker, willing to cooperate, good guessers, more responsible and have good grades and they are risk takers.</i>
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TA identifies curiosity and willingness among her 5th-grade learners, TB does not see any autonomous characteristics among the respondents, but gives instead a general portrait of an autonomous learner. TC points at intelligent, clever, hard working and active learners. TD indicates that clever, spontaneous, cooperative and responsible learners who have good grades (it appears that no matter how) and who can react and guess quickly are in fact autonomous.

The teachers' descriptions clearly show the correlation between autonomous learners and successful/good learners, which are presented in Figure 3. and 4.

However, the teachers do not indicate any strategic intervention, any attempts to self-evaluate and monitor the learning process in the learners— (they confirmed that later in the interview), they claim they neither seem to understand what is taught nor formulate their learning aims. Nevertheless, classroom observations in Phase I of the study, prove that learners were acting strategically using a variety of cognitive, compensation, memory, social as well as affective strategies or a few metacognitive ones such as *organizing* or *seeking practice opportunities*. Classroom observation as well as the interviews with the learners clearly show that only a few learners, especially 6th-grade learners, monitor and assess their learning process and are aware of their learning aims.

ii. The method and the instrument

The basic instrument for the part of the study, which measures the learners' autonomous behaviours outside the classroom, is the interview, which consists of 21 open questions (see Figure 6). The questions deal with learner strategic competence, organizational skills, motivation, attitude towards language learning, their interests, language awareness, strengths and weaknesses, preferences, modes, course books, etc.

Figure 6. *The interview questions for the learners.*

1. What time of the day is suitable for you to study English at school and outside the classroom?
2. How do you revise the material that you have already learned?
3. What are your best ways for memorizing new information?
4. What are your best ways for memorizing new vocabulary?
5. What are your best ways for memorizing grammar (structures)?
6. What do you do when you come across unknown/difficult vocabulary in the text?
7. What do you do when you cannot recall a word or a phrase when you write an essay or when the teacher asks you to say a few words in English?
8. How do you deal with any linguistic problems when you do your homework

- or prepare yourself to an English test?
9. How do you prepare yourself to your English lesson or to your homework?
 10. Who or what motivates you to study English?
 11. Do you often use English outside the classroom?
If yes, give examples
If no, explain why.
 12. Do you know your learning style?
 13. What are your strengths of studying English?
 14. What are your weaknesses?
 15. Can you count on your colleagues' help when you work with them during English lessons or beyond the classroom?
 16. Do you prefer to work individually, in pairs or groups during English lessons? Why?
 17. Does your English teacher let you choose your homework? Would you like to decide about that?
 18. Does your English teacher let you plan an English lesson? Would you like to decide about that?
 19. Does your English teacher let you choose the topics, short reading texts, tasks, questions you would like to answer, or colleagues whom you would like to work with? Would you like to decide about that?
 20. Do you like your English course book. Is there anything that you would change?
 21. Do you sometimes think about how much you have already learned and what skills you have developed?

The learners' responses in the interviews, which were all audio-recorded, were then transcribed and presented in figures and tables in *The data and findings* section. In this paper, the figures and tables demonstrate some of the interviewees' answers to questions 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 21 owing to the quantity of the respondents (101) as well as the interview questions (21).

Next, the data were measured, calculated and analyzed quantitatively due to the fact that the learners' answers to most questions of the interview overlapped. Since the data analyses is still at a preparatory stage, the results are presented in percentage.

iii. The procedure

The interviews with the learners were organized in small groups or pairs. Some wished to talk as the whole class. The learners were given the freedom to negotiate whom they wished to be in a pair or group to feel more confident and not too exposed to answer any questions in the presence of their friends and colleagues.

First, the learners from School I were interviewed before the respondents from School II answered the interview questions. A few groups of learners from School I were pre-interviewed to improve the organizational process and eliminate any technical mistakes, such as the level of noise, learners' discipline, the necessity of other teachers' presence during the interview or time of the day.

Before the interview, the questions were all read out aloud to the respondents so that they had some time to think about the answers. Each interview was conducted, for linguistic reasons, in Polish and lasted somewhere in the region of 15–30 minutes depending on the respondents' willingness to talk.

iv. The data and the findings

The data presented in Figures 7 and 8 demonstrate partly learners' strategic intervention. The respondents comment on the types of strategies they use when they study new vocabulary or grammar structures. Only some comments have been presented. The learners' answers in the interview prove that they use either a single or a variety of strategies (a strategy within a strategy) when dealing with a single language task e.g. they use *memory strategies* (contextualization—37% of Lrs, grouping—68% of Lrs, using imagery—24% of Lrs, representing sounds in memory—8% of Lrs, using mechanical techniques—11% of Lrs), *cognitive strategies* (repeating—92% of Lrs, recombining—13% of Lrs, using resources 86% of Lrs, translating—45% of Lrs, transferring—72% of Lrs, taking notes—98% of Lrs), *compensatory strategies* (getting help—54% of Lrs), *affective strategies* (using music—33% of Lrs) or *social strategies* (cooperating with peers—69% of Lrs). Most learners prefer visual (74% of Lrs) to aural input (26% of Lrs), which proves that the majority of the respondents are eye-oriented.

Figure 7. *The respondents' answers to question 4 of the interview: What are your best ways for memorizing new vocabulary?*

L1 VA: *By remembering captions and pictures.*
L2 VA: *By reading words and recycling them from memory.*
L4/ L5 VA: *I write them down.*
L7 VA / L1 VB: *I ask someone to quiz me on new vocabulary.*
L6 VB: *Listening to words from a tape recorder.*
L13 VB/ L12 VIA/ L1 VI: *I learn words first and then my mom quizzes me or I ask someone else to quiz me.*
L14 VB: *I read and then listen to words a couple of times.*
L20VIA: *I look at them for a while and read them out around 3 times.*
L3 VIB: *I read words and then cover them with my palm and recycle them.*
L6 VIB: *I divide words into smaller parts and then read them.*
L7 VIB: *The best way to memorize words is to learn 10 words a day then I recycle them the next day and start to learn another 10.*
L3 VI: *I check words in a dictionary.*
L5VI: *I learn words and listen to music.*
L7 VI: *The best way to learn English words is to lie on a bed and read the words, then you cover an English word and you look which words you still haven't memorized until you succeed.*
L9 VI: *The best way to remember English words is to listen to their pronunciation.*
L2 V: *Cribs.*
L15 V: *When I see them.*

Figure 8. *The respondents' answers to question 5 of the interview: What are your best ways for memorizing grammar (structures)?*

L3 VA: *I hang things on the wall.*
L8 VA: *I read things from the course book.*
L9 VA: *I complete grammar tasks from my course book.*
L14 VA: *I repeat until I remember them and after an hour I repeat them again.*
L2 VB *I read in the evenings or I remember a bit from a lesson.*
L3VB *I repeat the notes dictated by our teacher.*
L4 VB *I repeat aloud from memory while I am tidying up my bedroom or painting/drawing/putting on make-up.*
L3 VIA: *I read as long as it necessary and then somebody quizzes me.*
L6 VIA: *At school, I listen to the teacher. At home, I rewrite the notes.*
L8 VIB: *I remember grammar patterns.*
L11 VIB: *I do some exercises and I use grammar in speech.*
L17 VIB: *I rewrite things on a piece o paper what I have learned.*
L14 VI: *My friend often dictates a sentence e.g. in the Present Simple, then I translate the sentence and then another one. When I learn the Present Simple, I talk with my friend using this tense and consolidate information.*
L11 V: *For me, the best way to learn grammar is to read various texts with a newly learned grammar structure.*

The data presented in Figure 9. demonstrate the learners' use of *compensatory strategies* when they deal with any linguistic problems. Figure 10 outlines the use of *metacognitive strategies*, e.g. organizing, planning, setting goals and objectives, seeking practice opportunities, when learners prepare themselves to tests or English lessons outside the classroom.

Most learners report to rely on various resources (89% of Lrs) or resort to getting help from or cooperating with more proficient users of the language or parents (71% of Lrs) when tackling any linguistic problems. In terms of their organizational skills, they seem to follow their own set of tested and worked out techniques and strategies, some of which are complex and consist of various stages, e.g. working individually then in cooperation to check the work for any mistakes or dealing with written homework before oral work is done.

Figure 9. *The respondents' answers to question 8 of the interview: How do you deal with any linguistic problems when you do your homework or prepare yourself to an English test?*

L1 VA: *I look things up in my course book or workbook.*
L4 VA: *I look things up in a dictionary.*
L5 VA: *My brother helps me.*
L6 VA: *I attend extra classes.*
L15 VB: *I look things up on the Internet.*
L13 VB: *I ask my teacher or my colleagues.*
L4 VIB: *I ask my parents.*

Figure 10. *The respondents' answers to question 9 of the interview: How do you prepare yourself to your English lesson or to your homework?*

L2 V: *I clean up the surrounding and I sit down and write.*
L9 V: *I first deal with more difficult tasks.*
L12 V: *I often listen to lively music, it easier then.*
L13 V: *I first do my homework alone, then one of my parents marks it, if there are any mistakes and I correct them.*
L5 VI: *I recycle the topic, then my brother explains to me what I don't understand.*
L18 VI: *I read out all rules and vocabulary.*
L7 VIB: *I sit up at the desk and use the materials I have prepared.*
L1 VI: *I go to my room, close the door, sit up at my desk, open the book and note book. I first do written work then I study.*
L2 VA: *I study only the material assigned by the teacher.*

Table 5. presents the findings to question 10, which concerns the learners' motivation. Motivation as well as willingness and responsibility for the process of learning are the key elements on the road to autonomy as well as question 21, which concerns language awareness—learners become autonomous when they realize they take responsibility for their learning process.

Table 5. outlines the motivating factors enumerated by the learners in the interview. As some learners mentioned more than one factor, the overall percentage in the right-hand column exceed the overall number of the interviewed learners. The most often cited motivating factors among the learners are: *mom*—29% of Lrs, *family/parents*—17% of Lrs, *English teacher*—16% of Lrs and *good marks*—15% of Lrs.

The majority of the learners' responses concentrate on social background (*mom, dad, sister, brother, aunt, uncle, family/parents, friends*—65% of Lrs), which seems to exert the greatest pressure on young minds' life, decisions and motives. The same opinions were gathered during the interviews with the teachers, who (in particular TA and TB) see a clear relation between learner autonomy and their family background (a socio-psychological factor).

TA: ...If a child, since early years, is told to take care of their learning, achieve better results and develop, then we can see these effects of this education...

TB: ...Generally, the parents' attitude towards a subject or the relation between the parents and their children influence their child's success in language learning [laughter]. It's not only in the case of English...

(Batyra: 31)

As few as 13% of learners cite intrinsic motivating factors: *myself, willingness to study English, English language popularity and willingness to be the best*. These responses were gathered from the so called *good learners*, who were willing to cooperate with the teacher and other learners during group work, were always ready to respond to the teacher's questions, attentive, active, risk-takers, good guessers, willing to experiment with the language, but they were far from quiet or some even hyperactive acting like classroom

clowns, which met with the teacher’s disapproval. It seems that extroversion, easy-going attitude to langue (see Figure 3, point 7) and confidence are one of the factors contributing to the development of autonomy.

As many as 32% of learners mentioned extrinsic motivating factors (*good marks, my pet – i.e. “my parents promised to buy me a dog if I get good grades”, trip to England, trip to other countries, better job, presents, easy tasks, time for after school activities*). It seems natural that learners’ motivation increases when they are stimulated by some external factors such as presents, free time etc. The problem arises when learners develop mechanisms which take them to a situation where tasks are executed only when something is done for them. What can be done? One possibility is to train learners how to reward themselves for (hard) work, e.g. studying for 30 minutes, then a 10-minute break for anything that we like, then another 40 minutes spent on homework or language practice and a 15-minute break etc.

Finally, 6% of learners claim that nobody or nothing motivates them to study English. These learners were particularly resistant to answer any interview questions, they either shrugged their shoulders or said – *I don’t know*. From my observations, they were rather slow, uncooperative, disruptive and often ignorant.

Table 5. *The respondents’ answers to question 10 of the interview: Who or what motivates you to study English?*

The motivating factor	The percentage of the learners who listed the factor
1. mom	29% out of 101 Lrs
2. dad	7% out of 101 Lrs
3. sister	5% out of 101 Lrs
4. brother	2% out of 101 Lrs
5. aunt	1% out of 101 Lrs
6. uncle	1% out of 101 Lrs
7. family/parents	17% out of 101 Lrs
8. friend	4% out of 101 Lrs
SOCIAL BACKGROUND	65% OUT OF 101 LRS
9. English teacher	16% out of 101 Lrs

10. myself	9% out of 101 Lrs
11. my pet	4% out of 101 Lrs
12. willingness to study English	2% out of 101 Lrs
13. English language popularity	1% out of 101 Lrs
14. willingness to be the best	1% out of 101 Lrs
15. trip to England	4% out of 101 Lrs
16. trip to other countries	1% out of 101 Lrs
17. better job	2% out of 101 Lrs
18. good marks	15% out of 101 Lrs
19. presents	3% out of 101 Lrs
20. easy tasks	1% out of 101 Lrs
21. time for after school activities	2% out of 101 Lrs
22. nothing/nobody	6% out of 101 Lrs

The learners' responses to question 11 and 21 of the interview, as presented in Figure 11., Table 6. and Figure 12, concern the use of metacognitive strategies, i.e. seeking practice opportunities beyond the classroom setting and self-monitoring and self-evaluation of one's own language process.

