Jacek Szczepaniak, Magdalena Czachorowska (Eds.)

Emotions across languages and media

Linguistic and cultural studies analyses

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Emotions across languages and media

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Emotions across languages and media – Introduction

Emotions accompany everyone at all times: without them it is difficult to talk about human beings, their condition, motivations, past and future. Emotions are present in education, socialization, politics, culture and nature. Experiencing them is tantamount to experiencing life. No wonder then that they arouse the interest of researchers in various anthropologically oriented disciplines. In the past, studies of language, literature, and cultural history took into account the existence of affects, feelings, passions, but treated them as methodologically superfluous – they did not harm the overall argument, but also did not bring in anything of importance. This was related to the common belief that there are spheres of our existence that are somehow shameful, taboo, culturally 'inferior', so to speak. In the twenty-first century, this began to change.

From a linguistic perspective, issues related to the functioning of emotions in language or emotionality in communication virtually never went beyond the status of marginal phenomena and side topics and consequently were not treated as a serious subject of linguistic investigation. The affective domain was mainly interpreted in opposition to rational action and thus characterized by dysfunctionality within the frames of 'orderly' social communication. One of the main reasons for the limited interest of linguistics in describing affective communication was the prevalent conception in scientific discourse of humans as agents that are acting rationally, compounded with the perception of language as a rational instrument for understanding and interpreting the world, that is, as an autonomous cognitive system.

Emotions, feelings, or affects[1] are among the most essential aspects of human existence. They are anthropological universals and, at the same time, sociocultural phenomena that have been an important and problematic subject of research in various disciplines for many years. The question of the possibility of a scientific description of internal states runs through the entire history of research on emotions. There are countless more or less scientifically grounded attempts to define them as physiological, behavioral and/or cognitive units, i. e. complex phenomena on the borderline between spirit and body, nature and culture. However, emotions are complex, multidimensional phenomena with biological, psychological, and social substrates. They do not exclusively concern the body. As discursive constructs, they can also be symbolic and relate to social contexts.

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1   In this article, the terms *emotion* and *affect* are used synonymously.

Since at least the Sentimentalist and Romantic periods, there has existed in collective consciousness the belief that inner human emotional and mental states are something deeply personal and individual, difficult to put into words, and that everyone can only report on one's own emotional life. Consequently, emotional impulses should be treated as part of a private 'inner world' that only their possessor is capable of talking about. Only in individual experience do they have a certain ("private") quality, whose definiteness escapes intersubjective examination. In this view, feelings are subjective phenomena, momentary states that are available only to the subject experiencing them, and thus cannot be understood by others. However, the category of privacy plays no role in communication: to become visible and communicable, these inner states must be objectified within or through the medium, and they can then be inferred from somatic gestures, which usually escape our conscious control, or from discursive forms. Emotions obtain their own form and position in life only in communicative practice (cf. Szczepaniak/ Schiewer/Pociask 2023: 22–23)

Reflections on the multidimensional relations between the spheres of feelings and cognition, in particular between language and various human emotional states, have had a long scholarly tradition. As far back as ancient rhetoric and poetics,[2] issues of emotionalization have been addressed, particularly the linguistic means that could serve effective (including persuasive) communication. In the 1990s, interest in emotion as an important factor in human behavior became particularly concentrated. Modifications of modern-day scientific thinking about emotions are evident primarily in cultural studies and are in the social sciences, and jointly referred to as the *emotional* or *affective* turn. The shift has challenged "two basic assumptions about emotions that have been entrenched in cultural texts. First, emotions have a lower status than thinking; second, the assumption more deeply implicit in discourse, that reason and emotion are separate and contradictory to each other" (Przybylska 2017: 128). This dualistic view of emotion and reason dominated Western science and culture for many centuries, and Antonio Damasio referred to it as "Descartes' error" (cf. Damasio 2012). Contemporary research on emotions is characterized by a far-reaching heterogeneity of outlooks and, consequently, a multiplicity of concepts. There is no single, generally accepted, valid definition of emotions. However, there is a far-reaching consensus on the statement that emotions should also be understood as components of communicative processes (see, for example, Reckwitz 2016). What seems to be scientifically inspiring is not so much the (renewed) turn to rational discourse but rather the drive to adequately model and explain the emotional dimensions of communicative acts. In this regard, it is worth noting that in recent years there has been a veritable explosion of interdisciplinary research on language and emotion. In linguistics, for example, it has been shown that almost all aspects of human language (spoken and written) can convey or evoke emotions, including prosody, phonetics, semantics, and grammar. Emotions can be constructed at the level of media, text, and discourse (see, for example, Schiewer et al. 2023). It has also been shown that

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2   A great deal of attention is paid to emotions e. g. by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, primarily with regard to the ways in which they affect audiences, mainly in the areas of politics and law.

there are differences in the meaning of emotion-related words around the world (cf. e. g. Wierzbicka 1992; Jackson et al., 2019), which can affect cross-cultural communication in different areas, such as diplomacy and business (for more details, see e. g. Barrett 2017). The way emotions are manifested is largely determined by cultural codes.

Pragmalinguistic research, in turn, introduced a distinction between *expressive*, or *emotive* speech acts, which express our internal states in an explicative manner, also between *assertions* that enable us to reflect on our feelings and *directives*, through which it is possible to appeal to the feelings of others involved in communication. However, the separation of *expressives* or *emotives* as a separate group seems rather problematic, since virtually all linguistic actions can be used to express or evoke emotional states, as acts with a wide variety of illocutionary power. The concept of describing the manifestation of emotional states based on speech act theory, however, abstracts from the interactive participation of those involved in communication and from the media-related specificity of a given form of expression (see, for example, Drescher 2003: 70). In the not-too-distant past, there have also been attempts to interpret emotions as linguistic facts and phenomena by means of neurocognitive models, which, while certainly attractive on the level of scientific abstraction, they nonetheless do not allow analyzing specific uses of language in their media-related dimension, considering also the performative character of the manifestation of emotional states.

It is not possible to list here all the linguistically oriented studies in the area of emotions published by Polish female linguists. We will only point to several works we believe to be representative, i. e. Nowakowska-Kempna, Dabrowska, Anusiewicz (2000), Grabias (2001, 2019), Wanot-Miśtura, Wierzbicka-Piotrowska (2001), Ekman, Davison (2002), Duszak, Pawlak (2003, 2005), Lewis, Haviland-Joneas (2005), Kita (2007), Rejter (2008), Wysocka (2009), Mikołajczuk (2018) and Kosacka (2019).

In the past decade, the Polish humanities noted an important work, i. e., an anthology of Western (mainly American) theoretical and ethnographic texts on these issues, entitled *Emocje w kulturze* [Emotions in Culture] (2012). The editors of the volume, Malgorzata Rajtar and Justyna Straczuk, remarked in the introduction to the Polish edition on the dynamic presence of reflections on emotions in the last decade of the 20th century, and although they focused on cultural and social anthropology, they considered particularly important the emergence of large scientific centers engaged in interdisciplinary research. In particular, they pointed to two such institutes, the Center of the History of Emotion at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and the Research Cluster "Languages of Emotions" at the Free University of Berlin. Particularly the latter, in its pursuit of cross-cultural and interdisciplinary projects, has been a testament to the vast possibilities created by dialogue and understanding of different paths of knowledge, but leading to a single goal. In this way, advancement papers, student papers, and monographs have been produced within this framework, creating a vast space accommodating many research sensibilities.

The wealth of thought-provoking results of research on emotion prompted us to publish an anthology dedicated to the complex and reciprocal relations between emotions, language(s), and media.

This publication is an attempt, on the one hand, to use the experience built by research on emotions but, on the other, to seek its own interpretative tool by linguists and literary and cultural scholars who wrote the articles forming the present volume. The spectrum of considerations these authors represent is very broad and includes both reflection on systemic semantic references, and on the essence of incidental cases in the cultural and linguistic practices at the periphery of the world (not only of science). Accordingly, research emphasis is placed on issues related to representation, hiding, highlighting, in a word, the presence (sometimes unwanted) of emotions in such diverse languages as Arabic, Chinese, German, Polish, Russian, and Latin. Each analysis reveals aspects peculiar to particular circulations of culture, but also notes cross-cultural transfers, actualization resulting from the mediation and politicization of discourses, and changes resulting from the practical application of knowledge about emotion.

The largest group is represented by linguistic considerations. Some of the articles refer to the methodology of the linguistic image of the world, such as Anna Sroka's text "Ashened Heart, Lost Hope, Cut-off Wish" in which lexemes expressing sadness in Chinese are examined in the context of intensity, which directly affects their communicative effectiveness. Corresponding to it is an analysis of phrases related to the expression of annoyance in Arabian Gulf dialects in the article written by Magdalena Al-Sayadi, who precisely pointed out the various cultural conditions specific to the Arabic language area. Another group consists of lexicographical studies whose authors focused their attention on political communication. Malgorzata Rybka and Marta Wrześniewska-Pietrzak focused on emotions and emotional expression in the parliamentary speeches of Szymon Hołownia, drawing a map of the rhetorical displays of this Polish politician, who gained gaining a degree of prominence after the government change of in 2023. Several texts deal with the linguistic attributes of expressing emotions. For example, Anna Paluszak-Bronka analyzed the names used in contemporary Polish to denote negative emotional states such as anger. Anna Piotrowicz-Krenc and Malgorzata Witaszek-Samborska presented the use of the phrases *odkleić się*, and *odklejać się od rzeczywistości* [come unstuck, detach oneself from reality] in the Polish language of the turn of the 21st century – referring to both their evolution, spread, and use in communication between different generations and social circles. Jolanta Jóźwiak and Katarzyna Kuligowska analyzed the biblical names *David* and *Goliath* in the context of their use in journalistic coverage of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022. It was also important to examine new-media tensions between emotions and linguistic ways of expressing them. Hanna Stypa analyzed fairly broad research material and discussed the manifestations of emotions using the example of a German-language online forum for people trying to have a child. Iwona Benenowska described the ways and directions of valuing immigrants in comments on online forums. Sławomir Kowalewski, based on the assumptions of media linguistics, addressed the emotionalization of chat communication in online computer games using selected Instagram memes about *League of Legends* as examples.

A separate section is comprised of discussions of specific literary texts or even more broadly cultural texts. Ewa Górecka, using Robert Plutchik's concept of emotions, looked at the ways in which the crippled body is depicted and felt in Olga Tokarczuk's

prose, with interesting references to European cultural experiences from the end of the modern world to the present day. Marcin Kowalczyk, in turn, showed the tension between Ladislav Fuks' novel *The Cremator* and its film adaptation by Juraj Herz in the context of visualization of emotions evoked by sports symbolism used by these artists, in which fascination with the body, power, and violence plays a huge role. Filip Tołkaczewski looked at emotion treated as a category in translation studies. Interesting conclusions indicated, among other things, that while emotions may be universal, the terms defining them – in different cultures and languages – are not. This can be taken as an important guideline for any translator. Waldemar Szefliński offered an argument that goes back to the ancient tradition, focusing on political attacks in Ancient Athenian comedy, using tools developed by such emotion scholars as Carol Ellis Izard and Paul Eckman. Leopolda Mariak used the correspondence of Henryk Sienkiewicz to demonstrate the role of phraseological compounds in verbalizing and naming feelings and the usefulness of these units as exponents of expression. Agnieszka Rypel wrote about the conceptualization of children's experiences in therapeutic stories, i. e. tools created by adults for the formation of children's representations of emotions. Mariusz Guzek, in turn, looked at social emotion as part of the mental machinery that enabled the emergence of a particular variant of documentary film during the Great War (1914–1918) – the funeral documentary.

The collection also includes a section with considerations of semiotics, understood as a general theory of signs. Wojciech Wachowski analyzed the functioning of the part-for-whole metonymy in expressing both universal and localized values. Applying the theoretical model of cognitive linguistics, he based his argument on rich lexical material taken from European, Asian, and African languages. Monika Peplinska, on the other hand, focused on the technique of emotional manipulation known as negging, seemingly positively valuing the interlocutor, but meant meant to cause mental discomfort. Izabela Bawej treated smiling as a way of expressing positive emotions in interpersonal relations. Based on a semantic analysis of the word *smile* in selected word combinations (such as compounds, common phrases, and proper names) in Polish, she showed the effectiveness of this communication strategy.

In recent decades, new types of research on emotions as phenomena that are not only private or intimate, but primarily public, have led to a significant increase in knowledge. As a result, the question of what emotions have to do with language or the media no longer raises doubts. Answering it, however, requires truly interdisciplinary perspectives and approaches that incorporate methods and tools from various disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, literary studies and linguistics, as well as cultural and media studies. We hope that we have succeeded in compiling a volume that meets the above requirements. The works presented here are based on a solid understanding of the relationship between emotions, languages, and media. We believe they provide many answers, but also raise new questions to inspire further research.

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Ashened Heart, Lost Hope, Cut-off Wish – On the Shades of Sadness in Mandarin Chinese *

This study aims to examine the semantic and lexical nuances of three lexemes denoting sadness-type emotions in Mandarin Chinese, which are often regarded as closely related terms: 望 *shīwàng*, 绝望 *juéwàng*, and 灰心 *huīxīn*. These feelings are semantically associated with losing hope from unmet expectations. The study employs the methodology of linguistic worldview and cross-cultural semantic research developed by Anna Wierzbicka, to reconstruct meanings. Each unit is accompanied by the author's proposal for explication in the natural semantic metalanguage. The study reveals that the differences between the analyzed emotions relate to their intensity, duration, and emotional context – understanding them is crucial for precise communication in Chinese.

Keywords: emotion semantics, linguistic worldview, natural semantic metalanguage, Mandarin Chinese, sadness

1 Introduction

As Wenzel wrote: "we all live in one world. But individually and culturally, we also live in the different worlds" (Wenzel 2007: 295) – despite globalization and integration processes, interdependence of cultures, continuous cooperation, and communication between states, the world remains profoundly diverse. This diversity is particularly revealed in the realm of emotions. According to researchers, there is no certainty that feeling emotions is universal, but how emotions are conceptualized, named, and categorized is distinctly culturally determined (Wierzbicka 1999; Grzegorczykowa 1999; Gasiul 2015). Understanding and appropriately using emotional terminology is crucial for effective communication, especially in a foreign language. In this regard, communicating in Chinese presents significant challenges for non-Chinese native speakers, with emotions being an inherent part of this process. Discovering the semantic and lexical shades of individual terms denoting emotions not only supports communicative, cognitive, and didactic processes but also enhances the linguistic awareness of language users.

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*   This article is based on the research conducted as part of my unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled *The linguistic picture of negative emotions in Mandarin Chinese* (Polish title: *Językowy obraz emocji negatywnych we współczesnym języku chińskim*), written under the supervision of prof. Alicja Pstyga and defended in 2021 at the University of Gdańsk.

The purpose of this article is to conduct a semantic-lexical and contrastive analysis of three words indicating sadness-type emotions in Mandarin Chinese, which are often presented as synonyms: 失望 *shīwàng*, 绝望 *juéwàng* and 灰心 *huīxīn*. As a culmination of the discussion on these terms, the author will propose three explications in Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), along with an interpretation of their constituent components. The process of reconstructing their meanings, excerpting the material, its subsequent analysis, and the formulation of definitions using semantic primitives, seems crucial to understanding the differences not only between different languages but also within the Mandarin Chinese language itself.

2   Linguistic picture of emotions and the problem of categorization

Language fundamentally shapes the way people perceive reality and influences their thinking (Whorf 1956; Boroditsky 2011). To some extent it also exerts an impact on individuals' behavior and decision-making (Pinker 2007: 165; Filipiak 2008: 6). Importantly, this mechanism operates bidirectionally; the surrounding reality also influences the development of a given language. This phenomenon can be linked, among others, to the diversity of geographical, cultural, and linguistic environments (McWhorter 2001: 3–4). Discovering the linguistic picture of the world, understood as "the interpretation of the world contained in language and accessible through language"[1] (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013: 272) is crucial for a deeper understanding of diverse communities, their perceptions, and values. According to Wierzbicka, grasping the meanings of individual words is absolutely necessary for understanding the culture of a particular nation (Wierzbicka 2019: 21). The emotive sphere is an important part of it, as emotions are encoded in language in various ways, making their naming and categorization dependent on linguistic factors (Russel 1991: 426).

The categorization of emotions itself seems to be a complex issue. A seemingly intuitive approach is to categorize emotions within two broad groups: positive and negative emotions. This binary classification, although somewhat arbitrary, appears natural, assuming that the experiencer *feels something good* (an invariant characteristic of positive emotions) or *feels something bad* (an invariant characteristic of negative emotions) (see Wierzbicka 1999, 2006, 2009; Zemlanaja 2010). Within these two primary groups, further divisions can be made, however, they are inherently dependent on the specific language in which the categorization is undertaken. The concept of a "universal" categorization, or rather, the basic emotions proposed by Ekman – *happiness*, *sadness*, *anger*, *fear*, *disgust*, and *surprise* (Ekman 1972: 278) proves inadequate when applied to the categorization of emotions denoted in the Chinese language.

Cultural models concerning the Chinese categorization of emotions differ significantly from those in other cultures. For instance, in Chinese, there are two basic concepts related to *joy* (喜 *xǐ* oraz 乐 *lè*), both of which hold equal validity within the context of Chinese cultural realities (Ye 2006: 76). Therefore, within this framework, two distinct types of joy are considered basic. The first type is a positive state induced by an

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1   Own translation.

external force that stimulates the momentary and intense feeling of the experiencer; the cause of the second emotion is the effort of the individual herself (Ye 2006: 76). Zhengdao Ye, in her study of Chinese emotions through the lens of cross-cultural semantics, concluded that if universal basic emotions were to be constructed by the Chinese, both their categories and meanings would be markedly different.

From the perspective of Chinese culture, various models exist for categorizing emotions. These include the seven Confucian emotions (known as 七情 *qīqíng*, literally: 'seven emotions' or 人情 *rénqíng* 'human emotions'), including 喜 *xǐ* joy-type emotions, 怒 *nù* anger-type emotions, 哀 *āi* sadness-type emotions (1), 惧 *jù* fear-type emotions (1), 爱 *ài* love-type emotions, 恶 *wù* hate-type emotions, 欲 *yù* desire-type emotions[2]). Another way of categorizing is found in traditional Chinese medicine, which lists the seven emotions as 喜 *xǐ*, 怒 *nù*, 忧 *yōu* worry-type emotions, 思 *sī* nostalgia-type emotions, 悲 *bēi* sadness-type emotions (2), 恐 *kǒng* anxiety-type emotions i 惊 *jīng* fear-type emotions (2). These two divisions illustrate that different terms for emotions emerge, which in English can be assimilated into basic emotions such as fear or sadness.

A categorization proposed by Shaver, Wu, and Schwartz suggests that there are six categories of emotions in Chinese culture, with only one being positive (*joy/happiness*). The other categories are *hate/anger*, *sadness/gloom*, *sad love*, *fear/panic*, and *shame* (Shaver, Wu, Schwartz 1992: 194). Their research indicates that *love* in its positive aspect is not a separate core concept and that the categories specific to the Chinese language and culture, such as *sad love* and *shame*, do not appear as distinct domains in English (Shaver, Wu, Schwartz 1992: 195). Yet another division of emotions was proposed by Santangelo, distinguishing between affections of dissatisfaction, aggressive-antagonistic emotions, negative projections, positive expectations and interactions, and affections of satisfaction (Santangelo 2006: 5–6).

These categorizations represent only a subset of the Chinese emotive lexicon; however, none of them can be considered as a comprehensive equivalent to the classification of emotions referred to as basic in Western discourse. This discrepancy is determined primarily by language, specifically the names of individual emotions and their categories in Chinese. These linguistic units serve as carriers of cultural and social connotations specific to the Chinese community.

If one were to take the Confucian categorization as basic to Chinese culture, it is noteworthy to examine the lexical-semantic field of sadness-type emotions (哀 āi), which appear to be particularly extensive in Mandarin Chinese. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that emotions of this type constitute the highest proportion (56 %) of the lexical units required for the HSK Chinese language proficiency exam for foreigners.

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2 The unusual formula "X-type emotion", which I use here (and hereafter) to suggest the aforementioned incompatibility, emphasizes the distinctiveness and unequal status of specific emotions in Chinese and English. It is not possible to equate the words denoting emotions in two different languages.

A survey I conducted[3] shows that emotions belonging to the 哀 āi category are asso-
ciated by native Chinese speakers with feelings accompanying mourning or parting with
a loved one – a minor mood, states of helplessness, apathy, in which the experiencer is
inclined to cry. These emotional states are often compared to physical experiences, such
as a torn or cut heart or lungs ruptured with a knife. In Chinese conceptualization, these
emotions are described as sour and tart. The prototypical scenario for the names of emo-
tions within the central range of the 哀 āi category involves an emotion triggered by an
objectively negative event (the prototypical element of the explication of these emotions
is therefore the expression *something bad happened*) – in many situations, this emotional
experience is evocative of the feeling associated with the loss of a loved one.

Mandarin Chinese has a rich lexical repertoire for the precise and varied representa-
tion of emotional states. This extensiveness is partly related to the processes of word for-
mation, the issue of free morpheme connectivity (particularly in written Chinese), and
the ambiguous boundaries between parts of speech, which are not an intuitive concept
in this language. In the emotional lexicon of the modern Chinese language, bisyllabic
words are predominant. These words, formed by a combination of two morphemes that
semantically influence each other, create new lexical meanings and are commonly used
in everyday language.

3   Methodology

The study was constructed according to the theoretical framework of the linguistic pic-
ture of the world (Bartmiński 2009) and the analytical methods employed in research
emerging from the semantic school of Anna Wierzbicka (e. g. Wierzbicka 1999, 2006,
2019; Ye 2001, 2006, 2013, 2014; Kornacki 2010, 2017). The research material consisted
of emotion names extracted from the lists containing the vocabulary required for the
official examination of Chinese language proficiency at the highest level (HSK6). In
my analysis, I utilized dictionary, evoked, and textual (including corpus) data, aligning
with the assumption that a variety of data sources should be taken into account while
reconstructing the linguistic picture of the world (Bartmiński as cited in Łozowski,
Włodarczyk Stachurska 2015: 87)[4]. In the analysis, I created lexical-semantic fields for

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3   I obtained survey data through questionnaire research conducted in Chinese with a sample of 231
    native speakers of Chinese from People's Republic of China. The respondents were individuals with
    basic knowledge of the language (students, doctoral students, lecturers and humanities graduates),
    the vast majority of whom were in the 18–25 age range.

4   I excerpted the system data from Chinese monolingual (explanatory) dictionaries: 现代汉语词典
    Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn XHC (Modern Chinese Dictionary – sixth edition in book form, published by
    The Commercial Press, 2015), 新华字典 *Xīnhuá Zìdiǎn* XHZ (Xinhua Dictionary – available as a
    mobile app, published by The Commercial Press) and 现代汉语规范词典 *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Guīfàn
    Cídiǎn* GF (Contemporary Standard Chinese Dictionary – available as an add-on in the PLECO
    app, published by Foreign Language Teaching & Research Press, 2015). In the analysis, I also refer
    to the first Chinese etymological dictionary 说文解字 *Shuōwén Jiězì* SWJZ compiled in the early
    2nd century AD by Xu Shen (currently rewritten and available online), ABC Etymological Dictionary
    of Old Chinese EDOC (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006) and examples from Chinese-English
    bilingual dictionaries available in mobile form through the PLECO app. The textual data was ob-

negative emotions, including separate fields for each category. Among the examined units, there were 25 terms identified within the category of sadness-type emotions.

3   Analysis

In the course of my analysis of the overall picture of Chinese negative emotions, I identified three lexemes within the semantic-lexical domain of sadness-type emotions, which are closely aligned in meaning: 灰心 *huīxīn*, 绝望 *juéwàng*, 失望 *shīwàng*. These terms pertain to the notion of lost hope resulting from unmet expectations of a certain state of affairs. Although they might appear synonymous, their subtle semantic shades differ. A thorough examination of their conceptual structures is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the cognitive patterns encoded within these units.

灰心 *huīxīn* – discouragement-type emotion

灰心 *huīxīn* is composed of two morphemes. The meaning of the first one, 灰 *huī*, is 'ash, dust, grey', and the second refers to the Chinese cultural keyword 'heart', which is understood as both an intellectual and affective center, bringing together cognitive and emotional attributes (Gut, Stoch 2018: 88). This morpheme frequently appears in various expressions of emotion, underscoring its close association with feelings. Freely translated, 灰心 *huīxīn* can be interpreted as an 'ashened heart' as if the organ was covered with a layer of ash, after being burned. This imagery indicates the fragility, loss, and metaphorical death of something.

Chinese monolingual dictionaries define 灰心 *huīxīn* as an adjective or verb denoting a breakdown in spirits or loss of faith resulting from encountering problems or experiencing failure.

The trigger for the formation of this emotion is also evident in textual data – failure can be associated with a loss (often in competitions, or contests), an unfavorable situation (e. g. at college or work), and sometimes it also results from undesirable experiences. Thus, it typically refers to an objectively negative state of affairs, an external physical situation (the invariant *something bad happened*). Linguistic proof supporting the notion of an objectively negative stimulus can be found in a popular Chinese saying, which sometimes serves as a daily life motto for many Chinese people:

(1)   成功不骄傲，失败不灰心。
       chénggōng bù jiāo'ào, shībài bù huīxīn.

       When you succeed, do not be proud, and when you fail – do not be *huīxīn*.

Importantly, the saying also reflects a significant cultural element: the principle of harmony. In this case, it manifests as the pursuit of emotional and social equilibrium and moderation in one's reactions to circumstances. In addition, arrogant behaviour and

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boasting about one's achievement, as well as being inspired or uplifted, can be seen as concepts inversely related to 灰心 *huīxīn*. This type of relationship is also evident in other examples of textual sources:

(2) 社会背景各方面比较优越的人热情奔放，对待任何事情都充满着自信，但一般容易妄自尊大，且遇到挫折又容易灰心。
Shèhuì bèijǐng gè fāngmiàn bǐjiào yōuyuè de rén rèqíng bēnfàng, duìdài rènhé shìqíng dōu chōngmǎn zhe zìxìn, dàn yībān róngyì wàngzìzūndà, qiě yù dào cuòzhé yòu róngyì huīxīn.

People with better social situations are enthusiastic and approach every issue with confidence, but they tend to fall easily into arrogance, and again with setbacks they easily feel 灰心 *huīxīn*.

(3) 在一个小时里、一分钟里，可以既看见他精神振奋又看见他灰心丧气。
Zài yīgè xiǎoshí lǐ, yī fēnzhōng lǐ, kěyǐ jì kànjiàn tā jīngshén zhènfèn yòu kànjiàn tā huīxīn sàngqì.

Within one hour, or even one minute, one can observe in him both liveliness and *huīxīn sàngqì*.

In sentence (3), there is an apparent issue showing that the term 灰心 *huīxīn* frequently collocates with other emotional exponents, predominantly the lexeme 丧气 *sàngqì*. The latter also belongs to the semantic-lexical field of sadness-related emotions and refers to bad luck, being beaten down, and distress. The juxtaposition of two semantically similar words into a collocation is a common practice in Mandarin Chinese, aimed at amplifying the emotional message and descriptive nature of the utterance. In the case of 灰心 丧气 *huīxīn sàngqì* it will therefore be a combination of deep despondency and intense discouragement:

(4) 有的学习好了就沾沾自喜，成绩差了就灰心丧气。
yǒu de xuéxí hǎole jiù zhānzhānzìxǐ, chéngjī chàle jiù huīxīn sàngqì

There are those who, while learning well, become conceited, and as their performance gets worse, they become *huīxīn sàngqì*.

(5) 每个人与自己的目标都有漫长的距离，这个距离常常令我们灰心丧气。
měi gè rén yǔ zìjǐ de mùbiāo dōu yǒu màncháng de jùlí, zhège jùlí chángcháng lìng wǒmen huīxīn sàngqì

Each person is separated by a long distance to achieve his goals – this distance often makes us *huīxīn sàngqì*.

Sings of feeling 灰心 *huīxīn* can include various vocalizations, including sighing, murmuring, or screaming, in addition to non-verbal cues like lowering the head or covering it with the hands. The emotion is also associated with a state of exhaustion and a feeling of fatigue throughout the body:

(6) 想到有那么多忧痛在等待我而我又无法驱除的时候，感到全身疲惫，灰心丧气。

Xiǎngdào yǒu nàme duō yōutòng zài děngdài wǒ ér wǒ yòu wúfǎ qūchú de shíhou, gǎndào quánshēn píjuàn, huīxīn sàngqì.

Thinking of all the worries waiting for me that I can't get rid of, I felt exhaustion sink into my whole body, *huīxīn sàngqì*.

The emotion 灰心 *huīxīn* is closely associated with the concept of giving up, where the experiencer shows a desire to cease further activities in which he sees no point and perceives them as futile. This may be related to a loss of courage, determination, or faith in oneself and one's abilities:

(7) 直到她发现，即使自己堕落到极点，丈夫也不会多注意一眼，这才灰心地待在宅子里，准备孤独地过一生。

Zhídào tā fāxiàn, jíshǐ zìjǐ duòluò dào jídiǎn, zhàngfū yě bù huì duō zhùyì yī yǎn, zhè cái huīxīn de dài zài zhái zi lǐ, zhǔnbèi gūdú de guò yīshēng.

Only when she realized that her husband would not pay any attention to her even if she rolled to the bottom, feeling *huīxīn* she settled down at home, preparing to spend her life alone.

(8) 曾有一度，我灰心得几乎想放弃。

Céng yǒu yīdù, wǒ huīxīn de jīhū xiǎng fàngqì.

There was a time when I was so *huīxīn* that I almost gave up.

The unit 灰心 *huīxīn* occurs in many exclamatory sentences that constitute a suggestion or prohibition (often in collocation with the words 不要 *bùyào* 'don't' lub 别 *bié* 'don't, stop'). These expressions are intended to provide consolation or to promote appropriate behaviour. Their purpose is to show emotional support, prevent resignation, and encourage optimism, even in the face of difficult circumstances. Thus, these types of sentences fulfill a specific pragmatic function and reflect certain social norms that are important to Chinese culture.

Based on the above analysis, I propose the following explication in Natural Semantic Metalanguage for the unit 灰心 *huīxīn*:

灰心 huīxīn
    a) X feels something,
    b) X thinks something like this:
        c) I am doing something,
        d) if I do this, something good will happen to me,
        e) I want this,
    f) after this, X thinks something like this:
        g) nothing good happened,
        h) something bad happened,

i) because of this, X feels something bad,
j) because of this, X does not want to do this,
k) something other people say to X: do it,
l) because other people want something good to happen to X.

I treat (a) and (b) as an explicative frame for the emotion, while subsection (i) implies that it is a negative emotion. Such elements will therefore appear in all my proposed explications of negative emotions. Subsections (c)–(e) highlight the subject's efforts towards a particular matter, but over time (f) they do not bring the expected results (g), and instead, something bad occurs (h), which is an objectively negative situation. Consequently, the experiencer does not show a volitional attitude towards further actions (j). There may be people around who attempt to lift the person's spirits (k) – they do not harbor bad intentions (l).

失望 *shīwàng – lost hope-type emotion*

The unit 失望 *shīwàng* is another emotion name found within the semantic-lexical field of the sadness-type category　āi, which is often semantically treated as closely related to the emotion 灰心 *huīxīn*. Turning to the analysis of the morphemes comprising this word, it is worth noting that the second morpheme (望 *wàng*) can be interpreted as 'hope' or 'gaze into the distance', metaphorically referring to a sense of longing for an object visible on the horizon. The first morpheme, on the other hand, is the unit 失 *shī* 'to lose, to forfeit', thus the entire term can be understood as the loss of hope.

Dictionaries convey one meaning of this emotional state, indicating an unpleasant emotion associated with a loss of faith caused by a feeling of hopelessness. This causative aspect is also emphasized by other types of linguistic data. Thus, it can be considered that 失望 *shīwàng* will be the consequence of feeling 希望 *xīwàng*, 期待 *qídài* or 期望 *qīwàng,* which denotes hope, expectation, and positive attitude:

(9) 塞车了，我向远方望去，可我失望了，心想还不如看不见，看不见时还
能有些期待。
Sāichē le, wǒ xiàng yuǎnfāng wàng qù, kě wǒ shīwàng le, xīn xiǎng hái bùrú kàn bùjiàn, kàn bùjiàn shí hái néng yǒuxiē qídài.

The street was jammed. I looked into the distance, but felt *shīwàng* – I thought it would be better not to see it. When I couldn't see, I could still have at least some hope.

The stimuli that trigger the emergence of this emotion are external physical events, encompassing circumstances such as failure, disappointment with others, unmet expectations about reality, or disillusionment with the world. These situations arise when one holds certain predetermined expectations. In addition to serious cases, some reasons can be considered more trivial, mundane, and daily (inconsistent weather, a failed dish, the absence of a guest that the experiencer had hoped to see). Below are examples illustrating the various reasons for this emotion:

(10) 你们没有完成上个月的生产计划，我非常失望。

Nǐmen méiyǒu wánchéng shàng gè yuè de shēngchǎn jìhuà, wǒ fēicháng shīwàng.

You did not fulfill the production plan of the previous month, I am very *shīwàng* about it.

(11) 我对这个政府的政策感到失望。

Wǒ duì zhège zhèngfǔ de zhèngcè gǎndào shīwàng.

I feel *shīwàng* toward the policies of this government.

(12) 在老师布置家庭作业时，课堂上发出一片失望的声音。

Zài lǎoshī bùzhì jiātíng zuòyè shí, kètáng shàng fāchū yī piàn shīwàng de shēngyīn.

When the teacher assigned homework, the sound of *shīwàng* echoed through the classroom.

This emotion is particularly associated with placing one's hopes in another person. The individuals who experience this emotion are often higher up in the social hierarchy – parents, teachers, mentors, and coaches who have high expectations of their pupils:

(13) "对火车没兴趣？"教授看上去很失望。

„Duì huǒchē méi xìngqù?" jiàoshòu kàn shàngqù hěn shīwàng.

"Aren't you interested in trains? – the professor looked very *shīwàng*.

(14) 父母对儿子的所作所为感到很失望。

Fùmǔ duì érzi de suǒzuò suǒwéi gǎndào hěn shīwàng.

The parents felt *shīwàng* by their son's conduct.

For this reason, this unit frequently appears in constructions with 让 *ràng*, 令 *lìng*, or 使 *shǐ*, which translates to 'make that'. In addition, it is worth noting that 失望 *shīwàng* also functions within the realm of 客气话 *kèqì huà*, a courtesy phrase specific to Chinese communication and etiquette culture, which is designed to belittle the self and express modesty:

(15) 对不起，我让你失望了。

Duìbuqǐ, wǒ ràng nǐ shīwàng le.

I'm sorry I made you *shīwàng*.

It appears that quickly overcoming this emotion is possible and relatively easy. Generally, this feeling can be considered short-lived, temporary, and manageable – it does not determine further failures or irreversible consequences. Furthermore, this entity often occurs with provers of the degree 有一点 *yǒu yīdiǎn*, 有点儿 *yǒudiǎnr*, 有一些 *yǒuyīxiē* or 有些 *yǒuxiē*, meaning 'a little', which is further evidence of the non-definitive nature of its impact:

(16) 如果我们没成功，我会感到失望，但这也不是世界末日。

Rúguǒ wǒmen méi chénggōng, wǒ huì gǎndào shīwàng, dàn zhè yě bú shì shìjiè mòrì.

If we fail, I will feel the *shīwàng*, but it is not the end of the world either.

(17) 我没有觉得受到伤害，只是有些失望。

Wǒ méiyǒu juéde shòudào shānghài, zhǐshì yǒuxiē shīwàng.

I don't feel that I've been hurt, I'm just a little *shīwàng*.

To summarize the analysis of the unit 失望 *shīwàng,* I propose the following semantic explication:

失望 shīwàng
    a) X feels something,
    b) X thinks something like this:
        c) something good will happen,
        d) I want this to happen,
    e) after this, X thinks something like this:
        f) this good thing didn't happen,
    g) because of this, X feels something bad for a short time

In the above explication, subsections (c) and (d) are meant to indicate the subject's expectation of reality – it is not necessarily a thing or matter in which the experiencer has invested their own energy or efforts, which is why this aspect is not emphasized (as in the case of 灰心 *huīxīn*). Element (e) highlights the change in circumstances inconsistent with the experiencer's expectation, while point (g) presents the short-lived nature of this emotional state.

绝望 *juéwàng – ruined hope-type emotion*

The last of the emotion names analyzed is the unit 绝望 *juéwàng*, which is difficult to present without reference to the previously described 失望 *shīwàng*, not least because they share the second morpheme, 望 *wàng*, meaning 'hope'. Hence, the semantic element of an expected outcome is present in both terms. However, the first morpheme differs – in this case, it is 绝 *jué*, which refers to cutting off, exhaustion, death, as well as irreversibility. Thus, the word can be interpreted literally as 'death of hope'.

Even at this stage of analysis, the difference in intensity between 绝望 *juéwàng* and 失望 *shīwàng* is apparent. A prototypical scenario cited by native Chinese speakers can be used in this context: "When you go to a store to buy a certain thing, but find that they don't sell it, you may feel 失望 *shīwàng*. If, on the other hand, you check online stores and find that the item is no longer available anywhere (and won't be), you may feel 绝望 *juéwàng*"[5]. Therefore, when experiencing 绝望 *juéwàng* all the hopes of the experiencer

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5   Internet forum *Zhidao Baidu*: https://zhidao.baidu.com/question/515834448.html, 14.02.2020.

for the item have been completely extinguished. The usage of these two emotions is also evident in various texts, which highlight the differences between them:

(18) 当然，这样的爱情可能我等到35岁45岁仍然等不到。那样我会很失望，但不会绝望。我会保持一种健康的心态，安排好剩下的几十年光阴，让它充实、丰盈。

Dāngrán, zhèyàng de àiqíng kěnéng wǒ děng dào 35 suì 45 suì réngrán děng bù dào. Nàyàng wǒ huì hěn shīwàng, dàn bú huì juéwàng. Wǒ huì bǎochí yī zhǒng jiànkāng de xīntài, ānpái hǎo shèngxià de jǐ shí nián guāngyīn, ràng tā chōngshí, fēngyíng.

Of course, I can wait until I'm 35 or 45 for such love and still not get it. I will be *shīwàng* then, but certainly not *juéwàng*. I will maintain a healthy attitude and plan my later years to be as fulfilling as possible.

In monolingual dictionaries, the definitions of 绝望 *juéwàng* are intricately linked to an antonymic relationship with hope, as 绝望 *juéwàng* is supposed to occur when expectations and dreams disappear. The causative factors for the occurrence of this state are therefore significant and grave matters, such as severe illness, relentless and repeated misfortune, and personal or familiar failures. In these situations, the experiencer feels an overwhelming sense of helplessness, believing that there is nothing more they can do in the face of the problem at hand:

(19) 不断的失败使她绝望。
Bùduàn de shībài shǐ tā juéwàng.

Constant setbacks have made her *juéwàng*.

(20) 当他几乎绝望时，机器突然运转起来。
Dāng tā jīhū juéwàng shí, jīqì tūrán yùnzhuǎn qǐlái.

When he was almost *juéwàng*, the machines suddenly started working.

The emotion 绝望 *juéwàng* can be metaphorically linked to the concept of the abyss – something boundless and vast that can engulf the subject feeling it. Hence, expressions such as 绝望的深渊 *juéwàng de shēnyuān* 'abyss of *juéwàng*', 深沉的绝望 *shēnchén de juéwàng* 'deep *juéwàng*' or 陷入绝望 *xiànrù juéwàng* 'to fall into *juéwàng*' are commonly used. This emotion is also associated with darkness and, consequently, the color black, as seen in phrases like 绝望的黑暗时期 *juéwàng de hēi'àn shíqī* 'dark times of *juéwàng*'; 漆黑的绝望 *qīhēi de juéwàng* 'impenetrable/black *juéwàng*. One can be pulled, delivered, or awakened from this deep-seated dark place:

(21) 把他从绝望中救了出来。
Bǎ tā cóng juéwàng zhōng jiù le chūlái.

He was rescued from the feeling of *juéwàng*.

The loss of hope associated with 绝望 *juéwàng* often manifests itself in the complete abandonment of further action (or that action is undertaken with the remaining strength, referred to as 绝望之余 *juéwàng zhī yú* 'remnants of juéwàng'). On the other hand, the consequences of experiencing such an emotion can be tragic for the subject, precipitating drastic measures, such as insanity, loss of consciousness, or even a desire to end one's life. Thus, this emotion appears as an intense, ultimate, and extreme emotional state, it follows the experience of feeling (and in some cases even exhausting) other negative emotions. Therefore, it can be considered an extreme:

(22) 上述事件中老口巴交的农民绝望得几次想在法院门口自杀。
Shàngshù shìjiàn zhōng lǎoshí bājiāo de nóngmín juéwàng de jǐ cì xiǎng zài fǎyuàn ménkǒu zìshā.

As a result of these events, this simple and honest farmer was *juéwàng* to the point that he had already attempted suicide several times in front of the courthouse door.

(23) 他绝望得像是世界末日到来的声音道：“是的，我爱他，好久、好久了”。
Tā juéwàng de xiàng shì shìjiè mò rì dàolái de shēngyīn dào: "Shì de, wǒ ài tā, hǎojiǔ, hǎojiǔ le".

[She] *juéwàng* in a tone as if the end of the world was about to come, said: "Yes, I love him, for a very, very long time."

(24) 在绝望之中，他们决定卖掉全部财产。
Zài juéwàng zhī zhōng, tāmen juédìng mài diào quánbù cáichǎn.

Feeling *juéwàng*, they decided to sell all their property.

As for antonymic units, 绝望 *juéwàng* is juxtaposed with 希望 *xīwàng* 'hope', 高兴 *gāoxìng* 'happy', or, rather unexpectedly, 爱 *ài* 'love':

(25) 若没有生活之绝望，就不会有对生活之爱。
Ruò méiyǒu shēnghuó zhī juéwàng, jiù bù huì yǒu duì shēnghuó zhī ài.

Without *juéwàng* in life, there would also be no love towards him.

Based on my analysis, the following explication of the unit 绝望 *juéwàng* can be proposed:

绝望 *juéwàng*
    a) X feels something,
    b) X thinks something like this:
        c) I am doing something,
        d) because of this, something good will happen,
        e) I want it very much,

f) after this, X thinks something like this:
    g) now I know: this good thing did not happen,
    h) this good thing will not happen,
i) because of this, X feels something very bad for a long time,
j) because of this, X can do something bad to himself,
k) because of this, something bad may happen to X.

Element (c) highlights the experiencer's contribution toward the goal. Items (d) and (e) define their dream and the high degree of desire to achieve it. Item (f) is a turnaround in thinking: the intended goal has not been achieved (g), leading the subject to the conviction that the goal will never be achieved again (h). Element (i) underscores the intensity and relatively long duration of this state, while (j) indicates self-destructive desires that can lead to harm to the experiencer (k).

5   Discussion

A multidimensional and multi-source analysis of three closely related lexemes denoting emotions provided an overview of the subtle semantic nuances concerning the semantic-lexical field of the category of sadness-type emotions 哀 āi. Interpreting these minimal differences is crucial for correct and accurate communication and a thorough understanding of the linguistic and cultural context in which these lexemes are employed.

The first issue is the effort put into the expected result. This element is seen primarily with 绝望 *juéwàng* and 灰心 *huīxīn*. In the case of 失望 *shīwàng*, the experiencer's contribution to the action is not explicit, and unmet expectations result in short-term disappointment. Conversely, 绝望 *juéwàng* engenders a deep and long-lasting feeling that can lead to extreme behavior, while 灰心 *huīxīn* is characterized by the abandonment of further effort.

Another distinguishing factor among the analyzed emotives is the intensity of the felt state. The strongest emotion in this regard seems to be 绝望 *juéwàng* presupposing profound hopelessness with a long-lasting effect. Following this is 灰心 *huīxīn*, characterized by moderate intensity, which leads to abandonment effort but lacks the severe consequences associated with 绝望 *juéwàng*. The least intense of the three is 失望 *shīwàng*, which can be viewed through the lens of short-term and easily overcome disappointment.

Considering the proposed explanation in Natural Semantic Metalanguage, despite the closeness of 灰心 *huīxīn*, 绝望 *juéwàng*, and 失望 *shīwàng*, it can be seen that their cognitive scenarios differ. The duration of these emotional states is underscored by the concepts *for a long time/for a short time*, while their intensity is indicated by the use (or avoidance) of the term 'very'. The explications also show the experiencer's initial actions and motivations. In the case of 绝望 *juéwàng*, greater certainty toward the expected outcome is emphasized than in the case of 灰心 *huīxīn*, hence the disappointment with its result is greater, but also emotionally taxing in a different way (the effects of 灰心 *huīxīn* are markedly passive).

Additionally, the distinction between 失望 *shīwàng* and 绝望 *juéwàng* is notable in terms of temporal and retrospective perspectives. When experiencing 绝望 *juéwàng* the

subject anticipates that the expected outcome not only has not happened but also will not occur in the future, indicating the irreversibility of the situation (the element: *this good thing will not happen*). 失望 *shīwàng* does not lead to such severe emotional consequences, it is rather focused on the past (*this good thing didn't happen*), and a fact that the subject must be reconciled with.

At this point, it is worth emphasizing that the explications presented in the previous section, are only the author's proposals, which can be modified or refined with the development of language and other factors affecting their meaning. Employing a wider range of sources, such as multimodal analysis or data from social media, could bring a new perspective to research on the semantics of emotions.

The analyzed texts reveal the close interrelationship lying between language and Chinese culture – the desire to retain emotional balance, the occurrence of the Chinese cultural keyword 'heart', or the use of emotives as specific polite phrases illustrate the broader interpretative framework of the Chinese worldview encoded in verbal messages. These instances give us a glimpse into the deeper structures of native Chinese speakers' thinking, reflecting their values and behavioral norms. Such understanding can be acquired through semantic analysis.

The lexical-semantic study of emotions not only facilitates avoiding misunderstanding and inappropriate emotional reactions in foreign language communication but also increases emotional sensitivity. It allows us to understand both other people's and our own feelings, potentially leading to better management of emotional states in various life situations. All these elements are particularly important in the context of glottodidactics, intercultural communication, and linguistic worldviews, highlighting their critical role in fostering empathetic interactions across diverse cultural settings.

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Expressions of anger in the Arabic Gulf dialects

Anger or irritation is one of many human emotions on which all interpersonal interactions depend. Frustration can be expressed in words, but sometimes also in single sounds, characteristic of a given cultural area or language. In this work, I discuss the topic of phrases expressing natural emotions related to anger in Arabic. I am particularly interested in the Arabian Gulf area and countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman and the United Arab Emirates.

Arabic is the official language in over twenty Arab countries, but I have been always focusing my attention on the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. This area is the cradle of the Arabic language and the fastest growing economically, which influences dialectal changes, including: influence of the English language. Numerous stays in the Gulf countries allowed me to collect the necessary examples, which will be analysed syntactically and lexically.

Keywords: dialects of Arabic, Gulf dialects, expression of anger, emotions, frustration

Introduction

Emotions make speech more expressive and more effective. As the emotions are present in spoken language, and spoken language is the colloquial dialect language so I have chosen the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, since this is my region of scientific interests. This region exhibits considerable superdiversity, triggered by both rapid urbanization and a huge inflow of immigrant workers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (Avram 2014: 8–13). This superdiversity is also reflected in the complex intricacies of the language situation in the Arabian Gulf (Avram 2017: 176). Previous researches on language and emotion has found that speakers emotional states can be detected through the analysis of linguistic features such as lexical choice and sentence structure (Abdel-Hamid et al. 2020: 1). An important feature in the detection of emotions conveyed in the content is the prosody, which is the way we bring verbal messages. It includes the sound properties of language, thanks to which the interlocutor can sense our intentions and emotions during a specific statement. Prosody allows you to identify a given speaker when several people speak at the same time.

Some studies indicate that vocal expressions of basic emotions could be recognised from vocal cues in each language at accuracy levels exceeding chance (Bin Othman 2017: 31). Fig. 2 shows acoustic characteristics for the different emotions.

Social research studies have suggested that news items that evoke strong emotions, such as anger and anxiety, are more likely to spread virally on social media platforms compared to less inflammatory items (Vosoughi et al. 2018: 1151). The study also found
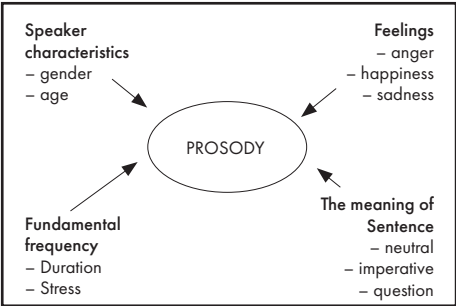
Fig. 1: Prosodic dependencies (Bin Othman 2017: 48)

	Anger	Happiness	Sadness	Fear	Disgust
Speech rate	Slightly faster	Faster or slower	Slightly slower	Much faster	Very much slower
Pitch average	Very much higher	Much higher	Slightly slower	Very much higher	Very much lower
Pitch range	Much wider	Much wider	Slightly narrower	Much wider	Slightly wider
Intensity	Higher	Higher	Lower	Normal	Lower
Voice quality	Breathy, chest tone	Breathy, blaring	Resonant	Irregular voicing	Grumbled chest tone
Pitch changes	Abrupt, onstressed syllables	Smooth, ubward inflec-tions	Downward inflections	Normal	Wide down-ward terminal inflections
articulation	Tense	Normal	Slurring	precise	Normal

Fig. 2: Emotion and speech parameters (Murray & Arnott 1993: 1106)

that anger was the most easily recognized emotion, while happiness was the most dif-ficult to recognize in speech (Meftah et al. 2014: 179–182). According to (Abdel-Ha-mid et al. 2020: 13) classification results alongside the performed statistical analysis indicated that speech intensity was specifically significant for anger detection. Overall, prosodic features gave better performance for the detection of the emotions of anger and happiness than for fear. Meddeb et al. (2017: 134–139) reported recognition rate of approximately 90.0% with anger being the most readily detectable emotion followed by happiness, whereas fear and neutral speech were the most challenging to detect. Lakoff gives the view of anger, including Offending event, Anger, Attempt at control, Loss of control, and Act of retribution (1987: 397–398). According to Gibbs, the reality of these stages demonstrates that conjoining reversed idioms of a prototype of anger yields pragmatically unacceptable constructions (1994: 298). Anger or frustration seem to be the most detectable of speech emotions according to many researches, and especially in such emotional language as Arabic. This paper will define some of the most common expressions and sounds for anger.

Research Methodology

The study investigates the most common expressions that constitutes the emotion of anger and frustration in Arabic dialects of the Gulf. The collected examples will be studied in both semantic, syntactic and contextual approach. I divided the anger into three groups: sound expressions, verbal expressions and syntactic change expressions. The proposed methodology focus on collected various lexical items and conventional linguistic expressions describing the concept of anger in the Gulf dialects. Previous researches investigate metaphorical translation of anger in Arabic[1] or focus on computational linguistics and algorithms[2]. The majority of studies concentrate mainly on Modern Standard Arabic[3], which is used in official situations and it is rather obvious that anger expressions arise usually in informal language situations. According to El-Sharif, describing emotions is one way of reflecting the cultural aspects of each language. The purpose of this paper is to examine the most popular colloquial expressions of anger, used in various situations, all the more that this area of study remains almost uncultivated.

Phonetic differences

The dialect of the Arabic Gulf have specific pronunciation changes. The sound ق is not articulated as usual /q/ but /g/. This is a common feature in the colloquial speech of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. However in Oman, the pronunciation of /q/ is like in the Classical Arabic in the Capital Area, in the mountains of the interior and in Salalah in the south[4] (Holes 2010: xix).

The glottal stop, is often dropped in certain positions and replaced with other letters, f. e.:

– Replacement with long vowel
رَأْس – rās 'head', بِئْر – bīr 'well', يَأْكُل – yākul 'to eat'

– Replacement with ي after the long vowel /ā/
نائِم – nāyim 'sleeping', دائِم – dāyim 'lasting, continuous'

The letter ب often replaces the letter /p/ in loan words, such as كُمْبْيُوْتَر (computer).

The letter ت will sometimes be said as the emphatic ط when in the vicinity of an ع and in the cardinal numbers, as in:

سِتَّعْش – siṭṭaʕaš 'sixteen', ثَلَتَّعْش – ṯalaṭṭaʕaš 'thirteen'

The letter ث is preserved in most Gulf dialects. However, in some dialects, particularly the Shiite dialects of Saudi Arabic and Bahrain, it varies with a ف .