All respondents admit to (most enumerated two or more ways) using English outside the classroom, manipulating with the language material through watching English films (42% of Lrs), listening to music (53% of Lrs), playing games (48% of Lrs), analyzing song lyrics (5% of Lrs), communicating with on-line players (28% of Lrs) or when involved in casual conversations with their friends or family (58% of Lrs). Any amount exposure to language outside the classroom is subconsciously developing autonomous behaviours. We cannot speak of any forms of autonomous or individualized learning if no attempt is made to manipulate with language or any language tasks.

Figure 11. *The respondents' answers to question 11 of the interview: Do you often use English outside the classroom?*

If yes, give examples

If no, explain why.

L3 VA: *When I go out with my colleagues and we talk, I insert English words to my conversation.*

L10 VA: *I sometimes speak with my sister in English.*

L14 VA: *When I play games or listen to music.*

L2 VB: *I listen to music or watch films.*

L3 VB: *When someone asks me for the way and I also listen to music and watch films.*

L9 VB: *My uncle's wife is American, I have to translate what she says for everybody.*
 L1 VIA: *I translate the lyrics to understand the content of songs, at the same time I study.*
 L7 VIA: *When I play with my brother and watch cartoons in English.*
 L1 VIB: *I speak with other players when I play on-line games.*
 L8 VIB: *I watch films, play games, I read subtitles and try to remember them.*
 L4 V: *When my dad quotes something in English from a film, I have to translate it.*
 L7 V: *When I install software on my computer.*

The answers to question 21, devoted to learning awareness, as presented in Table 6. and Figure 12, indicate that 65% of female learners out of 54 female respondents think positively about how much they have learned so far, in contrast to boys (64% out of 47 male respondents), who during the interviews responded negatively, admitting to not having thought about it at all. Stereotypically, girls are considered more diligent and hard-working learners with neat and tidy desks, notebooks and pencil cases, which might influence their level of autonomous learning. Most comments to question 21 in Figure 12. were produced by female learners, most male learners did not provide any reason why their responses were negative, probably because they never thought about it.

Table 6. *The respondents' answers to question 21 of the interview: Do you sometimes think about how much you have already learned and what skills you have developed?*

Female learners		Male learners	
Yes	65% of FLrs out of 54 girls	Yes	34% of MLrs out of 47 boys
No	35% of FLrs out of 54 girls	No	64% of MLrs out of 47 boys
No answer	0% of FLrs out of 54 girls	No answer	2% of MLrs out of 47 boys

Figure 12. *A few learners' comments to question 21 of the interview.*

L1 VIA (F): *Yes, I do. I realize that I haven't done much progress recently because I don't understand the material.*
 L7 VIA (F): *Yes, I do and I am proud of myself that I have learned so much.*
 L11 VIB (F): *Yes, I do and I try to compensate for those parts I don't know.*
 L18 VIB (M): *No, I don't, but it is clear to me what material I have memorized and what has to be memorized.*

L14 VI (F): *Yes, I do. I was thinking about that when I was translating the lyrics of my song. I didn't understand some words and I realized that I need to learn more.*
L11 VI (F): *I think about it when I get a good grade from a test.*

Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to present the findings of the part of the study conducted in 2013/2014 devoted to autonomous learning beyond the classroom setting in two school backgrounds in rural Poland.

The data gathered during Phase I were not included in the paper as they are devoted to autonomy in the classroom setting. The results of the interviews with the teachers as well as the outcomes of the four-part questionnaires, which the teachers were asked to fill in were omitted too due to their extensive character and connection to teacher autonomy. However, a few comments should be made with reference to these two parts of the study to demonstrate the relation between them and the outcomes of the interviews with the learners.

The first phase of the study, which covered intensive observations for a period of nine months, clearly shows that four female English teachers do not make any *systematic* attempts to introduce any innovative teaching solutions in their methodology. The lessons were repetitive, monotonous, clichéd, course book based and teacher oriented. The majority of the observed lessons (279) were conducted in a very traditional, almost PPP way. The teachers did not adjust their methodology to an individual and heterogeneous character of each group, but relied on a repetitive model instead as if they were teaching the army of clones without any sophisticated needs, weaknesses or linguistic problems. In 95% of the classroom situations, it was the teacher who initiated classroom work and made decisions about every aspect of the language task, the procedure which most learners got used to. The learners were unenthusiastic about the way the lessons were conducted, treating English as a school subject they were obliged to study to be promoted to the next grade.

The teachers' age, nationality (TA being Russian), university degree, vocational titles, as well as their experience (TA—24 years, TB—19 years, TC—

4 years, TD—9 years) in foreign language teaching did not influence an autonomous character of the lessons. From my observation, it clearly appears that teacher autonomy is rather a personality factor, attitude towards teaching and *life* (Michońska-Stadnik, 2004), willingness, dedication, courage and time devoted to testing new approaches in the classroom which have a tremendous impact on the way English is *promoted* by the teachers outside the classroom. Conscious development of learner autonomy in learners should begin in the classroom and since autonomy is the ability that learners can be consciously trained to master, these lessons did not contribute to even gradual independence, responsibility or language awareness.

Nevertheless, the interviews with the teachers as well as the answers given in the questionnaire prove that teachers' attitude towards the subject was very positive. For example, in question 16, part III of the questionnaire: *I try to introduce more innovative activities in and outside the classroom such as...*, the teachers responded: TA: *asking learners to make dialogues or encouraging them to take part in different projects.*, TB: *films in English, games, contests*, TC: *involving learners in projects or watching films about the history and customs of English speaking countries*, TD: *introducing modern technology*. The responses seem satisfactory, yet the learners participated in two or three projects a year, few participated in an English contest, saw a few clips about the history of English speaking countries during a single lesson, used Interactive White board once a week (only class VB) and produced lots of dialogues they learned by heart from the course book.

The teachers' overall knowledge about learner/teacher autonomy (despite no implications in practice) was surprising, which is proven in the data presented in Tables 1. and 4. It seems that the teachers' work was more like a learner who knows a great deal of grammar structures but is incapable of applying them logically in practice and communication.

The second phase of the study, that is open interviews with the learners, prove that the vast majority of learners act unconsciously when manipulating

with a variety of learning strategies. The learners resort to a very popular set of strategies (grouping—68%, repeating—92%, using resources—86%, taking notes—98%, cooperation—71%, transferring—72% and translating—45%). The learners neither used the word *strategy* (see Figure 7. and 8.) during the interview nor were asked about them, they were asked about ‘the best ways to...’, which proves that most probably learners had never been trained in the scope of learning and communication strategies in the classroom.

Although the learners, as they admitted during the interview, had never diagnosed their modes, each learner knew their learning preference (74%—eye oriented, 26%—aural, 14%—mixed learning styles (claimed to be both eye- and ear-oriented, 7%—mentioned movement apart from learning through eyes and/or ears). Diagnostic tests and a thorough analysis of each learner’s modes, preferences, strengths and weaknesses or hemispheric dominance would help them adjust an appropriate and suitable set of strategies, which would contribute to their language learning effectiveness.

65% of learners claim to be motivated either by their family/friends, they all admit to using English outside the classroom in e.g. casual conversations—58% (even if limited to a word or a sentence) or through watching films in English—42% or listening to music—53%. Moreover, 65% of female learners could assess their knowledge and skills, whereas 62% of boys could not. The assumption is that each of 101 respondents exhibits different degrees of autonomous learning.

Though the learners were not formally exposed to autonomous environment in the classroom context and no autonomous training was gradually introduced, only accidentally or sporadically (autonomous actions need to be systematic), the interviews prove that all of them exhibit the characteristics of an *unconscious* autonomous learner with a different degree, especially the ones who were good language learners. The degree of autonomous learning depends on a variety of factors such as: the learner's variable characteristics (attitude towards a foreign language, learners’ motivation, learners’ organizational

skills) as well as individual characteristics such as learners' social background, age and gender, learners' cognitive development, learners' intelligence, learners' learning styles, strategic intervention, learners' memory, learners' personality, the level of anxiety, any behavioural and cognitive disorders and an autonomous teacher.

The teachers who took part in the study can produce autonomous learners provided that apart from teaching they will start training their learners how to organize their work and take more responsibility for their learning process. The learners, who now attend junior high, will probably become conscious operators of their learning process in time.

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Abstract

Recent ministerial requirements in the core curriculum of general education, demand of teachers, and particularly language teachers, that they create such environment in and beyond the classroom in which learners have an opportunity to gain *the ability to plan, organize, evaluate* as well as *take responsibility for their own learning process*. This phenomenon, known as *learner autonomy*, is the key to successful language learning. The paper is supported by the study, carried out in 2013/2014, of various forms of autonomous behaviours inside and outside the EFL classroom generated by four English teachers and 115 English learners at the age of 11, 12 and 13 from two school backgrounds, who were intensively observed during English lessons for a period

of nine months and interviewed on the basis of the questionnaires. As the EFL classroom observations allowed to isolate autonomous actions within the language classroom context, the interviews based on the questionnaires, to a considerable extent, present autonomous behaviour beyond the EFL classroom. The questionnaire designed for the learners consists of 21 interview questions concerning learner strategic competence, organizational skills, motivation, attitude towards language learning, their interests, language awareness, strengths and weaknesses, learning preferences, modes and teaching aid. The questionnaire prepared for the teachers consists of three main parts. Each measures the teachers' knowledge and experience of autonomous learning. The aim of this paper is to present the outcomes of the research concerning autonomous behaviours outside the classroom context generated by 115 higher primary foreign language learners, who studied English at two primary Polish schools in the countryside. Since the study is highly extensive and involves all possible aspects of autonomous learning, only the data concerning autonomous behaviour generated by the learners beyond the EFL classroom is presented in this paper.

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MISTAKES IN PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTIONS MADE BY POLISH EFL TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE STUDENTS

Keywords: phonemic transcription, pronunciation errors, transcription errors, pronunciation teaching, Polish EFL students/learners

Introduction

Pronunciation teaching has received increasing attention in the field of applied linguistics, which has led to the emergence of some innovative approaches and methods with bespoke pronunciation activities (e.g. transcription games proposed by Ciszewski 2004). However, even though some of them recognise transcription practice as an efficient technique for alleviating pronunciation difficulties, it is still disregarded by many English teachers.

Transcription is generally perceived as a tool of great importance for numerous linguistic analyses. It is also defined as “a consistent coding system” (Sobkowiak 2008: 28), which explicitly visualizes direct pronunciation of sounds, words, phrases and whole utterances (Wells 1996). I argue that transcription is not only a research tool but also a teaching aid. Moreover, I suggest that its gradual incorporation into EFL classroom and carefully tailored practice could facilitate the process of developing accurate pronunciation skills at the primary and secondary levels of education (e.g. see Szypra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2003, 2006).

To this date little empirical research has been done to reexamine this issue in Poland. Previous experimental studies conducted among Polish secondary school learners and Finnish first-year university students have found that consistent and simultaneous practice of both pronunciation and transcription skills clearly demonstrates their interrelation, which entails possible

pedagogical implications (e.g. see Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2003, 2006; Lintunen 2005).

These data lend support to the hypothesis that most pronunciation errors which reveal themselves in both performance and transcription result from errors on the level of competence. Corder (1981: 10) defines competence errors as “those which reveal (...) underlying knowledge of the language.” Unlike competence *errors*, performance *mistakes* can be detected and corrected without undue hesitation as they are not motivated by insufficient language skills (Corder 1981: 10).

The present paper demonstrates a distinct relationship between some transcription errors and most common mispronunciations by Polish EFL speakers. Moreover, it attempts to specify types of transcription errors which mirror those made in pronunciation and account for their occurrence in broad transcriptions. There are a few limitations of this study that deserve consideration. Nevertheless, it seems sufficient to substantiate pedagogical benefits of transcription practice and call for more research.

The role of phonemic transcription in teaching English as a foreign language to Polish learners

While discussing the use of phonemic notation in EFL teaching, it can be clearly stated that it is not widely used as a teaching tool in Poland. It is mostly neglected by authors of English course-books; consequently, it is also disregarded by teachers (there is a scarce number of EFL course-books which include the phonetic component) (e.g. see Sobkowiak 2012 in Nowacka 2015; Szymańska-Czaplak 2006 in Nowacka 2015; Szpyra-Kozłowska et al. 2003).

Phonemic transcription is taught at the post-secondary level of education, in English departments of teacher training colleges and universities, where its importance is eventually taken into account. Yet, one could ask why transcription practice is widely-acknowledged at all post-secondary levels of education and not at the primary and secondary. There are several reasons

which are constantly repeated, such as EFL teachers' doubts whether transcription practice can really be beneficial to their learners, or beliefs that its unattractiveness and difficulty overshadow its practicality (see Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006). It may be deduced that teachers simply do not want to overburden their students with additional information concerning theoretical aspects of phonetics, which are generally perceived as irrelevant, especially for younger learners.

Yet, Ciszewski (2004: 32–33) in his study proves that even though phonemic transcription is labelled as “difficult” by students, it is at the same time regarded by them as “essential” in mastering correct pronunciation. Moreover, Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015: 215) notes that EFL learners perceive transcription practice as an attractive activity (ranked fourth out of ten). Both findings contradict some views held by language teachers, who seem to be far less motivated to engage in transcription training than their learners.