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1 See: Alhomoud Ghassan, Ismail Sayed (2020)
2 See: Manal Abdullah et al. (2018); Hakim Khalil Enas A. et al. (2021); Serrano-Guerrero et al. (2022)
3 See: El-Sharif Ahmed, (2007); Ismail Sayed M. (2020).
4 However, the desert Omanis pronounce the sound as a /g/, as in the rest of Gulf.

The letter ج is often said ي , which is one of the distinctive features of the Gulf dialects[5]. For example:

جا – yā 'to come', حجر – ḥayar 'rock'

The letter ذ is preserved in most Gulf dialects.

However, in certain dialects it can be changed to a د , particularly in the Shiite dialects of Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

At times, the letter ذ will be said ز , such as:

رذيل – razīl 'mean, despicable, lowly', ذفر – zfur/zufur 'stench, reeking smell, pungent aroma'

The letter س is sometimes pronounced as the emphatic ص , particularly in the vicinity of خ، ط، ق , and ع . For example:

بَسِيْطَة – baṣīṭah 'simple', سطل – ṣaṭl 'bucket'

The letter ش sometimes realized as a variant of ك (like when the ك becomes a č and then a š). This is most common in some of the Bahraini, as well as some of the Yemeni, dialects, in the second person feminine. For instance:

أبوك – أبوش (your father, 2nd feminine)

The letter ض is often said ظ , and some Gulf speakers will not differentiate between ض and ظ even in formal speech. Examples:

ضرب → ẓarab 'to hit'
ظُلْمَة → ẓulma 'dark'
بعض → baʕẓ 'some'

The letter ظ will sometimes be said as a ض , as in Sitra (Bahrain) and parts of Oman.

نَظَر – naḍar 'to see', حَفَظ – ḥafaḍ 'to preserve'

Just as ق can be realized as a غ , the reverse can also happen: a غ said as a ق .

غَصْبًا – qaṣban 'against one's will', غَسَّل – qassal 'to wash'

The letter qaf (ق) can be realized as a hard /g/, a /ǧ/ (ج), a /k/ (ك), a /ġ/ (غ), and of course as a qaf itself.

The true qaf will most commonly be heard in formal speech and in certain Classical words, such as القُرآن 'al-Qurʔān'.

The usage of a hard /g/ or is probably the most common realization of the ق , as in:

شرق – šarg 'east', حقّ – ḥagg 'truth', قال – gāl 'he said', حقيقة – ḥagīga 'truth, fact'.[6]

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5   This is a regional feature that exist in Oman and UAE. But the ج is preserved in some words, such as جامع (ǧāmiʕ 'mosque'). The letter ج is sometimes said /dj/, particularly in Kuwait (although Kuwait is also one of the ones the commonly changes the ج to a ي).

6   https://www.livingarabic.com/phonetic-notes-on-the-gulf-dialects
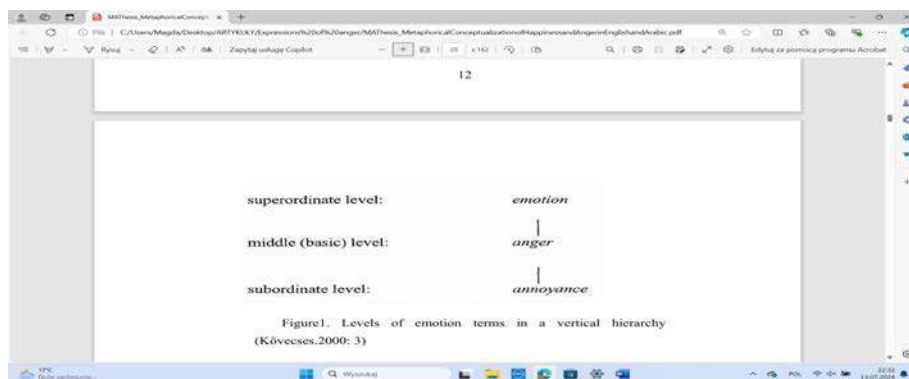
Fig. 3: Levels of emotion terms in a vertical hierarchy (Kövecses 2000: 3)

Frustration and anger origins

There are many researches about the online content analysis of emotions. The culmination of emotions had spread during the COVID-19 pandemic, when sadness, hope and anger emotions were the top three dominant emotions during the first year (El-Sayed et al. 2023: 7). According to El-Sayed (ibid.), the most used words related to anger were: China, mutations, vaccine, study and precautionary. Other topics causing irritation not only in social media is connected to politics, f. e. presidential elections or the ongoing wars. People can convey and recognise emotions easily, even in a language which they do not understand and this makes the emotions a part of speech and one of the core components in human communication (Bin Othman 2017: 14). The words (the concepts corresponding to them) occupy an intermediate level in a vertical hierarchy of concepts. In this sense, anger is more basic than, for example, annoyance or emotion. And because anger is a "basic-level" emotion category, it lies between the superordinate-level category emotion and the subordinate-level category of annoyance. Kövecses states that anger is more basic in this sense than, hope or pride (Kövecses 2000: 3). There are various reasons to be frustrated or angry, but nevertheless the conceptualization of anger is influenced by both culture and physiology (Kövecses 1995: 195). Despite the fact that physiological effect is universal, the social and contextual realities differ across cultures, which therefore affect the articulation of language of anger (Ismail 2020: 73). Kövecses started a hypothesis that though many unrelated languages and cultures share generic-level metaphor to express the emotions of anger, the metaphor of anger is motivated by such a universal feeling of anger.

Sound expressions

Frustration can be expressed by words but sometimes it is showed by sounds only. Onomatopoeia is rendering an inarticulate sound expressing frustration or other strong feeling. Arabic language is rich in sounds expressing irritation:

– „offff" – is used to express frustration with a person, situation or a task. This sound should be used with caution because it is a term mentioned in the Quran in a verse counselling the need for respect toward parents:

وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوٓا۟ إِلَّآ إِيَّاهُ وَبِٱلْوَٰلِدَيْنِ إِحْسَٰنًا ۚ إِمَّا يَبْلُغَنَّ عِندَكَ ٱلْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَآ أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا فَلَا ﴿ ۞ ﴾
(نَقُل لَّهُمَآ أُفٍّ وَلَا تَنْهَرْهُمَا وَقُل لَّهُمَا قَوْلًا كَرِيمًا (٢٣

"[…] If any one of them or both of them reach old age, do not say to them: uff (a word or expression of anger or contempt) and do not scold them, and address them with respectful words"[Holy Quran 17:23]

– „aghhhh" – a sound used when a person is disappointed or regrets something.
– „laaaah" – usually is heard during watching football matches and it is the Arabic version of 'noooo'.
– „yaaaaaa" – that means all sorts of things such as 'hey', 'my' and 'oh', the word 'ya' transforms into an exasperation when its pronunciation is stretched out. Depending on your tone, it can be used to express anger, delight or confusion[7].

Selected verbal expressions

Several visits to Gulf countries resulted in collecting common phrases, used to express displeasure, frustration or anger. The table below presents the phrases, which are used very frequently in the state of emotional break and these phrases are the colloquial speech, which reflect natural way of expression.

Arabic version	transcription	literal translation	meaning
لا حال و لا قوّة	lā ḥāl wa lā guwwa	'no solution and no power'	no exact translation (expressing resignation and helplessness)
اسكت و لا كلمة	ʔuskut wa lā kilma	'shut up and no word'	'shut up and say no more'
خلاص!	ḫalāṣ	'finish'	'stop/enough/finished'
يا الله	yā Allah	'oh god'	'oh god'
عيب عليك	ʕayb ʕaleyk	'shame on you'	'shame on you'
انتبه لكلامك	ʔintabeh li-kalāmek	'be careful to your words'	'watch your words'
انت بتمزح معي؟	ʔent bi-tamzaḥ maʕī	'are you joking with me'?	'are you kidding me?'
استغفر الله	ʔastaġfir Allah	'god forgive me'	used before we say something bad about someone

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7 https://www.thenationalnews.com/arts-culture/comment/from-akh-to-uff-6-ways-to-express-frustration-in-arabic-1.1068222

قليل ادب	*galīl ʔadab*	'little literature'	used to describe someone who behaves in a bad way or uses bad words
!ما لك دخل	*mā lek daḫl*	'no entry for you'	'it's not your business'
اهبل	*ʔahbal*	'stupid'	'stupid'
و بعدين؟	*wa baʕadeyn*	'and afterwards'?	'so what?'
انت فاكر نفسك من؟	*ʔent fakir nefsek men?*	'you think about your-self who'?	'you do you think you are'?
احترم نفسك	*ʔihtarim nefsek*	'respect yourself'	'repect yourself' (said to avoid someone by saying or doing something bad)
!ابعد عني	*ʔibʕad ʕannī*	'go away'	'go away'(more polite)
وخّر	*waḫḫer*	'go away'	'go away'
برّا	*barra*	'outside'	'get lost/go away'
لو تسكت يكون احسن	*law taskut yakūn ʔaḥsan*	'if you shut up it woud be better'	'if you shu pit would be better'
⁸ ما تضيع وقتي	*mā taḍīʕ waqtī*	'don't waste my time'	'don't waste my time'
⁹ ليش جذبت علي؟	*leyš čaḏabt ʕaleyy?*	'why did you lie to me'?	'why did you lie to me'?
كم مرّة قلت لك	*kem marra gult lek*	'how many times I told you'?	'how many times I told you'
مو على كيفك	*mū ʕalā keyfek*	'it's not up to you'	'it's not up to you' (show-ing displeasure/criticising)
إذلف	*ʔiḏlaf*	(no meaning)	'go away' ¹⁰
خدي	*ḫiddī*	'idiot'	'idiot'
أبله	*ʔablah*	'idiot'	'idiot'
أتخسي	*ʔatḫasī*	(a word used in the field of challenge that means that someone is inferior to do something)	'I dare you' (used to underestimate someone) ¹¹
انقلع	*inqalaʕ*	'take off, I do not want to see you again'	'get lost'
صه	*ṣah*	'shut up'	'shut up' ¹²
أثول	*ʔaṯwal*	'crazy man'	'crazy man' ¹³
طنّ	*ṭoss*	'go away'	'go away' (used when someone is very angry)

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8 This is a dialectal version with the negation particle *ma*. In formal Arabic the par*ticle* would be la.

9 In formal Arabic the verb 'to lie' is kaḏḏaba – yakḏibu. In the Gulf dialects phoneme /k/ changes to /ǧ/, which is realised by the phoneme ʧ according to IPA.

10 Used in Emirates

11 Used in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait

12 Used in Qatar

13 Used in Saudi Arabia

Syntactic change expressions

Anger influence the syntax, since the use of a word meaning 'all' has been reported to be the last part of a sentence to indicate the emotions. Dashti (2013: 77) writes that "Kuwaitis […] generally delete the plural morpheme and use the word /killə/, meaning 'all of it' to indicate the plural"

(1) wen   hāḏa   kitāb   killa   (Dashti 2013: 83)
     where   DEM   book   all
     'Where are the books?'

In Saudi Arabia 'the definite article is deleted in most cases' according to Gomaa (2007: 102). This is also the case of Gulf dialects spoken in other territories:

(2) kafīl   fī   sawwi   ǧinǧāl   (Bakir 2010: 217)
     sponsor   PREP   make   quarrel
     'The sponsor quarrels [with me]'

Saudi dialect does not seem to include explicit linguistic metaphors such as 'He was filled with anger', where the body is "a container for emotions" like it is in English. Rather, the person as a body seems to implicitly serve as a container as in the following example:

(3) ḫallanī   ʔaġlī
     He left me   boiling
     'He made me boil'

In this example the body is a container for the fluid that boils in the body, which is blood, illustrating the conceptual metaphor (Al-Hadlaq and Maalej 2012: 200). In other cases of anger, the body is conceptualized as internally receiving the pressure of anger, but, unlike (3), without parts of the body serving as safety valves against explosion as in the following examples:

(4) wiṣalt   ḥaddī
     [I] reach-PERF   limit my
     'I reached my limit'
     'I could not take it anymore'

(5) gaffalat   maʕī
     [it] close-PERF   with me
      'It closed with me'
     'I could not take it anymore' (Al-Hadlaq and Maalej 2012: 201)

Emotions, especially anger or frustration, affect not only syntax(6),(7), but we can also notice the use of a personal pronoun instead of a possessive pronoun(8) in the dialects of the Gulf:

(6) muškil   eš?   (Alshuaimi 2011)
     problem   what
     'What's the problem?'

(7) kīs   ğīb   (Al-Ageel 2016: 167)
     bag   bring
     'bring the bag'

(8) hāḏa   mū   māl   āna   (Dashti 2013: 75)
     DEM   NEG   money   1SG
     'These are not my money'

Another dialectal variety is the use of the preposition fī along with the adjective, which is not used in the formal language:

(9) ʔinta   fī   maǧnūn   (Bakir 2010: 216)
     2SG   PREP   crazy
     'Are you crazy?'

Madness or craziness includes a couple of instances of mental changes or is related to anger as physical pain as in the example (11):

(10) ğannanī
      He PERF mad me
      'he made me mad'

(11) ḏibaḥnī
      He slaughter – PERF me
      he made me extremely angry' (Al-Hadlaq and Maalej 2012: 206)

Some words from the Modern Standard Arabic are changed, for example adverb kaṯīr 'a lot' is realised by either marra – which means 'once' in MSA or Gulf dialect word wāǧid 'very'. The last one is pronounced differently, depending on the region – e. g. in Oman and UAE the phoneme /ǧ/ is pronounced by /y/ wāyīd.

(12) ahbal   marra
      stupid   once
      'he is so stupid!'

(13)   ahbal   wāğid
       he stupid   very
       'he is so stupid'

Conclusions

Anger expressions arise usually in informal language situations, that is why I have de-
cided to undertake this topic. Majority of linguistic studies of anger in Arabic language
focus only on Modern Standard Arabic, which is the formal language and it is not used
in everyday life speech. I made this issue a priority, since emotions are the natural way
to express our feelings in particular moment. I did my research over the dialects of Gulf
countries, because this is my area of scientific interest and the dialects of the Arabian
Peninsula are linguistically similar. I mentioned about the pronunciation features typ-
ical for these dialects. I divided this paper into three main issues connected to anger:
vocal expressions, most common phrases and expressions which influence the syntax. I
mentioned about prosodic features, context and metaphors, which give major insights
during the recognition of the emotions of anger. The acoustic properties change under
the influence of anger emotions: slightly fast speech rate, very high pitch average, higher
intensity, chest tone voice quality and tense articulation. Researchers indicate that anger
is the most easily recognized emotion, while happiness is the most difficult to recognize
in speech (Meftah et al. 2014: 179–182). Kövecses mentions about a theory that involves
a particular way of conceptualizing anger that emerged as a cultural product (1995: 182).
However the conceptualization of anger must be influenced by factors above over and
above the particular historical development of culture (Kövecses 1995: 194).

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"You're making our life unbearable, Mr. MP! Objection against your objection" – emotions and emotional expression in Szymon Hołownia's parliamentary speeches

> I want to reach out to those who still have little faith in democracy. The Marshal of the Sejm will be active in the media, hosting his own podcast, and through a series of events, which I will detail shortly… […]. Ladies and gentlemen, if you wish, you will be invited as guests on this podcast […], because, as we all know, **emotions are what modern media thrive on**. And I am certain there will be no shortage of those.
>
> (Szymon Hołownia, 13.11.2024)

On November 13, 2023, Szymon Franciszek Hołownia became the Marshal of the 10th Sejm in Poland. The new Marshal's statements evoke lively reactions from supporters and opponents, and the viewership of the first session of the Sejm was extremely high, it became a YouTube sensation. It was also commented by Internet users. Politicians and political commentators say that Hołownia has mastered the art of using words to perfection, he is a skillful orator, a wise and witty man from television who introduced the atmosphere of a TVN talent show to the Sejm, but also someone who sanctifies banality and trivialism, and his statements function as memes. It is emphasized that Szymon Hołownia speaks a language from a different reality and they wonder whether emotionality is his way of approaching politics. The subject of analysis was the linguistic reactions of Marshal Hołownia during his parliamentary speeches. The authors of this study try to answer the questions about what the new Marshal communicates using the names of emotions, what emotional states he expresses using expressive vocabulary and syntax, and what is the signature of the described emotional states. They also attempt to indicate the component of controlling recipients' emotions, and combine cognitive description with paying attention to changes in emotional formulas and multimodal analysis.

Keywords: Marshal of the Sejm, Szymon Hołownia, emotions, emotionality, political image, political language.

Introduction

The popularity of Szymon Hołownia, Marshal of the 10th Sejm, is often described as the "Hołownia phenomenon", both by his political supporters and opponents (Bakalarska-Stankiewicz 2023). This phenomenon is reflected by the impressive number of followers

he has garnered and his top ranking in the IBRiS poll on trust in politicians.[1] The first session of the Sejm presided over by Mr Hołownia attracted over 4 million views, making it a YouTube sensation on the Sejm RP channel (Madejski 2023).[2]

Media coverage of Marshal Hołownia's speeches frequently uses the conceptual framework of theatre, spectacle, or rhetorical performance, whereby the Marshal plays the roles of both the leading actor and the director as well. In keeping with contemporary communication strategies, the Marshal's remarks quickly become fodder for memes, viral clips, sound bites, TikTok stitches, and stories, due to his active engagement across social media platforms, where he maintains official profiles (Facebook,[3] X (formerly Twitter),[4] Instagram,[5] and TikTok[6]). His self-presentation on these platforms underscores the significance of his social roles and public duties, as illustrated by his profiles:

> Father, Pole, European, bookworm, and cookie monster (unfortunately). Marshal of the 10th Sejm and leader of the Poland 2050 party (Instagram)

> Father, Pole, European. In politics with Poland 2050, Marshal of the 10th Sejm (TikTok)

Through these self-descriptions, Hołownia crafts a public image that highlights attributes that make him look like 'one of us': a Pole, a father, and a husband who has chosen to embark on a political journey. This journey to the Marshal post began with the founding of the Poland 2050 movement in 2020, when he utilized mass-media, among other things, to attract support for himself and his vision for Poland.

Hołownia's backstory is that of a co-host of the popular TV talent show *Mam talent*, the lead of television programs on religious topics, and the program director of the Religia.tv channel. His articles were published in *Przewodnik Katolicki*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and *Więź*; he authored several books on religious faith (e.g., *Tabletki z krzyżykiem*, *Monopol na zbawienie*, Święci pierwszego kontaktu, Święci codziennego użytku, *Kościół dla średnio zaawansowanych*). Journalists, political marketing experts, and image consultants have commented on Hołownia's ambitions and the deliberate path he has taken toward political advancement, noting not only his participation in various training

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1   These details were published on December 1, 2023. , https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/tylko-w-onecie/ sondaz-zaufania-szymon-holownia-nowym-liderem-zbliza-sie-do-rekordu/rlyjn81?utm_ source=oko.press_viasg_wiadomosci&utm_medium=referal&utm_campaign=leo_automatic& srcc=undefined&utm_v=2 [7.06.2024].

2   According to Business Insider, in November 2023, the number of live stream views exceeded those of Western parliaments, surpassing 6.5 million views. In June 2024, the number of views for the first day of the inaugural session of the 10th Sejm reached 990,000.

3   https://www.facebook.com/szymonholowniaoficjalny.

4   https://x.com/szymon_holownia?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5E5 author.

5   https://www.instagram.com/szymon.holownia/?hl=pl.

6   https://www.tiktok.com/@szymon.holownia.

programs for politicians but also the personality traits that have facilitated his success (Zuchowicz 2023; Bąk 2024; Hołownia 2020).

How does the Marshal of the 10th Sejm use and manage emotions in political discourse during parliamentary sessions? The question is the focus of this article, which aims to analyze and interpret Marshal Hołownia's verbal responses during his parliamentary speeches, with a particular emphasis on emotional communication. The analysis addresses the following research questions: 1. What emotions does the new Marshal convey through his emotional nomenclature? 2. What emotional states does he express using expressive vocabulary and syntax? 3. What is the signature of the emotional states he describes?

When considering discourse as a tool for gaining and maintaining power (Foucault 2006; Miłkowska-Samul 2013: 166) through transmission of beliefs in interaction with others (van Dijk 2001: 14), it is essential to take heed of the entire communication circumstance, especially the sender-receiver dynamics, which are complex in this setting. The sender is also the receiver, and due to the presence of both micro- and macro-situations, there is a dual audience: the micro-situation audience, meaning the Marshal and MPs during parliamentary debates, and the macro-situation audience – the viewers of the Sejm session broadcasts. The latter do not have direct contact with the Marshal, as they are separated by space and sometimes by time (cf. Miodunka, Ropa 1979, Jachimowska 2005: 7, 15). The stated research objectives and questions align with the cognitive methodology, combining cognitive description with analysis of the emotional forms used by the speaker within a multimodal perspective (Załazińska, Winiarska 2020).

In linguistic studies, emotions and emotionality are often discussed alongside the term *expression*, which refers to the direct or indirect externalization of emotions (Grzegorczykowa 1978: 118; Lubaś 2003: 181). Emotionality should be understood as a derivative way of expressing the speaker's emotional attitude towards the extralinguistic realm (Grabias 1980: 479; 1981: 22; Rejter 2006: 14). Such manifestation of emotions can occur in three ways: (a) unconsciously and unintentionally by the speaker (Wiatrowski 2010: 87–88); (b) consciously and intentionally, though not obligatorily (Grzegorczykowa 1978: 118; Mikołajczuk 2006: 86); and (c) through communicative expression of feelings (Wierzbicka 1968: 101; 1969: 36; Grzegorczykowa 1978: 118; Mikołajczuk 2006: 86).

Additionally, we may also categorize emotions into positive and negative (Oatley, Jenkins 2003: 100; Doliński 2007: 322); a typology which emphasizes the speaker's attitude towards the content being described (Doliński 2007: 322) and the emotional culture of a given community, which is expressed through the rules of feeling and expressing emotions that are important for self-presentation (Hochschild 2009).

The goal of this article is to present the ways in which linguistic means of expression function in the speeches of Szymon Hołownia based on the first five sessions of the 10th Sejm, covering a total of 21 days of proceedings:[7]

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7   Detailed information about the proceedings of individual Sejm sessions is available on the website: https://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm10.nsf/terminarz.xsp.

1. First Session: November 13–14, 21–22, 28–29, and December 6–7, 11–12, 19, 20–21, 2023 [8]
2. Second Session: January 16–17, 2024
3. Third Session: January 18, 2024
4. Fourth Session: January 25–26, 2024
5. Fifth Session: February 7–9, 2024

We focused our analysis on those segments of the sessions which included interactions between the Marshal and the politicians present in the House. These segments were then further analyzed based on video recordings available on the Sejm's official website or its public YouTube channel.

Communication context and methods of expressing emotions

The exploration of emotions and emotionality in political discourse has become an increasingly significant object of study. As Marek Migalski and Marek Kaczmarzyk have argued in their chapter *Emo-politics*, researchers have come to see how deeply our actions, decisions, voting behaviour, and personal preferences are influenced by emotions that we may not even be aware of (Migalski, Kaczmarzyk 2020: 31; Siewierska-Chmaj 2023: 16–18). They have also highlighted the crucial role that leaders and PR strategies play in crafting emotionally resonant messages (Migalski, Kaczmarzyk 2020: 32). At the same time, we should mention that the personalization of politics – understood as the growing prominence of individual leaders at the expense of party identity – is increasingly accompanied by personality-driven politics, meaning a greater emphasis on "politician's attributes unrelated directly to politics (but rather to their persona), while diminishing the importance of political attributes essential for fulfilling the politician's role" (Mazur 2014: 10). One clear example of this trend is the (self-)description of Szymon Hołownia, who is perceived as a fresh, intelligent, and witty politician, with a sense of humour and self-awareness, capable of eliciting strong emotions.

Crucially, the Marshal of the 10th Sejm captures public attention not primarily for his political views but for his rhetorical skills, his adept use of various social media platforms, and his keen understanding of the principles that make for compelling media communication aimed at a broad audience. These qualities distinctly define Hołownia, whose experience as a journalist and TV personality helps him consciously shape his public image. This image includes his ability to manage the emotions of his interlocutors, particularly by skilful use of emotionally charged language.

Pursuant to Article 110 of the Polish Constitution, the role of the Marshal of the Sejm includes presiding over parliamentary sessions, safeguarding the rights of the Sejm, and representing the Sejm externally. During parliamentary sessions, the Marshal is responsible for setting the day's agenda, presiding over the proceedings, and ensuring their orderly conduct. The Marshal's regulatory function requires them to be effective and

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8   This information is provided in the online schedule of sessions of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland: https://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm10.nsf/terminarz.xsp?rok=2023 [9.06.2024].

efficient in managing parliamentary work, including cueing the communicative roles during different parts of the sessions. These duties are clearly outlined in the Sejm's rules and regulations, and the Marshal's authority is also reflected in the specific organization of the space where the sessions take place. Hołownia himself addressed these responsibilities in his inaugural speech, speaking to the MPs seated in the Sejm chamber:

> You have elected me as the Marshal of the entire Sejm, not just a part of this chamber. There are parties here whose views I deeply disagree with. But they are here by the will of the Polish people. I assure you that **the Sejm will not become another battleground for the destructive Polish-Polish war**.[9] From now on, all MPs, whether from the ruling coalition or the opposition, will be held to the same standards, and **it will be the Marshal's role to enforce fair play**. Today, you have entrusted me with the role of guardian of dignity and order in this chamber. Therefore, I promise you that **I will strictly adhere to the rules we have agreed upon**, **out of respect for the 21 million Poles** who did not stand in ballot queues all night long **just so we could waste their valuable time on yet another show**. (13.11.2023)

As the leader of Poland 2050, Hołownia emphasized his overarching role above all MPs, highlighting his responsibility as guardian of essential values: democracy, the rule of law, equality before the law and parliamentary rules, dignity, order, and respect for the electorate. His speech touched on emotions such as joy, gratitude, pride, responsibility, and respect, expressed through phrases like "I am very pleased," "thank you," "it is a great honour," "a tremendous responsibility," "we cannot fail," "the Sejm will never again be a platform for contempt." Hołownia also acknowledged the negative emotions voters have felt regarding the previous political situation, emphasizing their intensity, though he did not name these emotions explicitly: "enough of what we've had so far." He declared the need for change that would affect not only the politics and the functioning of the ruling parties but also the communication styles of the political actors involved.

Hołownia recognized the significant role of emotions in shaping the new image of the Marshal and the Sejm, as these emotions naturally attract media interest (as noted in the article's motto). He announced various, emotionally engaging, methods of communication with the media, including the currently popular podcast format, designed to reach broad audiences. Thus, Hołownia aims to influence not only his political opponents but also the voters, operating on the principle that in political discourse, emotions serve as "a tool to achieve a predetermined persuasive goal, namely, to foster a positive attitude towards oneself among potential voters and to discredit one's opponents in their eyes" (Miłkowska-Samul 2013: 170). This goal is achieved by use of various linguistic means, which merit closer examination.

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9   Text boldfaced by the authors of this article.

A. Explicitly expressed emotions and their role in regulating behaviour in the Sejm

Our analysis reveals that explicit mentions of emotions, whether in noun or verb form, are not frequently found in Marshal Hołownia's speeches, and the range of such expressions is rather limited. One of the most commonly used emotion-related terms in Hołownia's parlance is "respect" (Polish: *szacunek* (noun), *szanować* (verb)). This term reflects not only an emotion but also a guiding principle that shapes the Marshal's approach to relationships and interactions during parliamentary debates.

In contemporary Polish dictionaries, "respect" is defined as follows:

> WSJP PAN: "special consideration and recognition shown to someone or something"
> (https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/12270/szacunek/5014494/czesc);

> SJP PWN: "an attitude towards people or things considered valuable and worthy of recognition"
> (https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/szacunek;2576939.html).

Respect is fundamentally rooted in dignity of every individual, signifying the ability to accept people as they are. It is independent of whether one meets the other's expectations or conforms to societal norms; it involves recognizing and valuing differences. Respect requires a certain detachment, the ability to view others from an external perspective, acknowledging that "something is different from me and my expectations, but that does not mean it is wrong." These differences should not divide us but instead foster a desire to understand and connect with others (Rybka 2014: 173).

In his inaugural speech, Marshal Hołownia acknowledged the difference of opinion in the Sejm but declared his respect for all MPs, while also demanding respect for himself and others from the parliamentarians seated in the chamber, and, most importantly, for the electorate. Hołownia emphasized that mutual respect is essential for conducting discussions at a level befitting the parliamentary setting, in accordance with the principles of fair play. Respect for others is not merely a directive but also an emotional stance that Hołownia considers a norm in the formal communicative environment where he serves as moderator. He repeatedly invokes this emotion in his parliamentary speeches:

> I've moved beyond the stage of showmanship and firebrand journalism, and I hope that together we can build a new Sejm – **a Sejm of respect**: for one another and for all the citizens of the Republic, regardless of their age, gender, whether they are religious or not, whether they live in the countryside, small towns, or metropolises, whether they are seniors or people with disabilities. (13.11.2023)

> I want to assure you that as the Marshal of the Sejm, I will always treat you with **respect and esteem for the mandate** you have received from the citizens. (14.11.2023)

> Thank you for your time-keeping discipline. I hope that at some stage of our acquaintance and cooperation, **I will earn your respect, just as I always pay my respect to you**. (21.11.2024)

Following the principle that a person's humanity is measured by how they treat others, Hołownia not only declares his respect for others but also consciously moderates his reactions to various stimuli, ensuring that he conducts proceedings in a manner that exemplifies respect. This approach reflects a positive view of both himself and others, and he uses measured language to avoid casting opponents as enemies (Głowiński 2010: 241). Furthermore, he believes that his own emotional conduct can influence the feelings and behaviours of his fellow parliamentarians, contributing to the creation of a "new Sejm – a Sejm of respect," a "Sejm for all Poles."

In addition to respect, Hołownia explicitly addresses negative emotions in his speeches, identifying and condemning undesirable feelings and attitudes. By doing so, he often admonishes the MPs present in the Sejm chamber, fulfilling his role of maintaining order and ensuring the proper functioning of the Sejm:

> I strongly encourage you all to ensure that **contempt, hatred, aggression,** and remarks like 'are you crazy?,' which we heard in this chamber today, never again make their way here, because they are a slap in the face to those who went to the polls on October 15 of this year. (14.11.2023)

> Together, we must peacefully oppose anti-Semitic and **aggressive** behaviours that degrade the **dignity** of Polish parliamentary traditions. Our only chance is to **overcome evil with good**. (12.12.2023)

In these instances, Hołownia refers to general emotional states like "evil" and specific negative emotions such as "hatred," "contempt," "aggression," "xenophobia," and "anti-Semitism." These emotions represent powerful feelings of animosity, fear, and even pathological fear of those who are different in origin, race, nationality, religion, language, customs, culture, or sexual orientation. Such negative emotions reflect a low sense of self-worth in those who harbour them and can form the basis for ideologies and actions – acts of hostility, aggression, and hatred – that are universally condemned. Hołownia is keenly aware of this, which is why he calls for change in mindset and behaviour, leading by example with openness and invoking the words of St. Paul from the Letter to the Romans (12:20).

Expressing gratitude and satisfaction plays a significant role in Marshal Hołownia's speeches. He frequently thanks voters for granting MPs the mandate to represent them in the Sejm. It is worth noting that while polite expressions such as "thank you" and "thank you very much" primarily serve to manage the flow of the proceedings, they do more than merely convey gratitude. These phrases also serve as clear signals of respect toward the MPs taking the floor.

Hołownia also expresses his satisfaction directly through phrases like "it pleases me," "I'm glad," or "I'm very glad," often in response to the presence of President Duda, the remarks or actions of MPs, or the general conduct of the proceedings. However, Hołownia's intent in these instances appears to go beyond simply communicating his personal emotional state. His expressions of satisfaction often reflect his approval of broader developments, such as the proper functioning of relationships between state

institutions in Poland, the orderly progression of parliamentary work, the engagement of young people in politics and Sejm activities, and the creation of a community invested in the nation's future. For example:

> **I'm glad** that this project, born out of your hard work and determination – work that is so necessary, as you so movingly described – is being advanced at the start of this parliamentary term. (29.11.2023)

> **I'm very glad** that President Andrzej Duda is once again with us, having come to the Sejm to witness these events, so important to our nation. (11.12.2023)

> Ladies and gentlemen, while some may have a problem with the fact that the Sejm is being watched with great interest today, we are glad about it, and I send my greetings to the students, teachers, and staff of the School of Crafts in Łódź. […] I hope that on this important day, we are all united, **rejoicing** in Polish democracy. (11.12.2023)

It is also important to note that Hołownia often combines these expressions of joy and satisfaction with a touch of irony, using it as a rhetorical device to undermine the positions and statements of his political opponents while setting the tone for polite conversation and positive emotion. His opponents, after all, would find it difficult not to share the satisfaction with decisions that benefit most of their fellow citizens:

> Mr. Prime Minister, **how delighted I am.** For so long, you and your colleagues have told us that nothing could be done about the VAT on food, and now it turns out […] that something can be done after all. I'm very glad about this regulation and your declaration, as it is eagerly awaited by millions of Poles." [addressing Prime Minister M. Morawiecki] (29.11.2023)

It is crucial to emphasize that the emotions expressed explicitly in Hołownia's speeches as the Marshal of the 10th Sejm are predominantly positive. This approach aligns with his guiding principle of overcoming evil with good. Hołownia establishes the norm of mutual respect in the Sejm, adheres to it unconditionally, and uses his position to encourage and admonish MPs who do not yet follow these standards.

B. Value-laden conceptualizations of emotions

A key characteristic of political language is the use of everyday metaphors, which – as noted by Lakoff and Johnson (1988: 25) – allows for specific aspects of social life to be understood through comparisons to other conceptual categories. The compaction of meaning achieved through metaphors makes description of political realities easier (Fras 2005: 154), including emotions and value-laden beliefs, which inherently carry a persuasive element (Laskowska 2015: 55). Concepts of emotions usually focus on how emotions are named, manifested, and played out by those experiencing them; as well as the values and judgments conveyed through metaphors (Nowakowska-Kępna 2000: 138). The context in which metaphors are used influences their emergence, shape, and interpretation (Bartmiński 2001: 110), with not only the style and genre of the text play-

ing a role, but also the common knowledge of the world among the participants in the communication, including cultural stereotypes (Rybka 2014).

In Hołownia's speeches, conceptual frameworks are used to describe both parliamentary realities and other aspects of political life, serving as the foundation for distinctive metaphorical comparisons. These comparisons often involve categories that carry significant value judgments, allowing these emotionally charged forms to convey both emotions and values. To ensure that the intended valuation is received, Hołownia often juxtaposes the elements of these comparisons by correlating opposing antonymic categories, as illustrated in his statements during the first session of the 10th Sejm:

> I came into politics from the outside. I don't know all its tricks, but I do know its heart, which is sometimes – too often – forgotten. **Politics is not about violence; politics is about care. This chamber is not an MMA octagon; it's a house for meetings and conversations.** […] Therefore, from tomorrow, or even from today, as we learn from the media, much will change here. […] **The Sejm of the Republic of Poland will never again be a service point for the government. It will not be anyone's voting machine.**

> You have elected me as the Marshal of the Sejm, not just a part of this chamber. There are parties here whose views I deeply disagree with. But they are here by the will of the Polish people. I assure you that **the Sejm will not become another battleground for the destructive Polish-Polish war.** From now on, all MPs […] will be held to the same standards, and **the Marshal's role will be to enforce fair play**.

> Today, you have entrusted me with the role of guardian of dignity and order in this chamber. Therefore, I promise you that I will strictly adhere to the rules we have agreed upon, **out of respect for the 21 million Poles who did not stand in ballot queues all night long just so you can waste their valuable time on yet another show.** (13.11.2023)

The Marshal expresses feelings of indignation and irritation – defined as a "mental state triggered by something that provokes opposition, accompanied by the overt display of strong dissatisfaction or anger" – in response to behaviour of certain members of the political class. Hołownia rejects the notion that politics should be a platform for violence or that politicians should exploit their power over citizens. To convey his negative emotions and critique the prevailing dynamics in the parliament, he employs metaphors that illustrate the instrumental use of aggression to achieve partisan or personal goals. For example, he asserts that the Sejm is not an MMA octagon – a place where a fighter's sole objective is to force an opponent into submission. Similarly, the lower house of the Polish parliament is not a battlefield for a destructive civil war. The use of metaphors related to competition and combat (sports and warfare) is intentional; the Marshal highlights the threat to democracy, which demands an extraordinary response. He contrasts this unacceptable experience of anger with *care* – a full-on desire for well-being of others, transcending one's personal needs, rooted in concern and wish to provide protection.

Hołownia is acutely aware of the Sejm's dysfunction and the urgent need for reform, which he articulates using the metaphor of *home*, a concept as prevalent in political language as military metaphors. If the Sejm is to be a home, then parliamentarians should behave like a loving, caring family, with this metaphor implying the closeness of Poles, their unity in safeguarding the nation's well-being, and the need for their collaboration in a polarized society (cf. Podracki, Trysińska 2006: 432, Kampka 2010: 149).

These metaphorical comparisons are frequently employed as admonishments directed at MPs who violate parliamentary rules or hinder the Marshal's ability to conduct proceedings. Such statements underscore the significance of the Marshal's role in maintaining order in the Sejm chamber. Hołownia uses emotionally charged constructs to starkly contrast the desired state with the situation being criticized. These metaphors can sometimes be perceived as rebukes, as it is difficult to refute the meanings they convey (Dobrzyńska 1994: 135; Poprawa 2009: 106). On the other hand, the use of emotionally charged metaphors and comparative constructs often helps to diffuse tension among MPs:

> **Please calm your emotions. This is the Sejm, not a stadium, even though they both start with 'S'.** Your shouting, especially when we are discussing matters of national importance, is truly out of place. (8.02.2024)

> Gentlemen, I am initiating the process of excluding you from Sejm's proceedings. **We are not in kindergarten, and I am not a kindergarten teacher who needs to figure out who started it – I am the Marshal of the Sejm**. (9.02.2024)

One of the more intriguing methods Hołownia uses to indirectly express emotions is through the lexeme *heart*, which appears in phrases like "having a heart," "having a big heart," "something warms one's heart," or "honey on my heart", the latter a Polish equivalent of "that's music to my ears".

> Opposition to time allocation, is that it? **You have no heart**, you know. Well, so be it." (Noise in the chamber) (Voice from the chamber: Mr. Marshal, one minute.) "Listen, **my heart is really very big**, but I have to say you are heartless, constantly raising objections. I have no choice but to put this to a vote now. (19.12.2023)

> Just a word to MP Schreiber […]. Mr. Schreiber, I have said this many times before, and I'll say it again: **My heart bleeds every time** you mention that 'freezer'. (6.12.2023)

> The enthusiasm with which you welcome the implementation of Article 186 strengthens and **warms my heart**. (19.12.2023)

> **Nothing cheers the Marshal's heart** in the morning like a motion for a break, but MP Sebastian Kaleta also submitted a motion to remove an item from the agenda. (18.01.2024)

Linguists note that the *heart* is often considered a container for emotions, filled with fluid, energy, or another "self." Warm, hot, or boiling emotions suggest that the body, as a container filled with energy and pressure from experienced emotions, undergoes changes until it violently releases the emotions, much like a liquid brought to a boil that expands and seemingly explodes. This represents an upward, outward movement (Nowakowska-Kempna 1995: 151) and invokes concepts with primordial characteristics: inside ('containment') and close (to something) (Wierzbicka 2006: 115).

The emotions Hołownia expresses using heart-related phrases are both positive and negative. They occur frequently enough to suggest Hołownia has a penchant for them. The highlighted phrases metaphorically express emotions such as joy (e.g., "something warms one's heart," "something pleases one's heart"), understanding ("my heart is big"), but also dissatisfaction or sadness ("my heart bleeds," "you are heartless"). These phrases serve to somewhat euphemize the emotions mentioned, while their use in formal settings lends a solemn tone to the speech, sometimes exaggerating the expressed emotion or softening the irony, thus warming the Marshal's image.

> Allow me to start by saying that what you've just shared isn't popcorn, but rather **music to my ears** (literally in Polish: **honey to my heart**): your emphasis on the necessity of hard work in this chamber and the importance of addressing the issues facing Polish citizens. (28.11.2024)

In Hołownia's view, politics itself has a *heart* – a seat of emotions – suggesting that it can be sensitive, compassionate, and oriented toward finding common ground in the service of all citizens. This is the kind of politics Hołownia knows and aspires to practice, crafting an image that stands in stark contrast to the previous norm – a politics characterized by dishonest power plays, which provoked negative emotions in him:

> I came into politics from outside of it. I don't know all its tricks, but **I do know its heart, which is sometimes – too often – forgotten**. (13.11.2023)

Hołownia is a skilled orator who uses emotionally charged, everyday metaphors not merely as rhetorical flourishes but as clear and direct expressions of the emotional tone – whether negative or positive – of his statements, framed within specific conceptual contexts. These metaphors bridge the gap between a politician and a voter, fostering a sense of community when both share a common understanding of the world. This connection allows him to gain supporters and persuade them of his views.

C.   Managing emotional outbursts in parliamentary debates

The Sejm chamber and the communication within it often take the form of debates where MPs' positions are already well-known or become clear as they approach the podium. The polarization of views on the Polish political scene typically follows the "us vs. them" dynamic (Bralczyk 1987, Nowak 2002, Ożóg 2004).

The 10th Sejm, where Szymon Hołownia serves as a half-term Marshal, marks the beginning of a new political power structure. This shift involves establishing a new order, often framed by an updated axiological opposition – "them" (negative) vs. "us"

(positive) – correlated with time: *what was* (negative) vs. *what is* (positive). Hołownia is fully aware of the high level of emotion in the Sejm and the antagonistic positions of the MPs. He also understands that a significant portion of the chamber does not accept him. As Marshal, he adopts the principle of *decorum*, knowing how debates should be conducted and committing to uphold these standards. His composure and demeanour have earned him the respect of many in the media.

> I greatly appreciate your comments and feedback, but I must say, from my perspective, they are getting a bit repetitive. I encourage you to be more original and intellectually creative. (Laughter in the chamber, applause) It takes skill to deliver an insult as well. (14.11.2023)

Despite the escalation of emotions during Sejm sessions, including insults and negative remarks directed at him, Hołownia remains composed, refrains from raising his voice, and instead calms and admonishes others. He understands that language serves as a tool for expressing values (Wieczorek 1999: 15), and he uses this knowledge to his advantage, humorously responding to criticism, particularly from the MPs of Law & Justice, as well as the Confederation. His witty retorts serve as defence against verbal, often aggressive attacks. This ability allows him to maintain order during challenging situations when emotions and behaviours in the chamber threaten to disrupt proceedings, effectively regulating the work of MPs:

> *Minister M. Wójcik:* Mr. Marshal, Ladies and Gentlemen, as you can see, it's not easy being the Marshal of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland.
>
> *Marshal:* I expected nothing less, Mr. Minister. (14.11.2023)
>
> *Marshal:* Does MP Tomasz Piotr Nowak wish to speak? Yes? No? Alright. In that case, the list of speakers is exhausted. Please proceed. (20.12.2023)
>
> *MP G. A. Płaczek:* Mr. Marshal, I'd like to provide a refutation.
>
> *Marshal:* A refutation? What exactly would you like to refute? A lie? And manipulation? And can you do it in one minute? Please proceed. (20.12.2023)

It is also important to note that the Marshal's emotional expressions are conveyed through paralinguistic elements: tone of voice, facial expressions, gestures, and body language, all of which Hołownia uses to comment on events in the Sejm chamber.

From the first session of the 10th Sejm, Szymon Hołownia has had to contend with verbal aggression from political opponents seeking to undermine his role, labelling him a "novice" or "half-term" Marshal (Peisert 2004: 20, 23). Verbal aggression is an interaction involving aggressors – politicians of the current opposition – the victim of the aggression (the Marshal), and observers (Leszczyńska 2021: 202).[10] In his political life,

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10 Observers can be divided into two groups: **(1) Parliamentarians present in the chamber.** These individuals are either passive observers of the attack or actively engage in the exchange, either siding with the attackers or the person being attacked. Numerous examples of this can be found in the

Hołownia encounters negative phenomena typical of contemporary public discourse: lack of responsibility for words, devaluation of language as value, degeneration of language as a communication tool, and the use of language as a weapon against others (Cegieła 2014: 24). Moreover, this discourse is confrontational and binary, with most politicians appearing more concerned with amplifying their own views (Leszczyńska 2021: 202), building (or reinforcing) their image, and discrediting others (Ożóg 2004: 157), while also evoking specific emotions in external observers.

Hołownia's emotional response to parliamentary speeches depends on the context in which the statements are made. He shows the ability to manage his emotions, assertiveness, and resilience in the face of attacks from political opponents, while reaffirming his own convictions by challenging those of others:

> **Your definition of a single sentence is unknown to Polish grammar.** Thank you very much. (14.11.2023) [to MP P. Czarnek]

> *MP B. Bartuś:* Mr. Marshal, please allow me to justify my objection. Please don't limit my time.

> *Marshal:* But I'm not limiting it. You all have equal rights.

> *MP B. Bartuś:* Three minutes?

> *Marshal:* **Three minutes is eternity in this chamber, Ms MP.** (6.12.2023)

The Marshal's rhetorical skill and flair for wordplay often allow him to use his own statements as a springboard for crafting a punchline that comments on the current political situation. For instance, when Prime Minister Morawiecki accused the Marshal of failing to eliminate the "freezer"[11] and suggested that promises of genuine and effective work on legislation were empty, Hołownia responded with a slip of the tongue, replacing the word *procedować* (to proceed according to a specified procedure) with *procesować* (to litigate or pursue legal action):

> We're doing what we can, and you are also doing what you can, working in committees to ensure these projects are *procesowane* (processed). […] I sincerely apologize, but sometimes the word 'process' comes so readily to mind that I can't help it. […] Yes, of course: *procedowane* (proceeded with), you are absolutely right. (28.11.2023)

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analyzed material, such as: "No, no, Mr. Marshal."; "Scandal!"; "Bravo!"; "Encore! Encore!"; "Stop it, Hołownia."; "Mr. Marshal, aren't you ashamed?"; "Resign! Resign! Resign!"; "Learn, Hołownia." Such remarks are typically recorded anonymously in the Sejm transcripts as *Głos z sali* (Voice from the floor). MPs also express their emotional involvement nonverbally, as evidenced by repeated notations in the transcripts, such as: "(Applause)"; "(Commotion in the chamber)"; "(Laughter in the chamber, applause)"; "(Some MPs bang on desks)." **(2) Observers of the proceedings** – the collective audience, including external viewers following live broadcasts of the sessions.

11 In the Polish legislative system, this term describes the practice where the Marshal of the Sejm postpones the first reading of a proposal, often indefinitely, by requiring legal corrections, effectively stalling the legislative process.

This retort could have been interpreted as a veiled threat or a hint of things to come, sparking emotions on both sides of the Sejm chamber. However, Hołownia's acknowledgement of the slip and correction helped to diffuse the situation and possibly ended the parliamentary debate on the matter. Despite the clarification, the Marshal's statement gave rise to many comments, discussions, and memes, stirring emotions among political observers, some of whom doubted it was merely a slip of the tongue.

Frequently, during Sejm sessions, the Marshal's decisions, the rules of procedure, or the order of business are contested, particularly by politicians from two parties: Law & Justice (PiS) and the Confederation. These objections often arise even before the Marshal calls for opposing votes. Hołownia responds with emotionally charged remarks that hyperbolize the act of opposition, thus exposing the absurdity of being in "total opposition." For example:

> MP G. Braun: Objection, Mr. Marshal! Objection.
>
> Marshal: **How much longer, Mr. MP? I appeal to the dependable side of your personality. You're opposing everything. You're making our life unbearable, Mr. MP. Objection to your objection**. (6.12.2023)
>
> *Marshal:* Calm down, ladies and gentlemen. I suggest we listen to the 3-minute statements from the clubs and the 2-minute statement from the parliamentary circle. […]
>
> *MP K. Berkowicz:* Objection.
>
> *Marshal:* **I know, I'd gladly object myself, but there's nothing I can do about it. I think that…**
>
> *Voice from the chamber:* Objection.
>
> *Marshal:* **Objection to time allocation, is that it? You have no heart, you know. Well, so be it.** […]
>
> *Voice from the chamber:* Mr. Marshal, one minute.
>
> Marshal: **Listen, my heart is really very capacious, but I have to say you are heartless with these constant objections. You leave me no choice but to put this to a vote now.** (21.12.2023)

In these exchanges, the recurring markers of Hołownia's emotional engagement include the previously noted *heart* metaphors, as well as evaluative language, repetitions, rhetorical questions, exclamations, and emphasis. The Marshal's emotional reactions, which sometimes reveal impatience, irritation, or even anger despite his declared openness and positive attitude towards everyone, most often manifest as ironic remarks.

> *MP W. Tumanowicz:* But one can be against a postponement but in favour of a break.
>
> *Marshal:* Mr. MP, **you have so many brilliant intellectuals in your party.** Postponement is a way more significant move than a 5-minute break. Let's vote. […]

446 MPs voted: 19 in favor, 417 against, 10 abstained. **I have no good news for you, Mr. MP.** The Sejm has rejected your motion, sir. (7.12.2023)

MP P. Gliński: You said nothing about eight stars.**12** Say something about that. (Interrupting Prime Minister D. Tusk's address)

Marshal: **Mr. MP Gliński, The Star ['Christmas' in colloquial Polish] is coming soon. You keep talking about those eight stars – one will suffice, and it's coming soon.** (Applause) (Voice from the chamber: Eight stars.) He can't wait. […] Ladies and gentlemen, please curb your enthusiasm. (12.12.2023)

MP J. Urbaniak: Mr. Marshal, there's a slight discomfort. (Bell rings)

Marshal: **You're telling me there's slight discomfort? Please continue; that's still nothing.** (21.12.2023)

Hołownia also comments on what he deems inappropriate behaviour or remarks by MPs, which are often emotionally charged: shouting, sighs with religious overtones, heckling, insults, insinuations that offend many citizens of the Republic of Poland, propaganda, undermining the dignity of the Sejm, laughter, mockery, occupying the Sejm podium, pounding on desks.

He also names the emotions that politicians experience: amusement, joy, enthusiasm, excitement, solidarity, slight discomfort, malice, ruthlessness, disappointment, contempt, hatred, aggression, jealousy, fear. He looks for the causes of this tension: the time is emotional, unrequited feelings hurt, someone is making others laugh, a temporary malfunction, someone tired, a compliant nature, a sense of humour, the sectarian dispute between PiS and the Civic Platform, the presence of MPs Kamiński and Wąsik, poultry-related metaphors, an anti-Semitic incident, a disgraceful act in the Polish parliament, and the need to be a martyr. It might seem that each time he empathizes with the person he is speaking to or about, expressing his feelings and understanding, but empathy eventually gives way to emphasis combined with evaluative irony:

Of course, you will be famous all over Poland in your pathological way. (9.02.2024) [to K. Kasprzak, Representative of the Legislative Initiative Committee]

We'll be here for another two years; you'll run out of metaphors, gentlemen. Please step down from the podium. (21.12.2023) [to MPs M. Błaszczak, M. Suski, and A. Macierewicz]

It's touching how you all keep track of one another's time. No electronic tools are needed anymore and no signals – maybe we'll do away with them since you express it so vocally. (21.12.2023)

Irony is one of the most potent tools in political confrontation (Poprawa 2009: 210); it diffuses the impact of a setback, such as disruptions to the order of proceedings led by

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12 Eight stars serve as a euphemism for a vulgar expression against PiS.

the Marshal. On the surface, he may be expressing a friendly demeanour and adherence to the norms of communicative etiquette, but the underlying meaning often reveals a sharp critique of his opponents' statements or behaviour. The intended message frequently contrasts with the literal one (Peisert 2004: 132). For instance, when MP Marek Suski demanded a recess due to the forced and controversial changes in the major national broadcaster, TVP, and Marshal Hołownia denied him the floor, refusing to call for a break, Suski likened him to Stanisław Gucwa, the Marshal of the 8th Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, a figure associated with the agrarian movement. Hołownia's response to this emotional outburst from the PiS MP was collected yet cutting. He not only displayed emotional detachment using a colloquial phrase but also provocatively invited further comparisons to infamous figures of the 20th century, thereby encouraging more attempts to diminish his standing (Laskowska 2015: 58).