According to Abercrombie (1956: 29 in Szpyra Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006), pronunciation teaching can be successful even without transcription instruction. The mechanism of teaching pronunciation usually consists in pronouncing a word by a teacher with learners repeating, or correcting learners' errors. Nonetheless, as mentioned before, phonemic script reflects direct pronunciation of words (Wells 1996), thus it enables learners to see what is uttered and as a result comprehend that it differs substantially from what is actually written in orthography (due to many grapheme-phoneme inconsistencies) (Lecumberri and Maidment 2000: 1; Szpyra-Kozłowska 2015: 171–172).

Transcription practice requires that learners “ignore learned spelling patterns” and discover a novel system of sounds/symbols (Small 2005 in Hall-Mills and Bourgeois 2008; Lecumberri and Maidment 2000: 1). Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015: 172) claims that the adoption of such visual reinforcement can enhance learners' auditory perception (drawing their attention to certain sounds not only through repetition drills). Such “visual training” can help them

not only become more sensitive to the discrepancies between certain native and foreign language sounds but also to acquire unknown sounds of a target language (Szpyra-Kozłowska 2015: 171–172; Lecumberri and Maidment 2000: 1). Furthermore, Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015: 232) aptly claims that transcription training “aids in the cognitive process of L2 sound system formation in the learner’s mind.”

It must be observed, however, that learning to transcribe words successfully “require[s] non-negligible effort” to achieve such competence (Crookston 2001: 7 in Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006). This discrepancy in the level of transcription skills among learners and the pace at which they are acquired (cf. Moran and Fitch 2001) may contribute negatively to its value and utility. But what is it exactly that makes transcribing so difficult for EFL learners? So far, there has been very few studies that could answer this question.

The potential explanation of this phenomenon can be found in studies on factors contributing to transcription attainment by undergraduate phonetics students (see Moran and Fitch 2001; Robinson et al. 2011). Moran and Fitch (2001: 85) claim that “one factor that may contribute to the diversity of phonetic transcription skills” may be grounded in the “difference in phonological awareness abilities.” Robinson et al. (2011: 89) consider phonological awareness as “the most likely factor influencing the learning of phonetic transcription” and refer to some other studies which prove that music perceptual skills can also influence the ability to transcribe words (e.g. Mackenzie-Beck and Dankovicová 2003 in Robinson et al. 2011: 89). In order to learn transcription, students must be able to recognise individual sounds that constitute the basis for more complex categories (Robinson et al. 2011: 88).

It should be stressed, however, that as difficult as it may seem, there is always a matter of the context in which transcription is presented (e.g. whether it be a phonetic course or an EFL lesson) and the amount of information included. The choice between a phonemic or a phonetic script (see Heselwood 2006), for example, can already affect the level of the task's complexity. Here,

I refer to language learners, not students; more specifically, learners who have not mastered their foreign language sufficiently. Therefore, transcription practice must be recognized only as a “learner-friendly” additional pronunciation exercise, whose goal is to facilitate the process of foreign language attainment by providing learners with yet another possibility to learn how to speak correctly from the start.

Previous empirical data collected from Polish secondary school learners revealed the existence of “mutual feedback” between pronunciation and transcription skills, which most probably indicates efficacy of transcription as a teaching technique in alleviating incorrect pronunciation habits (see Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006). Such findings invite an assumption that both types of deviations have their roots in competence rather than performance. The present article addresses the issue again; it compares most common erroneously pronounced words of Poles with phonemic transcriptions of Polish EFL third year students, focusing mostly on the thorough analysis of the latter. It investigates whether both error types would yield a clear correlation. This comparative research study is based on words which contain features that are most problematic for Polish learners (Śpiewak and Gołębiwska 2001: 164–165) and on words commonly mispronounced proposed by Sobkowiak (2008).

Moreover, this paper offers the analysis and classification of errors in broad transcriptions made by students. Such observation would be valuable to determine more explicitly the extent of interrelation of transcription errors with major areas of pronunciation difficulty. Overall, this empirical research examines the relationship between pronunciation and transcription errors and attempts to explore the sources of those errors with a view to drawing pedagogical implications concerning the use of phonemic transcription as a teaching tool.

Participants

The study was performed on 15 Teacher Training College (henceforth TTC) students in Toruń. The data were collected from the third year students (N=15, 11 women and 4 men) aged 22–37 with the mean age 24, SD=4,19. The larger number of women in this group reflects the fact that women constitute a considerable portion of the College's population. All students were introduced to the International Phonetic Alphabet in the first year of their study in TTC. The general characteristics of participants are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The general characteristics of the participants.

No of the participant	Sex	Age
1	F	22
2	F	22
3	F	22
4	F	24
5	M	22
6	M	22
7	F	25
8	M	22
9	F	22
10	M	22
11	F	22
12	F	37
13	F	31
14	F	27
15	F	23

Procedure

The data were gathered by means of a short phonemic test at the segmental level (apart from weak forms, suprasegmentals were not examined). The test comprised of seven tasks, which analysed various transcription skills. The sources of errors researched here were based on a set of notions described by Sobkowiak (2008) (interference from spelling and sound). Among the items used in the test were words most commonly mispronounced by Poles. More specifically, the transcription errors analysed in the study were compared to most common pronunciation errors described in the literature on the subject, for instance by Sobkowiak (2008) and Śpiewak and Gołębiowska (2001). The students were not restricted to use the British (RP) version of pronunciation to create transcriptions. Each student completed the test individually with the author present. No time limit was imposed. The structure of the test is presented below.

- **Task 1** The students were requested to select appropriate single phonemes in the words written orthographically, they had to choose from two options (e.g. between the phonemes /θ/ and /t/ in the word *Thomas*). The words chosen are considered to be commonly confusing for Poles, especially when it comes to distinction between related sounds, and mispronunciations of the suffix <ate>.
- **Task 2** The students were requested to provide phonemic scripts of nine words (e.g. *brought, thyme, cease*) written orthographically (spelling-to-sound notation).
- **Task 3** The students were asked to write the missing sounds in phonemic scripts of the single words.
- **Task 4** The students were required to choose the correct version of a phonemic notation on the basis of the context given (e.g. *I wish that one day I will be ri:tʃ/ rɪtʃ*).

- **Task 5** The students were requested to transcribe phonemically a short narrative from hearing. The audio material used during the phonemic test was adapted from the passage composed by O'Connor (1980). The students were supposed to take into account some features of connected speech (weak forms), yet they were asked to mark lexical rather than sentence stress. The students listened to the recording, which was played by the author of the study with short intervals in order to eliminate any possible errors that could stem from unnecessary haste.
- **Task 6** The students were required to mark lexical stress in words with the same spelling that change their word class according to stress placement (Roach 1991: 100). More specifically, they were supposed to mark lexical stress on the basis of the context given (e.g. *Ann **objected** to the terms of the argument.*)
- **Task 7** The students were asked to write orthographic versions of eight words presented by means of broad transcriptions.

Results

Table 2 below presents an overview of the errors committed in Task 1 that aimed to establish whether the students knew which of the presented single phonemic symbols occurred in the given words.

Table 2. Overview of the data collected from Task 1

examples in orthography	incorrect answers (out of 15)	errors
live	1	/li:v/
man	0	
three	0	
graduate (v.)	2	/'grædʒuæt/
graduate (n.)	2	/'grædʒuɛɪt/

separate (adj.)	3	/'sepəreɪt/
Thomas	3	/'θɒməs/

The data show that about 10 percent of the inaccurate phoneme selections were probably motivated by overgeneralizations of the pronunciation rules. Substitution of short /ɪ/ for long /i:/ can be assessed as an illustration of either spelling-to-sound interference or lack of a vowel length distinction.

Table 3 presents an overview of the data from Task 2, which aimed to examine deviations in broad transcriptions created from words in orthography (it has to be noted that incorrect stress placement is illustrated, yet not counted as a separate error).

Table 3. Overview of the data collected from Task 2

Spelling	number of erroneous transcriptions (out of 15)	types of errors	some examples of errors
half	3	- errors connected with lexical stress - substitution of long /ɑ:/ with either short /æ/ or /ʌ/	- /hæf/ /hʌf/
answer	9	- errors connected with lexical stress and spelling (reflection of the grapheme <w> in transcription) - substitution of long /ɑ:/ with either short /æ/ or /ʌ/ - substitution of /ə/ for long /ɜ:/ - other deviations in vowel	- /ɑ:nswə/ - /ænsə/ /ʌnsə/ - /ʌnsə/ /ɑ:nsɜ:/ - /ənsə/

		sounds	/ɒnswə/
brought	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - errors connected with lexical stress - substitution of long /ɔ:/ with short /ɒ/ 	- /brɒt/
subtle	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - errors connected with lexical stress and spelling - substitution of short /ʌ/ with short /e/ - employment of a wrong consonant 	- /sʌbtlə/ - /septl/
finger	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - errors connected with spelling <ng> - overgeneralization of the common pronunciation of the diagraph <ng> as one consonantal sound /ŋ/ 	- /fɪŋgə/ - /fɪŋə/
because	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - substitution of short /ɪ/ with long /i:/ - employment of a non-existing symbol 	- /bi:kəz/
thyme	12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - overgeneralization of the rule in which the diagraph <th> is pronounced as the voiceless /θ/ sound - replacement of the diphthong /aɪ/ with the monophthong /ə/ 	- /θaɪm/ - /təɪm/

comfortable	5	- substitution of short /ʌ/ with other vowels either /e/ or /ə/ (the weak vowel 'schwa' present in the stressed syllable)	- /kəmftəbəl/ - /kəmftəbəl/
cease	10	- substitution of the voiceless /s/ sound with the voiced /z/ sound (overgeneralization of the rule concerning final consonant voicing) - errors connected with lexical stress and spelling	- /si:z/ - /ci:z/

In general, as the table shows, there were about 44 percent erroneous transcriptions, which vividly mirrored most common errors in pronunciation rather than transcription. It can be observed that overgeneralizations of pronunciation rules and various problems with vowel sounds are predominant. It is worth noting that words *thyme*, *cease*, *finger* and *answer* proved to be the most problematic for the students, as they comprised about 68 percent of all errors. Incorrect stress placement (which mostly refers to its absence) can be treated as the only error explicitly reflecting deficient knowledge of transcription rules.

Table 4 presents an overview of the data collected in Task 3, which aimed to establish whether the students struggled with overgeneralizations of the diagraph <ea>, which as Sobkowiak (2008: 148) claims is most preferably pronounced as long /i:/.

Table 4. Overview of the data collected from Task 3

spelling	number of errors (out of 15)	examples of erroneous transcriptions
knead	0	
heal	1	/hɪəl/
pear	4	/pɪə/ /pɜː/ /peə/
yearn	4	/jɪən/ /jeən/ /jəʳn/

Overall, there were only about 15 percent incorrect sounds inserted in phonemic scripts. Once again, some examples proved to pose a greater problem for the students, as errors in words *pear* and *yearn* comprised approximately 89 percent of all deviations. It may be noted that most common mispronunciations (especially confusion regarding the use of vowels and diphthongs) are still quite apparent.

Table 5 presents an overview of the data collected in Task 4, which aimed to evaluate the students' ability to choose correct phonemic notations on the basis of the context given. This task at the same time examined whether the students can decipher spelling versions of words on the basis of their phonemic transcriptions. It also assessed the students' perception of vowel length discrepancies.

Table 5. Overview of the data collected from Task 4

correct transcription	number of errors (out of 15)
/pen/	0
/rɪtʃ/	3
/bæd/	1
/hɪt/	3

Overall, there were only 12 percent incorrectly chosen scripts. It can be observed, however, that the students struggled with appropriate vowel length distinction, as this error is reflected in words *rich* and *hit* which comprise 88 percent of all errors. It is interesting to notice how an issue of mispronunciations of particular pair sounds, that is, i:/ɪ is reflected in phonemic scripts.

Table 6 and 7 present an overview of the data collected in Task 5, which aimed to assess the students' ability to transcribe words from hearing. It is worth noting that the students were not trained to complete such exercises during their practical phonetics classes. Only the most recurrent and specific errors were selected and classified into some general categories in order to exemplify the most problematic areas (illegible transcriptions were not evaluated).

Table 6. Overview of the data collected from Task 5

error category	spelling	number of errors (out of 15)	examples of errors
lack of reduction in unstressed function words	we	12	/wi:/
	some	11	/sʌm/
	for	8	/fɔ:/
	that	9	/ðæt/
spelling-to-sound interference errors	but	8	/bʌt/
	clever	3	/'clevə/
	difficult	2	/'dɪfɪkʌlt/
devoicing	money	2	/'mʌneɪ/
	spend	6	/spɛnt/
	hands	5	/hænds/
	bookshelves	3	/'bʊkʃɛlfs/
	bookshelves	2	/'bʊkʃɛlvs/

vowels and diphthongs	prudent	7	/ˈprʊdənt/
	tackle	5	/ˈtʌkəl/
	decided	2	/dɪˈsɑːdɪd/
	already	4	/ɒlˈredi/
	during	11	/ˈdʒuːrɪŋ/
consonants	thought	2	/ðɔːt/

Table 7. Overview of the data collected from Task 5

error category	type of deviation	number of errors (out of 15)	examples of errors
ignorance of transcription rules	capital letters	5	/Nɒt/ /Bʌt/ /Aɪ/
	wrong symbols	1	/ʊː/ instead of /uː/
	punctuation marks	7	full stops
	grammatical	2	/dɪdn't/
	contractions		

Errors from this exercise were divided into two main categories. The former once again reflects common pronunciation errors (see Table 6), whereas the latter comprises errors which more probably can be ascribed to deficient knowledge of transcription rules (e.g. wrong symbol shapes, grammatical contractions, punctuation marks, capital letters) (see Table 7). This exercise turned out to be the most difficult for the students, as it can be observed that they committed various errors.

Table 8 presents an overview of the examples presented in Task 6, which aimed to establish whether the students are aware of differences in stress placement.

Table 8. Overview of the data collected from Task 6

examples of the sentences	number of errors (out of 15)
1. They <u>conflicted</u> the group with the teacher.	2
2. I read a book about a <u>conflict</u> between two neighbours.	0
3. I decided to <u>conduct</u> a lesson because my friend was ill.	0
4. I am happy that your <u>conduct</u> at school is better than before.	0
5. Ann <u>objected</u> to the terms of the argument.	0
6. Tom treated his wife like an <u>object</u> .	0

No particular problems with stress assignment in this exercise were observed.

Table 9 presents an overview of the data obtained in Task 7, which aimed to establish whether the students struggled with sound-to-spelling interference errors.

Table 9. Overview of the data collected from Task 7

words transcribed phonemically	correct words in orthography	number of errors (out of 15)	examples of errors
/breθ/	breath	1	breathe
/rau/	row	7	raw; rough
/fəʊk/	folk	6	fouk; fawk; fount; fouak;
/'kɑ:sl/	castle	0	fork
/pɑ:m/	palm	2	
/θʌm/	thumb	3	pam
/'medəʊ/	meadow	0	tham, them
/haɪnd/	hind	1	hummed

In general, there were only about 17 percent incorrectly written words, which in some cases implies the students' inability to convert phonemic script into spelling. Yet, some correlations with most common mispronunciations are still frequent. The words *row* and *folk* were the most problematic and comprised about 65 percent of all errors. It can also be noted that some of these errors stem from sound-to-spelling interference (e.g. /aʊ/—<au>; <aw>) and (e.g. /əʊ/—<ou>; <aw>).

Discussion

This empirical study revealed that the transcription errors reflected the most common pronunciation errors made by Poles as enumerated, for instance, by Sobkowiak (2008) and Śpiewak and Gołębiowska (2001). The collected data provided new empirical evidence on certain linkages between pronunciation and transcription errors. Thus, it appears to corroborate particular aspects of previous studies concerning correlations between transcription and pronunciation practice in the EFL environment (e.g. see Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2003, 2006), which aimed mainly to assert that simultaneous practice of both skills can positively strengthen the effectiveness of pronunciation instruction. Yet, the authors did not exemplify any particular error types present in broad transcriptions, which could have intensified their observation. The present empirical research remedied this limitation, as it visualised that the most common pronunciation errors made by Polish speakers reveal themselves in erroneous scripts of Polish EFL students. This observation lends further support to the hypothesis that practice of both pronunciation and transcription skills should be interwoven, as well as that both error types ought not to be treated as separable issues. Yet, this topic requires to be further tested empirically.

It can be observed that some words used in the study were more susceptible to errors, which at the same time were not random as certain patterns, such as inadequate vowel length distinction, can be observed (e.g. in words such as *live*,

rich, hit). It is evident that tasks which involved broad transcription either from written or spoken language (see Tasks 2, 3, 5 and 7) resulted in more errors. This allows us to establish a typology of recurrent transcription errors, with a view to illustrating a close correlation of transcription errors with most common mispronunciations by Polish EFL speakers. However, it cannot be ruled out that imperfect knowledge of the notation itself might have played a role.

The major categories in the study can be identified and exemplified as:

- **overgeneralizations of pronunciation rules** (e.g. transcription of <th> as [θ] in *Thomas, thyme*; <s> as [z] in *cease*; <ng> as [ŋ] in *finger*)
- **spelling pronunciation** (e.g. <eit> as [eit] in *graduate, separate* irrespectively of the word category; <ng> as [ŋ] in *finger*; <ey> as [ei] in *money*; also presence of silent letters in *subtle*—*/'sʌbtlə/; <w> in *answer*—*/'ɑ:nswə/)
- **devoicing of word final obstruents** (e.g. transcription of <vs> in *bookshelves* as [vs] or [fs])
- **confusion between short and long vowel sounds** (e.g. substitution of [ɑ:] for either [æ] or [ʌ] in *half, answer*; [u:] for [ʊ] in *prudent*)
- **distinction between vowels and diphthongs** (e.g. substitution of [eə] for [ɜ:] in *pear*; [ʊə] for [u:] in *during*; [ɜ:] for [ə^r], [ɪə] or [eə] in *yearn*)
- **lack of weak forms in transcription of function words** (e.g. *for, some, that, but*)

The above error classification comprises only some striking examples of transcription errors which, as the study revealed, match the common pronunciation errors among Polish EFL learners. Moreover, similar error categories can be found in earlier studies examining mispronunciations of Polish learners (e.g. see Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2003, Sutkowska-Woźniak 2005 in Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006; Zajac and Pęzik 2012 in

Zajac 2015). It is worth noting that some of the errors can also be labelled as manifestations of “Polglish” (the notion developed by Sobkowiak) e.g. word-final devoicing */'bʊkʃəlfz/ or spelling pronunciation */'sʌbtlə/.

As far as the sources of errors are concerned, the results showed that the participants struggled with both intralingual and interlingual interference (e.g. the latter is present in the above-mentioned final obstruent voicing of the word *cease*), which may be due to their high level of English. What is more, both interference from sound as well as spelling are reflected in erroneous scripts. Regarding the former, it can be noted that Task 7 (see Table 9), can be treated as the best example of “Polish mispronunciation habits” owing to the fact that the majority of errors committed in this task were induced by sound to spelling interference. In other words, as acknowledged by Sobkowiak (2008: 28), Polish learners tend to treat the English language as “predominantly written” (referring to spelling versions of words). We can observe that the students copied some symbols/sounds into words which should have been written orthographically (e.g. [au] in *row*—<au>; <aw>) and (e.g. [əʊ] in *folk*—<ou>; <aw>).

Interestingly, the students manifested difficulties which were due to spelling to sound interference (e.g. in *money*—*/'mʌneɪ/), even when they were asked to create a phonemic notation from hearing, which may suggest that they were not sure of what they actually heard and they tried to recall their memorized orthographic versions of words in order to transcribe them. Furthermore, such error types, usually defined as *spelling pronunciation*, are treated by Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015: 172) as negative outcomes of lack of transcription practice (when learners who cannot rely on their “auditory memory” usually refer to spelling versions of words).

As regards findings, which can be interpreted as ‘pure’ transcription errors (e.g. see Table 7), it has to be admitted that they were also present in the scripts (e.g. wrong symbol shapes, grammatical contractions, punctuation marks, capital letters). Yet, their presence was not so evident, i.e. they did not prevail

over those which resembled pronunciation errors. This implies that the students simply are not used to transcribing, and, consequently, they employed rules applicable only in orthography.

I believe that these data support the use of phonemic transcription as a teaching technique which can contribute to enhanced understanding of discrepancies between L1 and L2 sounds. However, more empirical studies should be conducted in this area to provide further validation of the findings. Moreover, such links between pronunciation and transcription errors support the view held by Szpyra-Kozłowska (2015: 172) that a broad transcription ought to be treated as effective visual reinforcement of a regular auditory pronunciation training, as it provides an explicit 'visual image' of most common pronunciation errors, thus it caters for learners with different learning modalities (who do not have to rely entirely on their auditory perception).

The results seem to indicate the absence of systematic pronunciation and transcription training at earlier stages of foreign language learning. As Ciszewski (2004 in Szpyra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006) notes in his study carried out among university students from two English Departments, about 15 percent of students met with phonemic notation at the university for the first time. Hence, it can be presumed that some transcription errors may be evaluated in terms of some learned "pronunciation patterns", which the students did not manage to overcome sufficiently. This leads to the conclusion that simplified transcription practice should not be marginalized or abandoned at primary and secondary levels of education.

Conclusion and further research

The present study investigated errors committed in phonemic notations and described their connection with the most common mispronunciations by Poles. The obtained results imply the existence of correlation between pronunciation and transcription skills. From this perspective, it can be assumed that

transcription errors, which vividly resemble faulty pronunciations, should be treated as indicators of deficient knowledge about pronunciation skills.

In order to emphasize the significance of transcription instruction and its positive impact on pronunciation practice, another experimental study should be performed so as to examine the scope of relatedness between pronunciation and transcription errors more thoroughly. Previous empirical research studies in this area (e.g. Lintunen 2005; Szypra-Kozłowska and Stasiak 2006) can be the source for a general procedure. Such an experimental study should be carried out among a particular group of university students and consist of the analysis of two kinds of empirical data 1) speech material data (errors collected from recordings) 2) phonemic transcription tests (errors gathered from scripts devised by students themselves). Moreover, it is important to conduct this research on participants who are aware of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and transcription rules in order to eliminate any errors which may stem from inadequate transcribing skills that were not practised sufficiently.

The participants would have to read a short passage as well as isolated words containing features that are difficult particularly for Polish learners. The procedure should be repeated with transcription tests that ought to be administered with a specific interval of time between the pronunciation and transcription tasks. This would prevent learners from remembering lexical items presented to them in the first place. Both data sets should be compared so as to determine the extent to which one influences the other, and to establish more detailed classification of areas of pronunciation difficulty that reveal themselves in pronunciation scripts.

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Abstract

Phonemic transcriptions are invariably treated as a means to record and present pronunciation errors, rather than to analyse their types and sources. To date, little attention has been given to the relation between pronunciation and transcription skills. Hence, to the best knowledge of the author, there is no empirical data yet available or accessible about errors committed exclusively in phonemic scripts of Polish EFL students and their comparison with typical faulty pronunciations. In this paper, the results of an empirical study which examined types and sources of deviations in broad transcriptions are reported. The data were collected by means of a phonemic test at the segmental level. It was expected that most mispronunciations result from errors on the level of competence that reveal themselves in both performance and transcription. The findings show that most common mispronunciations of Polish EFL speakers, which are described in the literature on the subject, are distinctly reflected in their erroneous scripts. Thus, it can be argued that currently both error types should not be considered as separable issues. Consequently, it is suggested that from now on simplified transcription and pronunciation practice should be interwoven with a view to fostering accurate pronunciation skills prior to post-secondary levels of education.

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LITERAL (MIS)TRANSLATIONS AS A FORM OF A LINGUISTIC JOKE— THE ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF POLITICAL MEMES

Keywords: political memes, literal translations, linguistic jokes, translation errors

It is common knowledge that social media enable various forms of interactive communication. Facebook, which is currently recognized as the most popular social networking service in the world (Rak 2014), serves as a tool for sharing, discussing and evaluating content generated by Internet users, such as texts, photographs and video films. The website has also become a perfect platform for publishing memes, i.e. highly spreadable, “viral” units of information, which are the object of the present study.

The aim of this paper is to analyse English literal (mis)translations of short Polish texts which were placed on photographs of Polish politicians. Those captioned pictures were published on the “Polish your English with Donald” Facebook profile (<https://www.facebook.com/PolishYourEnglishWithDonald/timeline>), thanks to which they became Internet memes. The creation of the account was inspired by the utterance of the former Polish Prime Minister, Donald Tusk, who, after being elected President of the European Council, promised at a press conference in Brussels to “polish [his] English” in three months. The number of similar Facebook profiles is still growing; they include, e.g. “Angielski z Tuskiem” (“English with Tusk”) and “Learn English with Donald Tusk.” Moreover, the phrase used by Donald Tusk, which includes elements of word-play (“polish” and “Polish”), has even inspired some people to write books related to learning English, such as *Polish your English. Angielski z premierem (Polish your English. English with the Prime Minister)*.

It is hypothesized that the captions analysed in the present paper can be treated as linguistic jokes drawing attention to the foreign language competence of Polish politicians since they comprise a significant number of translation errors made on purpose. It is worth noting at this point that the aforementioned type of a joke is defined as

a deliberate action using linguistic means, which aims at evoking a particular reaction in a receiver, drawing his or her attention to a given object or phenomenon. The reception of such a linguistic joke [...] depends on language competence of the receiver.¹ (Grabka <http://sjp.pwn.pl>)

What “means” have been used in order to obtain a humorous effect in the analysed texts will be explained later on.

Before one can discuss the content of a meme, its definition needs to be established. In general, this concept may be described as “a unit of cultural evolution corresponding to a gene which is a unit of biological evolution” (Kołowiecki 2012)². Moreover, it is a piece of information which can be transmitted from one mind to another (Kołowiecki 2012). When it comes to Internet memes, they may be defined as any units of information which are spread and reproduced via the Internet, e.g., links, audiovisual materials, pictures, websites, hashtags, phrases or even single words (Zaremba 2012: 61). However, it can be observed that they usually occur as combinations of short texts and pictures. It seems that the relation between a textual and visual layer is crucial as far as Internet memes are concerned:

One may always use the same chunk of text, apply it to other images and get a completely new idea or use the same image with different texting to bring up a wholly new meaning. This correlation makes Internet memes popular as one can use them in different situations and never lose the relation with the original one. (Rastić et al. 2014: 39)

As has been noted (Rastić 2014: 38), Internet memes are typically considered as jokes related to current events (political or show business ones in particular). This explains why they spread so quickly and why sometimes contextual knowledge is needed to fully understand the message of a given

meme. One can claim that such forms “often convey sarcastic and deep political words with a humorous note attached to it” (2014: 39). However, it needs to be emphasized that memes are not always entertaining as they may also highlight some serious issues (2014: 39).