Hołownia's provocation was intentional, knowing that Suski had recently compared Donald Tusk and the newly forming government to Hitler on a TV show *Kwadrans Polityczny*. While Hołownia outwardly refrained from directly expressing negative emotions – "keeping them in his heart" – he nonetheless maintained control over the situation, subtly expressing his disapproval (Laskowska 2007: 47–48; Pastuch, Przyklenk 2023: 176). This approach contrasts with the escalating accusations and negative emotions of the opposition MP and can be perceived as mature, socially adept, and likely to elicit positive reactions from the broader audience.

> *MP M. Suski:* Mr. Marshal, you are behaving today like the Marshal of the communist Sejm when Jaruzelski declared martial law. […]
>
> *Marshal:* Mr. MP, you can insult me with any words you like; **it doesn't phase me.** […] **You've already compared me to Jaruzelski; I'm waiting for you to compare me to Hitler again. Could you?**
>
> *MP M. Suski:* Behold the new Jaruzelski. (Voice from the chamber: Get off the podium!)
>
> *Marshal:* Thank you very much. You may address me as 'General, sir' or 'Mr. Wojciech'.[13]
>
> (Voice from the chamber: Stop it, Hołownia.) Please take your seat. […] I acknowledge your statement.
>
> *MP M. Suski:* You are a dictator …
>
> *Marshal:* **I'm a dictator, I'm Jaruzelski, and all those other things you've said will fit in my heart.** (20.12.2023)

Hołownia counters verbal aggression with a façade of respect and irony, leading to a controlled escalation of negative emotions, after which his political opponent did not re-

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13 The exchange refers to Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish communist leader during the 1980s who played a key role in imposing martial law in Poland in 1981 to suppress the growing Solidarity movement.

taliate, allowing the Marshal to resume the proceedings. Hołownia's use of irony serves to build rapport with the broader audience, not by identifying a common enemy, but by highlighting the flaws and provocations of the opponent (Habrajska 1994: 57). He then echoes the brutal comparison made by Suski: "I'm a dictator, I'm Jaruzelski…," likely aware that harshness can be seen as effective in the eyes of his voters, serving as "an attribute of a strong man, particularly one who is compelling and fascinating through his toughness" (Bralczyk 2008: 59). The emotionally charged expressions also reflect his personal stance on the attitudes and statements of his opponents, and the contrast achieved by blending refined and common styles:

> Excuse me, we haven't had the pleasure of dragging pans on the pavement together [one of many Polish idioms expressing dissatisfaction with too informal form of address] Mr. MP Mularczyk, sir, so for the time being, it's not 'you' but 'Mr. Marshal', Mr. MP Mularczyk.' I have a similar request for Mr. MP Kałużny. Let's address each other with the respect we deserve. (21.12.2023)

While the study of the Marshal's emotional expressions could focus solely on verbal communication, acoustic and visual elements are equally significant and will be explored further in our subsequent article.

Conclusions

Linguists studying public discourse, including parliamentary discourse, argue that political emotions have become as crucial as substantive competence, with negative emotions now overshadowing positive ones (Miłkowska-Samul2013:164), often amplified by aggression (Laskowska 2015: 62). Additionally, many experts admit to training politicians with the belief that they cannot afford to be bland; they must evoke emotions, both positive and negative, and must be able to externalize these emotions through verbal, para-verbal, and non-verbal means. Linguists further note that expressing negative emotions, dissent, or opposition in an appropriate and acceptable manner requires far greater skill than expressing positive emotions (Pastuch, Przyklenk 2023: 179). Szymon Hołownia is a politician who has surprised many with his carefully crafted image and ability to convey emotions.

From the outset of his tenure as Marshal, Hołownia has openly expressed emotions, reacted to the emotions of others, and used emotions as a tool in political battles, steering the emotions of his audience and persuading them of his views and feelings. Although he faces insults and attempts to stigmatize his person, he strives to control his negative emotions, sets clear boundaries, and responds to aggression with a smile, an appropriate rhetorical device, and self-deprecation. At the same time, he condemns unacceptable behaviour, and violence against others provokes his indignation and prompts the use of irony.

He responds keenly to the statements and behaviours of his audience and the broader context, as evidenced by his emotional debates, comments, admonitions, and warnings. Through wordplay and the effective use of irony, he captures the attention of external audiences and influences their emotions. His subjective, emotive-evaluative stance is

reflected in the highlighted lexical and phraseological expressions. His verbal communication is reinforced by para-verbal and nonverbal cues. It would be valuable to study how strongly prosodic and gestural emotionality are intertwined in the speeches of the leader of Poland 2050. This analysis pertains to the first sessions of the 10th Sejm, and the next research task will be to compare this initial period with Hołownia's performance in subsequent sessions. It will be interesting to observe how he reacts to emotional speeches, whether he continues to declare and express the same values, and whether his message remains consistent.

Undoubtedly, from the very first sessions he chaired, Marshal Hołownia has attentively listened to MPs' speeches, moderated discussions, and taken the initiative. Even in the most emotionally charged moments, he has maintained eye contact, sought solutions, and prevailed in disputes by responding to the incompetence and aggression of his opponents. He has ensured that the principles of collective coexistence are respected, that the Marshal of the Sejm is treated with respect, and that he maintains authority. Simultaneously, he is building his image of an effective, principled politician who commands respect and trust, who knows how to capture attention, and perhaps, who can unite people for the common good. He often appears to be smoothing over disputes, fostering a sense of community among MPs despite their differing views and values, and cultivating a "Sejm of respect." This sense of community is primarily created with external audiences – the voters following the proceedings, who previously stood up in defence of democracy and turned out in large numbers for the October 15, 2023 elections, and who remain engaged with politics.

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Names for the emotion of anger [*złość*] and relational affective states in modern-day Polish

The subject of the article are the names by which we define anger [złość] and the emo tions related to anger in contemporary Polish. The aim is to demonstrate that they can provide a great deal of different information about *anger* itself.

Research shows that *anger* involves a strong emotional tension; a condition in which a person becomes easily irritated with varying degrees of intensity. It also entails open displays of strong dissatisfaction, distress or rage, as well as a negative attitude toward a person, thing or situation; hostility toward a person; a desire for something bad to happen to someone. These names also allowed us to identify the symptoms of *anger*, e. g. anxiety, irritability, nervousness, etc., and characterize the behaviors of a person feeling *anger*. These behaviors are violent, aggressive, and uncontrollable.

The analyzed names revealed an entire spectrum of causes that trigger the emotion of anger, such as inability to meet a need, achieve a desired goal, fatigue, conflict, unfriendly relations, irritation, pestering someone, etc.

Keywords: emotion, anger, *złość*, name, semantic and genetic analysis

Initial assumptions

According to researchers, the term emotion[1] (from Latin emotion, from Latin *emovere* 'move, excite, excite') is not only ambiguous, but also "impossible to define" (Shewder 2002: 36; Reber, Reber 2005: 201; Dictionary of Psychology 2005: 84). It is generally accepted that it is "a general name for each of many subjectively experienced, affectively charged states whose ontological status has been established by simple consensus" (Reber, Reber 2005: 202).

Emotions are caused by exogenous stimuli (events in the external world) and endogenous stimuli (one's thoughts and ideas), a person's physiological and neurological correlates, cognitive assessment, and motivational properties (Reber, Reber 2005: 202). Importantly, emotions are usually not habitual, but result from limitations imposed by the social environment and culture. In other words, they depend on the specific perception of situations by an individual raised and residing within a given environment and

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1   Various definitions and concepts of the theory of emotions were presented by Kalina Kosacka in her work *Język i prajęzyk wypowiedzi o emocjach. Podmiotowe uwarunkowania* (Kosacka 2019: 13–50).

culture, on what meaning s/he assigns to them and how s/he evaluates and interprets them[2] (Reber, Reber 2005: 202; Ekman 2002: 21; Scherer 2002: 154 ; *Słownik Psychologii* [Dictionary of Psychology] 2005: 85; Kalinowska 2019: 17).

Emotions are the subject of research and description by representatives of various disciplines. Dominant among them are the investigations of psychologists, biologists, sociologists and anthropologists. They are also of interest to linguists. Polish linguists have described the social determinants of linguistic behavior (Grabias 2001), developed a cognitive definition of emotions[3] (Grabias 2014), showed that there are no universal concepts denoting the same emotions in all languages of the world (Wierzbicka 1999), and considered the language of emotions in various types discourse (e.g. the collective work *Od uwielbienia do wzgardy* [From adoration to contempt] 2021).

The present article aims to focus on the names by which we define and identify anger and related emotions[4] in contemporary Polish, and the aim is to demonstrate through their dictionary definitions and semantic and genetic analysis that these concepts, which we use synonymously, are heterogeneous in meaning, but their names can generate a great deal of diverse information about *anger* itself, which is not provided in dictionaries of Polish. Exploring this issue – as Kalina Kosacka writes – is valuable because it allows us to learn about the meanings constructed "in the process of receiving and interpreting experience" (2019: 7), where linguistic representations allow us to reach the representation of a given situation, and then recognize through a given name, and its interpretation, the representation of a given emotion.

As is the case with other emotions, *złość* [anger] – a basic human emotion – (*Słownik psychologii* 2005: 85; Kosacka 2019: 38), is difficult to define and imprecise, overlapping in its meaning with other affective states. This is no doubt due to the fact that "emotional concepts tend to overlap – examples of one concept may simultaneously be examples of other concepts, and the same concept may appear at different levels of the hierarchy" of a given emotion (Kosowska 2019: 41). It is generally accepted that anger is 'a sudden and strong, sometimes uncontrollable emotion with an aggressive quality, accompanying many situations that are frustrating, annoying, limiting, threatening or hindering human functioning' (Sillamy 1996: 338). Polish dictionaries define it succinctly as: 'irritation, agitation, outburst of anger' (USJP IV 1019), and 'anger that is difficult to control, manifesting itself in aggressive actions' (WSJP).

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2   According to Batja Mesquita, "emotions are cultural phenomena because we learn to have them culturally", that is, it is only by interacting with others that can we begin to categorize and feel emotions in a certain way (Galwino 2021, after: https://www.blogdepsichologia.com./pl/jak-kultura-kształyije-dziś-psychologie-emocji; date of access: FEB 28,2024).

3   It includes a definition of the emotional state, its subject, a description of the subject's behavior and the causes and circumstances under which the emotion occurred.

4   According to Richard Lazurus "[particular (?) emotions consist of entire families of emotions, although each separate experience of a given emotion does constitute a certain deviation from its ideal form" (Lazarus 2002: 137).

According to the hierarchy of emotional concepts, *złość* [anger] is the superior and basic emotion. Its set (i. e. the group/family of relational emotions[5]) includes other names with different meanings, i. e. *frustracja, furia, gniew, irytacja, niechęć, nienawiść, niezadowolenie, oburzenie, podminowanie, poirytowanie, rozdrażnienie, rozdygotanie, szał, uraza, wrogość, wściekłość, wzburzenie, zagniewanie, zdenerwowanie, zgorszenie, zirytowanie*[6] [frustration, fury, anger, irritation, reluctance, hatred, dissatisfaction, indignation, being worked up, irritation, exasperation, trembling, rage, resentment, hostility, ire, agitation, anger, annoyance, scandalization, irritation]. As we can see, the representation of the concept of anger in contemporary Polish is diverse and extensive.

Presentation of the names

Frustracja [frustration] (from Latin *frustriato* 'disappointment' (Kopaliński 2000: 182) is defined in Polish as: 'a state of unpleasant emotional tension resulting from one's inability to satisfy a need or achieve a goal' (USJP I 948), 'a mental state occurring when someone cannot satisfy his or her needs or achieve the intended goal, manifesting itself in strong emotional tension, anger and aggression' (WSJP) **Furia**[7] [fury] is 'an attack of anger, anger, rage' (USJP I 956), 'an uncontrollable violent and strong attack of anger manifesting itself with aggression and the fact that a person has no control over what s/he says and does' (WSJP). **Gniew** [anger, wrath] is explained as 'a violent reaction to some unpleasant external stimulus expressed by excitement, dissatisfaction, indignation, ire, irritation' (USJP I 1035), 'a mental state caused by something that a given person does not like and which arouses strong opposition or even aggression' (WSJP) **Irytacja** [irritation] (from Latin *irritatio* 'stimulation, excitement, irritation' (Kumaniecki 1965: 280). ; PSWO 2003: 246; WSJP) means 'angry excitement, irritation, getting upset' (USJP I 124), 'a mental state in which a person easily becomes angry, caused by dissatisfaction with something, an unpleasant situation or fatigue' (WSJP). **Niechęć** [aversion] refers to 'unfriendly feelings toward someone, prejudice, unkindness' (USJP II 902), 'a

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5 They differ in details, but the seme contained in the definitions allows them to fall into one class. The presence of this meaningful element evokes other, association-based affective states

6 For the purpose of this work, a set of relational emotions developed by psychologist and psychotherapist Ewelina Brzostowska was adopted (https://ewelinabrzostowska.com/lista-uczuc-i-emocji, date of access March 2, 2024). This is one proposal for the hierarchical organization and prototypical structure of emotional concepts of *złość* [anger]. Another was presented, for example, by Phillip R. Shaver, who included anger among *poirytowanie, wzburzenie, rozdrażnienie, zdenerwowanie, zrzędliwość, gderliwość, irytacja, frustracja, wściekłość, obraza, furia, gniew, wrogość, okrucieństwo, surowość, przykrość, nienawiść, niechęć, mściwość, uraza, odraza, wstręt, pogarda, zawiść, zazdrość* and *udręka* [irritation, agitation, exasperation, nervousness, grumpiness, grouchiness, annoyance, frustration, rage, insult, fury, ire, hostility, cruelty, harshness, annoyance, hatred, resentment, vindictiveness, bearing grudges, disgust, disdain, envy, jealousy and anguish] (after: Kosacka 2019: 40).

7 In Roman mythology, the Furies were chthonic deities living in the hereafter. Over time, they were identified with the hated goddesses of vengeance, the Erinyes (Schmidt 1996: 110–111; Kopaliński 2000: 183).

negative attitude toward a person, thing or situation' (WSJP). **Nienawiść** [hatred] is explained as 'a feeling of strong dislike or hostility toward someone or something' (USJP II 933), 'a very strong feeling of dislike and hostility toward a person, which may be accompanied by a desire for something bad to happen to them' (WSJP). **Niezadowolenie** [dissatisfaction] means 'lack of satisfaction, an unpleasant feeling resulting from something happening contrary to someone's wishes, desires, will' (USJP II 990), 'an unpleasant feeling of unmet needs or experiencing something unpleasant' (WSJP). **Oburzenie** [indignation] is 'a feeling of intense anger' (USJP II 1094–1095), 'a mental state caused by something that arouses opposition in oneself, accompanied by an overt display of strong dissatisfaction, upset or anger' (WSJP). **Rozdrażnienie** [irritation, being annoyed] means any 'nervous excitement resulting from unpleasantness, fatigue, etc.' (USJP III 988), 'a state of nervous tension caused by some unpleasant situation, fatigue, vel sim.' (WSJP). **Szał** [rage] is 'the mental state of a person who has no self-control and is overcome with great anger', 'an attack of anger, ire, rage, fury (USJP III 1488), 'a mental state caused by something that has a very strong impact on us, characterized by uncontrolled behavior and exaggerated reactions' (WSJP). **Uraza** [grudge, resentment] is defined as a 'grievance toward someone for some reason, resentment, grudge' (USJP IV 268), 'grievance toward someone resulting from behavior or actions that have caused distress or offense to someone' (WSJP). **Wrogość** [hostility] is defined as a 'hostile attitude toward someone or something, unfriendly feeling toward someone or something, hatred' (USJP IV 510), 'unfriendly feelings toward someone or something' (WSJP), whereas **wściekłość** [rage] – as 'uncontrolled anger, anger, excessive agitation, fury, rage' (USJP IV 541), 'a violent and strong attack of anger, manifested by aggression and the fact that a person cannot control what s/he says and does' (WSJP). **Wzburzenie** [agitation] is 'a state of excitement, nervousness, a feeling of anger' (USJP IV 719), 'a mental state caused by something that moves us greatly, throws us off balance and arouses strong internal tension, often manifesting itself in strong, uncontrollable behavior' (WSJP). **Zdenerwowanie** [upset, distress] means 'annoyance, irritation' (USJP IV 946), 'a mental state caused by something happening or having happened that a person considers irritating or annoying (WSJP), while **zgorszenie** [scandalization, shock] means 'indignation' (USJP IV 933), 'a person's reaction caused by the scandal of someone else's action' (WSJP).

The meanings of some of the names that dictionaries classify as gerunds are explained by using the verbs they are based on, and thus **podminowanie** derives from *podminować*,[8] meaning 'cause a state of tension, anxiety' (USJP III 241), 'make someone nervous for some reason' (WSJP), **poirytowanie** from *poirytować* 'become slightly upset (USJP III 289), 'put into a state of irritation' (WSJP), **rozdygotanie** from *rozdygotać* 'begin to tremble, shiver, tremble strongly' (USJP III 989), 'begin to tremble' (SJP PWN), cf. *rozdygotany* 'full of internal tension, nervous' (USJP III 989), 'trembling, full of nervousness' (SJP PWN). **Zagniewanie**, in turn, is a deverbal noun from the obs. form *zagniewać*, 'make someone angry, upset someone (USJP IV 781), 'make angry' (WSJP), whereas

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8   The word was attested for the first time in Polish in *Gazeta Warszawska* in 1795 (WSJP).

zirytowanie from *zirytować* glossed as 'make someone irritated, make someone angry, annoy, upset, irritate' (USJP IV 1003) , 'bring someone to a state of irritation' (WSJP).

Semantic characteristics

Due to the nomination basis,[9] all of the analyzed names can be divided into names indicating actions, including:

a) names of actions being the cause of one's emotions, such as **gniew**, **zagniewanie** [< *gniewać* 'make someone angry, angry, irritate' (USJP I 1035), 'cause a feeling of deep dissatisfaction or agitation in someone' (WSJP)]; **frustracja** [< *frustrować* 'bring into a state of frustration, cause or induce a state of frustration in someone' (USJP I 949), 'cause frustration in someone' (WSJP)]; **irytacja, poirytowanie, zirytowanie** [< *irytować* 'make someone feel angry excitement, irritate, annoy' (USJP I 1243), 'cause someone to become irritated' (WSJP)]; **nienawiść** [< *nienawidzić* 'feel hatred, disgust, revulsion toward someone; loathing; 'be unable to bear or stand' (USJP II 9333), 'feel dislike or hostility toward a person so strong that one wishes for their unhappiness or harm' (WSJP)]; **oburzenie**, **wzburzenie** [< *burzyć* 'destroy, break, violate some norms, principles, cause confusion, anxiety' (USJP I 354), 'change a stabilized situation or image of something for the worse' (WSJP)]; **podminowanie** [< *podminować* 'cause a state of tension, anxiety' (USJP III 241), 'make someone nervous for some reason' (WSJP)]; **rozdrażnienie** [< *drażnić* 'excite, annoy, exasperate, bother someone' (USJP I 693), 'maliciously or jokingly try to upset someone and provoke aggression' (WSJP)]; **uraza** [< *urazić* 'make someone feel bad, affront, offend' (USJP IV 268), 'ignore someone's feelings, make someone feel bad' (WSJP)]; **zdenerwowanie** [< *denerwować* 'get on someone's nerves, upset someone, irritate' (USJP I 585), 'put someone in a state of irritation, anxiety' (WSJP)]; **zgorszenie** [< *gorszyć* 'cause scandal, indignation' (USJP I 1050), 'cause opposition or dissatisfaction by not complying with generally accepted moral norms' (WSJP)];

b) names of actions which trigger a given emotion when they are failed, as in **niezadowolenie** [< *zadowolić* 'please someone, satisfy someone's needs or requirements' (USJP IV 769), 'meet someone's needs and expectations to the extent accepted by that person or giving them pleasure' (WSJP)];

c) names of behaviors typical of emotions: **szał** [< *szaleć* 'usually under the influence of strong feelings, behave uncontrollably, violently, go crazy' (USJP III 1486–1487), 'lose self-control, behave violently, aggressively' (WSJP)];

d) names of bodily symptoms of emotions: **rozdygotanie** [< *dygotać* 'shake, experience convulsions repeated in short intervals, tremble, shiver, quiver' (USJP I 738), 'shake, tremble' (WSJP)];

    – names denoting a characteristic feature of emotions: **wrogość** [< *wrogi* 'unfriendly, ill-disposed, hostile' (USJP IV 510), 'showing unfriendly feelings'

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9   This is a rather general systematization, as it is based on the main features of the names in question and does not include their secondary and tertiary characteristics.

(WSJP)]; **wściekłość** [< *wściekły* 'very angry, angry, aroused by the feeling of anger, malice, agitated' (USJP IV 541), 'someone feeling great anger and anger' (WSJP)]; **złość** [< *zły* 'unfriendly toward people, hostile toward them, unfriendly, unsympathetic' (USJP IV 1025), 'characteristic of a person who harms others, dishonest, unjust' (WSJP)];

– names revealing attitudes toward the world and people typical of emotions: **niechęć** [< *chęć* 'attraction to something, desire for something, whim, willingness' (USJP I 406), 'mental state occurring when a person feels the need to do or have something that will give her pleasure or will benefit (WSJP)];

– tautological names, whose definitions do not differ from the definitional bases, indicating the affective symptoms of emotions: **furia** [< Lat. *furia* 'an attack of temper, anger, rage' (USJP I 956), 'an uncontrollable violent and strong attack of anger' (WSJP)].

Genetic description

Native names prevail among the names of *złość* [anger]-related emotions, comprising 68.18 percent. These are represented by **gniew** [< *gniew* as above, continues PSl. gněvъ 'a state of strong excitement caused by dissatisfaction, indignation, anger, rage' (Bańkowski 2000 I: 444; Boryś 2008: 168). Earlier etymology of the name is unclear. Perhaps it comes from an unpreserved PSl. verb *gněti 'burn, kindle, ignite' or from the PSl. verb *gnětiti 'kindle, light a fire'. If we accept such an explanation, anger would have the original meaning of 'ignition, excitement'[10] (Boryś 2008: 168). A different opinion is put forward by Bańkowski, who sees the etymology of *gniew*, which is after all a component of many compound (two-stem) personal names, such as Gniewomir, Borzygniew, Dobiegniew, which suggests that this word previously meant 'combat zeal, lust for killing' and it is possible that it comes from *ghen – 'kill' (Bańkowski 2000 I: 444)]; **niechęć** [< *chęć*, as above, with the negative element *nie-* (Boryś 2008: 358) comes from the PSl. form *chotъ 'wanting, desire, eagerness', names of actions that underwent secondary concretization, this from the PSl. form *chotěti 'want, desire' (Boryś 2008: 358; Bańkowski 2000 I: 129). The variant with the nasalization of the vowel *o > *ǫ is, according to Boryś, characteristic of the West Slavic group (2008: 58), while Bańkowski believes that this change took place in Polish (2000 I: 130). Next to it, in Old Polish there was a variant with u – *chuć* (Brückner 2000: 178; Bańkowski 2000 I: 129)]; **nienawiść** [< *nienawidzić*, as above, comes from the PSl. form *nenaviděti 'not wanting to look at someone, feeling hostility', from the negated PSl. form *naviděti*[11] (Boryś 2008: 362; Brückner 2000: 361)]; **niezadowolenie** [< *zadowolić* as above, with the prefix *za-* has its roots in the PSl. form *dovoliti 'agree, allow', which in turn comes from *voliti 'express one's will,

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10 The original meaning of the noun anger is indicated by phraseological phrases preserved in Polish to this day: *pałać gniewem, płonąć gniewem, spłonąć gniewem, zapłonąć gniewem* [flare with anger, burn with anger, blaze with anger, ignite with anger] (Skorupka 1996 I: 249). Beside this, *gniew* is expressed by the color red, i. e. the color of fire (Kresa 2021: 54).

11 Cf. Old Polish word *nawidzieć* 'love, adore someone (SStp, date of access Mar. 4, 2024).

choose' (Boryś 2008: 725)]; **oburzenie** [< *burzyć* 'bring to ruin, destroy, shatter', 'make uneasy', continues the PSl. form **buriti* 'thunder, roar, rage, make noise'. It is possible that this word is related to Lat. *furo, furere* 'run rampant, rumble, roar' (Boryś 2008: 47). According to Bańkowski, the meaning 'destroy, ruin' should be derived from the PSl. form **oriti* 'fall to pieces', which as a result of adidetion – associating the word with the similar-sounding PSl. form **buriti* 'move violently (of a liquid)' merged into *burzyć*, see above, (Bańkowski 2000 I: 99)]; **rozdrażnienie** [< *drażnić*, as above, comes from the PSl. form **drazniti/dražniti*[12] 'act on the senses, stimulating them to react; arouse anger, attack, harass' (Boryś 2008: 123) or *dražiti* 'get angry, oppose, resist' (Bańkowski 2000 I: 296). Perhaps it is a Bohemianism, first attested in *Psałterz floriański*[13] as a translation of Latin. *irritare*]; **rozdygotanie** [< *dygotać*, as above, from the old form *dygać*[14] 'shake' – an onomatopoeic verb derived from an interjection (the exclamation *dyk! dyk!* or dial. *dygu! dygu!*) expressing shaking, trembling (Boryś 2008: 136; WSJP)]; **szał** [< *szał*, as above, continues the PSl. dial. Gerund form **šalъ*[15] 'madness, fury', which should be derived from the PSl. the verb **šaliti* 'go mad' (Boryś 2008: 591; WSJP) or from *szalić* 'cheat' (Brückner 2000: 539–540)]; **uraza** [< *urazić*, as above, is a derivative of *razić* 'offend, make an unpleasant impression, affront' (USJP III 892), 'cause an unpleasant impression, often violating or offending some moral, social or aesthetic norms' (WSJP), coming from the PSl. form **raziti* 'cut, slice, strike, hit; have a sharp impact on the senses and mind' (Boryś 2008: 551)]; **wrogość** [< *wróg* 'person with an unfriendly disposition, fighting against someone, a fierce opponent' (USJP IV 512–513), 'person or community that has an unfriendly attitude toward another person or community, fights against it and acts to its detriment' (WSJP) continues PSlav **vorgъ* 'enemy, adversary', and in the original meaning 'one who pursues, persecutes; persecutor' (Boryś 2008: 710–711)]; **wściekłość** [< *wściekły*, as above, a formation from the PSl. *vъzteklъ* 'affected by rage, overcome by fury, anger' (Boryś 2008: 715; WSJP)]; **wzburzenie** [<*burzyć*, as above]; **zagniewanie** [< *gniew*, as above]; **zgorszenie** [< *gorszy*, from the PSl. form **goŕьjьši* – a feminine form of the comparative adjective **zъlъ* 'bad'. In the 16th century, the verb *gorszyć* was coined, meaning 'cause indignation, exert a bad, demoralizing influence', and in dialects 'become angry' (Boryś 2008: 172; Bańkowski 2000 I: 457)]; *złość* [< *zły*,

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12 This was a denominal verb, cf. PSl. **draznь (*dražnь)/*drazńa* 'teasing, pestering (Boryś 2008: 123).

13 *Psałterz floriański* is a three-language (Latin-Polish-German) translation of the Psalms of David from the turn of the 15th century. Its name comes from the town of Sankt Florian near Linz in Austria, where the book was kept at the Abbey of the Canons Regular. The Polish government bought the manuscript in 1931. During World War II it was taken to Canada. Since 1959 it has been part of the collection of the National Library in Warsaw (Pasoń 2003: 193).

14 The verb in the given meaning was first attested in 1681. It persisted in Polish in the 17th and 18th centuries. Along with *dygać*, there was a co-occurring verb *drygać*. In the 18th century there was a repartition of meanings, that is, the verb *dygać* began to mean 'make a curtsy, bow', and *dygotać* retained its original meaning 'twitch, shake'.

15 Cf. the regional dial. form *šal* 'madness, Ukr. dial. *šal* 'state of excessive agitation, uncontrollable anger' (Boryś 2008: 591).

as above, from the PSl. form *złъ 'bad'. The neuter form of the noun *zło* became the basis for the derivative *złość* (Boryś 2008: 742)].

Loanwords rank second in the analyzed vocabulary (31.82%). These include: **furia** [< Lat. *furere* 'run rampant, become furious, agitated' (Boryś 2008: 47; Bańkowski 2000 I: 394)]; **frustracja** [< Latin *frustiatio* 'disappointment, deception, failure', from Lat. *frusta* 'in vain' (Kopaliński 2000: 182)]; **irytacja**[16] [< Latin *irritare* 'irritate, anger, anger, excite (Bańkowski 2000 I: 560; Kumaniecki 1965: 280)]; **podminowanie** [< *minować* 'lay mines' (USJP I 671; WSJP), from the French *miner* 'undermine', fig. 'destroy' (Kopaliński 2000: 329)]; irritation [< Lat. *irritare*, as above]; **poirytowanie** [< Lat. *Irritare*, as above]; **zirytowanie** [< Fr. ènerver 'disturb one's mental balance, cause anxiety, a bad mood, anger'. The prosthetic *d-* in *denerwować* appeared under the influence of the word *deranżować*,[17] which was falling out of use in the 19th century (Bańkowski 2000 I: 263; WSJP)].

Conclusions

The study has shown that the representation of the concept *złość* [anger] is extensive in contemporary Polish, but the names of the emotion of *anger* and its relational affective states, used by users of the Polish language as synonyms, are heterogeneous in meaning. However, on their basis, it is possible to generate a great deal of information about *złość* [anger] itself.

Złość involves intense emotional tension; a state in which a person easily becomes irritated with varying degrees of intensity – from *szał* [frenzy] and *wściekłości* [rage], i. e. a strong feeling of anger, to *irytacja*, and *podminowanie* – lighter forms of *złość*, sometimes difficult to capture. *Złość* is also an overt display of strong dissatisfaction, irritation or anger, as well as a negative attitude toward a person, thing or situation, hostility toward a person, a desire for something bad to happen to someone, resentment, hatred, disgust or repulsion toward someone, prejudice, or unkindness.

Signs of *złość* may include unpleasant tension, anxiety, reluctance, excitement, irritability, nervousness, dissatisfaction/lack of satisfaction, aggression, outburst of anger, vehement opposition, (bodily) tremors, convulsions, shaking, trembling, twitching.

During an outburst of *złość*, a person behaves in a violent, uncontrollable, aggressive, uncontrolled manner, runs amok, and reacts with exaggeration.

The analyzed names also reveal the entire spectrum of causes of *złość*. These include:

a) emotional factors, one's inability to meet a need, achieve a desired goal, express one's will, dissatisfaction with something that is inconsistent with someone's wishes, desires, or will, nervousness, experiencing something unpleasant, lack of choice, which arouses opposition and reluctance;
b) physical factors: fatigue;

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16 The word is attested in Polish in the first half of the 19th century. (Bańkowski 2000 I: 560).
17 It is derived from the French *déranger* 'cause a nervous disorder.' (Bańkowski 2000 I: 263).

c) social factors: conflict, unfriendly relations, actions that cause pain or insult to someone, create an unpleasant impression, often violating some moral, social or aesthetic norms, failure to apply generally accepted social norms, fighting against someone, disregarding their feelings and needs, annoying, teasing, pestering.

The names of *złość* and its relational affective states belong primarily to the native layer of vocabulary. Loanwords, most of which are internationalisms today (e. g. *irytacja* Eng. *irritation*, Fr. *irritation*, Ger. *Irritation* (after: WSJP); *frustracja*, Fr. *frustration*, Ger. *Frustration* (after: WSJP) are later. They appeared in the Polish language only at the turn of the 18th century.

Abbreviations of dictionary sources

PSWO – *Praktyczny słownik wyrazów obcych.* Edited by Arkadiusz Latusek and Iwona Puchalska
SJP PWN – *Słownik języka polskiego PAN* (https://sjp.pwn.pl)
SStp –   *Słownik staropolski.* Edited by S. Urbańczyk (https://psj.ipn.pan.pl/sstp.html)
USJP –   *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego.* Edited by Stanisław Dubisz
WSJP –   *Wielki słownik języka polskiego.* Edited by Piotr Żmigrodzki (https://www.wsjp.pl)

Other abbreviations

cf. –   compare
dial. – dialectal form
Eng. –   English
fig. –   figurative
Fr. –   French
Ger. –   German
Lat. –   Latin
obs. –   obsolete
PSl. –   Proto-Slavic
Rus. –   Russian
Ukr. –   Ukrainian

Symbols used

* –   reconstructed form
/ –   separates variant forms
'' –   includes the sense provided
< –   comes from

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Around the phraseologism *odkleić się, odklejać się od rzeczywistości (peel away from reality)* as an expression of human mental state

The authors of the article present the mechanism behind the emergence in Polish at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries of the phrases *odkleić się (peel away), odklejać się od rzeczywistości (peel away from reality)* and the expressions *odklejenie się od rzeczywistości (peeling away from reality)* and *odklejony od rzeczywistości (peeled away from reality)* (also with variant components *od świata (from the world), od życia (from life), od ramy (from the frame))*, followed by the contextual independence of the verb *odkleić się – odklejać się (peel away)* in the sense of 'have (or experience) problems with reasonable thinking; behave strangely, irrationally; live in a self-created bubble'. They also discuss the productivity of this neosemantism as a derivational base for originally youth-oriented, but now generally colloquial Polish noun formations: *odklejka* (and from it *odkleja*), *odklejony* (the result of substantivisation), *odklejeniec*, and *odklejus*.

Keywords: lexis, phraseology, neosemantisation, emotionally marked vocabulary

To describe the mental state characterised by focusing one's mind more on the spiritual sphere than on everyday life, the phrase *oderwać się od rzeczywistości (detach from reality)* and its derivative expression *oderwanie się od rzeczywistości (detachment from reality)* were in use as early as in the 19th century in general Polish. This is illustrated by examples such as:

> To understand the truth of life, it is necessary to *detach from tangible reality*, just as it is necessary to *detach from it to understand the mathematical truth* (Marian Massonius, *Szkice estetyczne*, Warszawa 1884, p. 59).

> Under this pretence and utter roughness hides another spirit of true genius. One would say that it is the lowest reality, but we will find out that their essence is precisely in *detachment from reality* and rising above the temporal world (*Listy z Krakowa*. T. I, *Wstępne zasady estetyki*, Kraków 1855, p. 270).

> However, already in the tower, this boiling longing intensifies most strongly; here occurs the surge of feelings and boiling unspeakable desires, here occurs *detachment from reality*, from the lowlands of temporal matters, from the world and

its bustling life (Józef Kremer, *Listy z Krakowa*. T. 3, *Dzieje artystycznej fantazji*. Part 2, Kraków 1855, p. 422) [1].

In Polish lexicography, the phrase was first recorded as late as in *Słownik języka polskiego* (*Dictionary of the Polish Language*) edited by Witold Doroszewski (hereafter: SJPD) (Doroszewski (ed.) 1958–1969) in the form *oderwać (odrywać) się od rzeczywistości, od życia, od ziemi* (*detach from reality, from life, from the earth) etc.* with the definition 'lose contact with the real world, have one's thoughts elsewhere; daydream', confirmed by a quote from Zofia Urbanowska's socio-moral novel *Księżniczka* (published for the first time in 1886): "*Madam despises the common affairs of everyday life and would be pleased to detach from the earth, while I prefer to remain on it and do not consider any matter trivial*" [2]. The verb *oderwać się – odrywać się* (*detach*) in metaphorical meanings: 'break away from religious unity' and 'interrupt one's current activity' already appeared in 16ᵗʰ-century texts [3]. In *Słownik warszawski* (*Warsaw Dictionary)* (hereafter: SW) (*Karłowicz, Kryński, Niedźwiedzki (eds.) 1900–1927*), this meaning was broadened to include the definition: '*zerwać* (*sever*), *rozstać ś[ię]* (*part*), *rozłączyć ś[ię]* (*separate*), *rozdzielić ś[ię]* (*split*), *z kim* (*with someone), z czym (break away from something*), *odłączyć ś[ię]* (*detach*), *odsunąć ś[ię]* (*distance*), *odstrychnąć ś[ię]* (*unhook*), *odseparować ś[ię]* (*separate*), *odszczepić ś[ię]* (*split off*), *odczepić ś[ię] od kogo, od czego* (*unhook from someone, from something*); *opuścić* (*leave), porzucić kogo, co* (*abandon someone, something*)', which, however, is confirmed by a usage that has already become fixed: "*O. ś. od świata* (*detach from the world*)" [4]. Returning to the phraseologism – in *Wielki słownik frazeologiczny PWN z przysłowiami* (*Great Phraseological Dictionary of PWN with Proverbs)*, the same form as in SJPD is recorded with a definition indicating a shift in the semantic dominant from: *stracić kontakt ze światem* (*lose contact with the world*) to: *odciąć się od problemów* (*disconnect from problems*) – 'stop thinking about problems related to reality, stop being interested in them, stop engaging or participating in something' (*Kłosińska, Sobol, Stankiewicz (eds.) 2005*). The latest lexicographical source, *Wielki słownik języka polskiego PAN* (*Great Dictionary of the Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences*) (hereafter: WSJP PAN) (*Żmigrodzki (ed.) 2007–*) also includes the participial phrase *oderwany od rzeczywistości* (*detached from reality*) meaning 'one who does not take into account the conditions in which they find themselves'.

The *phrase and expression* in these meanings have been present in Polish since the mid-19ᵗʰ century, as confirmed by 1229 texts searched by the corpus tool *FBL Risercz* (hereafter: FBL) [5]:

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1   The bolding in the quotes is made by the authors of the article.
2   https://doroszewski.pwn.pl/haslo/oderwa%C4%87 (accessed on 11 April 2024).
3   https://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication/18629/edition/33906/content (accessed on 11 April 2024).
4   https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/4380/display/Default (accessed on 11 April 2024).
5   The FBL Risercz search engine (Odkrywka – http://odkrywka.pl (accessed on 11 April 2024)) for searching through digitised old texts (systematically from the late 18ᵗʰ century) and contemporary texts, was created by computational linguists from UAM. For more information on this search

[…] he was forced, willingly or unwillingly, to stop writing; now, however, urged by circumstances, he will once again attach himself to work, so that by delving into the past, into bygone times, he may *detach from reality, from the world*, and above all, so that he does not have to remember this dreadful present) ("Przegląd Tygodniowy Życia Społecznego, Literatury i Sztuk Pięknych" 1891, No. 49, p. 10).

However, this *detachment from reality* does not last long; soon the prolonged whistle of the locomotive and the sound of the electric bell bring the exuberant fantasy back to order, reminding us that we live in the age of steam and electricity, and the loud voice of the conductor announces that we have arrived in Ustí (Aussig) ("Przegląd Powszechny" 1892, No. 35, p. 461).

In Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (National Corpus of the Polish Language) (hereafter: NKJP), these phraseologisms are found in 291 quotes[6], while in the MoncoPL corpus, in 7797 attestations[7]. In the most recent corpus, Korpus Współczesnego Języka Polskiego (Corpus of Contemporary Polish) (hereafter: KWJP)[8], which currently includes significantly fewer units (100,000,000), these expressions are included in 81 excerpts.

Information about the phrase *oderwać się – odrywać się od rzeczywistości* (*detach from reality*) and its derivative expression serves as a background for our further considerations dedicated to the titular idiom. As indicated by corpus and lexicographical data, in the 1990s, modifying innovations began to appear in Polish texts, replacing[9] *odkleić się – odklejać się od rzeczywistości* (*peel away from reality*) and *odklejony od rzeczywistości* (*peeled away from reality*), which in the 21st century have stabilised as newer variants of these phraseologisms. The first confirmation of the phrase is found in Dariusz Bitner's book *Chcę, żądam, rozkazuję* from 1995:

The "process of peeling away" begins. It is all the more radical because it is facilitated by the decision to isolate made at the very beginning of the work — in terms of space (the room) and time (months or even years). The creator "*peels away*" from reality. The next stage can only be the Great Vision. The Creator himself may not even realize this. His current contact with the world involves involuntarily noticing literary phenomena first and foremost, the essence of which had previously escaped his attention (p. 108 – FBL).

The next quote comes from Janusz Kijowski's text *Porzucić kanapy* published in "Gazeta Wyborcza" in January 1996:

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engine, cf.: Graliński, Dzienisiewicz, Wierzchoń 2017; Dzienisiewicz, Graliński, Świetlik 2018; Graliński, Wierzchoń 2018; Graliński 2019; Liberek 2021.

6   https://nkjp.pl (accessed on 11 April 2024).

7   http://monco.frazeo.pl (accessed on 11 April 2024). For more information on the corpus and the search engine, cf. Pęzik 2020.

8   https://kwjp.pl/query_corpus/21 (accessed on 11 April 2024).

9   The terminology concerning phraseological innovations is according to: Bąba 1981.

I always thought that a film director is also an intellectual. Of a somewhat lower breed, but still … So Polish filmmakers also have some sin on their conscience. I even know which one: the sin of omission. For many years, practically since 1989, Polish cinema has *peeled away from reality*. It stopped being interested in it. The fashionable saying that filmmakers are divided into those who believe in reality and those who believe in cinema no longer applies. Because we all suddenly started believing only in cinema (NKJP).

Another one, from 1998, comes from "Gość Niedzielny":

Aesthetic taste develops slowly and is often exposed to numerous difficulties. The fabric of language, as Czesław Miłosz insightfully noted, constantly tends to *peel away from reality*, and our efforts to glue it back together are mostly futile, although we feel they are absolutely necessary (FBL).

All other quotes obtained from the FBL and NKJP corpora come from the 21st century. It is also during this time that the expression *odklejony od rzeczywistości* (*peeled away from reality*) gains attestations. Here are excerpts from NKJP:

The protagonist of the novel, Jeż, before being attacked by various questions regarding fundamental issues, is a guy – to use the book's terminology – somewhat *peeled away from reality*. He builds a safe cocoon from which evil is banished, hides a tendency towards melancholy, does not think about the choices awaiting him in life, is immersed in self-deception, and thus gives the impression of being warm and permanently happy (K. Dunin, *Czytając Polskę – literatura polska po 1989 roku wobec dylematów nowoczesności*, Warszawa 2004).

The party suffered a defeat, although it was so sure that the nation would vote for them because it was also "*peeled away*" **from reality** ("Dziennik Polski" 2006).

Does the priest speak in normal language, or does he use empty church newspeak and theological jargon filled with pious phrases? If he does the latter, he is perceived as *peeled away from reality* not only in terms of language but, above all, in terms of problems encountered by young people (Usenet 2009 – pl.soc.polityka).

In the NKJP corpus resources, the mentioned phrase and expression appear in only four attestations we have cited, in KWJP – in 14, and in FBL – in 140. The most, as many as 802 quotes with both phraseologisms, are found in MoncoPL. Comparing these data with the figures related to the phrases *oderwać się – odrywać się od rzeczywistości* (*detach from reality*) and *oderwany od rzeczywistości* (*detached from reality*) (to recall: NKJP 291, KWJP 81, FBL 1229, MoncoPL 7797) reveals a significantly lower frequency of the new variants compared to the original form, suggesting a lower degree of their stabilisation. This difference may at least partly result from the different stylistic connotations of these variants and the genre imbalance of the corpora. The forms of phraseologisms with the components *oderwać, oderwany* (*detach, detached*) are characteristic of neutral and official varieties of Polish (especially written), whereas the forms with *odkleić* (*peel*

away) and *odklejony* (*peeled away*) are used in colloquial and spoken language (initially mainly in the youth sociolect[10]). It should be emphasised that in the corpora that have been excerpted, texts from written varieties decidedly predominate.

In the evaluative connotation of phraseologisms with the components *oderwać się, odrywać się, oderwany* (*detach, detached*), we observe a certain change in the history of Polish. Previously, these phrases contained a positive valuation associated with moving one's thoughts to the sphere of the sacred (cf. *SPXVI*) or dreams (cf. *SJPD*). Such a connotation also appears in texts from the 21st century, as illustrated by quotes from *KWJP*:

> It should be accompanied by a certain thrill of desire. It is meant to be a moment of **detachment from reality**. A moment of fantasy (KWJP – K. Kralka, *Siedem grzechów głównych*, Kraków 2016).

> …sighs for Gu Jun Pyo, the protagonist of a South Korean soap opera. She spends hours staring at her laptop monitor and imagining herself by his side. Indeed, she is so *detached from reality* that when spiteful classmates mock her infatuation, she solemnly assures them that not only will she get close to Gu Jun Pyo, but she will even marry him (KWJP – S. Chosiński, *East Side Story: Miłość infantylnych studentek*, "Esensja" 2013).

Nowadays, however, it is more often the case that a person who has *detached from reality*, lives in a self-created bubble, in a subjective world, and this state is evaluated negatively by the communicator. This can be seen in the following quotes:

> Why did Lepper manage to tap into the social expectations while many others did not? Did the establishment become disconnected? Have the elites *detached from reality*? Let's look at the most recent budget, the one for 2001 (KWJP – R. Walenciak, *Modzelewski. Buntownik*, Warszawa 2019).

> Another symbolic moment from the eight years of such governance was when PO deputies booed President Andrzej Duda as he advocated for hungry children. Perhaps it was genuine indignation, but all the more troubling because it indicated that the current government has *detached from reality* and fallen into its own propaganda trap (KWJP – *Platforma rozczarowanych*, "Gość Niedzielny" 2015).

> Paper is patient, but changing mindsets is not so easy. One of the countries that has not ratified the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women is the Vatican. The hierarchical, male-centric structure of the Church is increasingly *detached from reality* as well as from the experiences of contemporary women, including Catholic women (KWJP – J. Podgórska, *Spróchniały krzyż*, Warszawa 2019).

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10 For more information on youth language, cf. for example: Baniecka 2008; Wileczek 2014; Ożóg 2017; Pachowicz 2018.

> After decades of nurturing the division between what is for girls and what is for boys, promoting female figures completely **detached from reality**, and taking a schematic approach to social roles, the time has come for a real revolution. The toy that for decades promoted and reinforced unrealistic standards of female beauty is now supposed to teach acceptance of differences (KWJP – P. Socha-Jakubowska, *Lalki neutralne płciowo, lalki etniczne, Barbie bez włosów, czyli rewolucja w sklepach z zabawkami*, "Wprost" 2020).

The variants of phraseologisms in the forms *odkleić, odklejać się od rzeczywistości* (*peel away from reality*) and *odklejony od rzeczywistości* (*peeled away from reality*) also have positive or negative connotations, with a definite predominance of the latter:

> He drove and drove, returning to her as always, just like the protagonist of the song, covering meter after meter, and the journey was increasingly *peeling away from reality*. The Citroën glided along the invisible road so smoothly that it might as well have been floating in the depths or flying in the skies, the sensation would be the same. The world outside the window disappeared completely, sometimes becoming more grey, sometimes whiter, but directions ceased to exist … (KWJP – Z. Miłoszewski, *Jak zawsze*, Warszawa 2017).

> My wife Ewa is an incredible person. She has the soul of an artist. She is very hardworking, sometimes she comes up with an idea that seems totally *peeled away from reality* and out of this world, and then she takes it on and makes it happen (FBL – "Głos Pomorza" 2018).

> … religious institutions — without making a politically correct distinction between the Catholic Church and other denominations — have *peeled away from reality*. "The whole world is changing — except for the church hierarchy. Women do not celebrate Mass, there are no female mullahs, there is no female Dalai Lama. If church dignitaries could put themselves in our place for just one day, they would see that life looks different" (KWJP – J. Wróżyńska, *Po co zaprosiłeś tę paskudę*, "Gazeta Wyborcza" 2020).

> Stasiuk notices a certain dissonance between people and places. Poles in general, and in Lower Silesia in particular, are "*peeled away*" *from reality*. Strangeness, not belonging, waiting it out, homelessness may be key aspects of their way of life according to certain values (FBL – "Przegląd Kulturoznawczy" 2012).

In textual updates with the variants *odklejenie od rzeczywistości* (*peeling away from reality*) and *odklejony od rzeczywistości* (*peeled away from reality*), a meaning related to a narcotic state often also becomes evident, as in the following quotes:

> Then smoking for me is a nice waste of time. I've been smoking for hmm … 11 years? (oh my, I'm getting old!) and never longer continuously than 2 months. There were always breaks. I can't imagine living 11 years *peeled away from reality*,

besides, the effects weaken over time, they become bland, and my body becomes heavy. I reach for smoking at important moments for me, and when I run out of it, I don't think about another pack (FBL – forum "Przerwy w jaraniu" 2008).

I also think so, especially since the effects of taking DXM, such as stupefaction, *peeling away from reality*, etc., wear off after some time, of course, after taking a break from using. However, opioids can take away your desire to live, and they can do so for a much longer time (FBL – forum "Kodeina – wątek ogólny" 2010).

The state of *peeling away from reality* may also result from a very high financial status, as seen in the example:

Evidence that wealthy people are sometimes strongly *peeled away from reality* (https://joemonster.org/art/66264).

It should be mentioned that the phrase and expression also appear in variants with an interchangeable nominal component: *od rzeczywistości* (*from reality*) → *od świata* (*from the world*), *od życia* (*from life*). However, these variants have a significantly lower textual frequency than the form with the component *od rzeczywistości* (*from reality*) – the version with *od świata* (*from the world*): NKJP 3, FBL 16, KWJP 0, MoncoPL 13; *od życia* (*from life*): NKJP 2, FBL 4, KWJP 0, MoncoPL no data [11]. In the dictionary *Vasisdas. pl. Slang. Neologizmy. Mowa potoczna* (*Slang. Neologisms. Colloquial Speech*) [12] the form *odkleić się od ramy* (*to peel away from the frame*) is listed with the following definitions: 1. 'having problems with reasonable thinking; behaving idiotically; abnormal; being in one's own world'; 2. 'alienating; disgusting; getting on one's nerves'; 3. 'bizarre; peculiar; crazy'. In the analysed corpora, this phrase is absent. However, examples of the expression with the participle can be found on the internet using the Google search engine:

I feel misunderstood, *peeled away from the frame*, like I'm alone. I feel like I'm standing in a crowd, speaking about what hurts me, and people look at me like I'm an alien. I can't find my place in this world, and it will only get worse with age. (https://wykop.pl/wpis/40756247/czuje-sie-nie-zrozumialy-odklejony-od-ramy-ze-jest).

She suddenly trips and falls into the mud with her better profile. The idiot yells that he met Sokół and is live-streaming it on Stories. I slap him with a backhand and politely shout, "Turn that off, you fucking idiot!" Why are you lugging bags from Vitkac and those three power banks? Even if you post your dick, you'll get a maximum of two likes here (maybe three!). Don't count me in; they are *peeled away from the frame*. Not even a stoned Bareja could put together such an Adam and Eve. (https://genius.com/Soko-koniec-gatunku-lyrics).

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11 Attempts to obtain data on the frequency of the expression "*odklejony od świata*" (*detached from the world*) in MoncoPL were unsuccessful despite multiple efforts.

12 http://www.vasisdas.pl (accessed on 11 April 2024).

It can be assumed that the mentioned phraseologisms have become the derivational base for the verb *odkleić się (odklejać się)* (*peel away*) in a metaphorical sense, referring to the mental state of a person. Such a meaning is not yet recorded in WSJP PAN. Although among the five definitions provided, three refer exclusively to a person (or, in relation to the first definition, more broadly to living beings): 1. (gloss: *od ściany* (*from the wall*)) 'stop firmly adhering to someone or something with one's body'; 2. (gloss: *od partii* (*from the party*)) 'sever a connection with someone or something 3. (gloss: *od komputera* (*from the computer*)) 'stop engaging in something that excessively absorbs someone', none of them pertains to the mental state. Meanwhile, in contemporary usage, the meaning 'have (or experience) problems with reasonable thinking; behave strangely, irrationally; live in a self-created bubble' (the authors' own definition), thus related to human psychology, seems to be already stabilised. It is not difficult to find such contexts as:

> Zadyma defends Popek: *He peeled away too much*, but he has such lines! (https://mma.pl/zadyma-broni-popka-odkleil-sie-ale-on-ma-takie-teksty/).

> BLANKA LIPIŃSKA *PEELED AWAY FROM REALITY AGAIN*. The real problems begin when not only the readers do not understand the book, but also its author (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g3qDpMWV_ho).

> Krystian Hanke. Tatowanie. Jak zostałem **odklejonym** ojcem (Fathering. How I Became a **Peeled-Away** Father). Wydawnictwo Literackie (https://lubimyczytac.pl/ksiazka/4937716/tatowanie-jak-zostalem-lekko-odklejonym-ojcem).

> Not only today do you say or write: "Komorowski is *peeled away*, he cannot connect with people" (https://wydarzenia.interia.pl/).

> This verb is also used in reference to a narcotic state, as in the quote: Kartky about Koldi: "*Drug addict, the guenon peeled away*" (https://www.popkiller.pl/2022–11–05%2Ckartky-o-koldim-narkoman-odkleil-sie-koczkodan).

From the lexeme *odkleić się (odklejać się)* (*peel away*) in the above-mentioned sense, derivatives have been formed: *odklejka* (and from it *odkleja*), *odklejony* as a substantivised participle, *odklejeniec*, and *odklejus*.

The noun *odklejka* (in corpora: NKJP 0, MoncoPL 133, FBL 8, KWJP 0; recorded in SSM) means: 1. 'a state of *detachment from reality*, strange, irrational behaviour indicating problems with reasonable thinking; living in a self-created bubble' [13]; 2. 'a person who does not understand what is happening, does not understand social norms, is

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13 This noun has been listed in *Słownik slangu i mowy potocznej* (*Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial Speech*) (herinafter: SSM) (https://www.miejski.pl (accessed on 11 April 2024), assigning it as many as three colloquially and non-categorically formulated definitions: 1. 'a momentary lapse in brain usage'; 2. 'saying total nonsense peeled away from the reality around us'; 3. peeling away from reality, living significantly above average standards', and the examples of usage cited in the dictionary mostly illustrate the phrases *mieć odklejkę, zajebać odklejkę*.

absent-minded, lives in their own world, behaves differently from everyone else' [14]. This noun was submitted for participation in the Youth Word of the Year 2022 contest and received a special mention from the jury:

> The jury decided to award and give a special mention to the word "**odklejka**". As explained by Prof. Anna Wileczek, this word refers to states or individuals who are detached from reality. This aspect pertains not only to behaviour and mood but also to the evaluation of spoken content. *Odklejka* is experienced by anyone who is not sufficiently attached to reality, as a result of which they have drifted too far into the realm of dreams and live in their own world," said the researcher [15].

It should be added that *odklejka* less frequently appears in texts on its own, for example:

> Quite **an odklejka**. The guy searches through my profile and makes a post about a photo from a year ago (https://wykop.pl/wpis/69164857/niezla-odklej-ka-koles-przeszukuje-moj-profil-i-rob).

> What **an odklejka** on TVP. TVP "Wiadomości" about the Oder: The opposition, together with the Germans, is attacking Poland. (https://memy.jeja.pl/880079,ale-odklejka-w-tym-tvp.html).

> I have already asked about him… So now… Who was the biggest *odklejka* today at the FAME conference? Name. Justification. (https://twitter.com/m_turski/status/1696279867602432173),

most frequently, it appears as a component in phrases like *mieć odklejkę* (*have an odklejka*), *łapać/złapać odklejkę* (*catch/have caught an odklejka*), etc., in relation to meaning 1, and *być odklejką* (*be an odklejka*) in relation to meaning 2. This is illustrated by selected excerpts, for example:

> Grandpa already **has** quite **an** *odklejka* (https://twitter.com/tiszantul/status/1786333698217877819).

> It was fun, it is fun. It's fun to *have an odklejka*, do strange things and talk about how the fourth wall is a great partner for learning life. Don't worry, I don't know what it's about either. But at least I'm having a good time. I wish you the same (https://www.instagram.com/zuzapiwowar/p/Cr5vPoUq4x-/?img_index=1).

> JOHN *CATCHES AN ODKLEJKA* AND JOINS A CULT XD – RED DEAD REDEMPTION 2 #shorts (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19bpEnfBoPE).

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14 Definition based on: https://sjp.pwn.pl/mlodziezowe-slowo-roku/haslo/odklejka;9285765.html (accessed on 11 April 2024) and https://obserwatorium-mlodziezy.ujk.edu.pl/haslo/odklejka-odkleja (accessed on 11 April 2024).

15 https://gazetaolsztynska.pl/889827,Znamy-Mlodziezowe-Slowo-Roku-2022.html (accessed on 11 April 2024).

A 75-year-old guy, four months after losing the election, *caught such an odklejka* that he is throwing hands at people XD (https://twitter.com/RuchOsmiu Gwiazd/status/1756278029981020279).

In what percentage **are** you **an** *odklejka*? […] 0–30% Based on your answers, my conclusion is that you **are an** *odklejka* to this extent. You are very focused on current events and practical aspects of life. You seem to maintain a strong connection with the real world, avoiding escapism into fantastical or abstract thoughts. You value practicality and handle everyday challenges effectively. Do you agree with the result, or perhaps quite the opposite? Share your opinion in the comments! (https://samequizy.pl/w-ilu-jestes-odklejka/).

Is it still a joke or already violence? "You know that you **are** the biggest *odklejka* in the class" (https://www.edziecko.pl/Junior/7,160035,29227657,jeszcze-zarty-czy-juz-przemoc-wiesz-ze-jestes-najwieksza.html).

Moreover, *odklejka* is also used in the process of onymisation:

Saving **Odklejka** – a female dog whose life was ruined by a drug addict 💔

She was most likely fed drugs 💔 (https://www.facebook.com/dolopstraz/ videos/odklejka-cierpi-/448217550593698/).

The Stanisław Wyspiański Youth Cultural Centre in Bolesławiec · Home · **Odklejka** Theatre (https://mdkboleslawiec.pl/kategoria/teatr-odklejka/).

SSM also contains the expression *odklejona odklejka*, defining it as 'a term for someone who thinks illogically throughout their life', although the dictionary quote points to the phrase *mieć odklejoną odklejkę (have peeled away an odklejka)*:

– Hej, popacz jaki fajny mem! *Mikołaj aged 15 *

– Gościu, to stare jak świat. *Szymon aged 13 *

– Noi co? *Mikołaj aged 15 *

– Nie „popacz", tylko „popatrz" i nie „noi", tylko „no i". *Jacek aged 16*

– Boże, ten Mikołaj **ma odklejoną odklejkę**!

– Rze co mam? *Mikołaj aged 15 *

From the noun *odklejka* in both meanings (state and person), a negative derivative *odkleja* has been formed (MoncoPL 1 in metatextual use, FBL 0, KWJP 0; included in SSM), similar to the base word which is also a component of phraseologisms:

Quite **an** *odkleja* when I talk in my sleep after taking sleeping pills? My own voice woke me up

(https://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/001,001/2,33165603,Niezla_odkleja_jak_
gadam_przez_sen_po_lekach_nasennych_.html).

How do young people talk today? Who is a *drillowiec*, where do *Julkas* like to meet, and what does it mean to **be an** *odkleja*? A reporter from Dzień Dobry TVN investigated how today's youth communicate with each other. Can adults decipher elements of contemporary slang? (https://dziendobry.tvn.pl/styl-zycia/ mlodziezowy-slang-czy-znasz-znaczenie-tych-modnych-slow-st7520116).

Both terms – *odklejka* and *odkleja* – have also been included by the Youth Language and Culture Observatory as youth neologisms, or "*młodzianizmy*" [16].

To name a person detached from reality – in addition to the already discussed word formations *odklejka* and *odkleja* – the words *odklejony* (we do not provide corpus data due to the very large number of attestations and homonymy of forms; recorded in SSM), *odklejeniec* (MoncoPL 22, FBL 10, KWJP 0; recorded in SSM) and the systematically evaluative *odklejus* (MoncoPL 10, FBL 0, KWJP 0) are also used. Here are some examples:

Why do the *odklejeni* have it easier in life? On cognitive distortion (https://ne-wonce.net/artykul/dlaczego-odklejeni-maja-w-zyciu-lzej-o-znieksztalceniu-poz-nawczym).

He strikes at Świerczewski and Hajto. "**Odklejeni**". "Daro Lew" will face off against Piotr Świerczewski at the FAME FRIDAY ARENA gala on Friday. Will his next opponent be Tomasz Hajto? See for yourself what the man himself thinks about it (https://sportowefakty.wp.pl/mma/wideo/46604/uderza-w-swierczews-kiego-i-hajte-odklejeni).

What kind of *odklejeniec* is this? He posts some graphic that has nothing to do with the mentioned foundation, but does it in such a way that you might think it's from the foundation's site (https://twitter.com/K_Stanowski/status/ 1705932599695208478).

Bellingham? He is **an** *odklejeniec*, he should end his career (https://twitter.com/ SamSzczygielski/status/1787127214921658415).

What is Kaczyński talking about XDD? My goodness, what **an** *odklejus* (https:// twitter.com/elpege_/status/1768613334452949246).

The guy is some kind of *odklejus* who drives a junker worth 20k like it's a For-mula 1 car. He constantly drives that wreck around Wieliszew pretending to be a driver (https://tablica-rejestracyjna.pl/WL3700S).

The remarks made in the paper about the new phraseologisms: *odkleić się – odklejać się od rzeczywistości* (*peel away from reality*), *odklejenie od rzeczywistości* (*peeling away from reality*) and *odklejony od rzeczywistości* (*peeled away from reality*) (along with variants: *od*

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16 https://obserwatorium-mlodziezy.ujk.edu.pl/haslo/odklejka-odkleja (accessed on 11 April 2024).

życia (from life), od świata (from the world), od ramy (from the frame)) are evidence of the frequent way in which colloquial general Polish is enriched by adopting expressive word combinations from youth language. The stabilisation of these expressions is indicated by their productivity as a derivational base for nouns: *odklejka*, *odkleja*, *odklejony*, *odklejeniec* and *odklejus*. Let us add, in conclusion, that in contemporary Polish, other prefixed verbs with the root *-klej-*, also function in metaphorical meanings, such as *przykleić (się)*, *skleić (się)*, *posklejać (się)*, but that is a topic for a separate paper.

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Axiological and emotive dimension of biblical metaphor in media messages

In this article, in accordance with the assumptions of onomastic discourse analysis, conceptual metaphor theory and cognitive linguistic research, the biblical names David and Goliath will be analyzed, the frequency of use of which in media texts has significantly increased after Russia's attack on Ukraine in 2022. Special attention will be paid to the axiological-motivational dimension of the biblical metaphor and the role of the aforementioned anthroponyms in shaping the media image of the war and the mental image of the situation in the recipients of media messages. On the one hand, the onimic units David and Goliath appear in the international media narrative of war as creators that open up spaces of conceptualization related to the intertextual source – the Bible and the clash of unequal opponents. On the other hand, the presence of the analyzed proper names in the texts opens up new spaces that allow for the specific perception of elements of the current situation and its social perception. Biblical anthroponyms give the messages an emotional character, to which the evaluative component actively and significantly contributes.

Kewyords: axiology, emotionality, biblical metaphors, media messages

In this article, in accordance with the assumptions of onomastic discourse analysis, conceptual metaphor theory and cognitive linguistic research, the biblical names David and Goliath will be analyzed, the frequency of use of which in media texts has significantly increased after Russia's attack on Ukraine in 2022. Special attention will be paid to the axiological-motivational dimension of the biblical metaphor and the role of the aforementioned anthroponyms in shaping the media image of the war and the mental image of the situation in the recipients of media messages. On the one hand, the onimic units David and Goliath appear in the international media narrative of war as creators that open up spaces of conceptualization related to the intertextual source – the Bible and the clash of unequal opponents. On the other hand, the presence of the analyzed proper names in the texts opens up new spaces that allow for the specific perception of elements of the current situation and its social perception. Biblical anthroponyms give the messages an emotional character, to which the evaluative component actively and significantly contributes.

Introduction

Every text that appears in the media space is intended by the author to attract new readers or to meet the expectations of a regular audience. In the age of the Internet and globalization, this is not easy to do. One way to gain an audience is to make it more attractive to read, to evoke interest, emotion at the first contact with the text, which is most often after reading the headline. In the titles we sometimes meet proper names of an intertextual nature, which induce the audience to interpret the reality described in the media in the way intended by the author of the text. Authors play a certain intellectual game with the reader and, using persuasive techniques, influence the emotions of readers and shape the audience's attitudes towards the events described.

The information that appeared in the public space after Russia's attack on Ukraine unleashed a great deal of emotions in the Polish community, as well as the international community, mostly negative. These were primarily fear and horror, or in a milder form, anxiety and nervousness, resulting from the danger coming from across the eastern border and a sense of threat that hostilities could be extended to other countries. Poland overnight became a directly threatened so-called frontline country.

The international community's initial belief that Ukraine had no chance against a giant like Russia after the proverbial three days had already turned into some hope that perhaps resistance was possible after all, especially with some support from Western countries.

The situation briefly described was reflected in media messages. In a context that triggers so many violent emotions, a lot of expressive language has appeared in the language of the media to convey the complex emotional states of society. These negative emotions could not be allowed to turn into panic, which could lead to harmful and uncontrolled actions. It seems that one of the formulas that leveled out fear in part, which especially in the initial phase of the conflict gave hope for a different-than-assumed end to the clash of unequal adversaries, became the application of the biblical metaphor of David and Goliath to Ukraine and Russia.

Studies of the role of language in the construction of meanings and the creative aspects of this process have been conducted, among others, by the creators of the theory of conceptual amalgams (conceptual integration) Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (cf. Fauconnier, Turner 2002). Elzbieta Tabakowska considers metaphor as an obvious example of the creative construction of new meanings (Tabakowska 2009: 170), and we are talking about metaphor as a basic cognitive mechanism of the human mind in cognitive terms. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, authors of the work *Metaphors we live by*, considered that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of things in terms of another" (1980: 5), manifested in the projection of one domain onto another, and allowing to better understand and explain the reality around a person based on reference to previous experiences. E. Tabakowska also pointed out that, unlike the fixed semantic structures (i.e. domains) we discuss within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory, "przestrzenie mentalne w amalgamacie są konstruowane ad hoc, na bieżące potrzeby konkretnego dyskursu. Powstają w oparciu o konwencjonalne strategie – językowe (reguły gramatyczne i reguły użycia), pragmatyczne (kontekstowe) i kulturowe. W wyniku stapiania się poszczególnych przestrzeni ze sobą powstają nowe

jakości semantyczne: nowe treści i nowe znaczenia. Jakości te – zawarte w amalgama-tach – mogą się skonwencjonalizować, czyli dzięki powtarzanym użyciom utrwalić się w umysłach użytkowników języka”[1] (Tabakowska 2009: 171).

After 24.02.2022, the frequency of the use of the anthroponyms *David* and *Goliath* in media texts has noticeably increased, and these names have played an important role in the construction of the media image of the armed conflict and in the formation of the mental image of the existing situation in the audience. On the one hand, the onimic units *David* and *Goliath* appear in media discourse as creators of mental spaces associated with the intertextual source – the Bible and the precedent situation of the clash of unequal opponents. On the other hand, anthroponyms open up new spaces of conceptualization, allowing specific perception of elements of the current situation, its interpretation, and valuation. The Biblical metaphor 'David and Goliath' through the media has become fixed in the popular consciousness in relation to Ukraine and Russia, introducing a specific axiological and emotive plane of perception of the communicated content into the discourse.

As Agnieszka Libura argues, the sense component of the conceptual structure emerg-ing in the amalgam is emotions. At least four functions of emotions can be distin-guished in the processes of conceptual integration: 1) co-creating the global sense of the new cognitive structure emerging in the amalgam; 2) determining the reasoning strategies according to which the amalgam can be developed; 3) giving coherence to the new structure emerging in the amalgam; 4) facilitating global insight into the structure of the amalgam (cf. Libura 2011: 84– 85). In the case of the analyzed anthroponyms in the structure of the biblical metaphor, giving a specific meaning, setting the direction of reasoning for the recipient of the media message, as well as the very generation of emotions related to the issue of the clash/fight, the presence of opponents, competition, intended to lead to victory, is extremely important.

Direct, but also metaphorical and metonymic references to the clash between David and Goliath described in the First Book of Samuel have appeared for centuries in a va-riety of cultural texts and in relation to the most diverse contexts, so the Old Testament characters are familiar to the wider international community. This fits in with the broad approach to the category of intertextuality postulated by Ryszard Nycz, who treated intertextuality as a specific aspect of all the properties and relations of a text, which indicates the dependence of its production and reception on the knowledge of other texts, considering that the rules of genre, the style of the text, as well as the relationship with other forms of communication, such as visual arts, music, architecture, i. e. with the so-called cultural texts, should be taken into account (Nycz 1995: 120). As Anna Majkiewicz noted, by taking into account the relationship occurring between a literary

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1   "Mental spaces in the amalgam are constructed ad hoc, for the current needs of a particular dis-course. They are based on conventional strategies – linguistic (grammatical rules and rules of us-age), pragmatic (contextual) and cultural. As a result of the melding of individual spaces with each other, new semantic qualities are created: new content and new meanings. These qualities – em-bodied in amalgams – can become conventionalized, that is, they become fixed in the minds of language users through repeated use". (This one and further translations by the authors.)

text and texts from another semiotic system, the perception of the phenomenon of inter-
textuality goes beyond the strictly linguistic dimension of the work, incorporating ex-
tra-literary, intertextual and intersemiotic spaces as natural partners in the dialogue that
a particular literary work undertakes (Majkiewicz 2008: 21). Given such a wide range
of conceptualization of the intertextual pair of anthroponyms, in the present discussion
we will focus our attention on the presence of the units *David* and *Goliath* in a specific
context of use in media texts, i. e. concerning Russia's aggression against Ukraine. The
material was extracted in 2022–2023 from databases of press texts from various news
outlets. The analysis was carried out in accordance with the assumptions of onomastic
discourse analysis presented in the works of Mariusz Rutkowski and Katarzyna Skow-
ronek [2] and falls within the scope of cognitive linguistic research.

David and Goliath as carriers of characteristics

At the outset, it should be mentioned that calling Russia Goliath in the media has hap-
pened before, while metaphorical references to David have changed. For example, this
is how Georgia was written about, cf. "Rosyjski Goliat kontra gruziński Dawid" [3]. In
these comparisons, the attention of the writers was usually focused on the physical and
armed superiority of one side in the conflict, not necessarily on the outcome of the clash.

In relation to Ukraine also before February 24, 2022, the term David was used pri-
marily in texts that analyzed the degree of threat from Russia – Goliath, and the military
capabilities and potential of both countries, cf. headlines: "Walka Dawida z Goliatem.
Rosja jest zbyt potężna dla Ukrainy" [4]; „Starcie Dawida z Goliatem? Czyli o szansach
Ukrainy na odparcie rosyjskiej agresji" [5].

The biblical clash between David and Goliath plays in similar formulations the role
of the so-called precedent context (Kiklewicz 2020: 20), i. e. the context, preserved in
collective memory and more or less regularly reproduced in discourses in connection
with the discussion of certain issues, phenomena, states of affairs. The very concept
of *a precedent text* in scientific discourse was introduced in 1987 by Yuri N. Karaulov,
defining such texts as 1) cognitively and emotionally meaningful to the individual; 2)
having a supra-individual character, meaning that they are well known to the broader
environment of the individual, including his antecedents and contemporaries; and 3)
repeatedly referred to in the discourse of a certain so-called "linguistic personality"
(Karaulov 2007: 21). Studying how the precedent text affects the semantic use of words

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2 Rutkowski Mariusz, Skowronek Katarzyna (2020): Onomastyczna analiza dyskursu, Kraków, 32–34.
3 https://www.newsweek.pl/rosyjski-goliat-kontra-gruzinski-dawid/zdyslnp, date of access:
   20.05.2023 "Russia's Goliath vs. Georgia's David".
4 Paweł Orlikowski, Walka Dawida z Goliatem. Rosja jest zbyt potężna dla Ukrainy, https://www.money.
   pl/gospodarka/wiadomosci/artykul/walka-dawida-z-goliatem-rosja-jest-zbyt,141,0,2422413.
   html, date of access: 20.05.2023, „David vs. Goliath struggle. Russia is too powerful for Ukraine".
5 Julita Komosa, Starcie Dawida z Goliatem? Czyli o szansach Ukrainy na odparcie rosyjskiej agresji,
   https://ine.org.pl/starcie-dawida-z-goliatem-czyli-o-szansach-ukrainy-na-odparcie-rosyjskiej-
   agresji/, date of access: 25.02.2023, "A clash between David and Goliath? Or about Ukraine's
   chances of repelling Russian aggression".

in other communicative situations, as well as how it is reflected in the general vocabulary, Aleksander Kiklewicz wrote, among other things, about the phenomenon of apelativization, which concerns onimic lexical units (i. e. proper names) that undergo a kind of transmutation. It consists in the fact that although in the precedent text the proper name (originally) occurs in reference to a specific object, but through precedence it begins to function (secondarily) in other discourses, and often in the general language as a representation of a concept, usually – as a representation of the characteristic, which is entitled to the referent of the proper name in the precedent text (Kiklewicz 2020: 21).

In the context of the use of the terms *intertextual* and *precedent*, it should be clarified at this point that intertextuality is a broader phenomenon, since precedent texts do have intertextual potential, but they may or may not be permanently inscribed in the culture. The biblical anthroponyms *David* and *Goliath* are undoubtedly recognizable, well-known, cognitively and emotionally important and evoked in the cultures of many nations, so they can appear in international discourse as carriers of characteristics. It is the conceptual potential of the analyzed entities that makes them appear in narratives about the war as key words for understanding various aspects of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

Since precedent functions as a representation of a characteristic, we should first consider what characteristics of the heroes of the Old Testament biblical story from the First Book of Samuel we have in mind. Goliath was an invincible, experienced soldier seasoned in battle, and he disregarded a young, inexperienced opponent over whom he unquestionably had a huge physical and military advantage.

David was not afraid to stand against an opponent who was superior to him in every way, he showed extraordinary courage, was clever, believed in God and in victory. He justified his decision to participate in the battle against Goliath before the king (Saul) by his agility and skill in fighting wild beasts: "Your servant has been keeping his father's sheep. When a lion or a bear came and carried off a sheep from the flock, I went after it, struck it and rescued the sheep from its mouth. When it turned on me, I seized it by its hair, struck it and killed it. Your servant has killed both the lion and the bear; this uncircumcised Philistine will be like one of them, because he has defied the armies of the living God."[6] At the decisive moment, he struck an unexpected blow and accomplished something seemingly impossible. Thus, it is not the physical parameters, resources and experience that must determine the winner in a direct clash between unequal opponents.

The biblical metaphor as a space builder in media discourse

The biblical metaphor with linguistic exponents in the form of analyzed anthroponyms served in media communication as a creator of mental space, facilitating the understanding of the situation and allowing the authors of journalistic texts (even without citing detailed statistical data) to make a preliminary assessment of the potential and military capabilities of the unequal sides in many respects – Russia and Ukraine, and thus re

6   Holy Bible, New International Version, 1 Sm 17:34–36. https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20Sm%2017%3A34–36&version=NIV, date of access: 12.02.2023.

ferred to the size of the states, quantitative characteristics and the type of armaments. At the initial stage, the outcome of the clash seemed a foregone conclusion, with Ukraine doomed to failure. However, when Ukraine's defenders put up effective resistance, the media began to make headlines with the biblical antonyms David and Goliath, which simultaneously became exponents of a new interpretive perspective on the current situation. And, crucially, the emotional background of the description of reality changed. The initial emphasis on the disparity of the opponents was dominated by associations related to the outcome of the clash, giving the audience hope that the aggressor would be stopped, which had a significant impact on the change in public sentiment. Cf., for example, the title of Tomasz Leszkowicz's article "Dawid i Goliat, czyli skuteczny opór mniejszych"[7] along with excerpts from the text:

> W takich sytuacjach naturalnym skojarzeniem wydaje się biblijna opowieść o Dawidzie i Goliacie. Odnosi się ona do wojen, które Izraelici toczyli ze swoimi sąsiadami, Filistynami. W czasie wielkiej bitwy postrach siać miał filistyński wojownik o imieniu Goliat – liczący 3 metry wzrostu, okuty w mocną zbroję i uzbrojony po zęby. Wystąpił on przed własny szereg i wyzywał Izraelitów na pojedynek. Jedynym, który podjął próbę, był Dawid – pasterz i harfiarz. Stanął on, wydawałoby się bezbronny, przed olbrzymem i zabił go przy pomocy… kamienia wyrzuconego z procy, który trafił Goliata w głowę. Ten nieoczekiwany sukces przyniósł Izraelitom zwycięstwo, a z Dawida uczynił kandydata na króla Izraela, którym w końcu został.
> Historia zna przypadki, w których doszło właśnie do takiego symbolicznego zwycięstwa Dawida nad Goliatem, pozornie słabszego nad wydawałoby się silniejszym.[8]

Just when Russia's seizure of strategic facilities in Ukraine within 3 days had failed, representatives of Western countries recognized that with some support Ukraine was capable of resisting Russia's superior forces. This was the beginning of the provision of international support not only political, humanitarian, economical, but also military, and the symbolic reference to the clash between David and Goliath helped to reflect the situation in language in the international narrative.

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7   "David and Goliath, or effective resistance of the lesser".
8   Tomasz Leszkowicz, Dawid i Goliat, czyli skuteczny opór mniejszych, "Monitor" (31.03.2022), https://www.monitorlocalnews.com/dawid-i-goliat-czyli-skuteczny-opor-mniejszych, date of access: 15.04.2023 "In such situations, the biblical story of David and Goliath seems a natural association. It refers to the wars that the Israelites fought with their neighbors, the Philistines. During the great battle, a Philistine warrior named Goliath – 3 meters tall, clad in strong armor and armed to the teeth – was to strike terror. He stepped out in front of his own ranks and challenged the Israelites to a duel. The only one who made the attempt was David – a shepherd and harpist. He stood, seemingly defenseless, in front of the giant and killed him with the help of… a stone thrown from a slingshot, which hit Goliath in the head. This unexpected success brought victory to the Israelites, and made David a candidate for king of Israel, which he eventually became. History knows of instances in which just such a symbolic victory of David over Goliath took place, the seemingly weaker over the seemingly stronger."

It can be said that biblical anthroponyms have become a linguistic exponent of the axiological and emotive strategy in communicating with the recipients of media texts. As Aleksy Awdiejew wrote, the purpose of using a similar strategy is to develop a common emotive and evaluative attitude towards objects, events and states of affairs subject to value that are known to them or hypothetical (Awdiejew 2005: 141).

In the media messages it was possible to observe the depiction by means of further details of the precedent/prototype situation. Significantly, for the purposes of the current communication, the authors used elements that were actually described in the source text – the Bible, but new details could also appear, referring to imagining the situation on the basis of the description. Each similar verbalization contributed to the expansion of the system of metaphorical conceptualizations around the underlying metaphor. It can therefore be concluded that as the narrative of the armed conflict continued using the biblical metaphor, new shades of meaning emerged in the media messages. As Elzbieta Tabakowska stated, succinctly referring to the theory of cognitive amalgams, "tworzenie nowych znaczeń polega na bezustannym łączeniu ze sobą (czyli amalgamacji) niezliczonych przestrzeni mentalnych definiowanych jako wydzielone obszary przestrzeni pojęciowej, które zawierają określone informacje, przydatne na danym etapie rozwijającego się dyskursu"[9] (Tabakowska 2009: 170).

The phrases of the authors of media texts using the anthroponyms under study, for example, referred to the rather ephemeral (though extremely important) elements of the David and Goliath confrontation, cf:

> "Russia is in the 15th month of what they thought would be a three-day war", Admiral **Rob Bauer**, chairman of NATO's military committee, said in Brussels on Wednesday.
> "Goliath is wavering. And that is because David has shown immense resilience and tactical brilliance supported by 50 nations around the world", Bauer added[10].

In the above message, a very specific feature was exposed: the surprise of Goliath after receiving a blow, an imbalance both literally and figuratively (physical and mental). The statement also included a justification, that is, praise for Ukraine's (David's) attitude, resistance and strategy.

In the Polish broadcast, the admiral's pictorial statement was conveyed as follows:

> Rosja jest w 15. miesiącu wojny, która miała potrwać trzy dni – wskazywał w środę w kwaterze głównej NATO przewodniczący Komitetu Wojskowego Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego admirał Rob Bauer. – Goliat się chwieje, bo Dawid wykazał się wyjątkową odpornością i kunsztem taktycznym – ocenił.

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9 "The creation of new meanings involves the relentless fusion (i. e., amalgamation) of myriad mental spaces defined as discrete areas of conceptual space that contain specific information that is useful at a given stage of the developing discourse."

10 NATO top admiral on Russia's war on Ukraine: 'Goliath is wavering'
DPA WORLD Published May 10, 2023, https://www.anews.com.tr/world/2023/05/10/nato-top-admiral-on-russias-war-on-ukraine-goliath-is-wavering, date of access: 20.06.2023.

> Jak podkreślił Bauer, wysiłek wojenny Ukrainy jest wspierany przez 50 krajów z całego świata. – Sojusz wszedł w nową erę obronności zbiorowej. Nie tylko wspólnie bronimy fizycznego bezpieczeństwa miliardów ludzi i 31 krajów, ale też wartości demokratycznych, które cenimy – wskazał[11].

The use of anthroponyms of biblical provenance in statements allows the reception of meanings expressed both *explicitly* and *implicitly* based on the prior knowledge of the audience. The very fact of reference to a religious source text is of no small importance. In media discourse about the conduct of war, i. e. in communication of a secular nature, the use of the anthroponyms David and Goliath, which are entities with a religious connotation, and the presentation of various aspects of military action using a biblical metaphor imply valuation by means of a good-evil opposition. Sometimes it is present only in the *implicit* layer, and sometimes also in the *explicit* layer, as was the case in the statement of Ukrainian philosopher Volodymyr Yermolenko, posted on the portal krytykapolityczna.pl:

> Europa jest zafiksowana na polityce pamięci. Wojna wpisała się z jednej strony w utarte schematy, ale i nimi zachwiała. Jak Ukraińcy zapamiętają tę wojnę, jaka będzie główna narracja?
> Ta narracja już się ukształtowała w postaci silnej biblijnej metafory – starcia Dawida z Goliatem. Druga ważna narracja, która z tej wojny wynika, to ta, że jest ona konsekwencją nieukaranego zła: braku sprawiedliwości w naszym regionie, nierozliczonych zbrodni. Bo jeden ze sposobów, w jaki ta wojna może być odczytywana, jest taki, że Rosjanie za jej pomocą chcą utwierdzić się w poczuciu bezkarności, które rozwijali w sobie przez cały XX wiek …[12]

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11 https://tvn24.pl/swiat/szef-komitetu-wojskowego-nato-admiral-rob-bauer-sojusz-wszedl-w-nowa-ere-obronnosci-zbiorowej-7106184 , date of access: 21.06.2023, "Russia is in the 15th month of a war that was supposed to last three days, the chairman of the North Atlantic Alliance Military Committee, Admiral Rob Bauer, pointed out at NATO headquarters on Wednesday. – Goliath is tottering, because David has shown exceptional resilience and tactical mastery, he assessed. As Bauer stressed, Ukraine's war effort is supported by 50 countries from around the world. – The Alliance has entered a new era of collective defense. Not only do we jointly defend the physical security of billions of people and 31 countries, but also the democratic values we cherish, he pointed out".

12 Paulina Siegien, W tej wojnie bardziej niż o granice chodzi o model państwa, https://krytykapolityczna.pl/swiat/ukraina-w-tej-wojnie-chodzi-o-model-panstwa/ , date of access: 09.07.2023, "Europe is fixated on the politics of memory. The war, on the one hand, fit into established patterns, but also shook them up. How will Ukrainians remember the war, what will be the main narrative? This narrative has already taken shape in the form of a strong biblical metaphor – the clash between David and Goliath. The second important narrative that emerges from this war is that it is a consequence of unpunished evil: the lack of justice in our region, unaccounted for crimes. Because one of the ways in which this war can be read is that the Russians, by means of this war, want to reassert the sense of impunity they have fostered in themselves throughout the 20th century…".

It should be noted at this point that the interpretation of various aspects of the armed conflict in the context of the David and Goliath metaphor is not a matter of the Ukrainian perspective, but a general perspective, adopted by the international community and, which deserves to be emphasized, legible to many national communities by virtue of the source. This thesis is confirmed by the name of the panel discussion at the Munich Security Conference held on 17.02.2023, "David on the Dnipro". The panel began with a remote speech by Volodymyr Zelensky, cf:

> This panel discussion is called "David on the Dnipro". I consider it as a rightful respect to Ukraine and to everything our people are doing.
> But this year determination was shown on different banks – and not only of the Dnipro. Spree and Seine, Thames and Potomac, Vistula and Tiber – David is now all of us, he is a whole free world. David is everyone who felt that there is no alternative but to defeat Goliath, who came to destroy our lives. [13]

Only a brief excerpt from the speech is quoted, but from it one can already see the tendency to expand the system of metaphors and the speaker's absolute certainty about the proper reception of the speech by listeners from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Conclusions and discussion

In a broad view of culture, war is also treated as a cultural phenomenon. As noted by the author of the monograph *Wojna a kultura* – Elzbieta Olzacka, the analysis of the cultural dimension of the phenomenon of war facilitates the understanding of historical and contemporary reality, which is largely shaped by warfare (Olzacka).

Analyzed biblical anthroponyms – David and Goliath appear in media texts as specific centers, opening space for certain specific conceptualizations. On the one hand, they refer to universal culture and to the source of intertextual elements – the Bible and the Christian religion, which allows for a two-level valuation: at the level of references to specific characters and at the level of evaluation of their actions in terms of good and evil, which goes hand in hand with the expression of corresponding emotions. On the other hand, in the contexts analyzed above, concerning the war in Ukraine, the studied names help to shape, explain and interpret its image in the media space of individual countries and in the international narrative in a coherent way, based on the well-known biblical metaphor. As a result of building an appropriate mental image of the situation and emotional background, the leaders of individual countries could count on public acceptance of certain difficult actions and decisions.

The names and characters of David and Goliath, which have appeared in literature, culture and art for centuries and are also present in contemporary visual arts, are characterized by a high frequency of use in cultural texts. However, if we wanted to check the

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13 We are all David": Volodymyr Zelensky's Speech at MSC 2023|BR24. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=chYIebgMsFA , https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uFtSjMnBnfk, date of access: 07.08.2023.

frequency of their use only in the coverage of Russia's attack on Ukraine, it could turn out (due to the enormity of the texts) that it is not so significant. Łódź. On the other hand, the frequency would certainly be important with regard to statements, concerning the disparity in military potential and the inequality of chances between Russia and Ukraine in the war clash.

The anthroponyms *David* and *Goliath* in media discourse have become means of realizing the phatic function of speech, allowing authors to subtly reveal emotions and feelings associated with a threatening situation. The connotative value of the units analyzed is due to the prior emotional attitude to a person, thing, phenomenon or situation that is already known to the recipient, as well as the use of prior knowledge in the structure of the conceptual metaphor and the mapping of certain features into mental space. The emotionality of the reception of a message translates in the contexts cited earlier into a relatively simple and unambiguous valuation within the good-evil opposition and is of a more general nature. In contrast, the emotionality of the message resulting from the mapping of individual characteristics from the source domain to the target domain has to do with conveying nuances of meaning in new contexts. Valuing in such cases is concerned with more detailed, ephemeral qualities, not always well established in collective memory, or even hypothetical qualities, but related to the image of the original. The axiological and emotive plane, accompanying the use of biblical anthroponyms in the media space, seems invaluable for evaluating and creating an emotional public perception of the actions of participants and observers of the conflict.

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Manifestations of emotions exemplified by a German-language online forum for people trying to have a baby *

According to a recent statistical survey in Germany, one in ten couples between the ages of 25 and 59 is affected by infertility. Many of them join online communities of people struggling with the problem. In online forums for people trying to have a baby, they share experiences and exchange information about treatment options for fertility disorders. The authors of the posts (predominantly women), in addition to the purely medical aspects, address the issue of mental burdens that the process brings. They describe their emotional state in many ways. The purpose of this article is to show which linguistic and extra-linguistic means manifest the emotions of the forum users. The research material consists of 130 posts on a German-language forum that is part of the website www.wunschkinder.net. The following levels are considered: 1) lexical –lexemes naming emotions (*Wut, Glück, traurig, sich freuen*) and lexemes expressing emotions, including emotive nouns (*Krümelchen, Engel, Mist*), emotive adjectives (*wunderschön, perfekt*), emotive adverbs (*leider*) and phrases (*tief am Boden zerstört sein, wie im siebten Himmel sein*), 2) syntactic – e. g. formulating exclamatory sentences (*Ich hatte drei Fehlgeburten in einem Jahr!*) and rhetorical questions (*Warum schon wieder?*), 3) typographic – the use of iconic means to render phonetic phenomena (*ICH BIN SCHWANGER!!!, Vielen Daaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaank!*), as well as emojis.

Keywords: online forum, forum for people trying to have a baby, fertility disorder treatment, expressing and describing emotions.

We are representatives of *homo emoticus* (Verheyen 2010: 2) – sentient beings who love and suffer, and who experience joy, fear, anger or sadness. Emotions are integral to our lives and play an important role in all or almost all spheres of life: they affect thought and cognitive processes[1] , trigger creativity, help make decisions and induce action, strengthen or weaken interpersonal ties, and, as elements of cultural norms, play their

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* The article is written from the perspective of German linguistics, based on literature in the German language, and uses the terminology developed within this discourse. Thus, the terms appearing here are literal translations of German terminology (provided in parentheses).

1 Guided by the assumption that the process of gaining knowledge and accumulating experience is based on emotions and shaped by them (Mazurkiewicz-Sokolowska/Sulikowska/Westphal 2016: 9; [translation mine, H. S.]), proponents of cognitive science theories in the study of emotions advocate supplementing or even replacing Descartes' famous maxim *Cogito ergo sum* with *Sentio ergo sum – I feel, therefore I am* (cf. Kotin 2020: 142).

part in regulating social behavior, valuation, and even the formation value systems (cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2013: 1, 4, Bonacchi 2020: 43).

1   Emotions and their manifestations

Emotions are internally experienced states and processes that cannot be observed directly. They become visible only through some medium,[2] within which they can be expressed and communicated to the environment – such a function can be performed by the human body with its entire repertoire of gestures and facial reactions, or through language, in its oral or written form. Schwarz-Friesel (2013: 57) distinguishes three ways of manifesting emotions:

- Non-verbal expression through gestures and facial expressions, such as clenching one's fists, smiling, raising the eyebrows, or frowning;[3]
- Somatic reactions, such as increased blood pressure, accelerated heart rate, sweating, pupil dilation, lividity, or reddening of the skin;[4]
- Verbal manifestation on the lexical, syntactic or sentential level.

Manifestation of emotions often occurs simultaneously on different levels of language and with the participation of non-verbal elements, e. g. a person feeling anger expresses it through tense lips, furrowed eyebrows, clenched fists, elevated blood pressure and

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2   The term *medium* is used broadly in this article, and thus not limited to a purely technical view, where it is a man-made device for the transmission and collection of information (cf. Habscheid 2000: 138 after Szczepaniak 2020: 300). Also "specific means of communication that enable the production, dissemination, collection, processing and reception of signs, which at the same time constitute the content of the message" are also considered to be media (Jäger 2004: 15; translated by H. S.). Consequently, media not only provide for the transfer of information, but also, through their specific materiality, give physical form to the intended communicative purpose and guarantee variety in performance (cf. Szczepaniak 2020: 301). In communication realized through technical means, media are a necessary condition for the existence of interpersonal communication – their materiality creates the spaces in which the communication process takes place (cf. Szczepaniak 2015 b: 222).

3   In 1982, Paul Ekman classified seven basic emotions, i. e. anger, disgust, contempt, joy, sadness, fear, surprise, and developed a list of their prototypical reactions within facial expressions and gestures. In doing so, he took into account such criteria as the short duration of the emotions, their rapid and involuntary appearance, and automatic valuation, among others. Thus, for example, in the case of joy, the following reactions are usually observed: the corners of the mouth along with the skin on the cheeks rise, wrinkles form at the corners of the eyes, when smiling broadly, the mouth is open and the skin around the eyes wrinkles (cf. Ekman 1982 after Bonacchi 2020: 43–44).

4   It is worth noting that the expression of emotions, on the one hand, is universal and genetically determined, while on the other hand, it is regulated by the norms in force in a given cultural community and assigned to specific social roles and gender (cf. Szczepaniak 2017: 265, Szczepaniak 2020: 304). These are the so-called *display rules*, the observance of which involves the need to control (mask) one's reactions and adjust them to the situation and expectations of other members of a given group, e. g. avoiding increased display of emotions, since their intense manifestation may be perceived as a sign of loss of self-control or as inappropriate at a certain age or unsuitable for representatives of a given gender (among other things, externalizing emotions as a sign of weakness and unmanly behavior, cf. Ortner 2014: 16, 38).

increased heart rate, redness in the face, and a raised tone of voice, all of which can be accompanied by the use of swear words or insults. In the case of multimodal texts – depending on the context – one can interpret, for example, images, sounds/music or the shape and color of the font, etc., as means of expressing emotions. (cf. Szczepaniak 2015 b: 223). This shows that emotions should be considered multidimensional behaviors that include conscious and unconscious activities of the whole body, whose expression utilizes various semiotic resources.

Reflections on the essence and role of emotions are among important aspects of human beings coming to terms with themselves and the world around them (cf. Szczepaniak 2020: 299). Due to their complex nature, emotions have been and continue to be the subject of reflection and research in various disciplines, including philosophy, psychology, biology, medicine, anthropology, sociology, literary studies, cultural studies, as well as linguistics, which, however, had long marginalized the relationship between language and emotions. The latter were attributed the feature of "dysfunctionality within the framework of 'orderly' social communication" (Szczepaniak 2017: 261) and depreciated their role as an object of linguistic analysis in research paradigms, which treated language as a rational instrument for learning and interpreting the world (cf. Ortner 2014: 16, 55–56). Not without significance was also the multidimensionality and elusiveness of emotions, as highlighted by Aaron Ben-Ze'ev's (2009: 9; translated by H. S.) assertion, "It is easier to express emotions than to describe and analyze them." Only in the last three decades has there been a significant increase in interest in the phenomenon of emotions and emotionality in language (cf. Szczepaniak 2017: 261). Emotions can manifest themselves on any plane of language, and their analysis is possible using methods and tools characteristic of the various linguistic sub-disciplines (including phonetics/prosody, morphology and syntax, lexicology, semantics, pragmatics and communication theory; cf. Schiewer 2014: 47–60, Opiłowski 2020: 213)[5].

The purpose of this article is to analyze posts on a selected German-language online forum for people trying to have a baby, and examine which linguistic and extralinguistic means indicate the users' emotions. The analysis is carried out on three levels – lexical, syntactic, and typographic.

On the lexical level, Schwarz-Friesel (2013: 145, 151–152) distinguishes between lexemes that *name* emotions (German: *emotionsbezeichnende Lexeme*) and lexemes that express them (German: *emotionsausdrückende Lexeme*). With the help of lexemes naming emotions, the language user explicitly refers to selected emotions. These lexemes primarily have a descriptive function and are used to describe emotional states. They include the nouns (*Liebe* 'love', *Freude* 'joy', *Glück* 'happiness', *Hass* 'hate', *Trauer* 'sadness', *Wut* 'anger') and their corresponding verbs (*lieben* 'love, *sich freuen* 'rejoice', *hassen* 'hate', *trauern* 'grieve, mourn') and adjectives (*fröhlich* 'joyful', *glücklich* 'happy', *traurig* 'sad', *wütend* 'angry, furious'). The lexemes naming emotions form the so-called emotive vocabulary (German: *Emotionswortschatz/Gefühlswortschatz*). Lexemes expressing emo-

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5   A synthetic presentation of research trends and major monographic publications of the last several years in Germanic emotion research in Szczepaniak/Schiewer/Pociask 2023: 46–50.

tions, on the other hand, are assigned the expressive function of verbalizing the emotional attitude of the speaker (cf. Glück/Rödel 2016: 15). Lexemes expressing emotions can be divided according to parts of speech into emotive nouns (*Schätzchen* 'darling, little gem,' *Papa* 'dad, daddy', *Mistkerl* 'turd') – these include diminutives, augmentatives, terms of endearment, or insults, emotive adjectives (*wunderbar* 'wonderful, wonderful', *prima* 'great', *schrecklich* 'awful', *furchtbar* 'terrible, horrifying") expressing the sender's emotional attitude to the subject of the utterance, emotive verbs (*labern* 'to chatter, babble', *murksen* 'bungle up', *verrecken* 'to die, croak'), emotive adverbs (*hoffentlich* 'hopefully, let us hope', *leider* 'unfortunately', *ärgerlicherweise* 'annoyingly') and exclamation marks (*pfui, au, ah*) modifying the communicative value of the utterance. The group of lexemes expressing emotions also includes phrases formed by fixed combinations of at least two lexemes (*jemandem platzt der Kragen* 'burst, explode with anger', *jemandem werden die Knie weich* 'someone's knees bend (from fear)') (cf. Ortner 2014: 191–192, Jakosz 2018: 64–66).

The following are treated as syntactic means of expressing emotions: exclamatory sentences (*Wie schön du bist!* 'How beautiful you are!'), imperative sentences (*Halt die Klappe!* 'Shut up!'), wishes (*Wäre ich bloß wieder jung!* 'If I were young again!'), rhetorical questions (*Warum immer ich?* 'Why am I always?'), and repetitions (*Schnell, schnell, wir müssen uns beeilen.* 'Quickly, quickly, we must hurry.') (cf. Ortner 2014: 193, Jakosz 2018: 68–69).

In written communication, also the typographic layer of the statement plays an important role. On this level, emotions can be transmitted through the use of capital letters, quotation marks, italics or boldface type to highlight selected elements or parts of the text, as well as specific punctuation (e.g., repeated use of question marks or exclamation marks), the absence of paragraph divisions, imitation of para- and non-verbal signals by multiplying the vowel-letters, the use of emoticons and emoji, and other means. (cf. Ortner 2014: 190).

Emotions encoded in the above ways can be referred to as explicit emotions (German: *explizite Emotionen*), manifested through conventional expressions or constructions. In addition to these, there are implicit emotions (German: implizite *Emotionen*), signaled at various levels of the text. No emotionally charged elements appear in the surface layer, so the emotional potential of an utterance must be identified on the basis of the context and the individual experience of the recipient (cf. Szczepaniak 2015 a: 182).

2   An online forum for people trying to have a baby and its specifics

An online forum for people trying to have a baby is a virtual place where those who struggle with fertility disorders can exchange thoughts and experiences and have an opportunity to share the traumatic experiences of pregnancy loss due to miscarriage or stillbirth. Forums of this kind have begun the process of breaking the taboo associated with the death of (unborn) children (cf. Marx/Tienken 2023). The involvement of parents affected by the harrowing experience of the premature loss of a child has also led to changes in the hospital procedures, legislation and the social status of deceased children in many countries of the European Union (cf. Böcker 2022).

The source of the research material for the present study is the German-language forum for people trying to have a baby that is part of the website www.wunschkinder. net. It is a site for people seeking information on pregnancy, its course, childbirth and infant care, as well as all those who are faced with the problem of infertility – this group of Internet users can find there accessibly formulated information on the causes of infertility and the available treatment options. Visitors to the site also have the opportunity to network with people with similar problems within five thematic forums – one of which is a forum for people trying to have a baby. Here, mainly females are active users [6] who share their experiences and exchange information on the treatment of fertility disorders – in addition to strictly medical aspects, they raise issues of psychological burdens and express and describe their emotional state caused by the process of trying for offspring, which often lasts many years. Giving birth and the opportunity to raise a child is the dream and life goal of female users, for the achievement of which they are ready to sacrifice a great deal (time, money, career, comfort of daily life) and are able to endure all the inconveniences and sacrifices associated with it. Women who feel misunderstood by their immediate environment, on the forum seek contact with others experiencing similar difficulties. Here they want to share their experiences, fears and anxieties, seek advice, and hope to exchange information on the methods, course and effectiveness of infertility treatment. They also hope for words of encouragement and consolation – the need for so-called *social support*, i.e. support when facing negative experiences, is apparent (cf. Rentel 2020: 247–248, Stypa 2020: 306). Although the main purpose of the posts is not to consciously evoke emotions in the recipient, the posts of female users are texts with high emotional potential.[7] This is caused by the very subject matter related to the inability to have children reinforced by the personal dramas of forum users.

The forum selected for analysis is an example of communication between laypeople without the involvement of specialist doctors or therapists. As a result, women can feel less uncomfortable writing about an intimate area of their lives, and the advice of more experienced users is treated as authentic and credible (cf. Arrington 2010). The convergence of interests and goals and similar experiences called *social sharing* (cf. Rentel 2020: 246, Döveling/Seyfert 2023: 29) has a consolidating effect and lets the female forum users form a community and feel like members of it (cf. Döveling/Seyfert 2023: 27). Expressions of a sense of belonging and solidarity with women trying to have a baby include the forms of address used as opening phrases, such as *Hallo liebe Frauen* ('Hello dear ladies'), *Hallo Mädels* ('Hello girls'), *Hallo ihr Lieben* ('Hello my dears'), *Hallo an alle Mitleidenden* ('Hello all fellow sufferers'). These warm and cordial phrases

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6   Since the research corpus consists of postings authored only by women, only the corresponding female forms will be used in the rest of the article.

7   Monika Schwarz-Friesel (2013: 214) interprets emotional potential (German: *Emotionspotential*) as the potential contained in the information layer and in the structure of texts, which evokes emotional reactions in the viewer, a certain attitude to the presented subject matter and activates the process of valuation. The stimulation of emotional potential is served by the linguistic and extra-linguistic means and strategies consciously employed by the text producer (cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2013: 132, 215).

give the impression that the forum users, despite the physical distance separating them, are emotionally very close to each other. This community of women is also reflected in the emotions they manifest. Of the three areas circled by Katrin Döveling (2005: 300), namely 1) the emotions of inclusion (German: *Emotionen der Inklusion*), 2) the emotions of vertical exclusion (German: *Emotionen der vertikalen Exklusion*) and 3) the emotions of inclusion through exclusion (German: *Emotionen der Inklusion durch Exklusion*), the occurrence of 1) and 3) can be found within the communication on the forum in question. Emotions of inclusion are those emotions that strengthen the community. As a rule, positive emotions are included in this group, but due to the thematic specificity of the posts published on this particular forum, the negative emotion of sadness can also be assigned here. This is the emotion that dominates the posts of the users – it is triggered by unsuccessful attempts to get pregnant. Similar experiences tighten the bonds between the women and thus unite the community. Area 3) refers to situations in which members of the community are united by negative emotions experienced in relation to representatives of another group. An example manifested in the users' posts is anger felt toward women who get pregnant with no difficulty and thus can experience the joys of motherhood.

Also significant for the manifestation of emotions is the media-related aspect of communication, and in particular the framework conditions for communication in an online forum (cf. Dürscheid 2005: 8, Stypa 2022: 276–277). The only technical requirement is an Internet connection (fixed or mobile). The forum is public, which means that anyone can read the posts, and logging in is only required when the user wants to post her own comment. This feature of the forum's operation is referred to by many female users, who admit that they initially only read other women's posts before they overcame their fears of actively participating in the "life" of the forum.[8] Women consciously decide how much information about their privacy and intimate experiences to share on the forum. In addition, they use Internet nicknames that allow them to remain anonymous and possibly create alternative identities in the virtual world. Some of these nicknames relate to the subject matter of the forum and reflect the emotional state of the users, such as *eine_mit_kiwu* ('one dreaming of a child'), *SchlechteMutter* ('bad mother'), *TraurigerEngel* ('sad angel') or *Hakuna Matata*[9], a nickname emphasizing an optimistic outlook on life against the odds (cf. Stypa 2022: 279). The female communication participants

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8   The degree of openness in the communication space is often combined with the category of privacy, which refers to the content of messages and the social ties between communication participants. A situation in which a user completely openly, i. e. in front of an unlimited number of people, raises issues from his or her private life Dürscheid (2007: 31) calls "*private* communication with the community of Internet users" (German: *private Kommunikation mit der Öffentlichkeit*). Schmidt (2013: 41–43) calls such cases communication on the level of the "personal community of Internet users" (German: *persönliche Öffentlichkeit*), the potential of which Opilowski (2020: 217; translated by H. S.) describes as follows: "Presenting personal, often authentic information on social media platforms makes it possible to deepen contacts in ongoing conversations and create one's identity in a network of social connections."