Popiołek (2014: 59) points out that Internet memes may be “a good example of a new form of political communication”³ where one can present their opinions and beliefs in a concise way. Since memes often consist of images and textual content, they have a more considerable impact on receivers than text alone. Popiołek (2014: 59) notes that Internet memes do not make any significant contribution to political discussions or public affairs but they may “strongly engage emotions of [Internet] users as well as strengthen their opinions and attitudes connected with voting behaviour”⁴.

One can distinguish different types of Internet memes since they appear in various forms. Shifman (2014: 100–110) enumerates nine “genres” of such material:

- *reaction Photoshops/photo processing*—photographs edited, e.g. in Photoshop, commenting on news and events,
- *photo fads*—photos in which people pose in a special and often strange way,
- *flash mob*—a group of people gather in a public space and perform a surprising short act after which they leave quickly,
- *lipsynch*—videos in which people try to match their lip movements to popular songs,
- *misheard lyrics*—videos including funny “mistranslations of spoken sounds to written words”,
- *recut trailers*—film footage re-edited or remixed by Internet users,
- *LOLcats*—pictures of cats with misspelled titles usually referring to the situation presented in a given photograph,

- *stock character macros*—also referred to as “advice-animals” macros which present animals with absurd advice phrases,
- *rage comics*—web comics with characters associated with typical behaviour or emotions, usually created in simple drawing programs.

All the memes discussed in the present paper belong to the “photo processing” group since they are authentic photographs presenting Polish politicians with some short texts added.

The analysed captions are English texts translated from Polish. When rendering a piece of writing in a foreign language, one can choose between two major approaches to translation presented by Nida (Shakernia 2014: 2):

- *formal equivalence*, which involves “remain[ing] as close to the original text as possible” in terms of the form, understood as word-for-word or literal translation and
- *dynamic equivalence*, which refers to presenting the meaning of a source text in a natural way; it occurs when translating thought for thought is “more important than preserving the original wording.”

As has been noted, the authors of the discussed captions focused on retaining the exact source-language form to such an extent that the original meaning was in most cases completely lost. Therefore, the target-language texts cannot be identified as typical word-for-word translations (which still aim at preserving the sense).

Since the translations are extremely literal (which was a deliberate action of their authors), they include various incorrect forms and may be identified as linguistic jokes. The present paper aims at analysing the most numerous errors found in the research material, i.e. calques, also referred to as *loan translations*. Polański (1999) defines them as words or phrases which consist of native-

language elements but were created in accordance with foreign-language patterns. Calques can be divided into (Obara 1989: 60–74, Popiołek 2013: 46–47):

1. *lexical calques*, which can be further classified into:
 - *structural calques*, rendering forms (including roots, prefixes and suffixes) and meanings of foreign structures in a precise or imprecise way,
 - *semantic calques*, occurring when words acquire new meanings,
2. *phraseological calques* – “collocations, idioms, proverbs that are copies of foreign patterns” (Popiołek 2013: 47)⁶,
3. *grammatical calques*, occurring, e.g., when word order changes or a given word acquires a new syntactic function due to foreign influence or when syntactic structures are copied from a different language.

As mentioned previously, the research material consists of 100 short captions (460 words in total) which are English mistranslations of Polish texts. They were placed on photographs presenting Polish politicians and as a whole published on the “Polish your English with Donald” Facebook profile (<https://www.facebook.com/PolishYourEnglishWithDonald/?fref=ts>), which has 18 112 followers (as of 22 December 2015) and encourages Facebook users to “learn English with [the former] Polish Prime Minister.”

It needs to be pointed out that there are no official source texts of the discussed translations. However, one may observe that the latter are based on:

- Polish sayings and proverbs—48 captions (48% of all the analysed texts), e.g., “Walls have ears”, “No from pear no from parsley”, “Take legs behind the belt”, “To bake two roasts on one fire”,
- sentences used in daily conversations (some of them are very colloquial) —39 captions (39%), e.g., “Give calm, oil it!”, “Already teddy

- bears not want”, “I don’t towers”, “But what is problem?”, “What me it walks around?”,
- fragments of song lyrics—3 captions (3%), e.g., “Sing everyone maybe, a little bit better or little bit worse”; “Do feel lady cha cha, do cha cha lady know? I will lady explain, what means to cha cha cha...”;
 - other texts—10 captions (10%), e.g., “Sorry such we have climate” (created on the basis of the utterance of a Polish politician, Elżbieta Bieńkowska: “Sorry many taki klimat”⁷, which became very popular among Internet users).

The first group of the texts consists mostly of figurative structures which, generally, should not be translated literally. When creating those captions, a humorous effect was easy to obtain and this may be the reason why such translations are so numerous. Moreover, it may be hypothesized that the texts modelled on song lyrics were not very frequent since they required more space, which is not typical of memes that are usually expected to transmit a short and “catchy” message.

In general, it can be observed that some of the analysed mistranslations are based on similar models, e.g., “Kidnapping yourself with hoe on the sun” and “I hijacked myself with hoe on sun”, “Hands to mountain” and “Raise hands to mountains”, “Something is no yes” and “There is something no yes with that.”

The following table identifies Polish texts on which the discussed captions are modelled. It demonstrates examples of the analysed mistranslations, the decoded source-language texts and examples of correct translations.

Table 1. The examples of mistranslations with their decoded source-language texts and correct versions of the translations

Mistranslations	Decoded source-language texts	Examples of correct translations⁸
Room on the world	Pokój na świecie	World peace
But about what walks?	Ale o co chodzi?	But what’s the matter?

		(www.diki.pl)
I feel train to you	Czuję do ciebie pociąg	I'm attracted to you (www.diki.pl)
Something here no game	Coś tu nie gra	Something is wrong here/There is something wrong
I not on see Mondays	Nienawidzę poniedziałków	I hate Mondays
On health!	Na zdrowie!	Cheers! ⁹
Under roses educate	Podróże kształcą	Travels educate
I hijacked myself with hoe in sun	Porwałem się z motyką na słońce	I ran before I could walk (www.diki.pl)

It can be observed that authors of the analysed captions translated Polish texts word for word but in some cases, even separate elements of the words were rendered in English, e.g., “not on see” or “under roses” provided in the table. Interestingly enough, the research material includes one translation of a proper noun which is the surname of a Polish politician. The form “Giertych” was divided into two words that exist in the Polish language: “gier” (the nominative —“gry”) and “tych” (the nominative—“te”). They were translated separately creating “Gamesthese”, which is demonstrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. The example of a proper name translation



It has been noted that the discussed captions include not only single sentences or words (e.g., “Health!”) but also short dialogues between Polish politicians (4 in total). An example of such a conversation is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2. An example of a translated dialogue



The rest of the dialogues read as follows:

- (1) – What if we'll overplay this choices?
– Don't scare a frog, Bronek.
- (2) – Thank you from the mountain.
– Hasn't for what.
- (3) – Thank you.
– Please very.

As may be observed, all of the analysed conversations consist of two utterances, one for each politician. Interestingly enough, in the examples 2 and 3, Polish “dziękuję” was translated correctly as “thank you” in contrast to the responses:

“Hasn’t for what.” (the Polish model—“Nie ma za co.”) and “Please very.” (the Polish model—“Proszę bardzo.”), both of which could be translated as “You’re welcome..”

Calques found in the research material (104 in total) can be classified into three groups:

- *structural calques* (30 occurrences—28.8% of all the calques), e.g. “overplay” (the Polish model—“prze|grać”), “behindpiles” (the model—“za|kupy”), “under-towel” (the model “pod|ręcznik”), “underlove” (the model—“pod|kochiwać”)¹⁰,
- *phraseological calques* (60 occurrences—57.7%), e.g., “Lie has short legs”, “What has gingerbread to windmill?”, “Make somebody into a horse”, “What cottage rich the council”,
- *grammatical calques* (14 occurrences —13.5%), e.g., “But what is problem?”, “Do feel lady cha cha [...]”, “Which is hour?”, “Nothing no stood. [...]”, “Exit from I!!!”, “What me it walks around?.”

One can notice that more than a half of the calques found in the analysed captions belong to the phraseological category, which is obviously related to the fact that, as has been mentioned above, most of the translations are based on Polish sayings, proverbs etc. Among this group, there are also captions modelled on Polish idioms and collocations, e.g., “slow choices”, “to break the first icecreams.” When it comes to the structural calques, it may be observed that most of them render the model constructions in a precise way since the Polish texts were translated morpheme by morpheme. For example, the word “underlove” reflects the root and the prefix of the Polish word “podkochiwać.” It may be noticed that the authors of the translations frequently used words including the element “pod” as models, e.g., “podręcznik”, “podróżę” (however, in the last two cases, “pod” is no longer a prefix).

As far as the grammatical calques found in the material are concerned, they are based on Polish syntactic structures and they illustrate Polish word order.

This group of errors involves, e.g., “Exit from I!!!”, which is modelled on Polish “wyjdę z siebie.” It needs to be pointed out that in Polish, subjects can be omitted, which normally does not occur in English. Moreover, it can be noted that in the aforementioned example, the subjective pronoun “I” has been used instead of the objective pronoun “me” in order to strengthen a humorous effect. One can observe that there is a considerable number of sentences where not only subjects but also articles were omitted as they do not exist in Polish (e.g., “But what is problem?”). When it comes to changes in the normative English word order, they can be observed, for example, in “Which is hour?” and “Do feel lady [...]”, where the nouns “hour” and “lady” should not be placed at the end. Since the captions analysed in the present paper are word-for-word translations and the consistency at the sentence level has not been obtained deliberately, there are cases where English parts of speech differ from their Polish “equivalents”, creating errors. For example, in the Polish model “Zwierzę ci się” (“I will confide to you”), the verb “zwierzę” was treated as a noun having the same spelling and then it was translated as “animal”, which is also a noun (the whole caption - “I will *animal* to you”). Moreover, in the case of “What cottage rich the council”, based on “Czym chata bogata, tym rada”, the feminine form of an adjective - “rada” (English “content”) was determined as a noun having the same spelling in Polish and then translated into the noun “council” in English.

The relations between words can be demonstrated, e.g., by means of different cases. This can be noted, for example, in Polish “Ręka rękę myje” (“You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours”). Since grammatical functions in English are indicated mainly by word order, preserving original positions of the elements in the English translation “Hand hand wash” allows to treat it as an error.

In conclusion, the analysed literal translations can be identified as linguistic jokes since a considerable number of errors have been included deliberately in the texts in order to obtain a humorous effect. It may be claimed that the

authors of the captions consciously broke translation principles as well as syntactic, semantic and stylistic rules of the English language when creating them. As has been observed, the discussed mistranslations abound in calques, which seem to be the best material for easily made linguistic jokes. The errors range from one-word to multiword constructions. The former ones belong to the group of structural calques, most of which are based on Polish models translated morpheme by morpheme. Interestingly enough, the authors of the captions frequently created their own lexical items, such as “underlove” or “underroses.” It is worth mentioning at this point that there were cases where a proper noun, namely, the surname of a politician and a famous utterance of another politics-related person were translated into English. It has also been noted that the discussed texts are based on a significant number of figurative structures whose meanings were not preserved since the authors focused on extremely literal translation. When it comes to grammar, the translators often omitted in the English captions elements not occurring in the Polish language, such as articles. In some cases, they changed the original parts of speech (e.g., “I don’t *towers*”).

It can be claimed that calques may result, among others, from insufficient knowledge of the target language (Tyblewska 2016: 46). When including such forms, the authors of the discussed captions aimed, first of all, at making their readers laugh but they also draw attention to the importance of linguistic competence since the creation of the “Polish your English with Donald” Facebook profile was inspired by a politician who wanted to improve his foreign language skills in order to fulfil his new duties in a diligent manner.

Endnotes

1. All the translations of the quotations by the author of the present paper [DT]. The original: “świadome działanie wykorzystujące środki lingwistyczne, mające na celu wywołanie reakcji u odbiorcy, skierowanie jego uwagi na dany przedmiot czy zjawisko. To, jak taki dowcip językowy zostanie przyjęty [...] zależy od kompetencji językowej odbiorcy.”
2. The original: “jednostką ewolucji kulturowej analogiczną do genu, który jest jednostką ewolucji biologicznej.”

3. The original: “dobrym przykładem nowej formy komunikacji politycznej.”
4. The original: “silnie angażować emocje użytkowników, a także utrzymywać ich opinie i postawy związane z zachowaniami wyborczymi.”
5. The original: “wyrazów o podobnej formie, ale różnych znaczeniach.”
6. The original: “związki wyrazowe, idiomy, przysłowia będące kopiami obcych wzorów.”
7. In such a way, Elżbieta Bieńkowska commented on many hours’ train delays in Poland which resulted from the icing on the overhead contact line.
8. The translations are either adopted from the Diki website or made by the author of the present paper.
9. The correct translation could not be “Bless you!” since the politicians visible in the picture are not sneezing but raising their glasses in a toast.
10. The author puts vertical lines within Polish model words in order to present the way of translation.

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Abstract

Memes are information units that shape Internet culture to a great extent nowadays. As one can observe, social media have become a perfect platform for spreading them. The aim of this article is to analyse English literal (mis)translations of short Polish texts (proverbs, sayings, fragments of song lyrics etc.), which were placed on photographs of Polish politicians. The captioned pictures were published on the "Polish your English with Donald" Facebook profile thanks to which they became Internet memes. The research material consists of 100 such mistranslations, which are linguistic jokes at the same time. The author of this paper attempts to identify source-language models of those texts deliberately abounding in various kinds of errors. The article focuses on the analysis of loan translations since these erroneous forms occurred most frequently in the discussed material. The errors include structural, phraseological and grammatical calques, which range from one-word to multiword constructions. When it comes to the structural loan translations, many of them were based on the Polish models translated morpheme by morpheme. As a result, it often led to the creation of new lexical items. Moreover, it has been observed that the authors of the mistranslations modified English word order according to Polish rules and frequently removed different parts of speech from the texts. In conclusion, the analysed mistranslations may be treated as linguistic jokes since they break semantic, syntactic and stylistic rules of the English language on purpose in order to obtain a humorous effect.

BOOK REVIEWS

Andrzej Beszczyński
Nicolaus Copernicus University

CANADIAN NOVEL AND THE GREAT WAR

Author: Anna Branach-Kallas

Title: *Uraz przetrwania. Trauma i polemika z mitem pierwszej wojny światowej w powieści kanadyjskiej [The Trauma of Survival: The (De)Construction of the Myth of the Great War in the Canadian Novel]*

Publisher: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu [Nicolas Copernicus University Press], Toruń 2014.

Pages: 268

Keywords: trauma, The Great War, war novel, Canada, Anna Branach-Kallas

In her 268 page-long monograph published in 2014, Anna Branach-Kallas provides her readers with a detailed study of a selection of war novels written by Canadian writers. The Author's objective, which is revealed in the introduction to her book, is to conduct "an analysis of the theme of trauma in the selected Canadian war novels" (9) and to "make the reader notice the polemical elements regarding the myth of the Great War in Canadian literature of the last century" (9).

The book comprises of eight sections. The first chapter contains a description of the historical background as well as the explanation of crucial theoretical concepts that are necessary in order to achieve a complete understanding of the further parts of the monograph. Starting from the second section of the book, its Author analyses either a single novel, or a number of novels that are closely interrelated with respect to their subject matter. The structure of the book is very logical, as Branach-Kallas examines the novels that she selected in a chronological order stating what is crucial about them.

The first chapter of the monograph helps the reader to immerse in the subject. The Author skillfully describes the situation in Canada at the outbreak of the Great War, stressing that the conflict was crucial for shaping the sense of

national identity in Canadians. The Author mentions that the war evoked a wave of enthusiasm in the society, as its members perceived it to be a perfect opportunity to prove their value. Providing a brief description of the Great War from a Canadian point of view, Branach-Kallas uses statistical data that make the reader realise the importance of the conflict to Canadians as well as its socio-economic effects. The Author comments on the official war propaganda and its role in boosting the recruitment through establishing the myth of war that was based on traditional values such as heroism, masculinity and the sense of moral duty. Sketching the historical background guarantees that the monograph is approachable for the readers who are new to the subject.

In the second chapter of the monograph, Branach-Kallas looks at two early war novels: *The Sky Pilot in No Man's Land* by Ralph Conor and *Rilla of Ingleside* by Lucy Maud Montgomery, which illustrate how the myth of the Great War was shaped in the collective consciousness of Canadians. Analysing the novels, Branach-Kallas points to the idealised image of the Great War. The conflict is depicted as a struggle in the defense of civilisation, which makes it absolutely justifiable. Men voluntarily go to the war and those who cannot do this due to their bad health are haunted by the sense of guilt and sadness, as they are deprived of the only possibility to prove their manhood and cannot participate in the event that they perceive to be a great adventure. The Author notices that in both novels she analyses any expression of pacifism is strongly condemned. Branach-Kallas discusses the role of women in the conflict, who are obliged to support their sons and husbands and encourage them to participate in it. The sacrifice that the women need to make results in a "family trauma" (75), as they are missing their beloved men. The Author stresses the dichotomy between Canadians and the enemy proved to be an effective propaganda tool.

The third chapter of the monograph functions in opposition to the previous one. The Author looks at *Generals Die in Bed* by Charles Yale Harrison as an example of questioning the myth of the Great War. The Author stresses the simplicity and realistic style of the book and its lack of "unnecessary

sentimentalism" (83), perceiving it as a reflection of "the traumatic events described, mentioning, at the same time the problem of the inexpressible" (84). Branach-Kallas illustrates that the war in Harrison's novel is full of atrocities, ruthlessness and struggling for survival, which, however, does not result from one's manhood, but from a coincidence. The Author makes her reader notice that Harrison's novel demystifies war, showing that the ideals of self-sacrifice, comradeship, courage, equality and unity vanish when faced with innate atavism. Branach-Kallas points out that some characters of *Generals Die in Bed* identify themselves with the suffering of German soldiers, which undermines the binary opposition between "we" and "they" that was present in the early war novels. She states that compassion for the enemy may be perceived as an expression of "treason trauma" (100), stemming from the fact that ordinary soldiers feel cheated by their generals.

Having signaled the issue in the previous section of her monograph, Branach-Kallas moves on to analyse the problem of masculinity crisis in Philip Child's novel *God's Sparrows*. Daniel, the protagonist of the book, cannot participate in the war because he needs to take care of his sister. The situation makes him depressed as he cannot prove his manhood. The protagonist's condition worsens when women start to accuse him of cowardice. Branach-Kallas sees it as a proof of the fact that "the women's perception [of a man] significantly weakens or strengthens [his] feeling of masculinity" (112). The fact that Daniel eventually goes to war does not solve his problem, as, while being at the front, he suffers from shell shock and feels deeply ashamed having to admit it. Doubting his masculinity results in a psychological trauma. Analysing the novel, Branach-Kallas points out that the Great War questioned the traditional idea of what it means to be a man as anyone, irrespectively of gender, is helpless when confronted with the tragic events that happen at the front line.

The next section of the monograph is devoted to the analysis of Timothy Findley's *The Wars* published in the 1970s. The protagonist of the book, Robert

Ross, is an upper-class young man who decides to go to war. Branach-Kallas points out that the main feature of the novel is its self-reflexiveness. Interestingly, its narrator via the use of materials, such as "documents, pictures, letters, interviews and press releases" (130), aims at "[recreating] what happened to Robert Ross on the fronts of The Great War" (130). Therefore, the novel can be classified as an example of "historiographic metafiction" (130). Looking at Findley's work, Branach-Kallas points to the fact that our knowledge about the past has a strictly textual character. The fragmentation of *The Wars* may be read as "the collision between events and the language available [...] to describe them" (Fussell 169). The novel ends with Findley's protagonist's rebellion against the atrocities and pointlessness of the war and his desertion, which may be read as an expression of disillusionment. Interestingly, Ross has great compassion for animals that are brutally exploited by humans, which can be analysed from an ecocritical perspective.

In the sixth chapter of the book, the Author presents the depiction of the Great War from the Natives' point of view. Analysing *The Three Day Road* by Joseph Boyden, Branach-Kallas draws an interesting parallel between Canadians and Indians claiming that both groups perceived the Great War as an opportunity to prove their value. The Author of the monograph points to the fact that the structure of Boyden's novel is not linear, which reflects the destructive effects of trauma. Xavier and Elijah, the protagonists of the book, voluntarily go to the war. The participation in the conflict has tragic results, as it destroys their personalities. Moreover, Elijah dies and Xavier becomes seriously wounded. Interestingly, analysing Boyden's novel, Branach-Kallas presents the tension between two different cultures, which is particularly visible in the behaviour of Xavier, who does not speak English well and is shocked when faced with the Western culture.

In the penultimate chapter of her publication, Branach-Kallas looks at *Deafening* by Frances Itani, *The Underpainter* by Jane Urquhart and *Broken Ground* by Jack Hodgins. Analysing the first novel, Branach-Kallas draws

a parallel between the trauma of Grani, who is deaf and the trauma of her husband, Jim, who needs to face the atrocities of the war while serving in Canadian Army Medical Corps. Having come back, the man is unable to reintegrate with the society, which corresponds with the problems of his wife, who cannot achieve complete social immersion due to her handicap. Moving on to *The Underpainter*, Branach-Kallas points to the relation between war and art. The narrator of the novel aims at expressing the war trauma of his two friends, George and Jane, by painting pictures. The situation illustrates the deficiencies of language in describing traumatic events. Finally, in *Broken Ground*, Branach-Kallas looks at the problems of war veterans. Having come back to Canada, they feel cheated and neglected by the authorities. They are offered barren plots of lands and live in closed communities, which makes them unable to cope with their trauma and deepens the feelings of sadness and apathy in them.

In the final part of her monograph, the Author looks at *The Stone Carvers* by Jane Urquhart to illustrate the problem of melancholy, cultural trauma and mourning. Branach-Kallas shows how important the erection of the monument that commemorates the victims of the Great War is for the characters. The memorial site helps the relatives of the soldiers who died in the conflict cope with the trauma resulting from the loss of their family members. Interestingly, while looking at the problem of the veterans, Branach Kallas points to the lack of understanding and interest in what they had gone through, as nobody wants to listen to their testimonies.

The monograph by Anna-Branach Kallas is undoubtedly a valuable study, especially since Canadian war novels seem to be neglected by contemporary academics and readers. The strengths of the publication lie not only in the detailed presentation of the theme of trauma that it contains but also in the fact that Branach-Kallas looks at the problem from a variety of angles and signals other themes, which makes the monograph equally useful for scholars who are interested in feminism, masculinity studies or even ecocriticism. The book can be recommended to anyone curious about the Great War. The fact

that its Author was granted *Pierre Savard Award* for her monograph is a proof of the book's high quality and makes any further recommendation unnecessary.

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THE GAP FILLED: ON LANGUAGE EVOLUTION IN POLISH

Authors: Przemysław Żywiczyński and Sławomir Wacewicz

Title: *Ewolucja języka. W stronę hipotez gesturalnych* [*The Evolution of Language. Towards the Gestural Hypotheses*]

Publisher: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika: Toruń 2015

Pages: 343

Keywords: language evolution, gestural hypotheses, language faculty

Language constitutes one of the most important human abilities (Darwin 1871). Questions concerning its origins and uniqueness to people have been investigated by scholars representing numerous disciplines of science for centuries. Żywiczyński and Wacewicz's book is an attempt at systematising research devoted to the field and introducing a complex account on the "gesture-first" hypotheses. The hypotheses in question, also known as the gestural hypotheses, seek the origin of language in communication systems based on broadly-understood gestures perceived visually (the view is supported by such researchers as Hewes 1973, Corballis 2002, Arbib 2005), as opposed to vocal hypotheses (e.g. Dunbar 1996). Most importantly, however, Żywiczyński and Wacewicz's work constitutes the first handbook of language evolution published in Polish, as traditionally, the official language of the field was English. Consequently, the book provides Polish names for terms popularly used in language evolution studies, constituting one of the first attempts at translating them and being a great reference source for Polish researchers interested in the subject.

The book is organised into six complex chapters, differing significantly from the so-far known works of the kind, both when it comes to their content and structure. The authors provide an in-depth analysis of traditional approaches to

language origins, including religious accounts, with special attention paid to the Jewish tradition, which definitely constitutes a novel contribution. They also describe first scientific attempts at defining the origins of language, provided by philosophers, linguists, historians, archaeologists and naturalists. Despite the fact that language evolution was within the scope of interests of scholars representing various fields of science, their reluctance to undertake interdisciplinary research did not allow the study to evolve in the expected manner. 19th-century conclusions related to language evolution were often accepted *implicite*, without a proper research program to confirm them. In consequence, the interest in language origins subsided, to flourish again in the middle of the 20th century. The authors provide an extensive account on theoretical and experimental studies which influenced the current state of knowledge on language origins, from Hockett's *design features of language* to empirical interdisciplinary research involving paleoanthropology, genetics, or computer engineering. The book is richly illustrated; numerous boxes contain additional information on and quotations related to the described aspects, making the content easy to follow for readers starting their adventure with language evolution and informative for those more advanced.

The authors emphasise the importance of interdisciplinary approach to the study of language origins, presenting it as a major driving force in current research on the subject. Therefore, the fact that the book constitutes the first monograph on the subject written in Polish seems particularly important, as it may activate representatives of linguistic and non-linguistic fields to undertake evolution-oriented studies of language. Interestingly, Polish linguists do not show much interest in language origins, especially when it comes to empirical research. The Center for Language Evolution Studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń established by the book's authors seems to be the most dynamically working institution of the kind in Poland, conducting pioneer research programmes in collaboration with scholars of various backgrounds devoted to the study of language origins. Their findings presented in the final

chapter of the book prove that despite being a difficult field to be studied empirically, language evolution requires constant attention, as efforts that have been made so far bear fruit and contribute to finding solution to the eternal secret of language and the way it evolved in humans. On the other hand, language evolution gained much publicity in Britain due to a popular BBC Horizon series entitled "Why do we talk?" realised between 2009 and 2010. As it featured an iterated learning experiment organised by the Language Evolution and Computation Unit at the University of Edinburgh, the media hype around the subject of language origins reached a so-far unprecedented scale. It can only be hoped that one day evolutionary research on language will also be appreciated on a larger scale in Poland and the book by Żywicznyński and Wacewicz constitutes the first step on the path to reaching that goal.

As the first monograph devoted entirely to language evolution written in Polish, Żywicznyński and Wacewicz's work fulfils its purpose, providing readers both with historical background of the field and with the most recent interdisciplinary findings related to language origins. Following the authors, in today's world research possibilities are almost endless in comparison to methods known in the 19th century; still, they decided to focus on one particular key aspect of language evolution, namely, the question of the emergence of honest and cooperative nature of linguistic communication. The book contains the summary of research done so far and introduces preliminary interdisciplinary experiments and analyses. The authors constantly emphasise the importance of interdisciplinary empirical studies on language origins as the rapid progress of the field within the last twenty years was possible only thanks to such an approach.