9   *Hakuna matata* is an expression derived from the Swahili language and meaning 'don't worry, no worries', popularized by the 1994 Disney animated film *The Lion King* (cf. https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kr%C3%B3l_Lew_(film_1994), 18.07.2024).

have no eye contact with each other and are separated by some physical distance. The number of participants is theoretically unlimited, although it is possible to distinguish passages in which two people communicate with each other taking turns in the roles of sender and receiver of the message. Although the posts within a given thread have a dialogical structure, the monologic direction of communication dominates in extended posts. Communication between users is asynchronous, so the production and reception of posts does not occur simultaneously. A response to a post may appear within a few minutes or later – unlike in communication via chat, where spontaneity and speed of response are characteristic. This can have a significant impact on the choice of means of expression in the posts. The form of the posts exhibits features typical of both written texts and oral communication, and the language of the Internet. On the one hand, there are extensive posts with a well-thought-out composition, following the rules of spelling and punctuation, with the dominance of compound sentences and with a stylistically neutral vocabulary, and on the other, posts bearing the marks of spontaneity and emotion, with rapid production of text and the use of particles characteristic of spoken language, as well as colloquial vocabulary, single sentences or sentence fragments with no subject, violating the rules of syntax, and containing graphic elements typical of Internet language (emoticons and/or emoji). A lack of attention to form (spelling, punctuation) is also characteristic. The formal differences between the posts are mainly due to the individual style of their authors, their momentary mood, and the conditions in which the posts are created.

3   The empirical part

This section of the article presents the results of an analysis of posts published on the forum. Its purpose was to investigate what linguistic and extra-linguistic means are used to express the users' emotions. The forum for people trying to have a baby is available at www.wunschkinder.net, are manifested. The study corpus consists of 130 posts[10] excerpted between March 15 and 17, 2024. The analysis included three levels: lexical, syntactic and typographic. It was found that women active on the forum express or describe primarily the emotions of sadness, anger, fear, joy, love and hope.

3.1 The lexical level

The analyzed posts contained emotion-naming lexemes. These are both lexemes denoting positive emotions, such as joy[11] (*sich freuen* 'be happy', *froh* 'joyful', *Glück* 'happiness', *glücklich* 'happy'), hope (*Hoffnung* 'hope', *hoffen* 'to hope'), and negative emotions: fear (*Angst* 'fear'), sadness (*Trauer/Traurigkeit* 'sadness', *traurig* 'sad'), anger (*Wut* 'anger', *wütend* 'angry, furious'). Here are some selected examples:

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10 The above excerpts from the forum users' posts are written verbatim, with no corrections by the author.

11 In this article, joy is interpreted broadly and includes the emotional state of happiness (cf. Szczepaniak 2015 a: 255, footnote 242).

(1) *Unsere erste ICSI war erfolgreich und wir **freuten uns riesig**.* (Foxyy91)
(2) *Ich **freue mich** mit Euch Leidensgenossinnen gefunden zu haben, die mich verstehen werden und mit denen ich mich austauschen kann.* (Blumeliebhaberin)
(3) *Wir hatten dann das **große Glück**, durch ICSI einen gesunden Sohn zu bekommen, der mittlerweile gut ein halbes Jahr ist und unser ganzer Sonnenschein!* (miniwe1234)
(4) *Wieder nix. Aber wir **hoffen** weiter. Vielleicht geht es mit ICSI.* (SonjaBelmondo)

Female users rejoice for various reasons. The source of their joy is primarily successful attempts at conception: in example (1), the verb *sich freuen* ('be happy') is preceded by the circumstance *riesig* ('enormously'), expressing the intensity of the joy. Another reason for the forum users' joy is coming into contact with other fellow companions in suffering (*Leidensgenossinnen*) – women who have had similar experiences and are able to understand all the fears, doubts and worries accompanying someone struggling with infertility (example (2)). Joy (in example (3) reinforced by the adjective *groß* 'big') is also associated with the birth of a child, being the fulfillment of one's dreams and many years of sacrifice. Childless women are desperate, as well as hopeful in their quest. Hope does not allow them to give up and gives them the strength to keep trying (example (4)).

However, the happy experiences of female users are overshadowed by descriptions of depressing experiences and manifestations of negative emotions, such as:

(5) *Zur Zeit ist da wieder nur noch die **Angst** dass wir niemals Eltern werden dürfen … es gibt keinen ernsthaften Plan B wenn ich nicht schwanger werde.* (Pikachu)
(6) *Dieses Jahr haben wir es wieder versucht. Es hat wieder geklappt! **Angst** und **Freude** zugleich.* (Jessica84)
(7) *Manche Tage klappt es wirklich gut, aber dann kommen Tage voller **Angst, Wut** und **Trauer, unendlicher Trauer**.* (Nature-one)

With the lexeme *Angst* ('fear'), women manifest their fear that fate will not give them the chance to become mothers (example (5)). Fear is also present in moments of joy when they find out they are pregnant – they fear whether they will lose the baby, as in example (6). Fear is mixed with anger (*Wut*) and sadness (*Trauer*), anger at themselves, their helplessness and their own infertile bodies, anger at their partners, who take a more rational approach to another miscarriage, and sadness at the loss of the pregnancy, which seems endless (example (7)). Sadness is accompanied by the physiological reaction of crying. Users describe this with the neutral verb *weinen* ('cry'), the colloquial expressive *heulen* ('sob') or the expression *mir schießen die Tränen in die Augen* ('tears flow into my eyes'):

(8) *Jetzt sitze ich hier und **weine**.* (MamaHH)/*Ich saß nur noch da und hab angefangen zu **heulen** den unser wunschkind sollte zur hochzeit im november schon dabei sein.* (WirZwei)/*Sobald ich an die Diagnose denke, **schießen mir Tränen in die Augen**.* (Inad77)

The group of lexemes expressing emotions includes numerous nouns (also in combination with adjectives), especially those referring to children (living, lost through miscarriage, as well as stillborn), and expressing parental love. Most of them can be regarded as

hypocoristic lexemes,[12] i. e. terms of endearment used in communication between adults and young children, which express the speaker's unambiguously positive attitude, tenderness, and emphasize emotional closeness between the participants in communication (cf. Glück/Rödel 2016: 277):

(9) *Drei Tage später starben unsere **kleinen, wunderschönen und perfekten** Töchter und mit ihnen so viel von uns.* (Juna30)

(10) *Das **Krümelchen** ist wohl nicht so gut gewachsen und sein Herzschlag konnte auch nicht mehr festgestellt werden.* (Glacces)

(11) *Mein **Engel** […]. Du wirst immer in unseren Herzen sein.* (kleine Wildblüte)

and others, such as

(12) *mein süßer Junge, unser wundervoller Junge, kleine Brombeere, kleine Laus, kleine Maus, Zwerg, der kleine Untermieter, Seelchen, Sternchen.*

The adjectives *wunderschön* ('gorgeous'), *wundervoll* ('wonderful'), *perfekt* ('perfect') or *süß*[13] ('sweet') describe qualities of children seen through the eyes of their parents, for whom they are a wonderful gift without flaws, worth loving and mourning. The adjective *klein* ('small'), diminutive forms with the suffix *-chen*, and the noun *Zwerg* ('dwarf') emphasize the children's small size, fragility and delicacy. In the case of *ein kleiner Untermieter* ('little renter'), the playful reference to the safe and comfortable "dwelling" in mom's belly is clear. Transferring the names of animals and attributing their characteristics to humans is known at least since the time of Aesop's fables – the names of animals can also function as terms of endearment as well, e. g. *Maus* ('mouse'), although the use of the noun *Laus* ('louse') to refer to an unborn child seems somewhat surprising. *Kleine Brombeere* ('little blackberry, blackberry') alludes to the appearance of an embryo at an early stage of development, while the nouns *Engel* ('angel'), *Seelchen* ('soul') and *Sternchen*[14] ('star') are associated with the spiritual-religious aspect of death – deceased children are pure and innocent beings going to heaven.

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12 The term *hypocoristic* comes from Greek and means 'to act like a child, to speak in a childish way, to diminish' (cf. Nübling/Fahlbusch/Heuser 2015 : 172).

13 The corpus also includes the phrase *unsere geliebte Tochter*. The participle *geliebt* ('beloved') used here in the function of a preposition comes from the verb *lieben* ('to love') – so in this case we are dealing with a lexeme naming emotions.

14 In this context, reference should be made to the term *Sternenkinder* (literally 'star babies') meaning children who die before or during childbirth and shortly after birth (see https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Sternenkind, 20.07.2024). The term, unlike the medical terms *Fehlgeburt* ('miscarriage') and *Totgeburt* ('stillbirth'), directs attention to the child, rather than to the loss of the fetus or the death of the child, and takes into account the intense emotional bond between the mother (parents) and the unborn child, whose passing is a dramatic experience and the cause of prolonged grief (cf. Tienken 2016, Böcker 2022). The origin of the term *Sternenkinder* is the notion that these children "went to heaven (a.k.a. to the stars) before it was given to them to see the light of day" (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sternenkind, 20.07.2024; translated by H. S.). Only one instance of the use of the term *Sternenkind* was found in the corpus.

Among the *lexemes* expressing emotions, the authors of the posts also use emotive adverbs, predominantly *leider* ('unfortunately') and *hoffentlich* ('hopefully'), e. g.:

(13) *Aber **leider** verlief die Schwangerschaft von Anfang an schlecht, war schwierig und endete am 1. Tag der 16. SSW mit der Totgeburt unserer Sarah.* (MollyMouse)

(14) *Wir fangen jetzt im Juni mit unserer 1. IVF an und **hoffentlich** bleibt es auch die letzte.* (BOSI)

Leider, a lexeme emphasizing that something is not going according to the speaker's intentions, is used to express women's sadness after experiencing a miscarriage or stillbirth – users usually describe the circumstances of the event, and include information on the week of pregnancy when it occurred, (as in example (13)). *Hoffentlich*, on the other hand, can be taken as the opposite of *leider*, since this adverb is used to express the hope that one's plans or expectations will be fulfilled. In example (14), the forum user hopes that the first attempt at in vitro fertilization treatment will be successful and subsequent attempts will not be necessary.

In Western European countries, fetal loss through miscarriage or stillbirth was taboo until the late 1980s – it was assumed that the sight of a dead child was too traumatic an experience for mothers. Fetuses and corpses of babies were disposed of along with other hospital waste or given to pharmaceutical companies for research (cf. Neumann 2012). Today, in many countries of the European Union, hospital procedures allow parents to say goodbye to their child, followed by funeral ceremonies – some cemeteries have designated places for the burial of unborn or stillborn children (cf. Böcker 2022). The opportunity to share one's suffering after a pregnancy loss with other parents with similar experiences in online forums has contributed to the gradual breaking of the taboo around this painful experience. An analysis of the posts from the forum in question showed that some users implicitly express their grief after losing a child, preferring euphemistic terms to replace the word *sterben* ('to die'). In order to soften their statements, they reach for expressions *in den Himmel ziehen* ('to go to heaven'), *das Herzchen hat aufgehört zu schlagen* ('the heart has stopped beating') referring either to religious imagery or to the cessation of physiological functions of the body, e. g.:

(15) *Leider hat mein kleiner Kian es nicht geschafft und ist zu seinen Bruder Levin **in den Himmel gezogen**.* (stephi20)

(16) *Diese Schwangerschaft endete Ende April in der 13. SSW, da das **Herzchen aufgehört hat zu schlagen**.* (Louisa)

Another lexeme forum users tend to replace with euphemistic terms is *Fehlgeburt* ('miscarriage')/*fehlgebären* ('miscarry'). Instead, they use *kleine Geburt* ('small birth') or *stille Geburt* ('silent birth', from *stillbirth*) (cf. Böcker 2022: 64). In contrast to the lexeme *Fehlgeburt*, which expresses failure, the alternative terms emphasize the positive element, namely that the birth did take place, e.g:

(17) *Dezember 2018: Zwillingsschwangerschaft 14 Woche **still geboren**. Seitdem durchlaufe ich einen Ärzte Marathon und die Verunsicherung steigt.* (muggelchen)

(18) *Am 25.4.19 habe ich unser Sternchen bei einer **kleinen Geburt** in der 8. ssw zuhause geboren.* (Maus89)

Sometimes the forum users express their negative emotions using vulgarisms, or words and expressions considered crude or obscene. In the analyzed corpus, there are vulgarisms acting as swear words, used to relieve tension caused by emotional elation or by negative stimuli. These expressions have no addressee and are not used to offend anyone – they rather serve to negatively value the object or situation irritating the speaker, as in the following examples:

(19) *Trotzdessen, dass ich seit meinem 13. Lebensjahr maximal 400 kalorien täglich zu mir genommen habe […], habe ich statt abzunehmen eher zugenommen (**Mist** Kortison!).* (Nigra Lacrima)
(20) *Wer hatte eigentlich diesen **sch.eiß** Dienstplan geschrieben?* (Juna30)
(21) *Ich fühle mich vor eine echt **besch….** Wahl gestellt: will nicht weitermachen und will nicht aufhören.* (RoteBeete)

The authors of the above comments manifest their anger. In (19), user Nigra Lacrima is angry because of a hormonal disorder she found: improper cortisol levels caused her to be overweight and negatively affected her fertility. In example (20), a woman who lost her baby in the final stage of pregnancy blames the poor work organization at the maternity ward (inconvenient scheduling), and in (21) the cause of anger is another miscarriage and being torn between giving up trying to have a baby and wanting to continue. The vulgarisms used in the comments are terms for excrement (*Mist* 'dung', *Scheiße* 'shit') and the physiological activity of defecation (*scheißen* 'shit'). In the first two examples, they are constituent elements of compound words – they function as the defining elements. It should be noted that in both cases they are not written according to the spelling rules of German (the correct form is conjunctive and capitalized). In example (21), the vulgarism appears as a participle in the function of the adjective. The use of vulgarisms and offensive words online is not allowed. To circumvent censorship and avoid negative consequences from administrators, Internet users use various ways of masking vulgar expressions, such as replacing selected characters with other, similar-looking ones (0 for O, 3 for E, 4 for A), create acronyms (*wtf* 'what the fuck') or repeat single letters (*scheeeeeiße*). The authors of examples (20) and (21) used a graphic separator (*sch.eiß*) and self-censorship (*besch…*), respectively.

The authors of the forum posts also expressed their emotions by using fixed compound phrases with a figurative meaning. The user named Nadine_und_Ronja showed her great joy at finding a source of funding for another attempt at in vitro fertilization:

(22) *Und da wir dank eurer Hilfe (bin schon seit tagen **wie im siebten Himmel**) eine Krankenkasse gefunden haben, die die Kosten komplett trägt, haben mein Mann und ich beschlossen, einen zweiten Anlauf zu wagen.* (Nadine_und_Ronja)

The phraseological comparison *wie im siebten Himmel sein* ('to be in the seventh heaven, to be overjoyed') derives from the notions present in Judaism that there are precisely

seven heavens, the highest of which is the seat of the creator and the angels (cf. Duden 2002: 357): "One cannot be there, but one can, experiencing the highest states of bliss or euphoria, feel that greater happiness cannot be experienced" (https://sjp.pwn. pl/ciekawostki/haslo/Byc-w-siodmym-niebie;5391670.html, 22.07.2024). The quoted excerpt from the post draws attention to the important contribution of the financial aspect in the process of trying to have a child and to the role of the forum as a place for exchanging important information for female users.

(23) *Nun wollen wir einen neuen Versuch starten. [Habe diesmal ziemlich **die Hosen voll**.* (Melfab705)

By means of the colloquial *die Hosen voll haben* ('have one's breeches full, poop in the pants out of fear'), referring to uncontrollable physiological reactions, a great fear is expressed about the next procedure, which will perhaps be successful and the woman will become pregnant – the fear is caused by the user's previous negative experiences.

Failures in the struggle with infertility leave a mark on the psyche of childless women and negatively affect their emotional state. The deep sadness caused by another failed attempt is often expressed through the phrase *(tief) am Boden zerstört sein* ('be very sad, depressed'):

(24) *Wir beide sind gerade **tief am Boden zerstört**, da wir dachten, wir bekommen das irgendwann schon hin mit meinen kleinen Defiziten, aber nun scheint es ja so, dass es doch etwas schwieriger wird.* (ThePassion)

Originally derived from accounts by war reporters and describing bombed and unable to fly planes standing on the tarmac (cf. Duden 2002: 133), this construction seems to aptly express the mood of the forum's users: the women are psychologically devastated and exhibit symptoms of depression.

The motif of destruction is also manifested in the phrases *für jemanden bricht die Welt zusammen* ('someone's world is collapsing (on his head) ') and *wie eine Seifenblase platzen* ('to burst like a soap bubble'):

(25) *Der Arzt sagte es endet in einer Fehlgeburt […]. Für uns **ist die Welt zusammen gebrochen**, aber wir wollten die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben.* (Glacces)
(26) *Mein grösster Wunsch scheint einfach **wie eine Seifenblase zu platzen** und es tut so unendlich weh.* (Pinanin)

Examples (25) and (26) implicitly express women's sadness and show how fleeting the dream of motherhood is and how quickly a life focused on struggling with infertility can lose its meaning – only sadness, pain and a sense of emptiness remain.

When manifesting implicit emotions, users also reach for non-phraseologized metaphors, such as:

(27) *Ich habe das Gefühl ich **stecke in einem Loch** wo ich einfach nicht mehr raus komme.* (Nature-one)

Many women describe their grief as a state of mental crisis (*in einem Loch stecken*, literally, 'stuck in a hole') with no way out. They feel helpless and powerless, deprived of any outside help, unable to function normally and enjoy the small pleasures that daily life brings. This is often accompanied by "black" and therefore gloomy, pessimistic thoughts (*schwarze Gedanken*) – the authors of the posts have no hope for better, happier times:

(28) *Ich war schon nach dem ersten Versuch extrem deprimiert und verzweifelt, aber jetzt bin ich am Boden zerstört, ich leide an Depressionen und habe ständig* **schwarze Gedanken**. (Blue2020)

3.2 The syntactic level

Among the types of sentences that express emotions and emphasize their intensity are exclamatory sentences. With their help, the authors of the posts manifest (or rather, shout) their sadness and/or anger, the causes of which are unsuccessful attempts at in vitro fertilization or miscarriages in the early stages of pregnancy. This form of verbalization of emotions particularly shows the drama of women trying to have a child:

(29) *Erster Versuch im November ist gescheitert!* (Melfab705)
(30) *Ich hatte drei Fehlgeburten in einem Jahr!* (Linda0913)

Women experiencing grief after the loss of a pregnancy or the death of a child often ask rhetorical questions in their posts. They expect no answers, as they realize that even the most experienced users will not know how to answer them. Rather, it is an attempt to verbalize the questions and doubts that trouble them and a way to deal with their own emotions. They want someone to listen to their stories and express support and understanding, because they themselves have experienced a similar trauma. In the collected corpus, there are recurring questions from the authors of the posts as to why they were the ones faced with such misfortune, e. g.

(31) *Wieso wir?* (Neffi) / *Warum schon wieder?* (schaukelpferd) / *Aber wieso können wir denn nicht schwanger sein?* (Knasterbaks)

Sadness has an overpowering effect on them – they feel powerless and need consolation. They do not know how to make sense of life without a child:

(32) *Woher hole ich mir ein gutes und tröstendes Wort ? [Woher hole ich mir die Kraft ?* (Univers)
(33) *Wie können wir unserem gemeinsamen Leben einen Sinn nur zu zweit geben?* (Rolli-woman)

Women also analyze their own behavior. They wonder what they did wrong that might have contributed to the loss of the child:

(34) *Was habe ich falsch gemacht? Warum habe ich meinem Gefühl nicht vertraut* (Juna30).

The users' anger at medical personnel and their behavior is also expressed through rhetorical questions:

(35) *Wieso hat man meine Symptome heruntergespielt? Meinen hohen Blutdruck ignoriert? Wieso war laut Ärzten mein Zustand noch stabil?* (kleine Widdblüte)

On the syntactic level, female users express their sadness not only with exclamatory sentences and rhetorical questions. This is also achieved by short opening sentences, sometimes grammatically incomplete, whose sequence resembles a telegraph message. Important passages are repeated to emphasize their importance to the author of the post, and enumerations serve the function of reinforcing the meaning of the post. Sometimes individual parts of the post are separated by an ellipsis, which signals a break in the flow of speech – it can be interpreted as a moment of reflection to find the right words to most accurately express one's inner state. Such procedures are used, for example, by a user with the nickname kleine Wildblüte describing her sadness and sense of emptiness after the unexpected death of her baby at 38 weeks of pregnancy:

(36) *Unsere geliebte Tochter ist **gestorben. Einfach so. Ohne Vorwarnung**. Von der einen Sekunde auf die nächste. **Einfach so. Ohne Vorwarnung**. Sie ist mir im Bauch einfach **weggestorben**. [Und nun ist sie tot…. kein Baby mehr… weder im Bauch noch auf dem Arm…. […] Sie sollte geboren werden, **um geliebt und umsorgt zu werden… um getragen und geküsst zu werden… um gestillt und gebäuert zu werden…** (kleine Wildblüte)

3.3 The typographic plane

The authors of the posts also manifest their emotions on the typographical level of the texts. Among other things, they express their joy at the support or advice they have received with words of thanks written in a manner typical of online communication, i.e. by multiplying vowels – this is to imitate the elongated phonetic realization of selected vowels:

(37) *Vielen Daaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaank* (xsweetkikix)/*Dankeeeee schöööööön* (Orange 1)

Sometimes women combine several ways of manifesting emotions, for example, user Schlaumelmi who was happy about a positive pregnancy test expressed her joy as follows: *Ich bin schwanger* ('I'm pregnant') she wrote in block capitals, she put the sentence with several exclamation points, and at the end she placed an animated emoji (a bouncing rhythmic smiling face with arms and legs growing out of it):

(38) *Nun melde ich mich mal wieder mit der Nachricht: ICH BIN SCHWANGER!!!!!!* [emoji: a bouncing rhythmic smiling face with arms and legs growing out of it] (Schlaumelmi)

It is mainly through extra-linguistic means that forum users manifest emotions on the typographic level. However, in the collected corpus, no classic emoticons were found, that is, "ideograms composed of a sequence of typographic characters, used to express mood on the Internet. They usually depict a facial grimace, rotated 90° counterclockwise"

(https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emotikon, 30.07.2024, cf. also Szczepaniak 2015 a: 126). The authors of the posts use emoji, transformed emoticons in picture form (so-called picture emoticons) (cf. Beißwenger/Pappert 2019: 20), i. e. Japanese-derived pictograms used in virtual communication. Emoji [15], like emoticons, are used to express emotions [16] using images of faces, but unlike them, they also include representations of objects, places, plants, animals, weather phenomena, food, etc. (cf. https://www.duden.de/recht schreibung/Emoji, 30.07.2024).

Forum users expressed their joy through an emoji with an image of a smiling face or alternative versions of it, such as:

(39) *Ich freue mich, Euch kennenzulernen!* [a smiling emoji waving to other users]
(Stinker0377)

(40) *Im September 2018 haben wir mit der 1. ICSI begonnen und sind auch gleich schwan-*
ger geworden [a smiling emoji clapping over her head].
(MollyMouse)

(41) *Ich bin 32 und habe bereits eine Tochter die durch ICSI entstanden 2012 zur Welt*
kam! [a smiling emoji with small red hearts above her head]
(Berghexchen)

In example (39), the author of the post expresses her joy at meeting other forum users. In addition to the verb *sich freuen* ('to enjoy'), a lexeme naming emotions, she uses a smiling emoji waving to greet her new virtual friends. In (40), meanwhile, MollyMouse manifests her joy at becoming pregnant with a smiling emoji clapping over her head. And in example (41), Berghexchen shares her joy over the birth of her daughter (thanks to in vitro fertilization). The hearts hovering over the facial image can be interpreted as an expression of love for the child.

The authors of the entries also use emoji to express negative emotions. In the research material, they manifest sadness in this way. To do this, they mostly use an image of a face with the corners of the mouth lowered and the eyebrows slightly raised. The blue color of the pictogram probably refers to the expression in English *I feel blue* (i. e. 'sad'). In individual cases, users use the crying emoji:

(42) *Ich leide leise darunter das es noch nicht geklappt hat* [a sad emoji in blue]
(Scrubs)

(43) *Fehlgeburt in der 8. SSW….Trisomie 10.* [a crying emoji]
(Jella85)

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15 The similarity to the English word *emotion* and to the word *emoticon* is purely coincidental. In Japa-
nese, *emoji* means 'pictogram, drawing symbol' and is derived from the words e (jap. 絵 'image')
and *moji* (jap. 文字 'letter') (cf. https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emoji, 30.07.2024).
16 More on the function of emojis in online communications in Beißwenger/Pappert 2019: 20–23.

4   Summary

The present article focuses on the emotions of female users of a forum for those trying to have a baby and the linguistic and extra-linguistic means of manifesting them. The analysis of the excerpted research material showed that women express or describe various, sometimes contradictory emotions such as sadness, anger, fear, joy, love and hope. The forum posts show that these emotional states are not always experienced separately, i. e., for example, joy is often accompanied by fear, and sadness by anger. Emotions are manifested explicitly as well as implicitly – in the latter case, the context of the post in question is necessary to understand them. The greatest variety in ways of manifesting emotions occurs at the lexical level. The forum users used both lexemes naming and expressing emotions, i. e. emotive nouns, adjectives and adverbs, as well as vulgarisms. They also expressed their emotions using euphemisms, metaphors and fixed phrases. In the syntactic layer, emotions were manifested mainly through exclamatory sentences and rhetorical questions, and on the typographic level the use of emoji was predominant.

In the excerpted corpus, manifestations of the emotion of sadness prevail, which is generally triggered by an unsuccessful diagnosis or negative test results, another failed attempt at conception ending in a miscarriage, or the loss of a pregnancy at an advanced stage. Women express sadness explicitly and implicitly. For this purpose, they use lexemes naming emotions (example (7)), the emotive adverb *leider* (example (13)), euphemisms of the verbs *sterben* 'to die' and *Fehlgeburt* 'miscarriage'/*fehlgebären* 'miscarry' (examples (15)–(18)), phrases (examples (24)–(26)), metaphors (examples (27)–(28)) and describe their physiological reactions accompanying sadness, namely crying (example (8)). The users also used exclamatory sentences (examples (29)–(30)), rhetorical questions (examples (31)–(34)) and other syntactic devices (example (36)). They utilized non-verbal elements in the form of crying emoji (examples (42)–(43)). Another negative emotion manifested by the authors of the comments was anger, the main reason for which was the inability to get pregnant or maintain a pregnancy. The women are angry at themselves and their bodies, as well as at those around them (partners, maternity ward staff, other pregnant women or their mothers). They manifest this verbally, using lexemes that name emotions (example (7)), cursing (examples (19)–(21)), exclamatory sentences (examples (29 –(30)) and rhetorical questions (example (35). The users also felt the fear of noever becoming mothers, and expressed this explicitly with lexemes naming emotions (examples (5)–(7)) and phrases (as in example (23)). Among the positive emotions, the women manifested joy, whose reasons can vary: the opportunity to exchange thoughts and receive support from other women struggling with infertility, a successful attempt at in vitro fertilization, or the birth of the desired child. On the lexical level, joy is expressed using lexemes naming emotions (examples (1)–(3), (6)) and phrases (example (22)). On the other hand, in the typographic layer, women use vowel multiplication and exclamation marks, printed letters and joyful emoji (examples (37)–(41)). In the study corpus, parental love towards living children and those unborn or dead is strongly displayed. This emotion is manifested by means of lexemes expressing emotions: nouns (e. g., diminutives, terms of endearment) combined with adjectives (examples (9)–(12)), as well as emojis with hearts. Users of the forum are women ready to make sacrifices,

who do not give up easily – despite setbacks, they hope to fulfill their dreams of motherhood. They express hope using lexemes naming emotions (example (4)) or the emotive adverb *hoffentlich* (example (14)).

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As for accepting immigrants… – an analysis of valuations and emotions in online comments (selected examples)

The source of obtaining research material was the online forum netkobiety.pl. The main objective of the research was an attempt to determine the manner and direction of valuing immigrants in the comments on the above-mentioned forum, and to describe the synergistic emotional (and ethical) elements accompanying communicative interaction. Elements of axiolinguistic methodology were correlated with the Oldenburg concept of the "third place", "e-expressive forms of participation" (e-women) in the (post)Habermasian ideal of inclusive (online) discursive practices.

In the examples analyzed, the following types of valuation were distinguished: lexical-phraseological (most represented), grammatical, connotational and textual, as well as expressing an emotional attitude to reality, naming feelings. Negative valuation of immigrants prevailed in the comments (86 %).

The repertoire of attitudes, emotions and feelings presented was diverse, including not only (felt or aroused) fear, but also disregard, contempt, aggression; unethical labeling, stereotyping leading to discredit and stigmatization.

Kewords: immigrant, valuing, axiolinguistics, internet commentary, netwomen.co.uk, "third place", emotions, ethics, communication interaction

I Introduction

The axiolinguistic analyses presented below fit within the broader context of contemporary research, related primarily to learning the opinions expressed not only in official statements (especially on the radio and TV), but also in the so-called the 'third space' [1] – the Internet – as a space for rational discussion on broadly understood social issues, especially online forums, i. e. unofficial, private communication (taking as an inspiration and set of comparison standards the traditional Habermasian [2] ideal of an inclusive (online) public sphere facilitating discussions between people holding different viewpoints

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1   Scholars follow the Oldenburg concept of the third place and define third spaces as primarily "non-political online spaces where political talk emerges" [Wright, 2012: 5], i. e. popular, general interest online discussion forums [Jackson et al., 2013: 330]. Ray Oldenburg defines third places as 'a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal and happily, anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work'). [Oldenburg 1999: 16, see also Koszowska http://blog.biblioteka20.pl/?p=149]

2   Public space contains all topics, elements and opinions that, although expressed in the private sphere, may reach the public level [cf. Habermas 1999, 2007].

and opinions).[3] Secondly, they are related to identifying the level of activity of women in particular, their involvement in political and/or social problems, the nature of discussions on migration among participants of the online forum netkobiety.pl.[4] Thirdly, they are also related to the issue of migration, which has evoked strong emotions for many years and which continues to polarize not only Polish society, because research on political conversations on Western internet forums has identified discussions on immigration as one of the most common topics in this environment [Wright et al., 2017] and which has also been the subject of much Polish research (in linguistics, e. g. Bączkowska, 2019; Czachur, Opiłowski, Smykała, 2022; Kaczor, 2019; Leśniczak, 2023; Smykała, 2023; in political science, e. g. Wawrzusiszyn, 2022; Jas-Koziarkiewicz, 2023 and in the social sciences, e. g. Staniszewski, 2023), at the same time demonstrating the transdisciplinary nature of this issue. In such a context, **the aim** of the study is to determine the method and polarity of valuing immigrants in the comment space of i. e. netkobiety.pl – and describe the synergistic emotional (and ethical) elements accompanying the communicative interactions.

II   Methodology

The tool of language is necessary to describe values and, at the same time, it is the substrate in which these values are manifested. Hence we distinguish the means of expressing valuation within semantic structure (at the semantic level) and means of expression whose evaluative character is the result of cultural conditions (at the pragmatic level). The area of evaluative words and the area of ways in which valuation is expressed in the language and structure of texts indicate a convergence of linguistics and axiology. I used an axiolinguistic research apparatus in which I recognized that **valuation** means saying that something is good or bad in some respect [Laskowska 1992: 19]. Generally speaking, it can be said that it is *recognizing something as (to some extent and in some respect) good or (to some extent and in some respect) bad* [Puzynina 2003: 27].

The study material was divided into lexico-phraseological, grammatical, connotative and textual means of evaluation, means of emotional expression of reality, and the following formula:

> AJ: X is/are G/B V,

where A stands for the subject – the sender of the information, J represents the act of judgment, X – the object of valuation, G/B – the evaluative predicate, and V – the criterion (value type) [cf. Benenowska, 2015: 50].

The typology of values used in the analysis follows the system proposed by Elżbieta Laskowska [1992: 14–18]. It includes pragmatic values (everything that is useful,

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3   The point is also to examine online communication [Holt et al., 2013; Strandberg, 2013], various forms of "online expression" or "e-expressive participation" [Gibson and Cantijoch, 2013] that can be considered forms of discursive expression of political identity.

4   The inspiration for this area of research was the article by Lenka Vochocova and Jana Rosenfeldova *Ridiculed, but safe: What e-mothers' discussion on migration tells us about the potential of 'third spaces' for the political communication of women* [2019: 142–158].

beneficial, effective in achieving a goal – abbreviated here as *pragm*.), economic values (material wealth, money, etc., which usually performs instrumental functions as it serves comfort and fun, although it may also constitute the ultimate value – abbreviated as *econ*.), social values (which include custom, law, tradition, politeness, etc. – abbreviated as *soc*.), feelings (on their own or accompanied by other values, as a subjective reaction to other values – our reflection on what we experience, – abbreviated as *feel*.), perfectionism (characteristic of self-improvement – in short, *perf*.), hedonism (related to feeling pleasure – abbreviated as *hed*.), vitality (health and preservation of life – abbreviated as *vit*.), aesthetic values (related to the main subjective concept of beauty – abbreviated as *aesth*.), cognitive, or learning-related values (i. e. acquiring knowledge, learning the truth – abbreviated as *cogn*.), sacred values (around the concept of the sacred, God – abbreviated as *sacr*.) and ethical values (containing two subgroups, one related to equity, justice and honesty and the other with goodness and love – in short *eth*.).

III Characteristics of the source of the study material

netkobiety.pl. has over 456 thousand registered users. More than 116,000 topics have been recorded, and as many as four million posts. This is an *advice forum* for women – as we read in the tag line: *This place was created for adult, active and unique women, just like you! Here you will find support and advice from other users of the forum!*

The women's forum is divided into thematic sub-fora: *Getting to know each other*, *Our community* (where we can "*create our own support group or set up a private net-café for daily chitchat about everything with friends from the forum*"), *My incredible story* (where women share stories from their life, knowledge and life experience), *Literary debuts* and other proposals for specific issues and topics: *Psychology in our lives*; *Love, family, marriage*; *Women's health*; *Women's fashion and beauty*; *Bride*; *M is for mom*; *Modern homemaker*; *Culture through a woman's eyes*; *As one lady to another – Classified ads* etc.

Although it is mainly women who comment, there are also posts by men, e. g. from February 26. 2024:

> *I found some women's forum, so maybe you can give me a tip. I am 26 years old and I am in a relationship with a girl who is 23 years old* […] [2024 Po co to robicie – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

The study covers more than 220 entries selected from the forum, in which the objects of evaluation were *migranci* [migrants]*, migracja* [migration]*, emigrant* [emigrant]*, emigracja* [emigration]*, uchodźca* [refugee]*, muzułmanie* [Muslims]*, Ukraińcy* [Ukrainians]*, imigracja* [immigration]*,* and *imigrant* [immigrant]. Forum users often treat some of these terms as synonymous, although some entries indicate a distinction between the concepts, e. g.

> […] *and I'm asking about illegal refugees and the statistics. ABOUT THE ONES IN PONTOONS, to put it colloquially. What percentage is that? The point is the scale of the problem. Which is tiny when you count one refugee (not an immigrant, let's be clear) per 1,000 residents. We have to distinguish what we are talking about – you*

are writing about immigrants, and I am writing about ILLEGAL refugees. [2023
Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

For the purpose of the present analysis, the exemplary material was limited to entries
containing the word *immigrant*[5] (and derivatives) posted from **2015 to June 2023**. Fol-
lowing this initial limitation, 41 fragments with 58 formulas have been presented be-
low (some quotations contain more than one evaluative measure). These are arranged
according to type of valuation, characterizing the means of valuation, explicating the
judgment formula, and providing a full quotation (as the contextual basis for analyses,
marking the means of valuation **in bold**, and retaining the original spelling of the com-
ments), as in the *language of values* theory (a term used by Jadwiga Puzynina [1992]) the
most fundamental questions become what value is, what categories of values there are,
and what by means they can be expressed.

IV   Presentation of the examples

1   Lexical and phraseological means of valution

These are linguistic resources which have valuation as their defining element, i.e. those
lexical units (individual words or phrases) which contain an evaluative meaning compo-
nent in their structure.

a)   Names of features

– expressed with nouns:

1. X (immigrants-coworkers = more intelligent and better educated individuals) are
G-ers Vsoc., cogn., feel.

> (1.) But you see, because I work in an international company, I can also say that
> I come in contact with immigrants on a daily basis. Also from those countries
> that have very bad press right now. But I keep in mind the fact that these are
> probably **smarter and better educated individuals**. In another industry, the sit-
> uation might be different.[6] [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet –
> NETKOBIETY.PL]

– expressed with adjectives:

2. X (immigration) is (mass$_{\text{(predicative adj.)}}$=) B Vsoc., feel. + Feeling of pessimism

> (2.) In addition, mass immigration to Poland, already amounting to millions
> of people, is not filling us with optimism either. [**2019** W Polsce brakuje ponad
> milion kobiet – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

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5   In the meaning of "a foreigner who has settled in a country; settler." [USJP] The electronic version
of the dictionary provides no volume and page numbers.

6   Fragmenty zachowują oryginalną pisownię i interpunkcję [czy komentarze będą przytoczone w
oryginale?].

3. X are (illegal=) B Vsoc., feel.

> (3.) And what's funny is that there's no proven way to send **ILLEGAL** immigrants back [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzz cy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

4. X (immigrants) are (legal=) D Vsoc., feel.

> (4.) as for immigrants, the illegal ones out, the **legal** ones may stay if they want to, but if they cause problems then also out [**2023**–09–28 Co to jest ten marsz miliona serc? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

5. X are (illegal=) B Vsoc., feel.

> (4.) as for immigrants, the **illegal** ones out, the legal ones may stay if they want to, but if they cause problems, then also out [**2023**–09–28 Co to jest ten marsz miliona serc? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

b) Names of persons with a given feature

6. X (perpetrator of rape) is a B-er Vvit., eth, feel.

> (5.) A 21-year-old Polish woman saved a young German girl from rape. […] The **perpetrator** [of the rape] was a 25-year-old immigrant from Morocco.[**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

7. X (immigrant = hostage (orig. *zakładnik*) [7]) is a B-er Veth., feel. + the feeling of sympathy?

> (6.) I don't think this will end anytime soon. However, I do not understand why the immigrants keep coming to Belarus and becoming **hostages** of this situation. [**2021**Tłum migrantów na polskiej granicy z Białorusią – Forum Kobiet …]

8. X (guy (orig. *typ*) [8]) is a B-er V soc., eth., feel.

> (16.) What captivated me the most was the story from Sweden, when an immigrant raped a minor girl and then blackmailed her and her parents with the recording. The court pardoned him on the grounds that the guy did not understand the word "no." The **guy** [orig. *typ*] only got a fine to pay and a therapy order. [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – FoÐ rum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL

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7 See *zakładnik* [hostage] in the USJP: "a person detained by an occupier, terrorist, kidnapper, etc., who is to be held responsible for the behavior of other people or for the failure of some authorities or a group of people to comply with the demands of the attacker."

8 See *typ* [*guy,* lit. meaning 'type'] in the USJP: "2. *bookish* a person who brings together the characteristic features of people of a certain category, e. g. a certain profession, a certain environment, or sharing a certain passion; 3. *pot.* a) unspecified person, some person (usually with a negative tint); a specimen, individual".

c)   Names of non-personal objects

– nouns as names of actions

9. X (rape (orig. *gwałt*) [9]) is a B-er V vit., eth., feel.

> (7.) **Rape** of a woman – head of the immigration facility – in Italy by immigrants. [**2015** Muzułmanie – jakie są granice wolności wyznania i religii? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

10. X (immigrant amateurism (orig. *amatorszczyzna*) [10]) is a B-er V pragm., feel.

> (12.) Maybe at the stage of Usnarz, it was still immigrant **amateurism**, but a pattern for crossing the border was established almost immediately. Belarusian services transported people to selected transfer points and controlled the border zone to force these people to make repeated attempts to cross the border. [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

11. X (scam (orig. *przewał*) [11] with the visas for immigrants) is a B-er Veth., soc., feel.

> (13.) Come on! After all, the topic of the film is being hyped by PiS supporters only to cover up the topic of corruption and the **scams with the visas** for immigrants from Africa and Asia. [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

12. X (illegal **deliveries**) are a B-er V eth., soc., feel.

> (14.) And note that the tighter the borders are closed, the more smugglers and illegal "**deliveries**" of immigrants appear […] [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

13. X (scaring people with immigrants) is a B-er Vsoc., feel.

> (15.) I know there is a lot of political rhetoric and **scaring** people with immigrants these days, I don't really know why. Who even wants to run away to Poland? And whoever does want it should find shelter with us. [**2023** -06–24 Poglądy polityczne a związek – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

– nouns as names of objects

14. X (**mess** (orig. *burdel*) [12]) is a B-er V soc., feel.

> (8.) After all, Western Europe is currently one big **mess** when it comes immigrants from Africa and the Near East. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

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9 See *gwałt* [rape] in the USJP: "1. forcing someone to have sexual intercourse; rape."

10 See *amatorszczyzna* [amateurism] in the USJP: "*colloquial* lack of professionalism, dealing with something without proper preparation; also: something that is done amateurishly, unprofessionally".

11 *przewał* – see *przewalanka* in the USJP: "*colloquial, vulg.* a) complicated, unclear situation; confusion, chaos, c) violation of law, unfair business, fraud, usually involving the payment of counterfeit money or a smaller sum of money; 'przewałka' (variant form).

12 See *burdel* [mess, lit. 'brothel'] in the USJP: „b) *vulg.* mess, disorder; jumble".

– nouns as names of events

15. X (**excesses** (orig. *wybryki*) [13]) are a B-er V soc., pragm, feel.
> (9.) But **excesses** of immigrants cannot be justified. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL

16. X (the immigrant **cauldron** (orig. *kocioł*[14]) is a B-er V soc., feel.
> (10.) And Britain was already one big immigrant **cauldron.** [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

17. X (trouble (orig. *kłopot*) [15]) is a B-er V soc., pragm., feel.
> (11.) This is true and it is an interesting social "problem", which does not change the fact that today the main **trouble** in the West is with the next generation of children of immigrants from the 1950s and 1960s, who after all assimilated earlier. That is why it is so important not to mix cultures and not introduce hostile ones into an area, as is the case in the West.[…] [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

– verbs as names of objects

For the means of valuation expressed with verbs as marked names of activities, states and processes, the following formulas are used: *B does X*, with the possibility of adding *which is G/B V* or *and this is G/B V* (where B is someone who is not the subject of the valuation). Secondly, sometimes it is necessary to transform the sentence in order to explicate the valuation: a syntactic transformation in which the exponents of an event (from the content) have their exponent (in the expression) in the form of a pro-sentential pronoun (this, how/what, that). Thirdly, for verbs denoting a process, the following formula is used:

> *X becomes* or *became G/B V.*

18. B (Islamic immigrants) did X (chased away the humanitarian aid) and this is B V vit., soc., feel.
> (18.) Look how Islamic Immigrants **chased away the humanitarian aid** – because they saw a cross, a symbol of Christianity, on the packages. They reacted like the devil to holy water. [**2015** Temat: Emigranci z Afryki i Bliskiego Wschodu i ich stosunek do kobiet – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL

19. B (Poland) does X (can say *no* to immigrants) and this is G V soc., feel.
> (19.) And you can see that **Poland can say no** to IMMIGRANTS and can create a law, for example, like Australia has in the matter of emigrants. Of course,

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13 See *wybryk* [excess, antic] in the USJP: "*bookish* behavior that deviates from accepted customs and standards of behavior; excess".

14 See *kocioł* [literal meaning 'cauldron'] in the USJP: "3. *colloquial* b) unclear situation, mess, confusion".

15 See *kłopot* [trouble, problem] in the USJP: " a difficult, complicated or unpleasant situation, causing anxiety, forcing someone to take special measures or efforts, requiring some action".

creating such a law is only possible with a proper patriotic government (law and justice, the nationalists). If the [Civic] Platform rules, it will create such multi-kulti that you will soon regret it. [**2015** Temat: Emigranci z Afryki i Bliskiego Wschodu i ich stosunek do kobiet – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

20. B (immigrant) does X (causes riots) and this is B V soc., pragm, feel.

(21.) Europeans go through security checks at airports, must show their ID, and such an immigrant goes to any country in the EU he wants, without documents, **causes riots**, resulting in innocent people dying. […].[**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NET-KOBIETY.PL]

21. B (immigrants) did X (set up barriers and people are dying because of this) and this is B Vvit., eth., feel.

(22.) How can immigrants be allowed to **set up** tree **barriers** on highways, **causing the deaths of drivers** (recent events in Calais)? [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NET-KOBIETY.PL]

22. B (immigrants) do X (close themselves in the ghettos) and this is B V soc., pragm., feel.

(24.) Moreover, when there are so many immigrants, **they close themselves in their own ghettos** and then it's all over. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

23. B (immigrants) do X (they put it in their heads that Europe is a cash cow) and this is B V cogn., feel.

(30.) Rich Europe simply does not want to support immigrants who have **put it in their heads that Europe is a cash cow**. [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

24. B (immigrant) does X (causes problems) and this is B Vsoc., feel.

(4.) as for immigrants, the illegal ones out, the legal ones may stay if they wish, but if they **cause problems**, then also out [**2023**–09–28 Co to jest ten marsz miliona serc? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

25. X (the fact that immigrants see nothing attractive in Poland) is G V soc., feel.

(17.) Immigrants currently **see nothing attractive in Poland**. [**2015** Muzułmanie – jakie są granice wolności wyznania i religii? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

26. X (that immigrants cross the EU borders without major problems) is B V soc., feel.

(20.) Illegal immigrants **cross the EU borders without major problems**. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

27. X (the fact that there is no way) is B V soc., pragm., feel.

(3.) And what's funny is that **there's no proven way** to send ILLEGAL immigrants back. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzz cy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

28. X (the fact that innocent people are dying) is B V vit., eth., feel.

(21.) Europeans go through security checks at airports, must show their ID, and such an immigrant goes to any country in the EU he wants, without documents, causes riots, resulting in **innocent people dying**. […]. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

29. X (the fact that someone is not punished) is B V eth., soc., pragm, feel.

(23.) The problem is that immigrants **are not punished**, even though they deserve it just as much. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

30. X (the fact that immigrants got out of control) is B V soc., pragm., feel.

(25.) Well, the fact is that Germany (and the West) **stopped controlling** immigrants a long time ago, adhering to the principle of political correctness, and this is what it looks like. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

31. X (the fact that police officers are ordered to treat immigrants differently and we will not learn about it from the press) is B V cogn., eth., soc., feel.

(26.) Well, this is "liberal democracy." Of course, we won't learn about such little things as **ordering policemen to treat** immigrants **differently** from the press. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

32. X (the fact that there are people who see nothing wrong with Islamic immigration) is B Vsoc., cogn., feel.

(27.) But it's shocking that there are people who **don't see anything wrong with it** (Islamic immigration). [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

33. X (the fact that there were rapes committed by immigrants in Germany) is B V eth., soc., feel.

(28.) The latest facts are that in Germany we had **to deal with two! gang rapes!** committed by immigrants! which the German authorities hid before the elections! and they revealed it 3 weeks after the events!!!! [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

34. X (the fact that the authorities hid information about the rapes) is B V eth., cogn., feel.

(28.) The latest facts are that in Germany we had to deal with two! gang rapes! committed by immigrants! **which the German authorities hid** before the elections! and they revealed it 3 weeks after the events!!!! [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

35. X (the fact that there is mass immigration to Poland) is B V soc., feel.

> (2.) In addition, mass immigration to Poland, already amounting to millions of people, **is not filling us with optimism either**. [**2019** W Polsce brakuje ponad milion kobiet – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

36. X (the fact that I do not understand why the immigrants keep coming) is B V cogn., feel.

> (6.) I don't think this will end anytime soon. However, **I do not understand** why the immigrants keep coming to Belarus and becoming hostages of this situation [**2021**Tłum migrantów na polskiej granicy z Białorusią – Forum Kobiet …]

37. X (the fact that the immigrants are becoming hostages of the situation in Belarus) is B Z V soc., eth., feel.

> (6.) I don't think this will end anytime soon. However, I do not understand why the immigrants keep coming to Belarus and **becoming hostages of this situation** [**2021**Tłum migrantów na polskiej granicy z Białorusią – Forum Kobiet …]

38. X (the fact that in the UK, among immigrants from all countries in the world, Poles have the lowest earnings) is B V econ., feel.

> (29.) I remember how shocked I was when I read that in the UK, among immigrants from all countries of the world, from various continents, **the nation with the lowest average earnings are… Poles!** [**2023** Polacy za granicą-chamy i prostaki? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

39. X (that the Belarusian services transported people to selected transfer sites and controlled the border zone to force these people to make repeated attempts to cross the border) is B V eth., soc., feel.

> (12.) Maybe at the stage of Usnarz, it was still immigrant amateurism, but a pattern for crossing the border was established almost immediately. **Belarusian services transported people to selected transfer points and controlled the border zone to force these people to make repeated attempts to cross the border.** [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

40. X (the fact that if we accept immigrants, it won't fix anything) is B V soc., feel.

> (31.) We **don't fix** anything by accepting immigrants. We only make the local governments happy to continue their current policies – and produce further legions of paupers and emigrants. Unfortunately, life is brutal, people there have to understand it themselves. We can help, but only THERE and not here. [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie "zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

41. X (the fact that immigrants rape) is B V vit., eth., feel.

> (32.) These regulations are stupid. Sweden has become the rape capital of the world with verdicts so ridiculous that it's shocking. Not so long ago, four teenagers gang-raped a 23-year-old woman. Only three were convicted. They got – note – from 5 to 9 months. And now the best part – when one professor did research on this subject and it turned out that **rape** is mainly committed by immigrants, she now has a prosecutor on her back. Sweden is a striking example of

how they completely screwed up in this respect [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

42. X (the fact that the professor has a prosecutor on her back) is B V eth., soc., feel.
    (32.) These regulations are stupid. Sweden has become the rape capital of the world with verdicts so ridiculous that it's shocking. Not so long ago, four teenagers gang-raped a 23-year-old woman. Only three were convicted. They got – note – from 5 to 9 months. And now the best part – when one **professor** did research on this subject and it turned out that rape is mainly committed by immigrants, she **now has a prosecutor on her back**. Sweden is a striking example of how they completely screwed up in this respect. [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

43. X (the fact that an immigrant committed rape) is B V vit., eth., feel.
    (16.) What captivated me the most was the story from Sweden when an immigrant **raped a minor girl** and then blackmailed her and her parents with the recording. The court pardoned him on the grounds that the guy did not understand the word "no." The guy only got a fine to pay and a therapy order. [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – FoÐrum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

44. X (the fact that an immigrant committed blackmail) is B V eth., feel.
    (16.) What captivated me the most was the story from Sweden when an immigrant raped a minor girl and **then blackmailed her** and her parents with the recording. The court pardoned him on the grounds that the guy did not understand the word "no." The guy only got a fine to pay and a therapy order. [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – FoÐrum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

45. X (the fact that the court pardoned the immigrant) is B V eth., soc., feel.
    (16.) What captivated me the most was the story from Sweden when an immigrant raped a minor girl and then blackmailed her and her parents with the recording. **The court pardoned him** on the grounds that the guy did not understand the word "no." The guy only got a fine to pay and a therapy order. [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – FoÐrum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

2 Grammatical valuation [16]

Syntactic means of valuation are realized in the same syntactic shape (the same syntactic pattern repeated in other contexts). After substituting the appropriate lexical items in place of X, it is possible to reconstruct an evaluative judgment.

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16 They may include phonetic, inflectional, word-formational and syntactic means of valuation. Only syntactic means were present in the examined material.

46. **X, and such a/an Y,** where the schema contains a noun + verb + and such a/an
+ noun + verb [17]
X (the fact that they have their identities checked) is B Vsoc., feel.
Y (the fact that s/he enters the EU with no documents) is G Vsoc., feel. [for B –the im-
migrant, but B for A – the subject [18]]

> (21.) **Europeans are** searched at airports, they have to identify themselves, **and
> such an** immigrant **goes to** any country in the EU he wants, without any doc-
> uments, causes riots, resulting in innocent people dying […]. [**2017** Zamachy,
> incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Ko-
> biet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

47. **I am not in favor of X**, where X = X is characterized by B-ness V soc., feel.

> (33.) […] but for myself I would like to add that **I am NOT in favor of** mixed
> relationships and immigration. [**2018** Związki Polek/Polaków z obcokrajowcaa
> mi? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

48. **If X, then Y,** where X names an event, Y (an event) is B V soc., pragm., feel.

> (34.) And when I wrote about Spain somewhere there, I meant that **if you accept**
> Islamic immigrants, then **for generations you will have to deal with this prob-
> lem**, which comes down to the destruction of the safety of the native people, a
> significant increase in crime rates, and many, many other problems, which can be
> seen where these culturally alien people were welcomed. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld
> (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

49. **X, and not Y**, where X (the way it is – legally) is G V soc., feel., Y (the fact that I
didn't come by boat …) is B V vit., soc., feel.

> (35.) what am I an example of? That I emigrated to England – well, except I'm
> here **legally, and I didn't come by boat and then walked through the forests
> and threw stones at the border guard to make them let me through.** [**2023** Co
> myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

50. **for them X, and for us Y**, where X is G V pragm., feel. Y is B V soc., pragm., feel.

> (36.) Hardly anyone wants it, that's why they [the politicians] want to force us to
> bring immigrants here – **it's a problem for them and a headache for us.** [**2023**-
> 06-24 Poglądy polityczne a związek – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL

3   Connotative means

When examining means of valuation, it is sometimes important to see not the individ-
ual meaning of a given item, or its explicit meaning, but rather the meaning extracted
by reference to the value system of a given social group. This is particularly true of the
cultural connotations and stereotypes [Benenowska, 2015: 185, see also Puzynina, 1992;

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17 Such a schema is instantiated in the sentence of the type someone/an employee makes savings,
   and someone else/an idler has a party.
18 This is also an example of the so-called double valuation.

Laskowska, 1992]. In connotative valuation, the evaluative belief is expressed in the following way: X is J – is G/B V. This is to say that the means used in the utterance convey information on some element of reality, and we understand this element to be a certain way, and only then, based on our additional (cultural) knowledge, do we determine its value, which is G/B for the sender.

The example below shows that accepting immigrants is a risk. The noun *risk* connotes uncertainty: 1. a) "the possibility, probability that something will go wrong; also: an undertaking whose outcome is uncertain", 2. *legally* "the probability of damage afflicting the aggrieved party regardless of their fault, if the contract or legal provision did not oblige another person to compensate the damage" [USJP], the following value judgment formula can be proposed:

51. X is J, that is X (the risk) is a B-er V pragm., soc., feel.

> (39.) As for accepting immigrants. Well, mixing different cultures is often **a risk**, it doesn't matter what cultures they are, because they will always be different, other, strange to the other side. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

4   Textual means

In this type of valuation, axiological elements that result from the context, situation and associations of the sender are important. Metaphor, irony, comparisons, language games (not explicitly evaluative ones) are important. Hence we searched for axiological characteristics in entire fragments of texts that contain, at first glance, ordinary descriptions. Reconstructing a value judgment requires commentary, carries a separate meaning, and results from the common knowledge of the sender and the recipient. The value judgment is expressed in this way: *I (want you to) know/I think X, and this is G/B V* or *which attests that X is G/B V* [Benenowska, 2015: 198; Laskowska 1992: 115, 122]. As in the examples below:

52. Know that the *Moroccan trash* is X, which demonstrates that X is a B-er V eth., feel. +feeling of scorn

> (40.) The **Moroccan trash,** on the other hand, will be released after questioning. The young German woman will also be obliged to apologize to the immigrant for daring to oppose him in the first place. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

In the context of the discussion about rape, irony is present in the sentence about the German woman's attitude.

53. Know that X (the fact that she will be made to apologize to the immigrant for daring to oppose him in the first place) and this is B V soc., feel.

> (40.) The Moroccan trash, on the other hand, will be released after questioning. The young German woman **will also be obliged to apologize** to the immigrant

for daring to oppose him in the first place. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

54. Know that X (the fact that the result was the production of pamphlets) and this is B V soc., eth., feel.

(41.) Perhaps the perpetrators of assaults on New Year's Eve in Germany were held accountable? This only resulted in the **preparation of pamphlets** on how an immigrant should treat a "German" woman. No effect, of course. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

5   Expressing an emotional attitude to reality

a)   emotive operators

The have no representational function, but an emotive and evaluative one, and they follow a stabilized linguistic pattern. Emotional valorization is their sole function; the recipient learns about the event causing the expressed emotions from the context. Taken out of context, the statement would change from evaluative to descriptive [Benenowska 2015: 130].

55. What a shock!

(27.) **What a shock** that there are people who see nothing wrong with this (with Islamic immigration). [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

b)   naming feelings

The obligatory conclusion that can be drawn from the sentences naming feelings is that if someone experiences a certain feeling in relation to X, then this person has the following value judgment: X is G/B, at least with regard to the value of the feelings [Laskowska 1992:60]

A is the sender of the information that:

56. B (female cousin) does X (communicates: **I am not afraid** of immigrants) and this X is G V at least feel. = B experiences a feeling in relation to X {and this is G V, feel.}

(37.) **A cousin** who lived in an immigrant neighborhood and went to school with their children said **she was not afraid** of immigrants. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

57. A (Sender of the information) does X (communicates: **I was shocked**) and this X is B V at least feel. = A experiences a feeling in relation X {and this is B V feel.}

(29.) I remember **how shocked I was** when I read that in the UK, among immigrants from all countries of the world, from various continents, the nation with the lowest average earnings are… Poles! [**2023** Polacy za granicą-chamy i prostaa ki? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

58. A (Sender of the information) does X (communicates: **I stick with the immigrants**) and this X is G V at least feel. = A experiences a feeling in relation X {and this is G V feel.}

(38.) **I stick with** the immigrants. My husband is an immigrant. His friends. They want to live and feel safe. They run away from their countries because of politics and poverty. [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie „zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

6   Implying value

Interestingly, among the collected examples, not only direct methods of valuation were noted, but also **implied values**, often "hidden" in the names of duties and volitional states (as before, in the names of feelings). The linguistic means in volitional speech acts perform the obligatory primary function of expressing one's will, but at the same time they imply evaluation [Benenowska, 2017: 14], for example:

X (cannot be justifed), because X is B V eth., feel.
> (9.) **But** the excesses of immigrants **cannot be justifed**. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

B does X (does not want to support the immigrants), because X is B V econ., pragm., feel.
> (30.) Rich **Europe** simply **does not want to support** immigrants who believe that Europe is a cash cow [**2023** Co myslicie o filmie "zielona granica" ? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

There are also fairly frequent **suppositions**, i. e. a presumption of judgment (hypothesis) by generalization or simplification, for instance:

Letting immigrants in = the threat of rape:
> (42.) […] And a 24-year-old Polish woman raped by a Kenyan in Frankfurt (Oder)… "etc., etc. – and these are border towns – ask yourself what would happen if Poland accepted immigrants from Islamic countries, which is what the entire opposition supports, including Grzegorz and Donald? [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

Immigrants = aggressive toward women, rapists:
> (43.) The number of complaints filed with the police increased to **more than 600** after a series of attacks on women on New Year's Eve in Germany. The police investigation is focused on immigrants. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL];

> (44.) In Sweden, **58% of rapes** are committed by first-generation immigrants. That is, the remaining 42% are natives, but also second- or third-generation immigrants. There is a significant overrepresentation of rapists among immigrants. Last year, the number of rapes in Sweden rose by 10%. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

These issues, although very interesting, require further elaboration as they go beyond standard means of valuation, and as such they will not be discussed in detail here.

V   Emotional evaluation

Among the examples presented above, we distinguished the group in section III, pt. 5. We analyzed the expression of an emotional attitude to reality, i.e. emotive operators and naming of feelings. It is assumed that communicative situations within an online forum may be conducive to disclosing private opinions in a rather conciliatory manner, while limiting negative emotions. Perhaps the motivation is the fact that the messages are mainly posted by women (although there are entries written by men as well). [19]

When analyzing the collected material, it is worth emphasizing the emotional nature of the comments, also in terms of the linguistic means used in relation to (im)migrants. [20] This emotionality is inextricably incorporated into the polemic on (im)migration (see section I, point 3). This is especially true of emotional and unethical linguistic behaviors that have the trappings of labeling, stigmatization, depreciation, etc. Among the examples presented above (see IV), two were noted:

Containing the noun *typ* [guy, lit. 'type']:
> (16.) What captivated me the most was the story from Sweden when an immigrant raped a minor and then blackmailed her and her parents with the recording. […] **The guy** [orig. *typ*] only got a financial penalty and a therapy order. [**2023**.05.20 Wyrażenie zgody na seks (filmy popularnej platformy VOD) – FoÐ rum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL)

And the slur *marokański śmieć* [Moroccan trash]:
> (40.) **The Moroccan trash**, on the other hand, will be released after questioning. The young German woman will also be obliged to apologize to the immigrant for daring to oppose him in the first place. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]]

and they were characterized as names of people with bad traits in terms of social and ethical values as well as feelings. However, from a broader perspective, we find strong emotionality and mechanisms of unethical communication that seem to accompany all discourse on emigration. The comments contain a diverse linguistic repertoire. The very structure of the words carries an emotional charge, which discredits the bearer

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19 It cannot be ruled out that people who engage in spoofing, phishing, or work on troll farms post comments on the forum; as I possess no tools that would allow identifying this type of activity, I take the entries at their face value and analyze them as genuine. In one of the posts we may also read: it is obvious that there are a lot of "fakes" on the Internet. Many of them also concern information about emigrants. [2018 Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL].

20 This concerns a broader scope of material, i.e. 220 comments not only with the items *imigracja* [immigration], *immigrant* [immigrant], but also *migranci* [migrants], *emigrant* [emigrant], *emigracja* [emigration], *uchodźcy* [refugees], *muzułmanie* [Muslims], *Ukraińcy* [Ukrainians], etc., to be analyzed in detail in further publications.

of the trait. In effect, the sender denies the Others social recognition, undermines or eliminates trust in them, and questions the mere chance of their acceptance. The linguistic means act here as **labels**, i. e. subjectivizing expressions of negative emotion. In other words, emotions are the reason (motive) for a negative assessment of the traits of the object. A label in itself is always a form of social disqualification due to the alleged social affiliation, it serves the purpose of discrimination and group extermination,[21] as "a name arbitrarily given (assigned) to a social category or an individual (as an alleged member of this group or a representative of the category) – a name derogatory to the image (representation)) of this entity, pushing it into a certain biased and oversimplified schema" [Karwat, 2006: 78].

Let us look at the following examples:

> Great, I'm being childish, just like 70 percent of Poles (according to CBOS) who, on principle, cannot stand **the habibis**. Strangely enough, they have no such attitude towards the Ukrainian or German minorities, towards Asians who trade here or towards blacks. Coincidence? [**2015** Muzułmanie – jakie są granice wolności wyznania i religii? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

The noun translated as *habibi*, [orig. h*abiś*] is a derivative of the Arabic *habibi*, which in the regions of the Middle East (parts of Africa and France) expresses feelings of love and sympathy toward another person (partner, friend, family member) [Co oznaczają Habibi i Al Abdullah? – Znaczenie w języku arabskim i hiszpańskim (citeia.com)] In the form of *habiś*, however, the sign of positive evaluation in the category of feelings is reversed, because disregard and prejudice are involved. In the above example, the poster also directly indicates that the majority of the nation has a specific emotional attitude towards Arab migrants, directly naming their feeling – they *cannot stand* them. They are thus included in the so-called "deplorable" categories based on their nationality. These are linguistic means of marking (stigmatization), and indicate colloquial stereotyping and prejudice, and may constitute an insult. *Habiś*, as the "load-bearing" label used with strong negative emotionality can implement a dangerous unethical mechanism: it is enough to include someone in this negatively valued category to simplify the process of identification and interpretation, and proceed to discrediting, denial of certain rights, etc., and then justify the escalation of harassment and stigmatization up to and including exclusion.

Other examples of stigmatizing terms are those based on skin color, e. g.

> […]You don't have to worry about the "white" criminals – they will not escape punishment, it's worse with the "**swarthy**" ones. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

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21 If this is clear to the recipient, then the recipient uses the same code of associations, repertoire of linguistic means, system of values. [cf. Karwat, 2006: 76].

Polish women's fascination with **black or swarthy gentlemen** is enormous. They don't even listen when someone warns them about Islam etc. They say that 'I can make it work with an Arab.' [**2018** Związki Polek/Polaków z obcokrajowcami? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]]

Germans once assumed that Poles were thieves – and these were not unfounded assumptions. They were based on the facts. Just like the facts show the opinion about the **beige ones**. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

If someone with a **dark mug** shows up somewhere, they will be visible from 500 meters away, but if we let them in, they will blend into the crowd. [**2017** Zamachy, incydenty, rasizm, poprawnosc polityczna, uchodzcy, imigranci – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

In this type of linguistic activities, we can see the mechanism called "overlaying structure," described by John Stewart, that is to say we observe certain features and combine them with others; "If, for example, we assign someone a label, we stop recognizing his uniqueness; we simply perceive him as a representative of the category marked with that label" [2000: 188]. In the process of emotional valuation, negative evaluations can always be strengthened by adding irony (*gentlemen*), metonymy with a low stylistic register (*mug* [face] for a person), thus intensifying the feeling of contempt in the "invalidator." [22]

The term *ciapaty* also hints at skin color, e. g.:

When such "Karynas" began to associate not only with the French and Italians but also with all sorts of blacks and Arabs, there was a huge outcry from Polish guys that they were destroying the white race, bringing (**Pakis** [*orig.*: ciapaty, gen/acc., pl.: *ciapatych*] to Poland) […] [**2018** Związki Polek/Polaków z obcokrajowcami? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

What about the **Pakis** [orig.: instr., pl.: *ciapatymi*] who are servants of Allah and related to terrorists? [**2018** Związki Polek/Polaków z obcokrajowcami? – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]]

The same lack of reaction as in the UK in Rotherham, where a gang of Pakis [orig.: gen., pl.: *ciapatych*] molested some girls and the police ignored the reports because they were afraid of being accused of racism. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

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22 According to Jay Carter, an invalidator is a type of sender who "[…] feels inferior […] so he does what he can to make the other person feel even lower" [1993: 27], someone who invalidates another person's worth.

This ethnic slur is used for people with darker skin colors, coming from an Asian or Arab country [ciapaty – Wielki słownik języka polskiego PAN (wsjp.pl)]. It comes from the noun *chapati* – a type of wheat pancake popular in Indian cuisine [ciapata – Wielki słownik języka polskiego PAN (wsjp.pl)]. A *ciapaty* is used to refer to men from Asian countries (e. g. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), sometimes also persons of foreign origin with a similar skin color (e. g. an Arab from Egypt); it is an "expressive and colloquial word, often contemptuous" [ciapaty – Dobry słownik języka polskiego i poradnia językowa (dobryslownik.pl)]. This term – as can be seen from the contexts of use – has a generalizing character, whereby positive individual characteristics are amputated a priori, so as to eliminate by exclusion (from the circle of US – the good ones) or by inclusion in a bad/inferior category (THEM) [cf. Karwat, op. cit.]. It seems that negative emotions related to the feeling of contempt are hidden not only in the lexeme *ciapaty* itself, but also (primarily?) in the context of the utterance, the sender's extra-linguistic system of values and interpretation of the world.

"Vernacular emotions"[23] can also be seen in the use of nouns classified as colloquial, common and offensive, e. g.

> Find some videos on YouTube, posted by Polish drivers, e. g. on their way through France, what **animals** [orig. *bydło* – cattle] they meet on the roads and what reaction of the law enforcement services there is. The mainstay of Europe…A crew would gather here in half an hour and would give these **animals** such a…hard time that they would change their country of residence the very next day. Unless they ended up in hospital… [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL],

where the noun *bydło* (cattle)[24] is the basis of the vernacular metaphor.[25] The object of negative valuation is dehumanized/depersonalized[26] so as to provide grounds for justifying the escalation of bad emotions, up to and including aggression. Such figurative broadening of meaning labels and depreciates, and with the feeling of contempt, it forms a dangerous tool of unethical communication.

In the repertoire of nouns of low stylistic register we find further examples:

> HEre is why: because it is an uneducated **horde** that despises Europe, despises women, because that's how they were raised. Their "culture" is incompatible with ours. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

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23 "Vernacular emotions" reveal themselves in the colloquial variant of Polish [Lubaś, 2003: 42].

24 See the USJP "2. *colloquial, vulg. derog.* of a group of people"

25 Metaphors such as *małpa,* [monkey/ape] *bydlę* [beast], *cielę* [calf], etc. as names transferred from the animal world lower the value of the named object, relegating it to a lower level of the Great Chain of Being [Krzeszowski, 1998: 80–103].

26 Depersonification is a type of metaphor that can be written as the explanatory formula X (a person with specific features) is Y (a thing, animal, plant, phenomenon, unreal being)." [Niekrewicz 2002: 238].

The sender uses the term *dzicz*[27] [horde] is used in order to deprecate the intellectual level of immigrants, and, in a broader context, also to ironize about their culture (by denying them this feature), attribute to them the feeling of contempt and unwillingness to assimilate. Additionally, these characteristics are extended from a single trait carrier onto the entire group, which arouses even greater emotions related to the presumed threat.

The danger resulting from the mass nature of these phenomena is also emphasized in the following example:

> Immigration issues are generational issues. For example, the Spanish have been getting rid of the **Islamic horde** from their territory for hundreds of years. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

Hordes, meaning crowds, mobs, or gangs,[28] have been premodified with the adjective Islamic to help the recipient identify the adversary (enemy?) who for many generations has caused anxiety among civilized people (among whom the sender certainly includes himself). The author of the next statement also takes into account the mass character of the migration:

> The paranoid guy in me wonders about letting **black and brown** [orig. ciapatej] **scum** en masse into Europe and giving them carte blanche in the "multiculturalization" of the locals [...] [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

Swołocz again means a group of people who are accused of vulgar behavior[29] but this time indicating a threat coming from the Middle East and/or Africa. The entire expression exemplifies a feeling of contempt that can escalate, as seen in the next example:

> For us, Poles, it should be important that this **shit from the West** does not spill over into our country. I guess no sane person needs Sharia law around here. [**2018** Gwałt w Bielefeld (Niemcy) – Forum Kobiet – NETKOBIETY.PL]

Describing someone using the noun *gówno* [shit] [30] is not only an inelegant and negative label; it also stigmatizes the immigrants through vulgar metaphorization and stirs up very bad emotions.

Examples could be multiplied so that a separate study would be required. The ones provided above show that senders of value judgments do not shy away from labeling when expressing their negative assessments. This results from many overlapping mechanisms: the valorization of objects is overlaid with a "filter" of generalization, which gives rise to stereotyping, unfair generalizations, and even stigmatization, accompanied by

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27 See the USJP "2. *colloquial* primitive, uncultured people; barbarians."
28 See the USJP, sense. 1.
29 See the USJP "‹Rus.› *colloquial. vulg.* a) people behaving in a crass manner; rabble, scum; b) someone wicked, worthy of contempt and condemnation; scoundrel."
30 See the USJP "*colloquial. vulg.* b) of someone or something of little value, worthy of contempt or disregard."

feelings of disregard, contempt, and aggression. The use of some terms and not others seems to reflect the values appreciated by the subject; it is an indication of the criteria they use when assessing themselves and others. In this way, a distorted, biased image is created, which can be the basis for various interpretations. As Małgorzata Melchior notes: "A label or stereotype has a different meaning for the one who uses them and for the one to whom they are applied." [2001: 262–263]

VI Summary

First, let us gather all the facts related to the presented examples in axiolinguistic analyses, to move on to some reflections related to the emotionality of communication interactions observed in the comments posted on netkobiety.pl.

1 Valuation

1.1 The following types of valuation have been distinguished:

a) lexical-phraseological evaluation (**L**) with 45 examples (i. e. 77.5%), and within it (in detail):
 – names of features expressed with nouns, following the formula X is a G-er/B-er V, ex. 1 (1 in total)
 – names of features expressed with adjectives, using the formula X is G/B V, ex. 2–5 (4 in total)
 – names of personal trait bearers following the formula X are a G-er/B-er V, ex. 6–8 (3 in total)
 – names of non-personal objects – (activities, objects, and events) with the formula X is a G-er/B-er V, ex. 9–17 (9 in total); verbal expressions with the formula *B does X* 25–45 (21 in total).

b) grammatical valuation (**G**) – syntactic, with the following patterns: X, and such a Y (ex. 46); I am not in favor of X (ex.47); If X then Y (ex. 48); X, not Y (p. 49); for them X, and for us Y (ex. 50) (5 in total)

c) connotative valuation (**K**) – with the formula X is J, i. e. X is a G-er/B-er V (ex. 51) (1 in total)

d) textual valuation (**T**) – with the formula know/I believe that X and this is a G-er/B-er V, ex. 52; and this is G/B V (ex. 53–54) (3 in total)

e) expressing an emotional attitude to reality (**E**) – using the formula A/B does X (communicates: …) and this X is B V at least feel., emotive operator (ex. 55) and naming feelings, ex. 56–58 (4 in total). Notably, expressing an emotional attitude towards reality showed that judgments may be accompanied primarily by fear, shock, and only sometimes by empathy.
 These ratios are illustrated in chart 1.

1.2 The basic formula **X is G/B V** occurred in 6 modified versions – depending on the means and type of valuation:
 – X is a G-er/B-er V
 – B does X, which is G/B V; … and this is G/B V
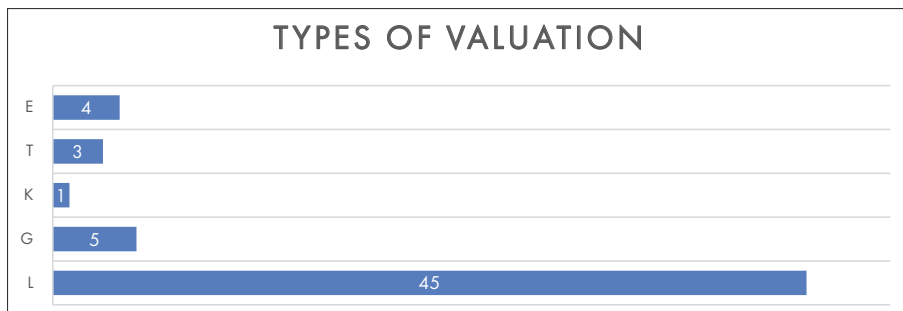
TYPES OF VALUATION

Fig. 1. Tyes of valuation

– X (the fact that, the way in which) is G/B V
– X is J, i. e. X is a G-er/B-er V
– I want you to know/I believe that X and this is a G-er/B-er V
– A does X (communicates:…) and this X is B V at least feel.

1.3 The types of values were usually combined (creating joint values), the values of feelings were a single type only in four (4) examples – expressing an emotional attitude to reality – in the remaining fifty-four (54) value judgments, they accompanied the following types of values:
– Social values – forty-one times (41) (these are the most frequently represented values, e. g. (4.) as for immigrants, the illegal ones out […]),
– Ethical values – twenty-one (21), (e. g. 16). What captivated me the most was the story from Sweden when an immigrant **raped** a minor girl and then **blackmailed** her and her parents with the recording.. […]),
– Pragmatic values – eleven (11), e. g. (3.) And what's funny is that there's no proven way to send ILLEGAL immigrants back),
– Vital values – eight (8), e. g. (7.) **Rape** of a woman – head of the immigration facility – in Italy by immigrants […]),
– Cognitive values – six (6), e. g. (6.) […] **I do not understand** why the immigrants keep coming to Belarus and becoming hostages of this situation. […]),
– Economic values – one (1): (30.) […] Rich Europe simply **does not want to support** immigrants […]).

1.4 Of the 58 formulas from 41 fragments of statements, the majority (50, i. e. 86 %) evaluate immigrants negatively, only 8 value judgments contained positive valuations. The proportions are shown in chart 2.
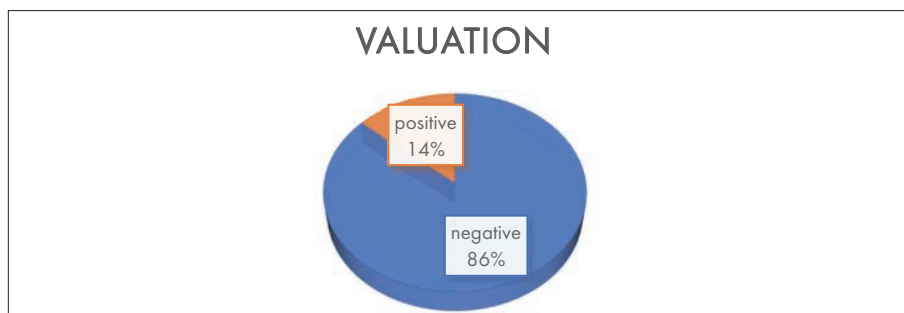
Fig. 2. The ratio of positive to negative valuations

2 Emotions

2.1. The preponderance of negative evaluations is not surprising, especially given the context of the third space, the broader scope of migration discourse, which has been evoking strong emotions for many years. It can also be associated with the concept of *e-bile* or *internet venom* [Jane 2014: 533].

2.2. "Vernacular emotions" evident in the comments are manifested in the use of labels in the form of adjectives, colloquial metaphors and derivations. They implement formulas of value judgments defining the names of bearers of bad traits primarily in terms of the value of feelings in combination with social and ethical values. The linguistic means along with negative connotations contribute to linking the negative valuations with negative emotions, since "Emotions are associated with […] valuations. As part of this, a colloquial variant of the language is selected as a factor that is both valorizing and emotional. [Lubaś, op. cit.: 42]

2.3. The repertoire of attitudes, emotions and feelings was diverse, and included (experienced or incited) fear, but also disregard, contempt, and aggression. And representing the latter, according to Władysław Lubaś, "[…] is a symptom of the discharge of powerful affects (an emotional state of high intensity, usually short-lived, accompanied by clear physiological symptoms and weakening of the mind's control over behavior; strong excitement, agitation), which are triggered by specific events recognized as unfavorable" [2003: 49–50].[31] Among the motivations for such emotional behaviors, an ethnocentric approach is indicated, i. e. taking the culture of one's own group as the basis for the description and evaluation of other groups, and ethnic prejudices in cultural anthropology are considered as the result of cultural barriers hindering mutual understanding [Kofta, Jasińska-Kania (ed.) 2001]

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31 See also Colman and Parkinson [1995] – a textbook containing information on emotions and motivation, and publications on expressing emotionality in language (e. g. Grabias [1981], Szumska [2000: 199–208]), and on ways of conceptualizing it (e. g. Iwona Nowakowska-Kempna [1995]).

2.4. Comments illustrating the sender's emotional side contained lexemes with negative connotations [Małyska, 2007: 87–99], with a pejorative character, which constituted the text-forming basis of deprecation [Majewska, 2005: 60] and other unethical linguistic behaviors, including labeling, and within it stereotyping, which lead to discreditation [Karwat, op. cit.] and stigmatization [Melchior, op. cit.], lack of acceptance, humiliation, and even exclusion.

In conclusion, the topic of (im)migration is still relevant, controversial and polarizing; it is worth examining changing opinions from the point of view of understanding and applying such concepts as *immigrant/emigrant/refugee*, etc., attitudes toward specific nations, in the context of various types of statements (official and unofficial, public and private, in various media spaces). Problems that arouse emotions may constitute an impetus for interdisciplinary considerations and reflections based on the research of sociologists, cultural anthropologists, linguists and political scientists.

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Emotionalization of chat communication in online computer games on the example of selected Instagram memes about *League of Legends*

The study of emotions is a relatively common and still rapidly growing practice that is reflected in many scientific disciplines. Nevertheless, emotions are rarely studied linguistically and in terms of their medial realization. In this context, particularly under-researched and, therefore, in need of research is the area related to verbal and nonverbal communication in computer games. The following paper presents an analysis of the emotionalization of communication in the game *League of Legends*. The research is based mainly on the assumptions of media linguistics. However, it also builds on the assumptions of other disciplines, including game studies, semiotics and the linguistics of emotions.The research corpus consists of memes posted on Instagram dedicated to the game and depicting parts or features of the game that are used for communication between players. The research focuses on the question of how emotions are thematized, manifested and evoked by language in chat. A noteworthy observation is the support of verbal sign systems (chat) by other mono- and plurimedial elements of the game, and the resulting repetitive and schematic nature of emotionalization strategies, but also a creative approach to language and other media.

Keywords: communication, computer game, emotion, medium, meme

1   Introduction

Emotions undeniably have a significant role in life or society and have been of great interest to people for centuries. Nevertheless, they are at the same time phenomena whose nature is still not always entirely understood (cf. Ben Ze'ev 2009: 9). In order to be able to examine emotionality from a scientific point of view, it should first be emphasized that cognition and emotion are no longer seen as opposing poles, but as two closely related categories (cf. LeDoux, 2003: 28). In this context emotions are difficult to research because they elude direct access – they can only be interpreted. From a linguistic perspective, it is however possible to scrutinize communicative phenomena that are assumed to be an explicit or implicit expression of emotions – only they are accessible and thus perceptible and analyzable to scientists dealing with language. Emotions can therefore be seen as communicative phenomena that are media-based (cf. Szczepaniak 2021: 86).

The purpose of the following paper is to show linguistic emotionalization strategies for chat communication in computer games, taking into account possible relations of

language with other sign systems, such as non-verbal visuals or sound. The research focuses primarily on the ways in which emotions are thematized, manifested or evoked. The analysis is anchored in a transdisciplinary qualitative (interpretative) approach, based primarily on mediolinguistic instruments, but also referring to the assumptions of semiotics, game studies, communication studies and the linguistics of emotions.

The corpus of the analysis is formed by memes from the Instagram profile *yummi_is_afk*[1], which shares posts thematically related to the computer game *League of Legends*. The selected memes show excerpts of chat-communication during the gameplay in this computer game. The article consists of a theoretical and a practical part. The first section provides an overview of the core terms used in the analysis – communication, medium, emotion, computer game and meme. The empirical part presents an examination of selected memes, which closes with a brief conclusion.

2 Terminological overview

As this article is based on transdisciplinary assumptions, the following will define the key terms around which the analysis will be conducted, i. e. communication, medium, emotion, computer game, and meme.

A. Communication

Communication is a decidedly very broad term. Throughout history, many models have been created to depict that phenomenon (e. g. Bühler 1934; Watzlawick et al. 1969; Schulz von Thun 1981). All of them focused each time only on selected aspects concerning the communication process, which makes the complexity of this phenomenon all the more noteworthy. Since the following paper does not focus on the study of the communication process itself, but rather the verbal (and non-verbal) emotionalization procedures during it, it is sufficient for the present analysis to view communication in a simplified way, similar to the mathematical model presented by Shannon and Weaver (1949). However, several modifications, or extensions, of this approach must be taken into account:

1) In order to fit this simplistic assumption into the mediolinguistic perspective, it is necessary to pay attention to the complexity of the term *medium* in the context of communication – for the process involves different media and different media levels (these will be described in more detail in section B of this chapter). In addition, the choice of medium itself determines in a certain way the message (cf. McLuhan 1964).

2) It is important to always keep in mind the concept of context, which has a tremendous impact on the actual meaning of the message conveyed during communication – to the extent that without it, it can usually be misinterpreted (cf. Auer 1999: 174). For example, only the context can determine the boundaries of a joke or irony.

3) In the examination of computer games it is necessary to pay attention during the analysis of communication to the phenomenon of imersion, which can also modify

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1   Link to the profile: https://www.instagram.com/yummi_is_afk, accessed 16.07.2024)

the interpretation of messages – this aspect will be described in more detail in section D of this chapter.

B. Medium

Medium is a word that occurs in everyday language use relatively often. Phrases like multimedia, mass media, social media, etc., are commonly used. The term is also applied in many scientific disciplines (cf. Mersch 2006; Dürscheid 2005: 4). However, the presence of the word in so many areas of life does not necessarily mean that defining it unambiguously is considered a simple task, as it leads to a high degree of polysemy.

In order to locate the term in the linguistic analysis of communication, it is necessary to start first of all from the assumption that the term must, on the one hand, adequately reflect reality (i.e., the everyday use of the word), but on the other hand, it must go beyond this reality in order to make a scientific approach to the analysis of actual communication possible (cf. Winkler 2008: 13).

At least four main approaches to the concept of medium can be observed in media linguistics. One of them is medium as a semiotic sign (cf. e.g. Jäger 2004; Schneider/Stöckl 2011: 16). In this context, different media would be signs of different modality or codality[2] (such as verbal and non-verbal sound). The other concept includes media in technological terms, i.e. material devices used, for example, to transmit information, e.g. computer, TV, screen, etc. (cf. e.g. Holly 1997: 69; Habscheid 2000: 137). Stertkamp (2017) notes in this context a more precise division of these media, dividing them into input, storage, processing and output media (cf. Stertkamp 2017: 152). A third approach brings the concept of medium closer to the term *communication fo*rm, recognizing forms such as a movie, newspaper article or computer game as media. Pross (1970) distinguishes in this context primary, secondary and tertiary media, depending on the necessity of using technology during their production or reception (cf. Pross 1970: 129). Over time, this division was further extended to include quarternary media, which enable interaction (cf. Bonfadelli 2010: 138) Another perspective is medium in institutional terms, which would include such phenomena as mass media, e.g. radio or television (cf. e.g. Faulstich 2002: 26).

It is worth noting that none of the mentioned definitions of medium is basically wrong. This ambiguity, moreover, is associated with several advantages, as it allows us to study the specifics of medial communication from different points of view. During communication, therefore, different media are active, at different levels (semiotic, technological, formal and institutional), which enable the transfer of messages. For example: the message during radio news is conveyed through verbal auditory sign systems (semiotic medium), through the microphone in the studio, the speaker of the radio

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2   The following paper will distinguish between the terms modus and code, referring to the theory of Werner Holly who limited the concept of modality to the reception potential associated with the sense organs, while connecting codality with the way signs are created and their material quality (cf. Holly 2009: 391). From this detailed and precise perspective it is possible to categorize, for example, verbal and non-verbal signs (codalities), and in addition also visual, auditory, tactile ones, etc. (modalities).

receiver and various transmitters (technological media), as a form of communication *radio program* (tertiary formal medium) and through the selected radio station (institution as medium). Media are therefore to be understood as procedures of sign processing (cf. Schneider 2017: 37) – that perspective allows the selection of appropriate methods for specific research, moreover, it makes it possible to focus on different levels of media characteristics (mediality) of communication.

The following analysis will focus on media in a semiotic perspective and their use during the emotionalization of communication in games. The other levels, however, although not analyzed, will be taken into account, as they have a key impact on the possibilities of choice (or rather, availability) of semiotic media during communication[3].

In the context of semiotic medium (medium as a sign system), it is important to highlight the concepts of mono-, multi and intermediality. Mono-medial communication can be defined as the exchange of information using a single sign system. However, it is rare to find the use of pure language or isolated other sign systems in communication (cf. Holly 2009: 389). Therefore, it is necessary to point out the multimediality, which analogously refers to communication using multiple modes or codes, i.e. using different media, such as written language and non-verbal pictures (cf. Wasilewska-Chmura 2011: 33). Intermediality, on the other hand, is the specific use of two semiotic media during communication, in which the boundary between these media is blurred, while their perception occurs relatively simultaneously (cf. Baetens/Sánchez-Mesa Martínez 2015: 291–292). An example of such a phenomenon could be a photograph depicting a verbal store banner.

C. Emotion

In order to properly approach the linguistic analysis of emotions, it is essential to start from the premise that emotions should not only be seen as the biological characteristics of every human being, but rather as a multifaceted phenomenon that connects the individual's inner and outer self and combines not only biological and psychological, but also social aspects (cf. Gebauer et al. 2017: 10). Furthermore, it should be emphasized, that the multimodal and multi-codal symbolic nature of emotions can be assessed and investigated by focusing on their socio-cultural use and their media contextualization (cf. Szczepaniak 2021: 91). The mediality (media characteristics of the message) is a dimension that encodes emotions in, for example, discourse (cf. Szczepaniak 2021: 90).

In this perspective, emotions in communication can be interpreted as semiotically coded, arbitrary symbols (cf. Ortner 2014: 46). From a linguistic point of view, emotions are therefore communicative constructs and not physiological processes or mental representations of inner states. They are constructs that exist between individuals, components of routinized, culturally standardized practice complexes (Reckwitz 2016: 173).

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3 For example, in a computer game, verbal and non-verbal, visual and auditory (sometimes also tactile) semiotic media are usually available. Media related to other modes, on the other hand, are generally inaccessible because of technological incapabilities (limitations on the availability of sign systems due to the characteristics of the particular technological medium).

Such a perception of emotions opens up new possibilities for researching them, especially the coding, thematization, manifestation and evocation of emotions in texts and the strategies of emotionalization.

D. Computer game

Computer games are a highly multi-dimensional medium, and their study requires a meticulous selection of appropriate methods in order to fully and, above all, objectively assess their features or capabilities (cf. Stertkamp 2017: 7). As a starting point, it could be useful to define the broader term *game*. However, some experts are of the opinion that defining the game is contrary to its ambiguous essence, and thus avoid explicitly stating what they are (cf. Gebauer/Wulf 1998: 187). Some of them furthermore dispute that defining a game can (or even should) be accomplished by designating what a game is not, or rather what is its opposite – as examples of such phenomena can be mentioned work or seriousness (cf. Wenz 2006: 40). This matches the statement mentioned in the introduction that (computer) games are created primarily for entertainment, to evoke positive emotions such as joy (cf. Makai 2022: 73). However, such an approach may be in some cases too vague.

For this reason, it is important first of all to distinguish between the understandings of *play* and *game*. *Play* indicates a specific subjective attitude towards the object or activity and is rather limited to spontaneous interactions. *Game* refers on the other hand to institutionalized activities that are strictly directed by established rules, is therefore related to formal and conventionally defined events (cf. Wenz 2006: 39–40). Worth noting is the foundation of Juul (2011), who created the classic game model, in which he wrote out 6 key factors that determine this term, yet leave room for occurring borderline cases or possible historical changes, thus making the model relatively objective and authentic. Based on its premise, a game is: „a rule-based formal system with variable and quantifiable outcomes, where different outcomes are assigned different values, where the player exerts effort in order to influence the outcome, the player feels emotionally attached to the outcome and the consequences of the activity are optional and negotiable" (Juul 2011: 6–7). From the perspective of the following analysis, the crucial element of the games is primarily the emotional connection between the player and the events during the game – as this implies the presence of a high emotionalization of communication between players.

Computer game is analogously to be understood as a game (that is, it should match the above assumptions) that can only be accessed through the technological media computer or computerized device. Online computer games additionally require Internet access, allowing multiplayer gameplay, and thus communication between players during that gameplay. However, crucial for computer games in general are other related media, such as the screen or speakers. The most important is the necessity of involving manipulation devices (controllers), which in most cases require the use of hands (cf. Makai 2022: 73). In many cases, hands are needed both when controlling gameplay and for communication between players (e. g., typing in chat during gameplay). This can have a major impact on the way players communicate themselves, and thus also on the choice of appropriate emotionalization strategies.

In the case of communication in computer games, it is essential to also always keep in mind one of their other characteristics, which is the ability to have an immersive effect on their recipient (the player). Imersion describes (in simple terms) the illusion of being in the middle of a virtual, simulated world – a move to a fictional reality and being a part of it in the form of an avatar (cf. Trost 2014: 32). Imersion thus causes there to exist two situational contexts when communicating in computer games – the real one (what is happening around the players in front of the computer) and the virtual one (what is happening around the avatar in the game world). The virtual context is often of primary importance, as it is usually the one that all cognitive processes during gaming are concerned with (cf. Trost 2014: 32).

E. Meme

Memes are an important part of culture and are primarily associated with the Internet. They can be defined as combinations of images and written language elements (therefore they are a multimodal and multi-codal medium) about everyday life or culture (cf. Morger 2017: 5). Memes are in each case recontextualized. This means that the origin of these phenomena is always based on cultural information (e. g. an event), which is later perceived and interpreted by viewers. This information is then given a new context and realized in a new medium (cf. Morger 2017: 26–27).

Memes are characterized above all by their humorous, often evaluative or emotional character and schematic nature (cf. Brylska/Gackowski 2017: 27). Often researchers point out the distinctive structure of memes – they usually consist of a standardized image and two varying lines of text at the top and bottom of the image, which contrast with each other (cf. Oswald 2018: 3). This article, however, focuses on a broader understanding of the phenomenon – memes can be interpreted as cultural units of any form or media – from static images and videos to songs, lines of text, individual words or abstract concepts (cf. Oswald 2018: 4).

3   Analysis

At the entry, five key assumptions about the following analysis must be strongly emphasized:

1) Memes depicting fragments of communication in a computer game are in most cases devoid of information regarding the situational context of that communication (what happened in the gameplay before or during the moment of sending the messages shown in the memes).

2) As a consequence of the above, the presented excerpts of communication can only be subject to interpretation or assessment of the possibility of manifestation, thematization or evocation of emotions through the messages used, and not the identification of the actual state of emotionalization during the game.

3) However, the global situational context can be taken into account – the players are engaged in an online computer game, which is assigned to the category of compete-

tive games, the emotionalization of communication is therefore generally related to the rivalry.

4) Memes, as this form of communication is a humorous, evaluative and replication-prone medium concerning cultural phenomena, can show examples of a creative approach to emotionalization of communication during gameplay on both verbal and non-verbal dimensions.

5) The following interpretations of the manifestation, thematization and evocation of emotions as communicative phenomena are based on their semantic profiles (provided, for example, in Szczepaniak 2015, Szczepaniak et al. 2023).

EXAMPLE 1

Fig. 1. https://www.instagram.com/p/C5T0hbUrPpa; accessed 16.07.2024

The chat excerpt depicts a player referring to himself as a „ROLEX SALESMAN", thus alluding to the prominent watch manufacturer. However, the seemingly unemotional statement takes on a full and completely different meaning when combined with the context, which only becomes apparent through other visual messages based on verbal and non-verbal media:

1) The player has a relatively low gameplay score, as evidenced by the „2/6/0" numbers visible in the scoreboard (indicating 2 kills, 6 deaths and 0 assists).

2) The player has equipped himself in gameplay with items that do not bring any benefit to the character he controls (and therefore also to the whole team) – the so-called *stopwatches*, visible in his inventory (bottom right corner of the image). Such behavior in most cases is an act of trolling.

The brand name *Rolex* used by the player in the chat therefore refers to the disadvantageous items he equips based on the semantic similarity of the word *watch* and *stopwatch* (both measure time), as well as the visual similarity of the images representing the item.

The whole multimedial message can, on the one hand, be an indirect manifestation of resignation, indifference or even anger. On the other hand, it can also implicitly evoke anger or disappointment among co-players, as it expresses in some way a lack of desire for favorable team activity in further gameplay. The whole effect is enhanced by repeti-

tions and words written entirely in capital letters, as well as direct turns to co-players. The red color of the player's nickname, on the other hand, indicates that the player has sent messages not in the team chat, but in the general chat, also visible to opponents. Thus, this message can also trigger emotions among the players of the opposing team, which, however, are hard to clearly identify (it can be, on the one hand, happiness due to the easier game caused by the weakened opposing team, disappointment at the lack of a suitable opponent, etc.).

EXAMPLE 2
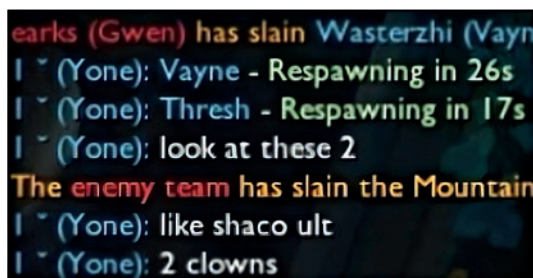
Fig. 2. https://www.instagram.com/p/Cyz5pi_ra-Q; accessed 16.07.2024

The fragment shown is based on a visual verbal medium. The automatic gameplay announcement „The enemy team has slain the Mountain [Dragon]" outlines the situational context – the opposing team has an advantage. The phrases „Respawning in" also indicate that two co-players are currently dead in the game.

A player on the losing team refers to his two co-players as two clowns, which can be, on the one hand, a manifestation of disappointment, whereas on the other hand, it can evoke anger.

However, in order to fully explain this emotionally charged message, it is necessary to understand two crucial references to the game world. Every character in the game has unique abilities, the strongest being the so-called *ultimate*. The abbreviation „ult" represents this exact meaning and supports the fluidity and economy of chat communication at the same time. The word „shaco" is the name of one of the characters that can be chosen in the game, which in appearance resembles a clown. Shaco's strongest ability (his *ultimate*) is summoning a trap clone that looks like him. Knowing these elements of the game expands the meaning of this comparison, as it alludes to the similarity of Shaco's ultimate to two clowns.

Before the mentioned comparison, the player points to co-players verbally („look at these 2") and by using the game's built-in features, which allow him to mark a player, thus generating an automatic chat message (the first two lines).

EXAMPLE 3

Fig. 3. https://www.instagram.com/p/CzMFP-TobDd; accessed 16.07.2024

The question „did you exhaust blitz" from one of the players refers to the use of an ability named *exhaust* on an opponent-controlled character named *Blitzcrank* (the abbreviation „blitz" was used). The situation is depicted in the meme with a cutout of the game screen showing the players' characters. The exhaust skill should generally be used on other opponents. Therefore, the player may verbally manifest with the mentioned question anger or disappointment, which is compounded by the use of single words in single lines of chat (this can be the visual equivalent of pauses in verbal speech). The other player's response „muted" expresses that the player has turned off the display of messages coming from the asking player. This can be a manifestation of anger or in some cases also evoke anger (because it prevents communication between parts of the team). The emoticon „:3" depicting a charming smile can also appear provocative in this context.

EXAMPLE 4
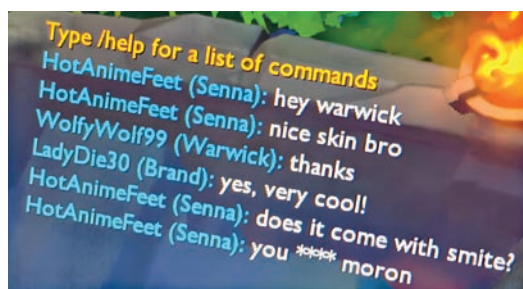
Fig. 4. https://www.instagram.com/p/C1BoRYAs0l3; accessed 16.07.2024

In order to understand the present example, it is necessary to first explain the words *skin* and *smite*. The first one in the context of games means a modification of appearance of, for example, a controllable character, which most often can be bought only with real money. The second one, on the other hand, is the name of one of the crucial gameplay abilities, which can be selected in the lobby before the start of the game.

In this chat section, one player seemingly compliments an ally with the words „nice skin bro", which at first may evoke positive emotions. However, taking advantage of the quasi-synchronous medial nature of chat communication, the player uses an afterword to complete his message and completely change its meaning. The question „does it come with smite?" implies the context (the player to whom the words are directed most likely forgot to select this ability before the game started) and, combined with the words „you **** moron", can verbally manifest anger, compounded by vulgarities (here censored). This message is also able to lead to the evocation of negative emotions in the recipient, such as sadness.

EXAMPLE 5

Fig. 5. https://www.instagram.com/p/C1P1gxXrUks; accessed 16.07.2024

The next example shows 4 chat cutouts, which can come from different games. They show messages that are generally sent at the end of the gameplay. Most of them are acronyms, the meaning of which is crucial to understand the emotional operations involved. „GG" is a shortened form of „good game" usually expressing satisfaction with the game played. „WP" means „well played" and is a kind of compliment directed at the other players (often both teams). Both abbreviations are usually a manifestation and at the same time an evocation of positive emotions, such as happiness. The abbreviation „EZ" is a phonetic reference to the word *easy*. It may be a contemptuous form of evoking indignation, sadness or even anger. The last excerpt shows the use of a question mark, which in the context presented by the neighboring announcement „Teemo has slain (Yasuo) for a penta kill" (the player has defeated all opponents) can manifest contemptuous disap-

pointment (caused by the ease of achieving victory) and evoke emotions in opponents similar to the abbreviation „ez“.

The meme thus exemplifies a scale that shows the levels of saturation with negative affectations in the end messages[4]. It ranges from a cultural compliment associated exclusively with positive emotions („ggwp“), to satisfaction resulting from the game but contempt for the opponent („ggez“), exclusive contempt („ez“), and an unique manifestation of disdain that can imply an inability to find the right words that could describe it („?“).

The abbreviations may also be used not only at the end of the match, but also during the game. The message „ggwp“ sent in the middle of a gameplay, for example, can signify a desire to give up or inability to see the point of continuing to play after a failed fight, thus manifesting resignation in an indirect way.

EXAMPLE 6
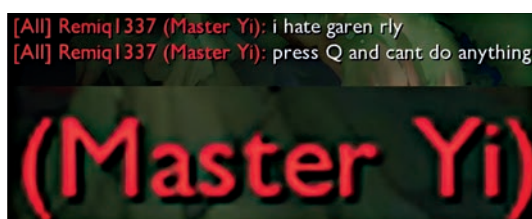
Fig. 6. https://www.instagram.com/p/C1_bWSUiT5K; accessed 16.07.2024

To understand this message, it should first be noted that the names *Garen* and *Master Yi* are the names of two of the playable characters, which are considered to be among the easiest to control. The player controlling the character *Master Yi* manifests directly and verbally the hatred associated with the character *Garen*. The abbreviation „rly“ (alluding to the word *really*) and the afterword in the next line of the chat can in a certain manner amplify the expression of this emotion.

In principle, the statement is unlikely to evoke negative emotions, because the player is not expressing hatred for other players, only for the game character (an exception could be the evocation of emotions in fans of the character *Garen*). However, in the present situation, the words come from the player controlling *Master Yi*, which may cause, for example, indignation among some other players, as he complains about the ease of another character, playing an easy character himself. In the meme, possibility of this interpretation is highlighted by zooming in on a fragment of the chat with the character's name on it.

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4   In addition, the meme features a reference to the „Galaxy Brain“ meme (cf. e. g. https://knowyourh meme.com/memes/galaxy-brain, accessed 15.07.2024)

EXAMPLE 7

Fig. 7. https://www.instagram.com/p/C3Ae2qwox75; 16.07.2024

This example shows the intensification of the emotion *anger*. The player uses the so-called pings to mark an ally, automatically generating in the chat messages „Zilean R – Ready". In this way, he manifests anger indirectly, emphasizing that his ally did not use his *ultimate* on him („R" is another term for the *ultimate* described in the example 2, as this ability is by default assigned to the R key). It is worth noting that the player used the aforementioned ping most likely 6 times in 2 seconds, which may stand for high intensity of the manifested emotion. The player then begins to vote for surrender, which may indirectly express an escalation of anger. Eventually, the player leaves the game, which may nonverbally indicate that the anger has turned into rage[5].

An ally who may have been the cause of the extreme manifestation of emotions sent a chat message contemptuously comparing his co-player to minions (i. e. relatively weak, computer-controlled creatures from the game world), stating „can't r minions sorry".

It is worth noting that the player who left the game never once wrote anything in chat, so he only used the game's non-verbal functions (which, by the way, automatically generated verbal chat messages). This may indicate, on the one hand, the high intensity of emotions, since the use of other ways of communication during gameplay is generally faster than verbal communication in chat. However, this cannot be determined conclusively, as the player may have been banned from accessing the chat (he may have received a system penalty for, e. g., inappropriate behavior in previous games).

EXAMPLE 8

Fig. 8. https://www.instagram.com/p/C45CR2pIgWu; accessed 16.07.2024

This example shows an intermedial message, combining verbal visual media (more specifically, punctuation marks) and a non-verbal visual sign. The player used the medial specificity of chat communication to form a message into a shape resembling an extended middle finger. Such a message can be a manifestation of anger or, in extreme cases, hatred. Moreover, it can also contribute to the evocation of negative emotions.

4   Conclusions

The analyzed examples demonstrate a high emotionalization of communication in the game League of Legends. The selected excerpts were dominated by negative emotions, in particular anger and its related emotions, which can be manifested or evoked in different degrees of their intensity. It is observable that there is a relatively high repetition of the emotionalization strategies used – players often use so-called pings (game features marking, e. g., players), acronyms, comparisons to elements of the game world (e. g., character names) or to elements outside the game universe (e. g., reference to the Rolex brand). Verbal media play an important role in communication during gameplay, as they enable precise exchange of information, and thus contribute to more accurate manifestation, thematization or evocation of emotions. In general, non-verbal media are used at moments when a quick reaction in communication is required (they play a role similar to gestures – thanks to them, for example, it is possible to virtually point at a co-player). A possible interpretation is also the use of faster available non-verbal media in moments of high intensity or impulsiveness of manifested emotions. Sometimes players generate or evoke emotions in a multimedial or even intermedial way (example 1 and 8). The analyzed examples show high communicative creativity on both the verbal and non-verbal levels. In order to interpret many of the messages, knowledge of the game is required, sometimes also knowledge of culture or history in general. This leads to messages during the gameplay with varying degrees of emotionalization implicity. Emotions are rarely manifested or evoked explicitly (of all the examples, this was only the case in meme 6).