Although the question of language uniqueness remains open, there is no doubt about the uniqueness of the monograph on the Polish book market. This great reference source gives guidance to anyone interested in language and evolutionary studies in general, and should become a starting point for all

scholars working within the field of broadly understood humanities, as without language, mentally, humans would probably be in a completely different place.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

SHAKESPEARE APPLIED

Organised by: The Spinning Globe Students' Theatre and the Department of English, Nicolaus Copernicus University

Conducted in: Polish and English

Took place on: 27 November 2016

Took place in: Toruń

Report by: Marta Sibierska

Shakespeare Applied conference was a way of celebrating the 10th birthday of The Spinning Globe, a students' theatre, based in the Department of English of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, specialising in Shakespeare. The idea for the conference came from the theatre's everyday experience—that is putting Shakespeare into practice. The aim was to discuss the Bard in contemporary, practical contexts, including his presence in popular and mass culture, New Media, as well as current approaches to reading, re-reading, adapting and teaching Shakespeare. This practical aspect of teaching Shakespeare to students was explored by Jarosław Hetman in a special presentation—a quick guide to the theatre's history (*Ten Years of Spinning the Globe*). Other speakers, from all over the country, discussed some of the recent adaptations of Shakespeare (Sylvia Papier's *Króla, ojca nie ma w domu... omówienie spektaklu Król Lear w reżyserii Michele Placido i Francesco Manetti*), the re-readings of his works in contemporary contexts (Weronika Łucyk's *Przemoc przekładu—wokół postaci Shylocka w Kupcu weneckim Williama Szekspira*; Magdalena Maksymowicz i Przemysław Szajca's "Love by Another Eye." *William Shakespeare as a Theorist of the Fundamental Cultural Mechanisms*), as well as his presence in children entertainment (Michał Pruszek's *Hamlet w piaskownicy. Filmowo-literacki Szekspir dla dzieci*), on television (Joanna Antoniak's "Shameless Shakespeare"—*The Portrayal of Shakespeare and His Influence on British Culture in Horrible Histories*), in computer games (Aleksandra Borowska's *Shakespeare in Computer Games—*

Intertextuality, Allusions), or in street art (Marta Sibierska's *Shakespeare in the Street. Shakespearean Representations in Street Art Forms*). They also pointed to Shakespeare-inspired themes in contemporary literature (Tomasz Kowalski's *Literackie Brzuchomóstwo. Fikcjonalne Autobiografie Williama Szekspira*). A separate section of the conference covered the interest that Asian cultures take in the Bard and his output. Three papers discussed Asian adaptation of Shakespeare—in China (Andrzej Beszczyński's analysis of *Legend of the Black Scorpion* [2006] by Feng Xiaogang) and in Japan (Jacek Stopa's *Big in Japan – Shakespeare Adaptations in the Land of the Rising Sun* and Olivier Harenda's comparative analysis *King Lear vs. Lord Ichimonji—Deconstructing Akira Kurosawa's Ran* [1985]). A post-conference volume with a selection of the papers is in preparation.

EASTER RISING: WRITING, STAGING, AND EDITING

Organised by: The Department of English, Nicolaus Copernicus University

Conducted in: English

Took place on: 25–26 April 2016

Took place in: Toruń

Report by: Marta Sibierska

This international conference was a part of the *Culture & Space* series, organised by the Department of English of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Since 2005, the aim of the series has been to bring together experienced scholars, young researchers and students interested in the intersections of literature and culture studies. This year, the main theme for the conference was the Easter Rising and its centenary. The speakers focused on the cultural memory context of the event (Ioana Zirra's *Easter 1916 and "the Vicissitudes of Irish Republicanism"*, Christopher Korten's *Centennials and Irish Nationalism: Remembering the Easter Rising*); they also discussed the event as depicted in literature (Peter Fould's *James Joyce's Ambivalence towards Irish Nationalism*, Joanna Jarzab's *No Country for Old Men? —The Question of George Moore's Place in Early Twentieth-Century Irish Literature*, Mirosława Buchholtz's *Henry James's Forgotten Kingdom*, Emilia Leszczyńska's *The Easter Rising in Fiction: The Red and the Green by Irish Murdoch*, another reading of the piece, *A Critical Analysis of The Red and the Green by Iris Murdoch*, by Andrzej Beszczyński, and Olivier Harenda's *In the Name of the Father: Gerry Conlon and the Continuity of the Easter Rising*). An interesting insight into the representation of the Rising in culture was brought by Sława Krasińska's discussion of Irish music (*"The Pogues Would Never Have Existed If I Wasn't Irish. Ireland Means Everything to Me."* *Shane MacGowan's Vision of Irishness*) and Grzegorz Konecniak's *Easter Rising Commemoration Studies: An Editorial Perspective*. The conference was accompanied by a staging of *The Grafton Street Barricade*,

an Irish-themed play, written and directed by Jarosław Hetman, and adapted by the Department's students' theatre, The Spinning Globe, and a students' competition for the best Easter Rising-related poster entitled *What Do You Know of the Easter Rising?*, the results of which were presented as a conference closing.

OF OTHER WORLDS—KONFERENCJA MŁODYCH BADACZY FANTASTYKI (YOUNG RESEARCHERS' CONFERENCE ON FANTASY WRITING)

Organised by: The Department of English (Faculty of Languages) and the Faculty of History

Conducted in: Polish and English

Took place on: May 6, 2016

Took place in: Toruń

Report by: Emilia Leszczyńska

The conference, which took place at the Nicolaus Copernicus University on May 6, 2016, was named after C.S. Lewis' anthology of essays and fiction, published in 1966. Young researchers from various Polish universities gathered in Toruń to exchange views on topics associated with fantasy writing.

The discussions were divided into three panels. The first one, *Diuna, Amber, Oz (Dune, Amber, Oz)*, was dedicated to the relationship of and interdependency between the plot and the world depicted in a story. There were three speakers in the first panel: Przemysław A. Lewicki (UAM): *O przemijaniu światów...? Eddisona, Tolkiena i Howarda rozważania o prawach dziejowych*, mgr Mateusz Maleszka (UMK): *Rasy Hyperborei—wpływ poglądów na rasowy podział społeczeństwa w twórczość R. E. Howarda* and Jędrzej Tazbir (UŁ): *Conan Barbarzyńca jako krytyk cywilizacji w prozie Roberta E. Howarda*.

The second panel, called *Świat Dysku, Śródziemie, Ziemiomorze (Discworld, Middle-earth, Earthsea)* included presentations focused on the ways in which artistic works belonging to the fantasy genre could be read as commentaries and criticisms of the times, societies and political systems in which their authors lived. The three presentations were: Marek Placiński (UMK): *The relation between the language and the universe in Dukaj's "Lód,"* mgr Adrianna Fiłonowicz (UAM): *Adaptacja Krainy Czarów w serialu telewizyjnym "Once Upon a Time in Wonderland,"* mgr Anna Marynowska (UMK): *Miasta jako elementy settingu sagi "Pieśń Lodu i Ognia" G.R.R. Martina*.

During the last panel, *Cymeria, Atlantyda, Averoigne* (*Cimmeria, Atlantis, Averoigne*), the participants had a chance to listen to presentations about how writers have been blending historical and cultural facts into their fictional works. Two speakers presented their papers: Diana Fazel (UMK): *Not a Man In Sight: All-Female Societies as an Alternative to the Patriarchal World*, Piotr Paszelke (UMK): *Nawiązania kulturowe "Świata dysku" jako sposób na ukazanie dorobku kulturowego ludzkości w krzywym zwierciadle satyry*.

Not all of the participants were focused on fantasy writing in their academic careers—some were researching disciplines very distant from fantasy and literature in general. All of them, however, were absolute specialists who acquired astounding knowledge in the process of developing the hobby that they all shared. Unstoppable discussions lasted for forty minutes and all breaks were also spent on disputes and heated debates. The conference was an undeniable success.

ABSTRAKTY

Izabela Batyra

Learner Autonomy Outside the Higher Primary EFL Classroom in Rural Poland: The Study Based on Polish Higher Primary EFL Learners

W ostatnich latach, wymogi ministerialne dotyczące kształcenia ogólnego wymagają od nauczycieli, a w szczególności nauczycieli języków obcych, stworzenia takich warunków pracy w klasie oraz poza szkołą, w których to uczeń ma okazję do zdobywania umiejętności planowania, organizowania, oceniania swojej pracy, a także wzięcia odpowiedzialności za proces uczenia się. Tym zjawiskiem jest pojęcie *autonomii ucznia*, która jest kluczem do osiągnięcia sukcesu w uczeniu się języków obcych.

Niniejszy artykuł poparty jest badaniami, które zostały przeprowadzone w roku szkolnym 2013/2014 i dotyczyły wielu form autonomicznego zachowania w klasie języka obcego oraz poza nią. Badania zostały przeprowadzone na czterech nauczycielach języka angielskiego oraz stu piętnastu uczniach w wieku jedenastu, dwunastu i trzynastu lat uczących się języka angielskiego jako języka obcego w dwóch środowiskach szkolnych na terenie wiejskim. Przez okres dziewięciu miesięcy (wrzesień–maj) praca uczniów oraz ich nauczycieli była intensywnie monitorowana podczas zajęć języka angielskiego, a celem obserwacji było wyizolowanie wszelakich form autonomicznego zachowania w klasie. Przez kolejne tygodnie (czerwiec–sierpień) ankietowani wzięli udział w licznych wywiadach opartych na otwartych pytaniach z kwestionariusza, które w dużej mierze pozwoliły na zbadanie zachowań autonomicznych poza klasą.

Kwestionariusz przeznaczony dla uczniów składa się z dwudziestu jeden otwartych pytań dotyczących strategii uczenia się, umiejętności organizacyjnych, motywacji, stosunku uczniów do uczenia się języka obcego, ich zainteresowań, świadomości językowej oraz mocnych i słabych stron uczenia się języka obcego, preferencji uczenia się, modalności, a także materiałów dydaktycznych itp. Kwestionariusz poświęcony nauczycielom składa się z trzech części. Każda z nich bada wiedzę i doświadczenie w nauczaniu autonomicznym.

Celem niniejszej pracy jest zaprezentowanie wyników badań dotyczących autonomicznego zachowania 115 polskich uczniów uczących się języka angielskiego w klasach piątych oraz szóstych w dwóch szkołach podstawowych na terenie wiejskim, a szczególnie ich zachowań autonomicznych w kontekście pozaszkolnym. Z uwagi na to, iż badania są bardzo rozległe i dotyczą wszystkich możliwych aspektów autonomii, w pracy zostały przedstawione wyłącznie wyniki badań prowadzonych nad autonomią ucznia w środowisku pozaszkolnym.

Monika Boruta

The Third Way in the Evolution of Language

Komunikacja ludzka jest multimodalna. Nasza dotychczasowa wiedza dotycząca języka nie pozwala nam na analizę tego zjawiska tylko z jednej perspektywy. Faktem jest, że różne modalności uczestniczą w przekazie wiadomości, dlatego też, zarówno kanał wizualny jak i wokarno-słuchowy powinny być brane pod uwagę przy analizie aktu komunikacyjnego. Artykuł jest przeglądem literatury i badań dotyczących hipotez na temat pochodzenia języka, prezentuje też trzecią drogę w ewolucji języka. W artykule przedstawione zostają: teoria kompozycjonalności (Bickerton 1990, 1995, 1998), teoria holistyczna (Arbie 2005; Wray 1998), oraz hipoteza gesturalna (Corballis 1999), która zmieniła podejście do analizy protojęzyka z wiodącej perspektywy wokalne na multimodalną (Arbib 2012; Müller et al. 2013).

Paula Budzyńska

Anne Boleyn's Image(s) in *The Tudors*

Mimo że od jej śmierci upłynęło już prawie 480 lat, Anna Boleyn, druga żona Henryka VIII, nadal pozostaje inspiracją dla wielu pisarzy i reżyserów filmowych wykorzystujących jej historię w swoich dziełach, lecz przedstawiających ją zarówno w pozytywnym jak i negatywnym świetle. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest analiza pejoratywnego wizerunku Anny Boleyn w popularnym serialu telewizyjnym pt. *Dynastia Tudorów* wyprodukowanym przez Showtime Network i emitowanym w latach 2007-2010. Najpierw prezentuję wybrane różnice między historią królowej przedstawioną w serialu a tą opisaną przez Erica Ivesa w jego biografii Anny opublikowanej w 1986 roku. Następnie przedstawiam te cechy jej charakteru, które według mnie definiują jej wizerunek w *Dynastii Tudorów*, analizuję obraz Anny jako

królowej w porównaniu do jej największej rywalki, Katarzyny Aragońskiej, oraz charakteryzując jej relacje z pierwszą żoną Henryka i jego pierworodną córką, Marią. Na koniec przedstawiam możliwe powody, dla których Anna Boleyn jest ukazywana przez wielu twórców w sposób negatywny.