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5   This behavior is often called by players as *rage quit* (cf. e. g. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rage%20quit, accessed 16.07.2024).

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Emotions and the body

On literary images of experiencing disability and its compensation in Olga Tokarczuk's prose

The subject of the study are literary images of emotions related to feeling a crippled body in Olga Tokarczuk's prose. These include crippled individuals and the people around them. Another area of interest is the experience of using a prosthesis as an organ surrogate. Using the concept of emotions proposed by Plutchik, who understands them as adaptive behaviors (anger, disgust, sadness, surprise, fear, trust, joy, premonition), I look at the creation of literary portraits with particular emphasis on the role of ethopoeia and prosopography (Todorov). It turns out that the writer highlights fear and surprise, i. e. negative emotions, but at the same time, notes the complexity of the world and human nature, including ambivalence, and she emphasizes premonitions and interest. Lameness in her prose evokes strong emotions that are rarely directly specified. Mostly unnamed, they emerge from literary portraits and images. In the first of these, Tokarczuk often gives voice to other characters, or to the narrator, balancing between ethopeia and prosopography so that the reader, when reconstructing the image of the crippled character, notices both the emotions of the literary character and the people around. The images, in turn, direct the audience's attention to the culture within which the disability is interpreted (the Netherlands in the 18th century, the Eastern Borderlands during World War II, the present day).

Keywords: Tokarczuk, disability, prosthesis, emotions, prosopography, ethopoeia

In Olga Tokarczuk's work, starting from her debut, key places are given to space, time and movement, which constitute the fundamental framework of human existence (Cassirer 1998: 92–111). Looking at the human experience of existence, Tokarczuk directs her attention to the *psyche* and *soma*, which she perceives within the orders of nature and culture. These two paradigms provide frames of reference for creating their literary representations found throughout her works. Tokarczuk presents the body and soul, and with them also emotions, in the perspective of movement, as a permanent component of her map of the world, but at the same time she weaves them into the fabric of nature marked by changes – cyclicity and metamorphosis. These elements are continuously present in her prose, albeit with varying degrees of intensity. However, the body is always identified with the *axis mundi* in her prose, and she says that "The axis of the world [consists of] the repetitive configurations of moments, movements and gestures" (Tokarczuk 2019: 330). The soma, which arouses emotions in the writer's consciousness, is a special entity whose existence is synonymous with movement and change, which in

turn guarantees the preservation of its sacred character and escape from the clutches of Satan, as the Old Believers held it.[1] Movement – including emotions and the body – is almost always in her prose an expression of the search for hope for salvation. Emotions constantly affect the body, co-creating the identity of an individual – in the reflections of the traveler Maja appear musings on the <<I>> and <<i>> (Tokarczuk 2004: 264). According to Przemysław Czapliński, such a soul-body relationship is associated with "disagreement with existence, a sense of existential mismatch, a state of non-reconciliation with oneself" (Czapliński: 1999), but it is worth emphasizing that this non-reconciliation also results from the sense of disharmony between the *psyche* and the *soma*.

We will be interested in the sense of incompleteness of the body – disability, as experienced by the afflicted individual and those around. Attention will be paid to the emotions that accompany bodily metamorphoses, especially the feeling of deficiency, compensated by artificiality understood in terms of aesthetics.[2] I will refer to Robert Plutchik's concept of emotions – understood as adaptive behaviors. Plutchik distinguishes eight basic emotions (anger, disgust, sadness, surprise, fear, trust, joy, and anticipation).[3] These considerations will also include the literary image of the role of the prosthesis, which, as a surrogate for nature, not only changes the *corpus*, but also restores a sense of harmony and thus affects one's feelings. The prosthetic implies reflection on the key aspects of corporeality and its boundaries, among which Anna Łebkowska includes the relationship between the corporeal and the incorporeal, the living and the dead, the human and the nonhuman, the body – mannequin, the cyborg, the anthropocentric and non-anthropocentric body, the transparent and the opaque (in the sense of obviousness and its lack) from the perspective of somapoetics (Łebkowska 2012: 119).

Emotions related to the lack and artificial "supplementation" of the body encourage reflection on the living and the dead, the human and non-human, transparent and opaque (non-obvious), and thus on noticeable otherness. Artificiality will be made a point of reference, as in Tokarczuk's work it is readily visible, and in relation to the crippled body, it is associated with experiences and images of culture. In explaining the writing strategies that Tokarczuk uses in creating emotions, rhetoric from the μ group will become of use, particularly Tzvetan Todorov's concept of tropes and figures (Todorov 2008: 178–205), along with somaesthetics, as mentioned above.

In Tokarczuk's prose, the *artificiel*[4] is a material response to the emotions of an individual feeling disabled, the result of the mental activity of a human being striving to

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1 In *Bieguni* [Flights], we read, "The one who rules the world has no power over movement and knows that our body in motion is sacred, you only escape it when you move" (Tokarczuk 2007: 291). Croft: "He who rules the world has no power over body in motion is holy, and only then can you escape him, once you`ve taken off" (Tokarczuk 2017: 214).

2 Therefore, feelings related to aging and dying, included in the image of the world order in Tokarczuk's prose, will be excluded from the present reflection, as they require separate discussion.

3 They can be configured into various arrangements, creating indirect emotions, the so-called dyads. (Plutchik 1980: 3–33, 344).

4 Artifice as an aesthetic phenomenon is old. In the 19th century, it began to be combined with philosophy and historiosophy, which led to the formation of the idea of the *artificiel*. While Kant linked

overcome nature: all of his or her strength and limitations. By introducing into her prose the relationship between emotions related to disability and its compensation (prosthesis), Tokarczuk presents artificiality in the context of the epistemology and aesthetics of 18th-century Netherlands and the ethics of the early 19th century, as signaled by Melville in *Moby-Dick* when the body and the soul were treated as a unity.[5] In Tokarczuk's work, we notice the presence of "various dimensions of corporeality in literature (body discourse) – for example, bodily experiences as a source of metaphors and – what is particularly interesting – descriptions of bodily experiences, as well as literary reflections on the body (discourse about the body) expressing propositions on the topic of the body, and the body with the spirit (Abriszewska 2018: 105).

Our considerations should begin with recalling that in Tokarczuk's works, the soul and body are considered as a whole, which is an example of a dualistic image of man originating from ancient Greece.[6] The theory of the four humors, also referring to a person's preferences and temperaments – the foundation of Hippocratic medicine – connected emotions with the body (Porter, Vigarello 2011: 308–311). A balance of the fluids guaranteed harmony, i.e. health, and manifested in the balance between emotions and the body. This old image is present in Tokarczuk's works, but its images are incorporated into visions of different cultures (the Netherlands in *Bieguni* [Flights]) and religions (the knifemen in *Dom dzienny, dom nocny* [House of Day, House of Night]; the Judaic tradition (the songs of Nachman in *Bieguni*). Soul and body, as we read in *Listy do mojej amputowanej nogi* [Letters to my amputated leg], are substances, (Croft}: „attributes of an Infinite, all encompassing God" (Tokarczuk 2017: 176), between which certain relationships obtain despite the contradiction of the non-extension of the former and extension of the latter component of the human being.

I will limit Plato's understanding of the soul to *pathos*, i.e. emotions that are extremely strong in relation to the lame body. Tokarczuk carefully looks at the feeling of violation of the body as a whole and the resulting sensations.[7] As Jean-Jacques Courtine notes, until the 18th century, frailty and infirmity – alongside otherness, peculiarity and

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beauty with nature as God's work, Hegel, separated beauty from God's work and thought that the beauty of nature was a reflection of the aesthetics of art. These views (in the18[th] and 19th centuries) brought the status of the artist closer to that of God-Creator, and nature was contrasted with art. The spiritual crisis of the second half of the 19th century led to the recognition of artificiality as the core of aesthetics. (Nowakowski 1995: 479–480; Schopenhauer 1994: 336).

5   Thinking based on hierarchy was embedded in Romantic anthropology and epistemology, which is manifested in the recognition of the body as a symptom of the spirit. (Abriszewska 2018: 100–101).

6   In the sect of knifemen appearing in the *Dom nocny, dom dzienny*, there is a belief that "the soul is a knife stuck in the body," which animates it and kills it at the same time. (Tokarczuk 2019: 275). Lloyd-Jones: Nożownicy "The Culters Belived that the soul is a knife stabbed into the body" (Tokarczuk 2019:208).

7   In Tokarczuk's novels, the soul is important for human existence. In *Podróż ludzi Księgi* [The Journey of the Book-People] Delabranche seeks to distill the spirit/soul from all matter to create a panacea (Tokarczuk 1996: 149–150).

monstrosity – were phenomena worth presenting in an oculocentric culture[8]. Therefore, apart from the individual feelings of the lame, they were meant to evoke strong social emotions within which such individuals were objectified (Courtine 2014: 189–220).

Tokarczuk is clearly interested in the incompleteness of the body. She creates characters marked by it, emphasizing equality in the face of this experience. It is the fate of outstanding people – respected scientists as well as those who arouse fear through cruelty. In *Bieguni* [Flights] we find the character of Filip Verheyen, a Dutch anatomist who loses his leg due to infection. In *Ostatnie historie* [The Last Stories], appears Yuri Liberman, a Russian officer with a mutilated left side of his body. In *Dom dzienny, dom nocny* [House of Day, House of Night], Tokarczuk chooses a different writing strategy – she does not create a disabled hero, but an image of prosthetics – wigs that are meant to compensate for hair loss caused by disease.[9] The oppositions revealed in the figures and prostheses indicate the artist's desire to emphasize the *coincidentia oppositorum*, in the center of which lies the lame body and the experiences associated with it.

Emotions named and unnamed

It is very interesting that Tokarczuk consistently avoids describing the emotions of her characters. We will never learn directly what Verheyen felt when he lost his leg, apart from physical sensations such as pain, numbness, tingling in the fingers, pricks and itching (Tokarczuk 2017: 173–174). Liberman is created in a similar way, with his backstory, including the causes of his disability and the feelings it aroused in him, remaining unspecified. The writer focuses on prosopography and ethopoeia (Todorov 2008: 200–201) performed by other characters or the narrator. This does not mean, however, that they are not implied. When describing the behaviors of these characters, Tokarczuk subtly directs the reader's attention to them, although she does not name them directly. So, Verheyen – a historical figure – having lost his leg, falls into depression (Tokarczuk 2017: 167) chooses solitude and feigns social relations: he was not happy to see van Horssen (Croft): „He`s hardly pleased by these visits, though no visit would please him" (Tokarczuk 2017: 159). (Croft) „He will pretend he hasn't to find a hostess, altrough he hasn`t actually sought one out at all" (Tokarczuk 2017: 160) and gradually gave up lecturing (Tokarczuk 2017: 169). Withdrawing oneself from social life is, as we can easily guess, an escape from being observed, and may indicate sadness, fear, and embarrassment (Ortenburger 2010: 177–201). Emotions not verbalized by the character are typical of depression, since they lead to alienation. However, the most valuable clue to discovering them is the mention of the lost organ. Tokarczuk referred to history here. After the amputation, the anatomist asked for the organ to be preserved for religious reasons – his faith led him to fear difficulties in resurrection (the severed leg would be reborn separately, Tokarczuk 2017: 167). Fear is not mentioned directly in the novel, just as there is no mention of the sense of lost harmony, which we learn about in van Hors-

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8   The researcher points out that at the end of the 18th century, a monstrous body began to be distinguished from a crippled body subjected to medical procedures. (Courtine 2014: 220–221).

9   Their second task is to enhance one's appearance.

sen's recollection of *Listy do amputowanej nogi* [Letters to an Amputated Leg] (Sue 2007: 343–345; Lorkowski, Pokorski 2022: 4). „coherently and withoud emotion that since the body and soul are in essence one and the same, since they are two attributes of an Infinite, all-encompassing God, there must be bettwen tchem some sort proportionality designet by Creator". (Tokarczuk 2017: 176)

Verheyen notes, he felt his disability as its absence, which it evokes surprise and perhaps fear, but that is not what we are talking about here! In *Ostatnie historie* [The Last Stories], we do not learn about Liberman's past either from his own mouth or from the accounts of others. However, the coherence of ethopoeia and prosopography results in his portrait, even though mysterious, turning out to be coherent in some respects. The cruel officer, ruthless towards Polish people, is presented by the heroine-narrator as a man with a Janus face in body and spirit. His existence is marked by duality, and indicates the eternal connection between the psyche and the soma. The right side of the body was healthy, the left side was disabled; the face was immobile and disfigured with scars, a prosthetic arm and a disabled leg (Tokarczuk 2004: 161) while this dualism led to the assumption that these were two people, a person both "alive and dead" (Tokarczuk 2004: 165) like a "lame Eastern idol" (Tokarczuk 2004: 166). No direct mention is made of his emotions, but the writer conveyed their features in the descriptions of his behavior. Thus, we learn of looking at the moon, of tenderness, the need for closeness, acceptance of disability in erotic moments, generosity (Tokarczuk 2004: 163–166), but at the same time of cruelty and violence (Tokarczuk 2004: 161,163). It is easy to see that etopoeias imply emotions such as anger, but also joy and excitement, even though none of them is named.

Tokarczuk used a different writing strategy, creating an image of the emotions caused by hair loss due to disease, i.e. alopecia. Although it is not a disability in the strict medical sense, people affected by it see themselves as incomplete and it can be a source of negative emotions: sadness, shame, embarrassment. In *Dom dzienny, dom nocny* [House of Day, House of Night], in the narrator's story about Marta, the wig-maker, we find a mention of emotions. However, the writer shows reservation – we learn about a hairdresser who: (Lloyd-Jones): „Sometimes he had taken orders for Marta from women who had lost their hair because of illness or old age, or for men. Baldness affects tchem more of ten, though maybe less painfully" (Tokarczuk 2019:68). This description – apart from the metaphorical definition of emotions – also draws attention to their strength depending on one's gender. This small fragment is a reference to the cultural role of hair, which has been assigned symbolic meanings for centuries. Hair was considered a sign of spiritual virtues, strength, virility (Samson), identification, social status, soul (Chevalier, Gheerbrand 1999: 234–237), light, fertility, and love, as well as mourning (Kopaliński 1990: 469), and its contradiction – baldness or a shaved head – was seen as a symbol of disability, ridicule, but also wisdom, as well as priesthood (Kopaliński 1990: 473; Banek 2010: 193–200).

Disability – emotions – movement

In Tokarczuk's prose, disability and the emotions associated with it intensify the movement which, as we remember, is inscribed in the very order of the world. In *Bieguni* [Flights], it takes the form of a movement of thoughts, because Verheyen, having lost his

leg, observes his body's reactions to the loss and examines the organ that is preserved (To-karczuk 2007: 167). A would-be theologian, he abandoned his studies to choose medicine and devote himself to anatomy, making himself and the lost organ the subject of study.[10] Thanks to the body's sensations, he points to the phenomenon of phantom pain, which already intrigued Descartes, who was convinced that the soul could not exist without the body (Latocha 2016: 140–142), even though they are different substances. Research on the dissected leg led him to the discovery of the Achilles tendon. In her extensive description of Verheyen's physical experiences (Tokarczuk 2017: 173–174), Tokarczuk describes the scientist's emotions in the words of his student, who mentions despair caused by phantom pain that drove him to insanity. The writer names the emotions, but they are not named by the suffering scientist himself. Thanks to the skillful combination of prosopography and ethopoeia, the portrait of the anatomist is objective and covers the effects of disability and experiences related to it – scientific discoveries that forever changed medicine.

Movement as a consequence of emotions related to disability is included in the creation of Yuri Liberman. While in Verheyen the writer highlights movement of the intellect, in the case of the Russian officer, she focuses on the character's psyche. Even though we do not know his past and the causes of his disability, in the eyes of his lover he appears as a person whose psyche balances between extremes. He hurts people, deliberately inspiring fear, uses his power, but is also occasionally tender, and even capable of showing gratitude (before leaving, he gives jewelry to his lover, Tokarczuk 2019: 166). The crippled soma, in the light of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body, is not able to fully perceive the surroundings, since it is, according to the philosopher, "a point of view on the world" (Merleau-Ponty 2001: 88). It may therefore lead to duality, which in Liberman's work is parallel to the body split in two, the lame left side and the healthy right side.

Disability or its proxy – hair loss – by arousing the emotions mentioned earlier, also lead to movement. Tokarczuk, however, does not mention them in the context of the characters resorting to wearing a wig,[11] but rather that of the narrator, as well as their maker. First of all, the writer draws attention to the properties of hair and its role in a person's identity. The wig puts the body in a relationship between that which is living and that which is not, the human and non-human (artificial), transparent and opaque. The body, with the face in particular,[12] then begins to play the role of text. In the novel, when reporting on a meeting with a neighbor, the writer mentions the wigmaker's belief in the inextricable connection between the body, the psyche and the mind, (Lloyd-Jones): „ Marta sais a growing hair gathers a persopn`s thoughts. It accumulates them

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10 By describing this process, Tokarczuk creates an interesting image of the scientist's laboratory and his activity in this space (Górecka 2019: 79–82; Górecka 2023: 95–111).

11 Already used by the Sumerians and Egyptians, in everyday life, by Greek actors – in the theater, they were particularly popular in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries until the beginning of the 19th century. (Boucher 2004: 35, 79).

12 This understanding of the role of the body, especially the head and face, brings to mind physiognomy, popular in the 19th century, derived from the ancient tradition. It is worth recalling Aristotle, who noticed the dependence of the disposition on the body and the body on the disposition. (Arystoteles 1986: 26–27).

in the form of indistinct particles" (Tokarczuk 2003:68). Then the narrator reveals her emotions: the idea of using a wig made of someone else's hair arouses fear because, as the wig maker claims, one then absorbs the thoughts of the previous owner. In the novel, the narrator's emotions refer to self-awareness and identity; these emotions are surprise and fear. The movement of thoughts is revealed when she tries on a wig, which changes her appearance and causes anxiety, as she says, w tum. Lloyd-Jones: „ I looked at myself in the mirror, my features seemed better defined,an I looked younger, but a stranger to myself" (Tokarczuk 2003:71). Tokarczuk focuses on prosopography, but with its help she manages to outline the emotions of the narrator who, looking at her altered image which arouses her curiosity, if not astonishment, refers to her own identity.

Prosthesis and emotions

In Tokarczuk's prose, the violation of a person's bodily integrity is related to the idea of the *artificiel*, because it usually leads to the use of a prosthesis. Verheyen in 17th-century Netherlands uses crutches (Tokarczuk 2017: 167), but Liberman during World War II already uses prostheses – substitutes for legs and arms made of wood (Tokarczuk 2019: 161, 163), which is a source of emotions for both of them, as it is for society. The body marked by disability is thus supplemented [13] – the word prosthesis itself, derived from the Greek *Πρόσθεσις*, means 'addition', 'supplement' (Kopaliński 1985: 347). Crippling causes the *soma* to undergo metamorphosis whose limits are determined by nature and artificiality. Amputation and prosthetics have been known since antiquity – both in culture and in medical practice. [14] Emotions related to disability and with prostheses, as a way of restoring harmony, intensify the opposition of the transparent and the opaque, consisting in the contradiction between what is obvious and what is not. The need to use a prosthesis reveals the imperfection of the body-machine, which, according to Descartes, is adjacent to the soul, but, unlike it, it has no freedom. In Tokarczuk's prose, disability is a manifestation of a dialogue with the philosopher, who inscribes "all this machinery of bones and muscles" (Descartes 2004: 35) into his mechanistic vision of the world (Porter, Vigarello 2011: 320–321), believing in the precision of this "device." The prosthesis marks the body, making it different, conspicuous, but it also changes the way the world is experienced,[15] and evokes a different set of emotions. Libermann's body, described as "straight from a nightmare" (Tokarczuk 2019: 160), giving the impression

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13 In *Bieguni* [Flights] there is also an image of the crippled body of singer Graziella, whose leg is supported by a leather cuff with underwires (Tokarczuk 2017: 258).

14 Cf. the story of Pelops, for whom Hephaestus constructs an artificial ivory spatula, and Herodotus' account of the wooden foot of Hegesistratus, Pliny the Elder's mention of the wooden hand of Marcus Sergius. Mentions of prostheses also appear in other cultures. (Latocha 2016: 139–142).

15 Images of artificial organs in Tokarczuk's works are related to Melville's novel. *In Moby-Dick, or The White Whale* (1851) there are characters without legs – the beggar from Tower-Hill and Captain Ahab, united by their disability caused by the aggression of whales, but with different attitudes toward it. The former exposes his weakness and uses it to arouse pity, while Ahab strives to overcome it (using a prosthesis) and becomes obsessed with revenge on the perpetrator. (Melville 1954: 312–313).

of duality, is terrifying because it is aesthetically inconsistent and devoid of its original whole. In *Ostatnie historie* [The Last Stories] we read, "At first I thought they were two people, two officers with the same gait, with an artificial hand covered with a black glove. He was someone else when he climbed the stairs [...]. and someone else when he left" (Tokarczuk 2019: 160–161). Liberman's portrait is constructed in such a way that the prosopography emphasizes the duality of the body (healthy-lame, natural-artificial) and the lifelessness of its parts (an arm "hanging haphazardly along the torso", a leg "wrapped in some splint glistening in the moonlight", Tokarczuk 2019: 163), and the emotions emerging from the main character's comments about the body complete the description. These references, implying surprise, fear and disgust, emphasize the imperfection of the body, but the opposition between the dead and the living is gradually disturbed. Emotions related to sensual raptures reveal the other side of the officer's corporeality – "His body was agile and self-confident" (Tokarczuk 2019: 163).

In Olga Tokarczuk's prose, the prosthesis also evokes other feelings. Since the body can be considered an area of communication with the world (Merleau-Ponty 2001: 111), replacing the natural with the artificial allows activity, limits sensual experiences, but leads to the objectification of the body in the eyes of others. The writer does not name the feelings of other people in the immediate environment, but her descriptions of the characters aiding themselves with a prosthesis include hypostasis arousing surprise. This emotion lies behind Liberman's description, in which the body brings to mind an object. The "hanging" hand and the splinted leg co-create an image in which the *corpus* is associated with a machine, i. e. an image corresponding to its Cartesian vision, recalled in the description of the autopsy performed by Frederik Ruysch, during which the anatomist reveals the truth, hidden from the eyes of the living, that (Croft) „We are a mechanism, something like Huygens` clock" (Tokarczuk 2017: 172) and the preparations made by the scientist revealed the "mechanical cosmos of the organs" (Tokarczuk 2077: 182).[16]

The question concerning the characters' emotions related to compensating for bodily imperfections also refers to the prostheses in *Dom dzienny, dom nocny* [House of Day, House of Night]. This is because wigs also intrigue the narrator, Olga, as artifacts that act as masks, and thus her interest goes beyond the sphere of mere aesthetics. The character's attention is directed to philosophy and psychology, and we read (Lloyd-Jones): "I could have my own wig that would disguise and change me, that would give me a new face" (Tokarczuk 2003:71)

This fragment corresponds to the findings of Lévinas, for whom the face, although it expresses infinity (Lévinas 1998: 227), is always a sign of identity (Lévinas 1998: 229). A change of face as a transformation of identity ("a new face") is an expression of ambivalent emotions such as fear on one hand, and a sense of premonition related to the need for change on the other.[17] The wig-mask as an instrument of camouflage is a response

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16 Descartes 2005: 60). A polemic with the vision of the French philosopher can be found in a poem by Józef Czechowicz entitled "Przemiany" [Metamorphoses] (Czechowicz 1970: 6).
17 Dissimulation as a feature of a mask is related to the desire to "be somebody else" (Bachelard 1986: 14–15).

to fear and the need for knowledge.[18] A contradiction to the "sincerity" of this text is the mask in culture (Maćkiewicz 2000: 35). Thus Tokarczuk emphasizes emotions; the wig, by making recognition difficult, eliminates the fear of being appropriated by the Other, as defined by Lévinas (Lévinas 1998: 252). It hides and changes what is hidden from consciousness, and makes a dream come true.[19] The metamorphosis of appearance therefore proves to be a transgression that goes beyond aesthetics and external appearance. This ambivalence corresponds to the currently emerging ways of treating the body as a text that can be shaped (aesthetic medicine) to change or consolidate its place in the community and culture. We may also relate it to the phenomenon of mass culture and globalization, which increasingly threaten individuality. The need for intimacy seems to be growing more and more acute, as evidenced by Zygmunt Bauman's appraisal of the post-Panopticon era.[20] The wig as a prosthesis and the *pars pro toto* of a mask combines the natural with the artificial, and this ambivalence is a source of intense experiences.

Summary

Disability as a disruption of the harmony of the body is always a source of emotions for the individual affected by it and their immediate environment. The dominant emotions include fear and surprise, both of which are negative. However, the writer, noticing the complexity of the world and human nature, which includes ambivalence, also emphasizes premonitions and interest, considered by Plutchik to be derivatives of vigilance. Disability in Tokarczuk's prose evokes strong emotions, which, however, are rarely defined directly. Mostly unnamed, they nevertheless emerge from literary portraits and images. In the first of these, Tokarczuk often gives voice to other characters, or the narrator, skillfully balancing between ethopoeia and prosopography so that the reader, when constructing the image of the crippled character, notices both the character's own emotions and those of his surroundings. Images, in turn, direct the audience's gaze to the culture within which the disability is interpreted. 18th-century Netherlands turns out to be a country where knowledge is an important element of tradition, as evidenced by social acceptance of the lame body and the awareness of the need to study it. Things were different in the eastern borderlands of Poland during World War II. The crippled body intrigued, aroused disgust and fear, especially since it was the body of the torturer. The present day, outlined in *Dom dzienny, dom nocny*, reveals an entirely different view of disability and of attempts to overcome it. It turns out that the fear that always accompanies the use of prostheses or quasi-prostheses can lead one to a reflection on one's identity,[21] which has been the subject of interest in many disciplines of science in the 20th

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18 The first masks discovered in the Trois-Frères cave served the purpose of mimicry and camouflage and thus facilitated exploration of foreign, alien terrain and more effective attack. (Zowsiło 2014: 220).

19 Georges Burand noted that "Masks are arrested dreams." (Bachelard 1986: 16).

20 Mass media in mass culture has caused, the scholar argued, the Synopticon mechanism of the many watching the few to be formed. (Bauman 2000: 64).

21 We also encounter such a phenomenon in other areas of art. The formation of a new masculinity takes the form of amputation and prosthesis in the works of both Gober and Barney, as Anna Markowska notes. (Markowska 2008: 178–189).

and 21st centuries. In Tokarczuk's prose, disability becomes a source of emotions that leave their mark on the perception of reality and relationships with others, and confirms that movement involves all parts of the world.

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Boxing as a vehicle of emotions in novel and film – Ladislav Fuks and Juraj Herz

Sports are usually associated with emotions felt by players and spectators. In the former, the intense nature of the performances can trigger anxiety, happiness, fear or anger. The audience's experience, on the other hand, is stretched on a scale whose limit points are ecstatic joy and utter despair. However, sports not only generate certain feelings related to the competition itself and the final outcome, but as an activity with great potential for meaning, it is embedded in non-sport discourses. A special case here is boxing, which often becomes a kind of vehicle for emotions related to important issues for a given community. Indeed, fistfighting has the potential to dramatize conflicts that have their roots outside the ring. A good example of this is Ladislav Fuks' 1967 novel The Corpse Burner and its film adaptation directed by Juraj Herz (Spalovač mrtvol, 1969). Both authors understand the semantic potential of boxing, although they use it somewhat differently. The analysis shows how, under certain specific conditions, boxing becomes a carrier of emotions, while touching on content semantically or contextually unrelated to it.

Keywords: boxing, emotions, Ladislav Fuks, Juraj Herz, Holocaust

Sport is usually associated with emotions [1], felt by the players and the spectators alike. For the former, the intense nature of performances may trigger satisfaction, happiness or anxiety, fear, or even anger. These emotions affect their physical and mental state, and therefore also the final result (Jekauc, J. Fritsch, Latinjak 2021). The audience's experience, on the other hand, is spread on a scale whose border points are ecstatic joy and total desperation. These extreme feelings appear in a relatively safe environment. Anthony Laker points out that during competitions, the viewer escapes from the real world and begins to live in the sports world, where he comes in contact with the spiritual aspects of life – death and the depth of existence. And although these emotions are exceptionally intense and intersubjectively real, Laker emphasizes that they are not followed by the kind of consequences that appear in such cases in the real world (Laker 2002: 8).

However, not only does sport generate specific feelings related to the competition and the final result, but as an activity with great semiotic potential, it often becomes a point of reference for discourses not related to sport. Boxing is a special case here. Kasia Boddy, examining its cultural history, states:

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1 The words *emotion* and *feeling* are used interchangeably in this article, as synonymous terms.

> More than anything, the boxing match has served as a metaphor for opposi-
> tion – the struggle between two bodies before an audience, usually for money,
> representing struggles between opposing qualities, ideas and values. In the mod-
> ern works […], those struggles involve nationality, class, race, ethnicity, religion,
> politics, and different versions of masculinity. […] But the conflicts dramatized
> in modern boxing also rework the fundamental oppositions set up in the very
> earliest texts: brawn versus brain; boastfulness versus modesty; youth versus ex-
> perience (Boddy 2008: 7).

From the perspective proposed here, boxing is a kind of vehicle for emotions related to
issues important to a given community. Boddy talks about two important elements that
arouse extreme emotions: the clash of oppositions and the potential to dramatize con-
flicts that have their roots outside the ring. Under certain conditions, boxing is trans-
formed into a tool for expressing ideas that are semantically or contextually unrelated
to it. In other words, boxing can be used to talk about emotions surrounding specific
political or social issues. In a narrow sense, it manifests in the use of expressions taken
from boxing terminology in everyday speech or journalism, and in a broader sense,
it manifests in reading a boxing spectacle outside of sports-related categories. Boddy's
considerations go in this direction: the metaphorical dimension of a boxing fight. This
observation corresponds to the findings of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, because
as they in turn write,

> Reason, at the very least, involves categorization, entailment, and inference.
> Imagination, in one of its many aspects, involves seeing one kind of thing in
> terms of another kind of thing – what we call metaphorical thought. Metaphor
> is thus imaginative rationality. Since the categories of our everyday thought are
> largely metaphorical entailments and inferences, ordinary rationality is therefore
> imaginative by its very nature (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 193).

It is therefore not surprising that boxing, as an activity with great potential for mean-
ing, fits within this structural relationship in which we talk about one thing in terms of
another. This is how a person tries to partially understand what cannot be understood
completely: "our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices and spiritual awareness"
(Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 193). Boxing, as an extremely complex activity that is open to
interpretation, serves this purpose perfectly. Joyce Carol Oates aptly writes,

> Far from being primitive, boxing is perhaps the most highly regulated and ritu-
> alistic of sports, so qualified by rules, customs, and unspoken traditions that it
> stands in a unique, albeit teasing, relationship to the extremes of human emo-
> tion: rage, despair, terror, cruelty, ecstasy. It is an art, as I've suggested, in which
> the human body itself is the instrument; its relationship to unmediated violence
> is that of a musical composition to mere noise (Oates 2006: 152).

The properties of boxing indicated here were noticed at the dawn of artistic creation. As
early as in Homer's *Iliad*, there is a boxing match that arouses the emotions of the com-

batants and the audience alike (Homer 1991: 579–580), but it was in the twentieth century that "the language of boxing as a metaphor for life was put into discourse" (Woodward 2015: 36). The meaning-creating potential of boxing is additionally strengthened by the following internal contradiction: the fighter puts his health at stake, reaches physical and spiritual heights, and therefore really fights, but victory is only valuable if the fight proceeds with strict adherence to certain very specific rules. Moreover, although boxing requires an explosive force, these rules require constant control of it. "It is basic, but it is not natural" (Vogan 2021: 2). David Scott, looking at the presence of boxing in culture, puts it as follows:

> Providing an object of fantasy investment as well as real action, boxing could become a metaphor of love as well as conflict, a focus of visceral identification as well as scientific observation. Finally, the uniquely focalized theater of its action – the boxing ring, the training gym with its symmetrically activated equipment (punch balls, punching bags, skipping ropes, and other routines) – made of it an ideal microcosmic model of the organized dynamic of modern urban civilization (Scott 2008: 123).

Boxing therefore becomes a convenient tool for artistic communication, especially when the main components of the message are emotions that are difficult to define. A perfect example of such use of pugilist motifs is Ladislav Fuks's novel *The Cremator* from 1967 and its film adaptation directed by Juraj Herz (*Spalovač mrtvol*, 1969). Both authors understand the meaning-creating potential of boxing, although they use it somewhat differently.

The novel is set in a concentration camp during the Holocaust, to which Fuks – a chronicler and witness – devoted a significant part of his literary output (Mesher 2003: 396–398). The novel tells the story of Karl Kopfrkingl, an employee of the Prague crematorium. This rather sedate representative of the urban middle class seems to care primarily about the well-being of his family – his wife and two children. He constantly rearranges his apartment with reverence, although with no special taste, and presents his feelings towards his loved ones with infantile simplicity. There is seemingly nothing sinister about this character. However, during the wave of political unrest in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1930s, persuaded by his friend Willy Reinke, he joins the Nazi Party. He gradually absorbs the ideas propagated there, and his wife, a Jewish woman, as well as his son, who also has Jewish blood, fall victim to his transformation. Ultimately, the hero, as a specialist in burning bodies, becomes part of the Holocaust machine. Jiří Holý summarizes his ideological transformation as follows,

> However bizarre and psychologically disturbed, Kopfrkingl is not the embodiment of the traditional villain. In essence, he has a petit bourgeois mentality, works conscientiously, loves music (opera melodies can be heard pouring from the crematorium), cares for his family, does not drink or smoke and enjoys speaking in a flowery manner (he calls his cat "enchanting beauty" and his wife Marie "Lakmé"). Thus, he is "decent" as a person, yet his personality and individuality are lacking, and thus he is a complete conformist. Characteristically, Kopfrkingl

accepts the thoughts and empty phrases which he has previously heard (Holý 2015: 45–46).

Arkadiusz Morawiec writes about him as "a serial criminal, a functionary of the evil system, a grotesque 'savior' and a psychopath" (Morawiec 2003: 169).

The space in which the hero operates is also important. The world created by Fuks is clearly deformed, with grotesque and horror elements in it (Pająk 2014: 337–353). The reader follows with surprise and a growing sense of dread the hero's successive transformations, his slow slide into dreams of building a better world, his naïve faith in simple solutions and unexpected violence towards his loved ones. What is striking is the one-dimensional image of the world that arises in the protagonist's consciousness. Patrycjusz Pająk concludes that "using the example of his protagonist, Fuks presents the monstrous identity of rationality and insanity, which stands at the basis of the Holocaust" (Pająk 2011: 77).

The issues and character types outlined here seem to be far removed from sports-related issues. However, as numerous testimonies show, the history of boxing is dramatically intertwined with the history of the Holocaust (Sussman 2021). In the work in question, it is the boxing match, to which one of the chapters is devoted, that highlights the tensions present in the Czech Republic on the eve of World War II (Crowhurst 2015). Subsequent fights are a pretext for expressing various types of emotions, from enthusiasm, through disregard, to outrage and fear. Moreover, the presence of boxing in the work, as an element referring to German politics, is historically justified. After all, in the 1930s, Germans tried to influence the way Czechs perceived them in various ways, and Nazi ideals were also promoted through physical culture. Josef Harna writes about it as follows,

> […] the rise of the Nazis to power in neighbouring Germany also affected the situation. In Czechoslovakia, efforts were undertaken by a number of German educational, cultural, sports, political and in general "patriotic" organizations to mould the nationalist sentiments of citizens of German nationality. Many of them had ties with Nazi, or all-German institutions with headquarters in Germany. This was demonstrated in the process with the Volkssport organization in 1932 (Harna 2018: 462).[2]

Thus, it is no wonder that Willi Reinke, wanting to instill the "German fighting spirit" in Karel Kopfrkingel and his son, Milim, takes them to a boxing match. And although the crematorium employee has considerable distance from this sport, his friend confidently argues that boxing educates individuals capable of meeting the challenges of modern times.

> Times are bad and we need strong men who are one hundred-per-cent. The weak are not going to bring happiness and justice to people, I've told you that already.

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2   The full name of the organization in German is Verband Volkssport, Nationalsozialistischer Verband für Wandern, Radfahren, Spiel und Sport aller Art.

Don't you agree? Besides, it's always been so, 'said Willi. 'After all, we've already seen it on the front in the War when we were defending German honour (Fuks 1984: 89).

There is a clear reference here to the cult of strength and Nordic racial superiority present in Nazi sports (Lipoński 2012: 548–551). Let us remember that the famous victory of the German boxer, Max Schmeling, over the black Joe Louis in 1936 was considered by the propaganda of the Third Reich to be not only a sports triumph, but above all a racial triumph (Boddy 2008: 284–286).[3] Therefore, even before the fights begin, Reinke does not spare his companions comments on boxing and its role in preparing young men for frontline combat. His methodical, calm argument contrasts with the excitement and fear that accompany Mili. However, Reinke explains that in boxing it is important to have control and that it is a safe activity. He discusses the training methodology implemented in the Hitlerjugend, recommends boxing as an effective method of everyday self-defense, and finally announces: "It is the Führer's favorite sport…" (Fuks, 1984: 96). This statement is not without its foundation. The Nazi's words refer to the thoughts that Adolf Hitler included in Mein Kampf. In the context of boxing, the future leader of the Third Reich wrote,

Not a day should go by in which the young man does not receive one hour's physical training in the morning and one in the afternoon, covering every type of sport and gymnastics. And here one sport in particular must not be forgotten, which in the eyes of many „folkish" minded people is considered vulgar and undignified: boxing. It is incredible what false opinions are widespread in „educated" circles. It is regarded as natural and honourable that a young man should learn to fence and proceed to fight duels right and left, but if he boxes, it is supposed to be vulgar! Why? There is no sport that so much as this one promotes the spirit of attack, demands lightning decisions, and trains the body in steel dexterity (Hitler 1974: 372–373).

For Reinke, young men in the ring are a source of pride. He imposes his own system of values on a boxing fight. He is attracted by the rationality of boxing, admires technical mastery and skillfully administered violence. However, the emotions that the fight arouses in him do not belong to the order of sport, but – *par excellence* – to the political order. A Nazi does not treat sport autotelically, for him it has a clearly defined military function. Reinke's calm pride results from the belief that Germany will conduct armed conflicts based on similar principles and in a similar manner. The man's comments foreshadow the apparent rationality of future actions. According to him, boxing is practiced by strong people, and only such people can bring happiness to humanity. The Nazi claims that "There's often more evil in weakness than in strength" (Fuks, 1984: 89),

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3   W drugiej walce rewanżowej, która odbywała się dwa lata później Louis odniósł łatwe zwycięstwo (walka trwała ledwie 124 sekundy).

and his front-line experience tells him that this is a universal truth. When talking about boxing, he also establishes a common system of values for men.

However, not everyone sees boxing fights this way. In the scene in question, Fuks juxtaposes Reinke's enthusiastic comments with the audience's reactions and Mili's fear and disgust. This procedure deprives boxing fights of their sublime character. People in the audience drink beer, eat ice cream, and an anonymous woman in a hat with a feather, sitting near the heroes, who clearly knows nothing about boxing, constantly makes comments that strip the successive fights of their rational seriousness, as well as irritate her partner immensely. The subsequent fights seem to be excesses of incomprehensible violence, and their frenetic charm also grips the spectators, who are constantly screaming and whistling. Apparently they do not enjoy the show the way Willi Reinke does. Boxing in Fuks' approach is not a noble sport, but rather an emanation of Nazi brutality and primitive strength that can easily get out of control and remains incomprehensible to someone with elementary sensitivity. One may get the impression that we are dealing with at least three points of view here: Reinke, like Hitler, sees boxing as a tool to develop desirable qualities in young people that will be useful in a militarized society, the audience sees it as an interesting spectacle, Mill and the terrified woman – as unbridled violence. The culmination of the boxing match and the grotesque meaning of the scene is the accidental knockout of the referee by one of the fighters, which is rewarded with laughter from some of the audience. The next moment one of the players falls next to the referee. Kopfrkingl's terrified son asks if the boy is dead, to which Reinke replies with a smile: "What of it?" (Fuks 1984: 95), completely disregarding this terrible eventuality. The woman in question becomes furious and starts beating her companion on the back, shouting:

> What were you jabbering on about him not boxing! It's you who were jabbering on about him being the referee. See, he flew up in the air and now he is lying on the floor! It's you who were jabbering on about it being a boxing-match and that there wouldn't be any bloodshed, that it's not a slaughter-house. See, there is blood… (Fuks 1984: 95).

For both her and for Mili, the boxing match turns out to be something very different to what the men accompanying them had previously announced. The background of their horror is the laughter of the audience, which reacts in a completely different way to the events that unfold.

Boxing in the scene in question triggers a whole range of emotions and seems to anticipate the violence that the future war will bring. Therefore, it is not merely a sport, and its ominous metaphorical meaning resounds in Reinke's words to the boy at the end of the scene: "You probably won't be able to sleep tonight,' Willi said to Mili glancing at the leaflet in his hand, 'because of that boxing-match. No wonder, it's the first you've seen. If you had seen it a couple of times before you'd be used to it, like those apprentices" (Fuks 1984: 99). Although the man's words sound innocent, it is actually a very important moment in Mili's biography. He fails the exam, turns out to be weak, and does not accept the system of values common to strong men outlined by his father's friend. Paradoxically, even a photograph of a boxer found in his possession later does

not work in his favor. The way he is treated suggests his emerging erotic fascination with the male body, rather than strength and fighting.[4] Moreover, the words of Reinke, who plays the role of the devil-tempter (Kovalčík 2006: 95), sound prophetic, as they refer to the atrocities that the perpetrators of the Holocaust will soon become accustomed to.

Weare touching here on issues related to psychology, which also fascinated Fuks. Herbert C. Kelman writes about the Holocaust in the context of the morality of the perpetrators as follows,

> Through processes of authorization, the situation becomes so defined that standard moral principles do not apply and the individual is absolved of responsibility to make personal moral choices. Through processes of routinization the action becomes so organized that there is no opportunity for raising moral questions and making moral decisions. Through processes of dehumanization, the actor's attitudes toward the target and toward himself become so structured that it is neither necessary nor possible for him to view the relationship in moral terms (Kelman 1973: 38).

The violence in the boxing ring described in the novel is related to the factors presented by Kelman. After all, the competitors have permission to inflict it; it is a routine activity, and whoever finds himself within the ropes is no longer afforded the protection present in everyday life. Hitting a person in the face is therefore not morally reprehensible, but desirable. Mili and the unknown woman cannot understand these double standards regarding violence. The main character, Karl Kopfrkingl, remains indifferent towards it. He is more interested in a brunette he notices in the audience who resembles a prostitute he recently met than in the boxing apotheosis of male strength. He is not attracted to violence, nor is he excited by the possibility of individual death in a boxing ring. He thinks about death in terms of mass-applied modern technology, and is fascinated by the effectiveness of crematorium procedures, which will become an important element of the Shoah (Bauman 1989). Sports dramas hold no meaning for him, his perception of boxing does not go beyond the literal, as can be seen in a conversation with the friend right after the fight. Reinke says that "Hitler must be successful because he's fighting for sublime goals. "To save a hundred million people from poverty and hunger and for a just order where they will feel as if they were in paradise" (Fuks 1984: 97). Kopfrkingl replies with a smile that this is only possible after death. However, he is aware of what his friend's dreams would lead to, and adds: "It may create hell, […] hell. Hitler may cause it …" (Fuks 1984: 99). Ladislav Fuks does not tell a story about sports, but rather uses boxing to outline emotions and attitudes towards the legally and politically sanctioned extermination of Jews. Just like a boxing match, which, under the author's pen, becomes

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4   Mili has some features of Fuks himself. We receive clear signals in the text. In 1938, the author was also 14 years old, and he struggled with his homosexuality throughout his life. Kopfrkingel's wife in the novel has the same name as his mother (Marie), although her husband calls her Lakmé. This masking and signaling of Fuks – claims Martin C. Putna – can be interpreted "negatively" – the author only speaks this way because he cannot speak openly, or "positively" – there is a similarity in the fate of Jews and homosexuals, being jointly condemned to death. (Putna 2013: 116).

a grotesque excess of violence beyond the boundaries of decency, the Nazi's lofty decla-
rations full of false humanitarianism will soon result in the hell predicted by Kopfrkingl.
However, the hero does not seem discouraged or terrified by this.

However, Juraj Herz, a director located on the outskirts of the Czechoslovak New
Wave, places the artistic accents slightly differently in his film adaptation. Of course, it
presents the macabre evolution of the main character, but uses a number of additional
non-verbal cues to subjectivize the film narrative (Birkohlc 2018; Birkholc 2019). The
specific character of the work is well reflected in the words of Peter Hames:

> *The Cremator* was clearly conceived and made with a great deal of freedom, and
> there are few concessions to the conventions of either "popular" or "art cinema"
> taste. It is an imaginative, illusionist, aesthetically well-structured work, which,
> nevertheless, forces the audience to reflect on what it has seen. While it forces
> reflection, its power also derives from its hypnotic effect – its imagery, the mo-
> notonous sound of Karl's voice, the attraction of the calling female voice on the
> soundtrack. It is this duality of attraction and repulsion that makes the film
> unique (Hames 2005: 226–227).

In Herz's approach, the boxing match scene becomes one of the key visual metaphors
that reflect the characters' emotions. And although its general structure is similar to its
novel counterpart, the way it is presented generates additional meanings. The very intro-
duction of the first boxing match creates a contrast between the quiet bourgeois life and
the unexpected brutality of the fight. There is no novel-like introduction showing people
taking their seats calmly, the audience waiting for the start of the spectacle, or conversa-
tions between the characters. The film takes the viewer to the room from the safe interior
of the Kopfrkingl family's living room abruptly, as if out of the blue. The central charac-
ter here is Mili, who smiles as he listens to his father's announcement about going to the
match, then turns around and screams, terrified of the knockout blow. He is right next
to the ring and sees the bloodied fighter falling to the floor. Importantly, the boy, like
the viewer, for a moment watches the blow from the perspective of the first person – the
person who was struck. The camera loses its distance from reality, everything happens
suddenly and unexpectedly. The feeling of comfort and security instantly gives way to
frenetic brutality. In this way, Herz seems to present this characteristic and unexpected
"acceleration of history" on the eve of World War II. All this intensifies Mili's sense of
fear and empathy, but at the same time arouses fascination. Kopfrkingl's son is most
often in the center of the frame, and his reactions are shown in close-ups. In the novel,
he was a rather passive listener to Reinke's ideological comments, commenting on the
events with clear fear: "Will there be bloodshed?' asked Mili in horror" (Fuks 1984: 91);
"He's dead,' shouted Mili in the midst of the terrible uproar, shaking like a leaf" (Fuks
1984: 95). Here, the Nazi's arguments are secondary. The director is primarily interested
in the young man's emotions, which do not entirely match those presented in the novel.

The boy sits between his father and Reink, but does not react at all to their exchange.
While eating ice cream, he does not take his eyes off the ring. Most fights seem to be
shown from his perspective, which sometimes blends with the perspective of the fighters.

This suggests that Mili's emotions are so tense, as if he were one of the combatants himself, experiencing bodily interactions. Kopfrkingl's son is probably afraid, but he does not want to miss the slightest part of the spectacle. When his father and Willi (Walter in the film) lean towards each other to exchange a few words, the boy moves his head vigorously so that the men do not obscure the fighters. However, it is not clear whether he is fascinated by the fighting itself, which would be desired by Kopfrkingl and Reinke, or by the movement of men's bodies. The director indirectly suggests the latter interpretation by completely abandoning the conventional sound accompanying boxing punches. Peter Verstraten points out that: "Sound has a significant impact on the images we see or, rather, on the images we think we have seen" (Verstraten 2009: 160). Therefore, the lack of a key element in a boxing fight, which is the sound of punches that intensifies the impression of their destructive power, moves the fight into other areas of interpretation. Only the initial sudden change of the setting from the living room to the boxing arena is accompanied by the sound of an impact and a body falling onto the boards. Mili is surprised, but after a while the spectacle absorbs him, no more blows are heard, as if from the boy's perspective they had no significance. In fact, this is exactly so: for him, the only thing that matters is the dynamic and disturbing aesthetics of bodies constantly touching each other.

Despite Reinke's clear suggestions, the boy does not see the announcement of a military clash in boxing, nor does he share the audience's emotions. His point of view is well reflected in the words of Joyce Carol Oates, who points out different perspectives on a boxing fight, including aspects related to sexuality,

> No sport is more physical, more direct, than boxing. No sport appears more powerfully homoerotic: the confrontation in the ring — the disrobing — the sweaty heated combat that is part dance, courtship, coupling —the frequent urgent pursuit by one boxer of the other in the fight's natural and violent movement toward the "knockout": surely boxing derives much of its appeal from this mimicry of a species of erotic love in which one man overcomes the other in an exhibition of superior strength and will (Oates 2006: 30; cf. Woodward 2007: 134–137).

An additional suggestion leading to the conclusion that Mili's fascination is headed in this direction appears in one of the later scenes, when the father finds the photo of a boy in a sports T-shirt in his son's possession. Mili explains: "That's the butcher's apprentice. The boxer." The sports qualification is put in second place, as if young Kopfrkingl was looking for an excuse for having a photo. He also says that he was twice at the club where the players trained, but he does not mention his own participation in the classes. He adds approvingly that the butcher's apprentice wants "to train hard and get strong, so he can punch the Germans… right in the kisser." Mili clearly understands little about boxing and the surrounding reality. This youthful misunderstanding leaves the recipient confused. After all, even the question asked at the end of the spectacle whether the knocked out fighter is dead is prompted – unlike in the novel – not by concern or fear, but by curiosity. Kopfrkingl, however, as if not noticing the hot atmosphere of the room, answers his son with philosophical calm: "Nothing is certain in life but death." These words, which appear in a slightly different place in the novel, constitute the most

concise explanation of the hero's life philosophy. Patrycjusz Pająk puts it as follows, since life brings suffering, the best method to prevent suffering is to kill life (Pająk 2011: 75).

Another important aspect revealed in the boxing match scene is its metaphorical dimension. "In fascist art, boxing is war," says J. A. Mangan (Mangan 1999: 111), and this association fits within a clearly defined field of meaning, also indicating the most obvious interpretation of the boxing fight in Fuks and Herz. However, in the case of the film adaptation, this metaphorical potential is clearly strengthened. In the literary version, the military dimension of boxing was expressed primarily in Reinke's comments. Herz, however, reaches for the possibilities offered by using the film's own rhythm. Please note that rhythm is always associated with movement that occurs in space and time, and also carries a specific charge of energy. Karen Pearlman argues that different types of movement require different types of rhythm. She distinguishes the physical rhythm, related to directly perceived movement, which consists of "the purely visual and aural aspects of shaping of time, space, and energy" (Pearlman 2009: 84). However, the rhythm modeled by the film editor based on the movement experienced as an expression of emotion is an emotional rhythm. The observed trajectory of physical movements directly influences the shaping of the trajectory of emotions (sometimes it is difficult to draw a clear boundary between them).

Herz masterfully uses the emotional rhythm, thanks to which boxing does not seem to be a 'technical' sport, a kind of fencing with fists, but turns into an unpredictable and dangerous activity. This is where the potential of boxing to dramatize conflicts is fully revealed. Thanks to this, a clear contrast is drawn between Reinke's words regarding the essence of duels and boxing itself, and the dimension of the spectacle perceived by the viewer, who experiences it directly thanks to point-of-view camera shots reflecting the perspective of the fighting players. Moreover, at the end of the scene, the camera abandons Mili's perspective, and the final blow, after which the player falls senseless and blood flows from his mouth, sounds like a gunshot.