Olivier Harenda

The Death of the Author(ship)—Filmmakers in Crisis

Celem artykułu jest zbadanie problematyki tak zwanej „teorii autora filmowego” (auteur theory) lub też ujmując to konkretniej, koncepcji autorstwa będącej odrębną, kreatywną wizją reżysera powstałą podczas procesu tworzenia filmu. Tekst najpierw skupia się na definicji „teorii autora filmowego” by potem odnieść ją do założeń eseju autorstwa Rolanda Barthesa pt. „Śmierć Autora.” Konflikt między obiema teoriami zostaje zobrazowany na podstawie dwóch filmów o fikcyjnych reżyserach, którzy zmagają się z kryzysem twórczym. Tytuły omawianych filmów to *Wielka Heca* Bowfingera (1999) oraz *Koniec z Hollywood* (2002). Porównanie obu produkcji ma na celu określenie ile wolności kreatywnej ma dany twórca w trakcie procesu produkcji filmu oraz czy jego indywidualny styl rzeczywiście jest widoczny w gotowym produkcie filmowym.

Ewelina Krupa

Perception of Criminal Celebrities in the 20th and 21st Centuries on the Basis of Bonnie and Clyde and Mariusz Trynkiewicz

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zobrazowanie zmiany w postrzeganiu kryminalistów celebrytów na przestrzeni XX i XXI wieku przez zwykłych obywateli na podstawie historii słynnej pary amerykańskich gangsterów z lat trzydziestych, Bonnie Parker i Clyde’a Barrow, oraz polskiego seryjnego zabójcy pedofila z późnych lat osiemdziesiątych, który po dwudziestu pięciu latach opuścił więzienne mury, Mariusza Trynkiewicza. Posługując się teorią kryminologii kultury oraz wykorzystując psychologiczne, kulturowe i socjologiczne podłoże zainteresowania przestępcami, dokonana została analiza zachowań odbiorców poszczególnych kryminalistów, czasów, w jakich żyli, oraz ogólnej sytuacji w kraju. Z analizy wyłania się obraz Bonnie i Clyde’a jako pozytywnych zbrodniarzy, a Trynkiewicza jako złego, wręcz śmiesznego zabójcy.

Emilia Leszczyńska

Pride and Prejudice: The Original and Zombies

Wydana po raz pierwszy w 1813 roku powieść *Duma i uprzedzenie* Jane Austen stała się inspiracją dla niezliczonych adaptacji literackich. Za pierwszą uważa się powieść Sybil G. Brinton pod tytułem *Old Friends and New Fancies* (1913), a nowe dzieła wciąż się pojawiają. Obecnie można znaleźć ponad osiemdziesięciu pięciu autorów, z których wielu napisało więcej niż jeden utwór na podstawie *Dumy i uprzedzenia*. Niektórzy próbują naśladować styl oryginału i stworzyć podobną atmosferę w świecie przedstawionym, który jest taki, jakim stworzyła go Austen. Inni jednak wybierają odmienne podejście. Na przykład Seth Grahame-Smith w swojej wydanej w 2009 roku powieści *Duma i uprzedzenie i zombi* (wydanie polskie: 2010), wprowadza do świata Austen właśnie zombi. Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia analizę porównawczą powieści Austen i Grahame-Smitha, mającą na celu odkrycie i opisanie schematów, które mogą być używane przy tworzeniu dzieł na podstawie *Dumy i uprzedzenia*.

Natalia Pałka

Arm in Arm with Prosody: When Impoliteness is Hidden in Sound

Artykuł jest przeglądem współczesnych teorii dotyczących nieuprzejmości językowej, a zwłaszcza jej prozodycznych aspektów. Głównym celem tej pracy jest dokonanie krytycznej analizy współczesnych badań w zakresie nieuprzejmości językowej oraz jej pozycji w językoznawstwie.

Do niedawna nieuprzejmość była traktowana jako zjawisko marginalne, następczające badaczom wielu trudności, zwłaszcza w kwestii jej definiowania oraz sposobu analizy. Wielu językoznawców usiłując porównywać nieuprzejmość do uprzejmości zignorowało fakt, że są to dwa odrębne zjawiska rządzące się swoimi prawami. Co więcej, do tej pory badania nad nieuprzejmością były skupione wyłącznie na analizie semantycznej i leksykalnej, ignorując tym samym komunikację niewerbalną. Od niedawna obserwuje się jednak pewien zwrot w postrzeganiu i rozumieniu nieuprzejmości językowej zwracając uwagę na potrzebę włączenia do badań aspektów paralingwistycznych. Jak zauważa Terkourafi (2008), uczestnicy konwersacji bardzo często czerpią z wskazówek niewerbalnych, aby odkodować intencje swojego rozmówcy. Pomimo tych nielicznych głosów, kwestie modalności są nadal zaniedbywane, brakuje danych empirycznych, które mogłyby potwierdzić stawiane

przez badaczy języka hipotezy, że tempo, intonacja, głośność czy też gestykulacja wpływają na odbiór wypowiedzi jako nieuprzejmej. Artykuł ten podsumowuje dokonane do tej pory badania i osiągnięcia na płaszczyźnie nieuprzejmości językowej, przedstawia najnowsze teorie w tym zakresie oraz wyjaśnia dlaczego tak ważna jest analiza tego zjawiska wraz ze wszystkimi jego aspektami.

Marek Placiński

Computational Linguistics and Natural Language Processing: The History and Present Application

Artykuł ten jest poświęcony historycznym i obecnym metodom w dziedzinach przetwarzania języka naturalnego i językoznawstwa komputerowego. Praca podzielona jest na dwie części: w pierwszej omówiony jest historyczny zarys dziedzin, a w drugiej ich obecne zastosowanie w językoznawstwie. Początkowe postępy w tych dziedzinach, takie jak opis modelu automatu skończonego, ukryty model Markova, czy też test Turinga są omówione w pierwszej części artykułu. Pierwszy system uznany za sztuczną inteligencję, SHRDLU, jest również w skrócie omówiony w tym artykule. W drugiej części artykułu opisane zostały takie zagadnienia, jak psycholingwistyka komputerowa, parsowanie statystyczne i semantyczne.

Marta Sibierska

What is Literature for? Insights from Evolutionary Theories of Art

Badając daną cechę gatunku w ujęciu ewolucyjnym, kluczowym zagadnieniem jest pytanie o jego funkcję: „Po co jest X?”. Pytanie to przeniknęło do badań nad sztuką, prowadząc do powstania ewolucyjnych jej teorii, podług których sztuka, z literaturą włącznie, jest wyewoluowaną adaptacją, to znaczy zachowaniem, które wynika z procesu selekcji naturalnej i posiada określoną wartość adaptacyjną w danym gatunku. Pytanie „po co jest literatura?” przykuło uwagę wielu jej badaczy, którzy w próbie odpowiedzi wskazują na rolę literatury jako zabawy kognitywnej, stymulacji kompetencji społecznych, bądź elementu selekcji seksualnej. Niniejszy artykuł stanowi krytyczny przegląd istniejących hipotez na temat funkcji literatury w gatunku ludzkim w ujęciu ewolucyjnym, będąc jednocześnie przykładem zmiany, która w przeciągu ostatnich lat zaszła w paradygmacie badań literackich—zwrócenia się w stronę kognitywistycznych, ewolucyjnych i empirycznych podejść do literatury.

Julia Trzeciakowska

Mistakes in Phonemic Transcriptions made by Polish EFL Teacher Training College Students

Transkrypcje fonemiczne są niezmiennie używane jako narzędzie do zapisu i prezentacji błędów wymowy, nie zaś do analizy ich rodzajów czy pochodzenia. Dlatego też, o ile mi wiadomo, nie istnieją, bądź nie są dostępne dane empiryczne dotyczące wyłącznie błędów popełnianych w transkrypcjach fonemicznych przez polskich studentów języka angielskiego jako języka obcego, a także ich porównania z typowymi błędami wymowy. Poniższy artykuł prezentuje wyniki badania empirycznego, w którym przeanalizowano rodzaje, jak również pochodzenie błędów w transkrypcjach fonemicznych. Materiał badawczy został zebrany za pomocą testu transkrypcji fonemicznej. W swoim badaniu przyjąłem wstępne założenie, iż błędy wymowy są błędami na poziomie kompetencji, które przejawiają się zarówno w wymowie, jak i błędach transkrypcji. Otrzymane rezultaty ukazują odzwierciedlenie często opisywanych w literaturze fonetycznej błędów wymowy w błędach transkrypcji. Z tego względu zakłada się, iż nie powinny być one postrzegane jako osobne zjawiska. W rezultacie sugeruję, iż uproszczone ćwiczenie transkrypcji powinno być połączone z ćwiczeniem wymowy, celem wsparcia rozwoju poprawnej wymowy przed rozpoczęciem kształcenia na poziomie pomaturalnym.

Daria Tyblewska

Literal (Mis)translations as a Form of a Linguistic Joke—The Analysis of the Content of Political Memes

Memy to jednostki informacji, które w znacznym stopniu kształtują obecnie kulturę internetową. Jak można zauważyć, media społecznościowe stały się idealną platformą dla ich rozprzestrzeniania. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest analiza dosłownych (i zarazem błędnych) angielskich tłumaczeń krótkich polskich tekstów (przysłów, powiedzeń, fragmentów tekstów piosenek etc.), które zostały umieszczone na fotografiach polskich polityków. Opatrzony napisami zdjęcia zostały opublikowane na profilu „Polish your English with Donald” założonym na portalu społecznościowym www.facebook.com, dzięki czemu stały się memami internetowymi. Materiał badawczy składa się ze stu takich tłumaczeń stanowiących formę żartu językowego. Autorka niniejszego artykułu stara się zidentyfikować polskie modele, na których opierają się

wspomniane teksty, co nie zawsze jest oczywiste ze względu na znaczną liczbę błędnych form. Praca skupia się na analizie kalk, gdyż ten rodzaj błędów pojawiał się najczęściej w analizowanym materiale. Obejmowały one zapożyczenia strukturalne, frazeologiczne oraz gramatyczne (od jednowyrazowych po wielowyrazowe). Jeśli chodzi o kalki strukturalne, wiele z nich opiera się na polskich konstrukcjach przetłumaczonych morfem po morfemie, co w rezultacie prowadziło często do powstania nowych jednostek leksykalnych. Co więcej, zaobserwowano, że autorzy tłumaczeń modyfikowali angielski szyk wyrazowy zgodnie z zasadami języka polskiego, a także często usuwali wybrane części mowy z tekstów. Podsumowując, analizowane napisy można uznać za żarty językowe, jako że celowo łamią one semantyczne, składniowe i stylistyczne reguły języka angielskiego w celu uzyskania humorystycznego efektu.

Tomasz Urban

Old and New Habits in Country Music: A Short Glance at the Changes in the Williams Family Music Lyrics

Mój artykuł jest krótkim przeglądem rozwoju muzyki *Country* w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Artykuł skupia się na trzech, ważnych dla kultury *amerykańskiego Południa*, wykonawcach tego gatunku: Hank Williams, Hank Williams Jr. oraz Hank III. Przedstawienie relacji pomiędzy muzyką trzech pokoleń: dziadka, ojca i syna wpasowuje się idealnie w temat zbioru artykułów, którego myślą przewodnią jest motyw porównania teraźniejszości i przeszłości. Fragmenty piosenek wszystkich trzech autorów zostały zanalizowane i skontrastowane. Możemy zobaczyć jak podejście do tematów uległo zmianie i jak młodsze pokolenie inspirowane jest swoimi przodkami.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

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We are pleased to announce the call for papers for the third issue of *CURRENTS*. The issue will be devoted to the theme of “horizons”—the yet unresearched phenomena, promising new findings and future prospects—in the current research in culture, media and literature studies, linguistics, language acquisition and teaching, and translation studies.

The aim of our journal is to provide space for the exchange of thought among young English philology scholars. We are especially interested in contributions from students at master’s or doctoral level, but academics who have recently obtained a Ph.D. are also welcome.

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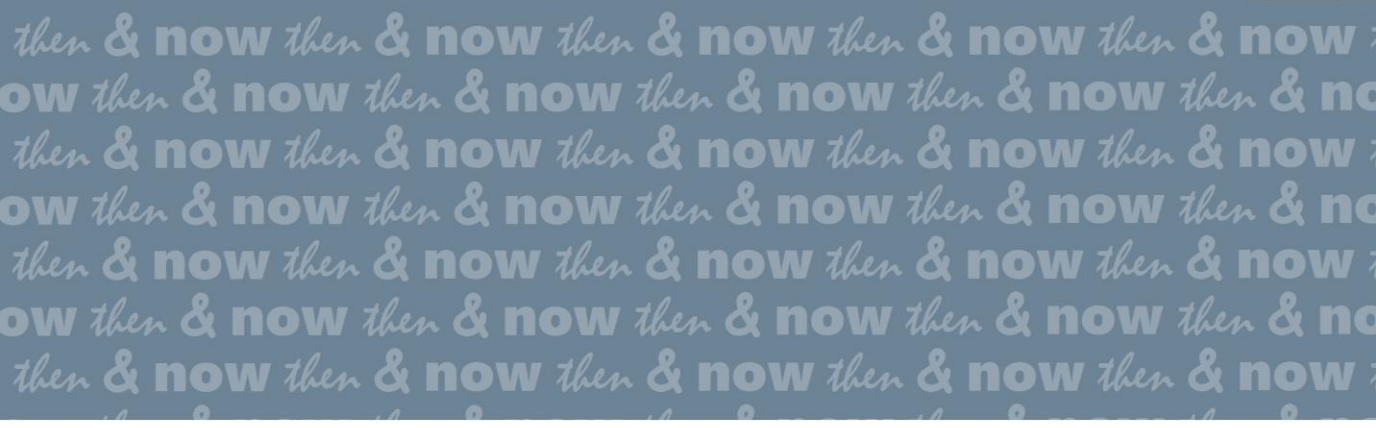
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