The shots become progressively shorter and closer, the camera is shaking, and in the final phase of the match it is difficult to tell who is attacking and who is defending. Subsequent fights begin and end with a gong, but it is difficult to separate one from the other. Chaos dominates the ring. The fighters throw punches very close to each other again and again. The perspective changes constantly. The way of showing movement is not intended to highlight the values of the sports spectacle, its technical nuances or heroic potential – it becomes a reflection of the emotions of the excited crowd. It is difficult to say whose side the audience is on. It is mobilized by every brutal blow, blood, and the knocked-out fighter. It does not matter who fights whom, who wins, who loses. If boxing is a war, the director seems to suggest, then such a war appears as an irrational and grotesque act. And although Reinke tries to comment on the clashes and name the sides, these attempts to add elements of logic and predictability to the spectacle are unconvincing. What is more, the man's words are heard by a woman in a hat with a feather. Having heard that the butcher's son is in the ring, she is now convinced that blood will be shed in a moment. Her husband silences her in vain, but it soon turns out that she is right: the bloodied player falls to the floor. This is also the viewer's perspective, he feels

similar emotions. Boxing is not practiced by chivalrous and self-confident people; there is no celebration of body aesthetics, muscle strength, technical virtuosity or military virtues, which Hitler spoke about through Reinke's words.

The impression of the grotesque is reinforced by the audience's spontaneous reactions: gestures and laughter alternating with close-ups of faces contorted with emotion. The players' health clearly does not matter to her. Only the unknown woman is truly terrified and, leaving the room, she shouts: "This is a slaughterhouse! All that blood!" The husband tries to silence her while pushing her to leave. The audience reacts with a mixture of outrage and mirth: "Go on, get out! She's crazy!" However, from the point of view of the recipient of Herz's film, her behavior has something of Cassandra's drama in it. The word *slaughterhouse* (orig. 'jatky') used by the woman directs the message of the spectacle to areas far from sports experiences. Although this term also appears in the novel, the visual aspect lends it power and validity. First of all, the woman's words deprive the male competition of the sublime character that Reinke would like to give it and the entertainment potential approved by the audience. The slaughterhouse is a space that occupies a special place in culture. Paula Young Lee writes,

> Service structures in general (including power stations, prisons, public restrooms, loading docks, silos, and warehouses, among others) do not serve as representational spaces articulating lasting social values, as do iconic civic monuments such as cathedral and library. Because they are concessions to „debased" urges including greed and violence, service structures are culturally suppressed as embarrassing necessities, massive in scale but without symbolic monumentality. Among this sordid group, however, the slaughterhouse is especially reviled, for its sole purpose is to kill, producing serial death with saleable meat (Young Lee 2008: 2).

Thus, the spectacle presented by Fuks, whose features are additionally intensified in Herz's film, is an excess that should not actually be seen. And if someone does take part in it, they should at least not react like the audience gathered there. In this context, violence and bloodshed in the ring, breaking the rules of competition (the referee was hit) are a harbinger of something terrible, something more than war. The term slaughterhouse is a link between the boxing gala and the horror of the Holocaust. In his *Diary of the Nazi Years*, Victor Klemperer wrote that Auschwitz "appears to be a swift-working slaughterhouse" (Klemperer 2001: 155). Elsewhere in the work he added: "The prison door shuts behind you, and you are like the animal in the slaughterhouse, separated from the herd" (Klemperer 2001: 288). In the film version of *The Cremator*, the term seems justified. Boxers, confined by the ropes of the ring, fight until the end, and this eruption of violence is far from the aesthetics of a crematorium, praised by Kopfrkingl as a path to happiness without pain.

The boxing gala presented in the novel and the film therefore serves a similar function – it visualizes the elemental brutality and cult of strength inherent in Nazi ideology.[5] It also shows in a grotesque way the process of forging a new person in the heat of

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5   It is worth noting that in the Polish television adaptation of Ladislav Fuks' novel, the boxing scene

battle. Of course, such a presentation of boxing refers to a kind of appropriation that the Third Reich also committed in relation to other sports disciplines. As Arnd Krüger emphasizes, the main goals of physical education and training in Germany at that time were essentially political. The primary role was played by the implementation of specific tasks, strengthening team spirit and character development, rather than acquiring purely sports-related skills (Krüger 1999: 57). However, this is not the end of the scene's meaning-creating potential because especially in Herz's case, techniques that subjectivize the film's narrative allow illustrating the entire range of emotions experienced by viewers. This is especially crucial in Mili's case, when the boxing match meets his repressed homoerotic fascinations.

Ladislav Fuks and Juraj Herz distort Nazi ideas about military masculinity and fighting, anticipating the events of World War II within the diegesis. However, it would be a mistake to claim that the scenes presented here constitute a voice in the discussion about the essence of boxing as such. As Oates rightly points out: "Life is like boxing in many unsettled respects. But boxing is only like boxing" (Oates 2006: 4). On the other hand, despite this undoubted autonomy, boxing was and is a kind of mirror reflecting social, cultural and political life (Woodward 2015), which both artists were able to use brilliantly. However, they constructed their "mirrors" in such a way that the image reflected in them was distorted, even caricatured, which paradoxically allowed them to better expose the complex emotions accompanying the Czechoslovak society in the late 1930s, under pressure from Nazi Germany.

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Emotions in interpersonal communication and in translation

The article focuses on three aspects: non-verbal and verbal ways of expressing emotions, as well as the difficulties encountered by the translator striving to recreate the emotional layer of the text in translation. Emotions have a major role in everyone's life. Their expression may constitute one of the most important factors determining the process of interpersonal communication, regardless of whether it is the non-verbal or verbal type expression. Although emotions may be universal by nature, the terms used to describe them are not universal in various cultures and languages. Thus, the translator is obliged to seek individual and creative solutions to ensure that the reader's experiences are close to those of the original text's reader.

Keywords: emotions, emotional expression, language, culture, translation

Introduction

Emotions play a vital role not only in the lives of some individuals but also in the entire human communities. Due to our capacity to experience emotions, to express and recognise them, they are an important indicator of how our own self-esteem and patterns of thinking about others are shaped. Emotions are also an essential element of interpersonal communication. They exist in a socio-cultural dimension, thus their manifestations are varied, in fact they are as varied as languages, communities and cultures themselves. It is important to remember that emotions are a psychic phenomenon dependent not only on situational factors but also on individual characteristics of a given person.

Emotions (such as anger, fear, sadness, contempt, disgust, happiness) occur in situations where a person experiences something that is meaningful and matters to them. Emotional processes are accompanied by excitement and "tendency to maintain contact with a given occurrence (if triggers a positive emotion) or to sever contact (if it evokes a negative emotion)" (Reykowski 1977: 20) [1].

To this day scholars do not yet have one consistent concept of the nature of emotions. There are many nuanced opinions in this regard. Some posit that emotional phenomena are a constituent of consciousness, others argue that emotional phenomena are a specific type of physiological processes or action regulators. There are also those who claim that emotions reflect or regulate the inner workings of the brain (Reykowski 1974: 17–31). Two extremely opposing viewpoints are dominant. There is a debate between essentialists and constructivists. The former are convinced that emotions are physiological and

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[1] All quotes from non-English sources have been translated by the author of the text.

behavioural in nature. They point out at the existence of "repertoire of primary emotions, i. e. those types of excitements that were inherited in the course of evolution and as a result are experienced by every human in a similar way" (Szumański 2017: 45). Hence, they are independent of social and linguistic influences. They also stress that emotions may exist even if we are not aware of the fact that we are experiencing them. On the other end are constructivists who emphasise that emotions are something we experience consciously. They also accentuate "linguistic and cultural aspect of the existence of emotions" (2017: 46). Thus emotions are tied to the language and culture in which they are experienced. From this perspective, it is worth considering how differently certain cultures sort the world of their emotions, for "[n]ot only are the concepts of emotion culture-bound, but so also are the ways each culture attempts to frame and label its emotion world" (Matsumoto, Juang 2004: 256). Therefore emotional phenomena are an occurrence of interlinguistic and intercultural character. The linguistic and cultural differences have an effect on the understanding of individual emotions.

Non-verbal ways of expressing emotions

Expression of emotions – a significant aspect of interpersonal communication – is reflected not only in the sphere of vocabulary but also outside of it. Under the influence of emotions, facial expressions and body movements are changed and voice is modulated differently, its pitch, tone and timbre are modified. These types of reactions are examples of external signs of the emotional process. Facial expressions similarly to vocal expressions have the following components:

–   innate – determined by species, resulting from specific emotional states of universal nature, i. e. the same around the whole world, regardless of race or culture,
–   acquired, taught, scientists call them *cultural display rules*, which means they are ways of displaying emotions conditioned by culture and society, learnt in the first years of life and applied automatically in adulthood,
–   individually developed – characteristic only of a specific individual (see Reykowski 1974: 231–232; Matsumoto and Juang 2004: 230–231).

By taking into consideration forms of emotional expression in reference to various cultures it is possible to divide them into both universal, having common elements, similar in different cultures and specific, typical of only select culture, for the same objects in different cultures do not have to mean the same and may be exhibited in a dissimilar way (Pease and Pease 2022: 138). For example, the Japanese cannot distinguish between fear and surprise.

Scientists prove that facial expressions of emotions are shaped by both universal, innate factors and by culture-specific rules of displaying emotions. When cultural display rules do not modify the way emotions are expressed, the universal facial expressions of emotion appears on the face of an individual. However, depending on social circumstances cultural display rules may induce an individual to neutralise, amplify, deamplify, tone down or mask their universal facial expression of emotions. It explains why and in what way people can be different in terms of their facial expression, even though we all are born with an identical expression base (Matsumoto and Juang 2004: 231).

In 1972 Paul Ekman and Wallace Friesen conducted a scientific experiment which confirmed that innate facial expressions can interact with cultural rules of displaying emotions and together with them shape a distinct way of expressing them. American and Japanese subjects participated in the experiment. They were exposed to stressful stimuli when they were alone, and then in the presence of an older, higher-status experimenter. Facial reactions of the subjects were identical when no one accompanied them (cultural display rules were not activated). However, when another person was present, Americans still tended to display negative emotions (disgust, fear, sadness, anger). The Japanese, on the other hand, kept smiling in every stressful moment. They smiled so as not to offend the experimenter, although they did in fact experience negative emotions (Matsumoto and Juang 2004: 231).

In the emotional repertoire it is possible to distinguish emotions and feelings targeted at the environment (e.g. anger, love, contempt) – which are a manifestation of the interaction between the individual and their social environment, as well as egocentric emotions (e.g. fear, sadness) – which constitute a response to what happened to a human being. "[E]motions targeted at others are more frequently a result of the cultural influence as opposed to egocentric emotions. Thus, it is understandable that more intercultural differences can be observed in regards to emotions targeted at others" (Reykowski 1974: 236). And yet, expression of egocentric emotions is not free from the regulating influences of culture. It is the norms of culture that determine what are the acceptable circumstance of expressing sadness by crying (under what circumstances and for how long it is allowed to cry, e.g. in Montenegro during a funeral ceremony it is assumed that women cry at a different moment than men. The Andamanese – the indigenous inhabitants of the Andaman Islands – cry when they meet people they have not seen in a long time) or happiness, satisfaction by laughter (when it is allowed to laugh). Laughter is quite universally considered a manifestation of happiness and satisfaction. In China smiling may be perceived as a manifestation of anger, whereas in Japan a smile should always be on the face of the person who is being reprimanded. Showing sadness and pain under such circumstances is thought to be a sign of disrespect for those who have a higher rank in the social hierarchy. Though, it should be noted that while smiling it is best to avoid showing back teeth. It is offensive to one's superior (Reykowski 1974: 234–235).

Humans have an propensity for reacting in a specific way to specific emotional states. These learnt reactions are determined by social norms. For example, the emotion of fear leads to the adoption of the flight reaction, and the emotion of anger coaxes to attack.

> Studying forms of emotional reacting makes emotional expressions organised, and at the same time relatively homogenous among members of the same culture. It allows to […] intentionally express emotions and control the way they are expressed. As a consequence, emotional expression becomes more similar to a specific "language" that people use to mutually communicate their approaches and attitudes, and they convey what they experience. Thus, in society apart from the articulated language […] there also exists the language of emotional expres-

sion which functions involve expressing directly what a person feels (Reykowski 1974: 237–238).

Assimilating patterns of expression typical of one's own culture allows to decode emotional sense expressed by facial expressions, gestures, and vocalisation. An additional factor facilitating the formation of our judgements on the emotional state of other people is also a situation a person finds themselves in. It is the knowledge of situational context that the observed person is in, along with all the information regarding their facial expression, gestures, and the tone of voice that allow to correctly interpret the generated emotions. As shown by Allan and Barbara Pease, all non-verbal signals should be examined in the context in which they appear (2022: 45).

Reading the language of emotions, even in the context of a very specific culture, is by nature individualised and dependent on a wide range of factors that hinder the process:

– the degree of being focused on oneself – people focused on themselves do not notice or do not analyse the states of other people,
– the sense of being at an advantage – emotions of other people are of no significance,
– one's own emotional tensions – which hamper the ability to recognise emotions of others (Reykowski 1974: 241).

Expressing emotions may prove to be difficult, since some people have not learnt how to express them in a way that is socially accepted. For others the pattern of poor emotional expression is inherited from either their family household or social environment in which they grew up. Yet another group of people lived in fear of being criticised, embarrassed or rejected. As a result, they are afraid to show their emotions. Some researchers associate the degree of expressiveness with ethnicity. Poorly developed ways of emotional expression has been attributed to American Indians, the Chinese and Japanese. However, studies show that under certain circumstances (the death of wife or child) Indians show very strong emotions. Similarly Chinese and Japanese people raised outside of their culture can be equally expressive to people from the environment in which they live (Reykowski 1974: 242). Representatives of European countries differ in terms of the intensity of their non-verbal manifestations of their inner states. Italians can be characterised as having excessive motor agitation of the whole body, the French flail their forearms and hands, whereas the English and German people remain still (Pease and Pease 2022: 145). Excessive expressiveness, lack thereof or inadequacy of its display in a given situation constitute an important factor that determines whether or not an interpersonal conflict will be initiated. Incorrect cultural interpretation of certain gestures may lead to many awkward situations.

Three most popular intercultural hand gestures can be distinguished, these are: a circle, thumb up, and the V sign. The circle gesture is made by connecting the thumb and forefinger. For most Westerners it means "okay" (*all correct*), in the Japanese culture it symbolises "money", the French and Belgian understand it as "zero" that is "nothing", Greeks associate this gesture with homosexuality, for Turks and Brazilians it is an insulting gesture, and in the Arab states it can be used to express a threat or is considered obscene. In Australia, the United States of America, Republic of South Africa, Singapore,

New Zealand a thumb raised upwards may mean "everything is fine" (*all correct*) but it may as well be interpreted as an insulting gesture meaning "fuck you" or "shove it…". In these countries it is a gesture commonly used by hitchhikers in order to stop a car. However, hitchhikers should not use it in Greece, since it is interpreted as "get stuffed!" there. The V sign is widespread in Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain – it is understood in a vulgar way as "fuck you". Germans and Poles associate it with "victory" (Pease and Pease 2022: 148–152).

Today's researchers of cultural differences in the field of body language indicate that popularisation of American TV programmes and films around the whole world contributes to the disappearance of cultural differences and leads to the unification of some extra-linguistic ways of expressing emotions towards someone or something. Younger generations of the citizens from various countries adopt North American forms of body language even if traditionally a given gesture is not used in their country (Pease and Pease 2022: 141).

Anna Duszak stresses that "[e]motional deposits of our utterances may be deeply hidden. Body language may mask real emotions. Linguistics has no simple or good answer as to how communicational expectations and distortions should be read" (Duszak, 2003: 19).

Linguistic ways of manifesting emotions

Human beings can reveal their emotions not only by using extra-linguistic means of manifesting emotions, but also with the help of linguistic behaviours which also are not free from socio-cultural influences. "Every language system is shaped based on the culture of a given community and its accepted notions, norms and values" (Lewicki 2012: 78). Culture affects vocabulary and rules of combining words into phrases and sentences, and as a consequence it affects our thoughts, feelings and actions through language. Sociolinguists stress that different social groups have different norms of linguistic behaviours or that the same linguistic actions trigger different reactions in different environments (Grabias 1981: 15–16). Thus these actions are not universal in nature. They are related to and generated by socio-cultural factors. A different pattern of linguistic actions will be observed in the intellectual circles, a different one in the criminal or teenage environment, and yet another one will be dictated by the culture from which a given language originated, for "[o]bjectively, independently of culture it is not possible to see emotions […]" (Wyszyńska 2017: 135). Stanisław Grabias emphasises that language possesses means that allow to externalise feelings, yet according to him language is not the primary code. It is not until extra-linguistic and linguistic factors are combined that the process of expressing emotions is complete (Grabias 1981: 17).

Language possesses a wide range of means which allow to describe and/or externalise emotions. The speaker can directly inform the recipients about his or her emotional states using lexical means of a particular language, e. g.:

–   in Polish: *jestem zachwycony*, *jestem oburzony*, *jestem przerażony, to wzbudza moją niechęć* etc.,
–   in Russian: *я в восторге, я возмущен, я испуган, я испытываю отвращение к этому*,
–   in English: *I am delighted*, *I am outraged*, *I am frightened*, *I have an aversion to it.*

In various languages associations related to emotions are also recorded in the form of idioms, sayings and adages which describe diverse emotional states. Many of them are related to external signs of emotional excitement, such as trembling, excessive or limited body movements, increased sweating, upset bodily functions, change of the facial colour and expression and the so-called "changing the location of an organ". Below are examples of idioms that describe some emotional states in Polish, Russian and English:

a) examples of metaphorical correlates of the emotion of fear:
– in Polish: *drżeć jak osika*; *trząść się jak w febrze*; *trząść się jak galareta*; *trząść portkami*; *mieć duszę na ramieniu*; *mieć serce w gardle*; *nogi wrosły komuś w ziemię*; *oczy wyszły komuś z orbit*; *skóra komuś cierpnie*; *włosy stanęły komuś dęba*;
– in Russian: *бросает в дрожь кого*; *бросает то в жар, то в холод кого*; *душа в пятки ушла*; *сердце замерло*; *стоять как вкопанный, как осиновый лист дрожит*; *глаза на лоб лезут*; *волосы дыбом встают*; *душа к горлу пришла*;
– in English: *be as white as a sheet*; *freeze one's blood*; *get cold feet*; *it makes my flesh creep*; *make one's hair stand on end*; *shake like an aspen leaf*; *smb's heart is in one's mouth*; *jump out of one's skin*; *make one's hair stand on end*;

b) signals of annoyance, irritation, anger, fury:
– in Polish: *żółć się komuś ulała*; *żółć się w kimś burzy, gotuje*; *żółć w kimś wzbiera*; *krew zalewa kogoś*; *wstać lewą nogą*;
– in Russian: *метать гром и молнии*; *процедить сквозь зубы*; *вставать не с той ноги*; *довести до белого каления*; *доводить до ручки*; *трепать нервы*; *выводить из себя*;
– in English: *go bananas*; *go round the bend*; *sb's blood is up*; *hit the ceiling*; *get hot under the collar*; *fly off the handle*; *go up the wall*; *look at/on sth with a jaundiced eye*; *get up on the wrong side of the bed*;

c) indicators of shame:
– in Polish: *spiec raka*; *poczerwienieć jak burak*; *zarumienić się aż po uszy*; *nie wiedzieć, gdzie oczy podziać*; *najeść się wstydu*;
– in Russian: *кого-нибудь бросает в краску*; *сгореть со стыда*; *Стыд – не дым, глаза не ест*; *От стыда не побледнеет, от испуга не покраснеет*; *краснеть как рак*; *не знать куда деваться*; *провалиться сквозь землю от стыда*; *уши горят от стыда*; *стыд и срам*;
– in English: *go as red as a beetroot*; *blush for shame*; *die of shame*;

d) metaphor of sadness, sorrow:
– in Polish: *serce komuś się kraje*; *serce komuś pęka*;
– in Russian: *сердце кровью обливается*; *кошки скребут на сердце*;
– in English: *feel blue*; *get the blues*; *in a blue mood*; *it breaks my heart to …*; *down in the mouth*;

e) indicators of happiness and satisfaction:
– in Polish: *komuś zrobiło się lekko na sercu*; *ktoś jest w siódmym niebie*; *cieszyć się jak dziecko*; *cały w skowronkach*;
– in Russian: *сиять как масленый блин; сиять как медный грош; смотреть на что-то сквозь розовые очки*;
– in English: *float on air*; *walk on air*; *be over the moon*; *born with a silver spoon in one's mouth*; *be on cloud nine*; *full of the joys of spring*; *tread on air*; *laugh one's head off*; *look through rose tinted spectacles*; *feel like a million dollars*.

The examples above demonstrate that, despite obvious differences, it is possible to find many idioms, proverbs and adages similarly describing emotional states in Polish, Russian and English. It is confirmed by universality of emotions such as fear, anger, shame, or happiness among others. It is also confirmed by the fact that these emotions are experienced and described in a similar way despite differences in languages and cultures, distinct habits concerning the degree of intensity of displaying emotions. As Anna Wierzbicka claims there are no universal notions of emotions themselves, which as she indicates is not equivalent to the lack of universal emotions (1999: 140, 161).

Not only does language allow to speak about emotions, but it also allows to externalise them. Emotional expression is achieved through the use of lexical emotionalisms, e.g. swear words, i.e. lexical units by means of which the speaker can reveal their emotional state in relation to someone or something. These are non-specific. The same swear word (e.g. *cholera jasna*, *kurczę blade*) may express both negative (anger, fear) as well as positive (awe, admiration, happiness, astonishment) emotions (see Grochowski 1995: 13; Zarzeczny, Mazurek 2009: 181). It is context that determines what emotions are indicated by a specific swear word.

The process of expressing emotions is also facilitated by vulgarisms that is lexical units of language which use is socially forbidden. They are considered a linguistic taboo, since their use violates norms accepted in a given community. They refer to intimate body parts or physiological functions so they are related to the sphere of life which is not talked about in public (Grochowski 1995: 15–16, Sawicka 2006: 308, Graupmann 2007: 10, Markowski 2007: 97). They can also express both negative and positive emotions.

On numerous occasions we resort to using insults to express our emotions in regards to another person. They are pejoratively charged, the speaker intends to let the recipient know that they are not accepted and make them feel bad about it. Insults are not a separate lexical system (Grochowski 1995: 17–18). Their role can be assumed by swear words and some vulgarisms, as well as non-register-specific words and phrases, which when used in reference to a person gain a figurative meaning and become stylistically charged, while simultaneously losing their emotional and expressive neutrality e.g. *jeleń*, *małpa*, *osioł*, *pajac*, *змея*, *таракан*, *крыса*, *обезьяна*, *snake, pig, clown, rat*.

Another explicit verbal manifestation of negative emotions are also curses, imprecations and threats. Renata Kucharzyk points out that dialectisms are lexical means with explicit expressive charge, most frequently a pejorative one (2014: 424).

Research on the ways anger is expressed indicates that in terms of physiological process there are no major differences between Poles and Swedes. While experiencing anger, we "[s]imilarly turn red and pale, similarly our body temperature rises, our blood boils, something galls us, we have troubles with sight or hearing, we shiver, tremble and shake with anger" (Gruszczyńska 2003: 136). Cultural influences, however, make us speak about this emotion differently. Swedes control their anger, whereas Poles exhibit a tendency to show it. Physical aggression as a consequence of anger is present in Polish idiomatic expressions, but it is not reflected in the Swedish language. Swedes, in contrast to Poles, do not accept dynamic ways of expressing feelings, which does not mean that they do not experience them. They tend to conceal their emotions and avoid outwardly expressing them, which is not typical of Poles, since for them it is just as the Polish saying goes *Co w sercu, to na języku* (*whatever they feel they say it*) (Gruszczyńska 2003: 126–127, 136). Polish and Russian, similarly, for instance, to Italian belong to the group of languages that expose the loss of control over the emotion of anger or even a complete lack of control. On the other end are Japanese and Chinese, where emotions of this type are under the most rigid control. Restrictions on verbal expression are also highly visible in English (Mikołajczuk, 2003: 119–120), similarly to the aforementioned Swedish.

Based on Jaroslav Zima's classification, Stanisław Grabias lists three types of expressiveness:

a)   inherent expressiveness – it is an integral part of a word and is revealed in each of its meanings and in every possible context (e. g. in diminutives and augmentatives);
b)   adherent expressiveness – characteristic of polysemic words that have only one expressively charged meaning;
c)   context expressiveness – it affects neutral words which gain an emotional charge only in specific contexts (Grabias 1981: 36).

Thus, words can be described as having different degrees of emotional charge. For some it is permanent, for some only temporary.

In Polish, among the group of emotional words, it is possible to distinguish words with explicit emotional markers motivated structurally by means of expressively charged morphemes or phonemes (e. g. *łysol, nochal, podlizywacz, mięcho, ptaszuś*) or semantically motivated through changing their lexical meanings (*baran* 'głupiec', *bałwan* także 'głupiec'). They can also be created by alluding to something (*dręcznik* 'podręcznik', *ululać się* 'upić się"). There also exist words with implicit emotional markers, i. e. they lack any emotional markers despite their negative charge, e. g. *cham, guzdracz, oferma* (Grabias 1981: 39–40).

There are no doubts about the existence of affixational markers of expressivity in the Polish language. Yet, it should be stressed that the same affix is an element of evaluation for some words, but for other words it remains neutral (*podlizywacz, wydziwiacz* vs *biegacz, słuchacz*). Probably, the expressive character of the first two examples is a result of a word-formation process in which emotional information is transferred from the verbs which describe socially unaccepted activities (*podlizywać się, wydziwiać* 'to whine'). Affixes that introduce an emotional charge may indicate approval (meliorativity – *tatunio*), disapproval (pejorativeness – *brudas*) or an emotionally ambivalent atti-

tude (*gębula, brzydula*). Thus, it can be stated that meliorative affixes are indicators of approval and pejorative affixes are indicators of aversion. There are also expressive affixes which are not a part of the meliorativity – pejorativeness opposition. For example, affixes *-ina/-yna*, *-ownia* create diminutive derivates, usually associated with meliorativity, on the one hand, but on the other hand they introduce an emotional indication of pity (*babina*, *psina*, *pijaczyna*, *dziadownia*) (Grabias 1981: 69). Their expressive value oscillates between meliorativity and pejorativeness.

Among expressive affixes it is possible to distinguish:

a)   invariably expressive affixes – they add an emotional charge to the derivate in all of its possible word-formation contexts (an example of such affixes in Polish is *-us*, as in *chytrus, ordynus, sknerus, sługus, zgrywus*);

b)   context-expressive affixes – expressiveness of affixes belonging to this group is revealed only in certain word-formation contexts, e.g. affix *-isko/-ysko* becomes expressive only in one context, i.e. when it serves an augmentative function (as in *biczysko, bagnisko, brzuszysko, chłopisko, psisko*) in other situations this affix is not expressive, as in *łowisko, ognisko, palenisko, urwisko, wyrobisko* (Grabias 1981: 54–55).

Forms of names also allow to express emotional attitudes. By choosing a diminutive or augmented form of a name we stress our positive or negative attitude towards another person. In certain languages the rage of such means from which the speaker can choose is very wide. Polish and Russian belong to such a group of languages (see Wierzbicka 1999: 73, 167). They have a wide assortment of names with numerous forms, each of which expresses a specific attitude towards the recipient (Katarzyna – *Kasia*, *Kasieńka*, *Kachna*, *Kasiulka*, *Kasik*, *Kasiątko*, *Kaśka*, *Kasiuna* but in contrast to diminutives – *Kacha*; *Катерина – Катя*, *Катенька*, *Катка*, *Катюшка*, *Катюшенька*, *Катик* – as opposed to *Катюха*) (Wierzbicka 1999: 73, 167). In English choices are limited (e.g. *James*, *Jim* lub *Jimmy*; *Pamela*, *Pam*, *Pammy*; *Susan*, *Sue*, *Susie*) or they do not exist at all as is the case for *Mary*, *Anna*, *Justine* which do not have diminutive forms (Wierzbicka 1999: 73, 167).

Emotions can be expressed not only through emotional vocabulary but also by organising one's speech by adding interjections, intensifiers, reduplication of emotional vocabulary, varied syntactic forms, as well as some punctuation marks. As noted by Zofia Czapiga "[i]n every language there is not enough lexicon that allows to adequately name complex emotional states or their subtle shades, thus it is necessary to utilise a wide arrange of communication means in the text" (2015: 20).

Interjections (e.g. *och*, *ojej*, *ach*; *о, ой, а*х) do not name emotions, but they are mere signals of them. They can be indicators of both positive and negative emotions. They are not an independent entity. They are a part of a longer emotive statement and they increase its expressiveness. In the text they usually precede the word, group of words or sentence that explicitly name the emotional state of the speaker, e.g. *ach*, *jestem taka nieszczęśliwa*; *och, jak ja się cieszę*; *о, как я счастлив*; *ой, боюсь*; *ой, как мне стыдно*; *ах, я так счастлива* (por. Czapiga 2015: 20–21). Similar examples can also be found in English, e.g. *oh*, *oh my*, *ah*.

Intensifiers as linguistic means of emotional expression (e. g. *taki*, *jak*, *cholernie*; *так*, *как*) indicate the degree of emotional engagement of the speaker. They are accompanied by exclamatory intonation, e. g. *Wstyd mi*! *Taki wstyd!*…; *Ja też się cholernie cieszę*!; *Как мне грустно!; Я так счастлива снова!* (por. Czapiga 2015: 22–23). Similar examples can also be found in English, e. g. *damn*, *bloody*.

What is another crucial element determining the expression of emotions is organisation of statements by introducing reduplication of words, groups of words or even whole sentences naming emotions. Repetition of the same elements highlights the intensity of emotional experiences of the speaker. The degree of emotional engagement is also indicated by the diverse structure of syntactic units – utterances may contain both full sentences, as well as equational sentences, incomplete sentences, abruptly ending sentences or exclamatory sentences. This diversity of syntactic forms allows to externalise emotions of the speaker and highlight their intensity. Syntactic means of expression can coexist and even overlap (see Czapiga 2015: 23–26).

Punctuation also allows to signal emotions in a written text, especially the use of such punctuation marks as:

– an exclamation mark – it intensifies the speaker's feelings encoded in their message. It also affects the recipient,
– a question mark – combined with an exclamation mark, indicates astonishment, surprise, outrage or irritation,
– points of ellipsis – allow for a toned down expression of emotions, reveal the difficulty of externalising feelings related to negative experiences, allude to the silence caused by strong emotions,
– quotation marks – using them may be a signal of irony, sneer or mockery (por. Wrześniewska-Pietrzak 2012: 144–146).

Emotions – language, culture and translation

Literature influences readers not only on a cognitive, but also on an emotional level. To recreate the emotional charge of the original in translation, it is crucial to seek affective equivalence, which is not always possible, for universality of emotions, experiencing, recognising and expressing them and similarities in terminology are typical of a small group of emotive phenomena. The language of emotions may vary from culture to culture, since it is the culture that shapes the specificity of emotions, emotional meanings and how they are categorised (named).

Research confirms that certain languages may lack lexical equivalent of certain emotions or members of specific cultures may not be aware that they experience them, thus the search for equivalents in other languages is not an easy task, because "[…] the language that describes emotions is a product of a specific culture" (Wyszyńska 2017: 136). Translation equivalents may evoke different associations and feelings in the readers of the translated text than those of the original text readers or there might be no equivalents at all. Emotions are generated by the culture of a given society, its history and experiences, therefore what is well-known to the source culture may be foreign to the target culture.

> Translating emotional experiences and feelings from one language to the other may cause many difficulties, since some languages may have a lexicon that is more adapted to expressing a specific emotional charge than others. For example, it is possible that a translation equivalent of the name of a given emotion does not exist in a specific language, since even though people of the target culture do experience it, they have no need to communicate it (Wyszyńska 2017: 136).

What is more, not all cultures have words that are equivalents of the term *emotion*. Residents of Tahiti and Ifaluk people from Micronesia do not have an equivalent of this term. Even if the term does exist in a given culture, its meaning may be different than that of the English word *emotion* (Matsumoto, Juang 2004: 255).

For a linguist as well as a translation theorist it is important to know how culture regulates the rules of naming and expressing emotions through language. "[c]ertain languages sanction certain realisations" (Tabakowska 2003: 105). With so much diversity how should emotions be recreated in translation, how to capture them and transfer across languages and cultures, how to write them in a different language so that the reader of the target text could experience the same as the reader of the original, for emotions woven into the text influence the recipient and cause certain emotive states. How to maintain the emotional authenticity of the text?

Borys Szumański claims that what is placed in the centre of this process is "the translator-recipient figure, the language in which he is immersed and the emotions experienced by him" (2017: 63–64). To make translation possible, the translator has to (while reading the text) interpret their own emotional states, i.e. the translator has to be aware of them and name them, and this is strictly connected with the language and the "repertoire of meanings which a language possesses" (ibid 69). What is problematic is also to what degree a translator not related to the source language can adequately decode emotions of other people outside of his or her cultural circles, since "[…] differences exist in the exact meaning and labeling of different emotional states across languages and cultures […]" (Matsumoto, Juang 2004: 256). Anna Wierzbicka points out that there are not universal definitions of emotions, even such basic ones as anger, happiness, sadness, fear, or disgust which by many scholars are considered to be universally human emotions. Universality of emotions and universality of their names cannot be treated equally. Using English names to describe emotions experienced by people of different cultures introduces misinformation and is an example of ethno- or anglocentric perspective (Wierzbicka 1999: 139, 161). Anna Duszak asks the right question: "How to avoid ethnocentrism or stereotyping of cultures and languages and as a consequence ambiguity of accepted terms" (2003: 19), because it is not always that what we compare is actually comparable.

Emotions experienced by the reader in the target culture affect empathetic capabilities of the translator, cultural difference regarding displaying emotions and individual experiential capacity, which makes it that experiences of the reader of the original and the reader of the translations are not always identical (Tokarz 2017: 10). The entirety of emotional experience is determined not only by the structure of terminology of the text, but also by the way it sounds, by its rhymes, rhythm, style, syntax and composition.

It is not enough to search for semantic equivalent of emotional process, but what also needs to be found is all the preinterpretational signals that the translator receives that are not semantically charged, but nonetheless they convey a sense of a literary piece, as they are "located […] in an experiential space different from the target culture" (Tokarz 2017: 11). Only if read correctly can emotions from the original be recreated in the translation. Thus, the translator should have emotional intelligence, approach the text with empathy and possess extensive extra-linguistic knowledge (about history and culture). All of these allow the translator to recognise someone else's thoughts and feelings, and then, as a consequence, to activate meanings, emotions, moods, even those that have been unknown up until now, in the language of a different culture, which as a result enables the translator to overcome resistance that their own language and the target culture put up (Tokarz 2017: 15–16). Hence, it can be stated that the "[t]ranslator, in this context, is not only a creative medium but also an expert on language and the culture of the area of social awareness of the literature being translated" (Tokarz 1998: 111). Resultantly, the target culture significantly affects the decisions made by the translator. It is essential to know its socio-cultural norms, for "[…] the goal of a translator is to find the relation between language, the reality that is being described and the recipient's way of thinking" (Русіа 2017: 142, see also Козырева 2012: 88, 90).

Summary

A fundamental problem related to the linguistic research is to determine the role of language is conceptualisation of emotions. It is vital that more research be conducted in order to overcome barriers that language creates between researchers of emotions and emotions themselves. It is erroneous to assume that terms describing certain emotions in one language will be obvious and identical in other languages. There are no universal notions of emotions which are lexically identical in all languages of the world. Terms describing emotions always contain culture- and language-specific notions. It is evident that some emotions are characteristic of all people regardless of the culture that they live in and the language that they speak, yet it does not mean that the same emotions are described using the same terms (see Wierzbicka 1999: 139–140).

This situation implies that there is a wide range of difficulties for translation theorists and practitioners. The translator, looking for semantic and artistic equivalence in relation to the original, does not always find the right points of reference. By introducing terminology from their own language, they risk being accused of being ethnocentric or identifying too much with their native literature, which may lead to an incorrect or unsuccessful attempt at recreating the original emotive sphere in the target language. However, a translation that strives to retain "distinctness" runs the risk of being misunderstood by its recipient, especially if the translation is goes far beyond the reader's awareness and personal experience.

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Political invective in Old Attic Comedy
(and the emotions behind it)

The article's primary aim is to present a sample of Old Attic Comedy political invective directed towards historical figures living in classical Athens in the second half of the 5th century BCE and selected social groups comprising the Athenian society. Additionally, it will attempt to match the invective with a potential emotion that might have caused a particular utterance and might have appeared in its recipient. For reasons discussed later, the latter objective of the current text is of a somewhat lighter nature, meant to be a playful extension of the invective presentation, a foray into what one could theoretically assume the emotional load of the very act of hurling and receiving abuse in the context of Athenian comedy – without any attempt to *formally* examine/ analyze or label the emotions. In other words, the labeling offered in the current text does not reflect any particular psychological theory of emotion (but makes indirect reference to specific such theories, considered in general terms).

Keywords: political invective, classical Athens, Old Attic Comedy, emotions

A   Old Attic Comedy

Greek comedy is traditionally divided into three periods: old, middle, and new.[1] Old Attic Comedy, officially launched in 486 during the festival of the Great Dionysia,[2] is considered to have been present on the Athenian stage until around 404/400 (or even 385), the most famous representatives of which are Cratinos, Eupolis, and Aristophanes.

Due to its uniqueness (if not peculiarity), Old Comedy is an interesting genre that is, in many ways, very different from the comedy modern audiences may be accustomed to. In light of the current text, it is perhaps important to mention just a few of its characteristic features, which would place the Section D invective samples in a broader perspective. One of the most exciting aspects of Old Attic Comedy is its thematic content and the way it is presented. Indeed, first contact with the content of the plays from this period may not only surprise but perhaps shock the twenty-first-century viewer (read-

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1   The content of the current section is based on Szefliński 2022: 25–30. For an extension of the ideas contained in the section see Sinko 1959; Srebrny 1984; Henderson 1998a; Bartol, Danielewicz 2011; Storey 2011a.

2   The origins of Old Comedy are not entirely clear, nor are its early achievements and creators. Even Aristotle, who wrote in the 4th century BCE, did not know what the comedy of the early poets such as Chionides or Magnes was like (Sinko 1959: 594).

er). Comedy writers, quite straightforwardly and, as it may appear, without any significant inhibitions,[3] commit personal verbal attacks on individual citizens of Athens, i. e., – considering the fact that most of the citizens of the *polis* (though not of the whole of Attica) could have been present at a particular staging of a given comedy – the audience watching the events in the orchestra. Picking individuals in the audience and calling them names such as 'liar,' 'briber,' 'careerist,' 'miser,' 'idler,' 'social leech,' 'swaggerer,' 'fool,' 'sissy,' 'male prostitute,' 'glutton,' 'drunkard,' 'fatty,' 'stinker,' etc. was not unusual. On the contrary, the extant remnants of Old Comedy would suggest the practice was a norm, if not an expected, programmatic element of the plays. It appears that virtually anybody may have been at the receiving end of such invective: not merely the so-called ordinary members of Athenian society but also more prominent individuals (famous politicians,[4] soldiers, playwrights). Even citizens of such magnitude as the dramatist Euripides or the political leader Pericles were not immune from comic derision.

It was not only individual citizens who were exposed to comedy authors' unrelenting criticism. Entire social or professional groups, such as women, politicians, judges, or sycophants, were often also subjected to harsh judgments. What's more, some social attitudes or political trends were subject to scrutiny. This can be exemplified by criticism of the stance promoting war with Sparta or mocking the 'fashionable,' sophistic approach to issues related to morality[5] or the education of the younger generation. As can be seen, the themes addressed in Old Comedy were entirely related to the current situation in Athens and other *poleis* and were deeply embedded in the context of the city's contemporary life. Unlike in the case of Middle Comedy, and especially New Comedy,[6] the

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3 This does not necessarily mean, however, that comedy writers were completely immune from the consequences that the content of their plays might have caused. See, for example, Radin (1927), who discusses a law existing since the time of Solon, which punished anyone who accused another citizen of murder without being able to prove the accusation (interestingly, despite the wide range of insults and slanders thrown from the stage, we do not find any situation in the preserved Athenian comedic legacy where someone was called a murderer (ἀνδροφόνος)); Henderson (1998a: 17–19) who discusses the topics that comedy writers seem to have been avoiding; and Saxonhouse (2006) who extensively discusses the issue of freedom of speech in classical Athens. Furthermore, an ancient commentary on a fragment of a play by the comic poet Phrynichus (*Hermit*, fr. 27) mentions a law prohibiting the mocking of citizens by name ('…μὴ κωμῳδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστί τινα …,' '…no one be made fun of by name…' (Storey 2011c: 62, 63)), which indeed might have been enacted around 415–414 BCE. Another matter is the effectiveness of such formal prohibitions and their enforcement in the case of comic poets. Radin (1927: 219–230) argues that their effectiveness might have been limited.

4 Obviously, the term 'politician' as used here is a rough approximation of how one could label an ancient Athenian person involved in politics.

5 Within the broad sophist-related topic, an example of one butt of the comic joke was Socrates (in comedy, often pigeonholed as a sophist).

6 In Middle Comedy, we still see criticism of individual citizens, but it gets disguised. The themes become increasingly universal (e. g., mythology), and contemporary events mainly refer to the domestic sphere. In New Comedy, on the other hand, there are only universal portrayals of people and typical contrasts, such as rich vs. poor.

themes of the earliest form of comedy are completely non-universal,[7] understandable only to those familiar with the realities of Athens at that particular historical moment, and in fact, *entirely* comprehensible only to a contemporary citizen of the city.

Finally, we cannot ignore the topic of morality, which naturally arises after reading the comedies from two and a half thousand years ago. For many contemporary viewers/readers (and especially for those from decades or centuries past), the content of Old Comedy might appear (might have appeared) indecent or outright immoral. These works are brimming with vocabulary and contexts related to sexual activities (heterosexual, homosexual, and autoerotic), anatomy of private parts, defecation, urination, and vomiting.[8] Certainly, this was not an end in itself: the 'obscene' lexicon[9] should be viewed as a kind of contrast, combined with the overall language of Old Comedy, where 'obscenity' intertwines with verbal sophistication and artistry.

B   Methodology

As mentioned earlier, the article aims to present a sample of political invective (directed towards historical Athenians and certain social groups within the Athenian society) as well as to match the invective with a potential emotion that might have been behind it. The match is, naturally, tentative and strictly theoretical for two reasons. The first one lies in the sheer time span between the actual words uttered on the Athenian scene almost twenty-five hundred years ago and us: there is no *real* insight into the then society and its members. Also, we have to be aware of the fact that the criticism expressed by the comic actors was not spontaneous but staged, prearranged by the author of the play, and deliberately put in the humorous context of the play. In other words, the invective was in part the expression of an individual, particular mind (most likely the author of the play), but also a common, societal conscience where the prevailing/popular opinion had given rise to venting the feelings in public. We must consider this when assigning a particular emotion to the utterer of a given criticism. However, the situation will be somewhat different in the case of the recipient of the abuse. Here, the convention is also dramatic, i. e., the utterance happens during a performance. Still, the person/social group that is the butt of the joke may well have been in the audience and, in principle, must have been known by many of the other citizens surrounding them (and uninhibitedly enjoying the joke, as we have to assume). The receiving end of the invective is, therefore, much more tangible and specific, and the assignment of a potential emotion to them will be perhaps somewhat more accurate.

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7   Although Old Comedy does refer to general themes, such as mythological ones, they seem to serve merely as a starting point, a pretext for highlighting a current socio-political issue.

8   The ancients must have had quite a different attitude toward these matters than we do (see Henderson's (1991) attempt to investigate the issue).

9   Obscene in the understanding of the contemporary audience, but not necessarily in the perception of the Athenian viewer from two and a half thousand years ago, as demonstrated by the aforementioned Henderson (1991).

Before attempting to decide what emotions particular participants of a given comedic context may have felt, it seems imperative to narrow down on the meaning of the term 'emotion.' Indeed, it is not an easy feat.

The very notion of 'emotion' is – as so much in psychology – a suitcase word, a multi-layered concept, open to interpretation depending on a particular approach to it and the methodology used to describe/analyze the phenomenon. Surely, the current text is not meant to take any formal stance on the subject matter. Instead, it essays to label a potential emotion (or their set) a particular author of a given invective publically uttered might have felt and a likely emotion the target hearer might have experienced – as understood in folk perception of the term 'emotion' (although, based on informed opinion, perhaps), rather than a scientific, systematic approach to it. However, emotion is far from tangible or uniform, even with such a basic understanding of the concept. As the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (s.v. Emotion) wants it:

> The things we ordinarily call emotions differ from one another along several dimensions. For example, some emotions are occurrences (e. g., panic), and others are dispositions (e. g., hostility); some are short-lived (e. g., anger) and others are long-lived (e. g., grief); some involve primitive cognitive processing (e. g., fear of a suddenly looming object), and others involve sophisticated cognitive processing (e. g., fear of losing a chess match); some are conscious (e. g., disgust about an insect in the mouth) and others are unconscious (e. g., unconscious fear of failing in life); some have prototypical facial expressions (e. g., surprise) and others lack them (e. g., regret). Some involve strong motivations to act (e. g., rage) and others do not (e. g., sadness). Some are present across species (e. g., fear) and others are exclusively human (e. g., schadenfreude). And so on.
>
>   (https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/emotion/#DefiEmotWhatDesi)

Certainly, the range of what we could call emotions appears to be far greater than those listed in the above quote. Since the current paper makes no pretense of being psychology-oriented in any serious manner, it will suffice, as I believe, to adopt here a general approach to the (recognized as most influential) available theories of emotion and generate a cross-theory set of basic (universal) emotions that could be useful when assigning a particular label. These are as follows: anger, anticipation, contempt, disgust, enjoyment (=joy), fear, guilt, interest, sadness (=suffering), shame, surprise, and trust.[10]

Indeed, the emotions felt (both expressed and invoked) through Old Attic Comedy invective will be treated here as belonging to the 'negative' rather than 'positive' type: we should perhaps disregard situations in which a particular critic feels sheer pleasure out of the fact that they can verbalize their dissatisfaction with a given issue and do it in a forcefully direct manner: such a scheme not being impossible, it appears to be substantially less likely than its natural counterpart (a critic expressing their dissatisfaction without thoroughly (and consciously) enjoying the act of criticism). In other words, I try to label the emotion that initiated the need to criticize a particular citizen/group and

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10 For the sources of the set see: Izard 1977, Plutchik 2001, *Paul Ekman Group*.

not the emotion possibly accompanying the very utterance on the stage (if we assume that the actor or the playwright did feel some emotion at that moment). It appears more practical to disregard the comic setting of each of the eighteen invective examples analyzed in the article and try to reach the deeper (initial?) feeling that was the reason for the given utterance.

Therefore, out of the basic emotions enumerated earlier, the ones that seem to truly contribute to the emotion labeling of the invective context as presented in the current text are the following ones: **anger**, **contempt**, **disgust**, **fear**, **guilt**, **sadness** (=suffering), and **shame**.[11]

A clarification of the pivotal idea of the current text, i. e., the notion of 'invective,' seems due at this point, too. The online *Cambridge Dictionary* defines the word as 'criticism that is very forceful, unkind, and often rude.' It should be borne in mind that in this article, the term 'invective' is a suitcase word: it goes along the lines of the above definition and is exemplified with numerous verbal abuse cases (of various magnitude), but it also includes milder forms of reproach, such as irony.

The notion of invective being 'political,' as understood in the current text, should be seen two-fold: 1. Political invective is criticism directed towards real (for us: historical) figures of the Athenian society of the classical period (roughly, the greater part of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th centuries BCE) and various social groups constituting that society. In general, the invective to be found in Old Attic Comedy might be analyzed along multiple lines, i. e., invective towards historical figures (or groups), invective towards a (fictitious) comedy character, and invective towards a mythological figure.[12] For us, only the first category, i. e., historical figures and groups consisting of historical figures, is of importance here. 2. The attributive adjective 'political' should be understood through the Athenian perspective: it seems reasonable to assume that perhaps all public life in classical Athens was political, in a sense. A citizen (a male born of an Athenian father; later, of both parents of Athenian citizenship) was involved in all the essential socio-political affairs of the *polis*: he would be a voter, an elected politician, a lawmaker, and a soldier.

Finally, the historicity of the figures mentioned in the fragments analyzed in the current text is predicated on their appearance in the primary prosopographic source relevant to the nature of the analysis offered here, i. e., *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Traill (ed); henceforth, *PAA*). Being aware of its (not insubstantial) limitations, currently, we have no better means at our disposal to confirm (or question) the historicity of a particular Athenian figure.

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11 The emotion of *surprise* could perhaps also be part of the set. It is quite impossible, however, to state which criticism directed towards a particular person/group was a novelty and which had been heard before.

12 In fact, the three categories are two-layered: each may be expressed directly or indirectly. The matter, being tangential to the main theme of the current text, is not pursued here, however.

C Technicalities

The numbers of the Old Attic Comedy fragments listed in Section D (e. g., Platon, fr. 201) follow those in Storey 2011a–c, likewise the Greek text and the translation. The verse number, the Greek text, and the translation of all the excerpts from Aristophanes come from Henderson 1998a, 1998b, 2000, and 2002. To offer a somewhat broader context of the meaning of a particular fragment in English, I offer an alternative rendition of the Greek text by Sommerstein (1987, 1997, 1998, 2015a-d) for the Aristophanic verses and by Edmonds (1957) for the fragments coming from the other Old Comedy playwrights. Also, for the sake of completeness, I supply (in footnotes) the spelling of a particular Old Comedy fragment by the very playwrights, i. e., Cratinus, Eupolis, Platon, and Theopompus, as given in *Poetae comici Graeci* (Kassel, Austin (ed.)), which is the most comprehensive edition of the fragments up to date. It should be noted that Storey's spelling follows that of *Poetae comici Graeci* (except for the symbol c (Storey uses the symbols σ and ς), some minor inflectional alternation, and different diphthongal orthographic interpretation).

Throughout Section D, bold font, both in the Greek text and the translations, is mine. For space considerations, the Greek text is often quoted in a truncated form where only the immediate invective context is given, and the text is written in a smaller font. All the dictionary explanations of individual Greek words supplied in this article, if not indicated otherwise, come from *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*. There is also a transcription of the Greek text/individual words offered for the reader's convenience. The transcription reflects the general pronunciation of Attic Greek in the classical period (as it can be conjectured today; see Allen 1987) and is (a simplified version of) my system of representing the Greek in Latin script that is a combination of transcription and transliteration, sufficing, as I believe, for the purpose of the current text.

D Invective samples

The invective presented below could be labeled as 'direct invective against a citizen/group of citizens' or, as I like to call it, 'political invective' (unlike other invective types mentioned in Section B above). This category of invective is by far the most numerously exemplified in Old Attic Comedy, and, at the same time, it seems to be the most interesting one.

The invective samples are presented in the following order: invective against individuals perhaps somewhat less known to us (Amynias, Cephalus, Patrocleides, Philonides, and Philoxenus; Nos 1–5), invective against individuals relatively well known (Alcibiades, Aspasia, Cleisthenes, Cleon, Cleonymus, Megacles, Pericles, and Socrates; Nos 6–13), and invective against social groups: theater audience, women, politicians, multiple social strata, and all Athenian citizens (Nos 14–18).

1. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 689–692 (Henderson 1998b: 100, 101):

> *Socrates*: … how would you address Amynias if you happened to see him?
> *Strepsiades*: How? This way: "Over here, over here, Amynia!"
> *So*: See? **You're calling Amynias a woman**.
> *St*: **Isn't that appropriate, since she doesn't go out to battle?**[13]

> (… Σο· ὁρᾷς; γυναῖκα τὴν Ἀμυνίαν καλεῖς.
> Στ· οὔκουν δικαίως, ἥτις οὐ στρατεύεται;[14])

Amynias (*PAA*: 124575), an alleged gambler, sponger, notorious prosecutor, and unsuccessful envoy (Sommerstein 1998: 197–198), is the butt of the abusive joke in the fragment. The pun is based on Socrates' (see invective 13) drawing the protagonist Strepsiades' attention to the feminine-like form of the vocative of the name Amynias and making the point that the noun ending should be indicative of its gender.[15] Strepsiades takes the idea a little further, implying that Amynias should be regarded as a woman since he avoids manly jobs such as taking part in military expeditions.[16]

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, guilt, sadness, shame.

2. Platon, fr. 201 (unassigned) (Storey 2011c: 184, 185):

> … **foul-smelling Cephalus, that loathsome plague**.[17]

> (… δυσώδη Κέφαλον, ἐχθίστην νόσον.[18])

The invective used for Cephalus (*PAA*: 566650), a prominent politician in the first few decades of the 4th century, is two-fold: pertaining to physical features (*dysōdēs* (δυσώδης) 'ill-smelling, stinking, foul') as well as character traits (*ekhthistos* (ἔχθιστος), superlative of the adjective ἐχθρός 'most hateful').

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt, disgust.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

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13 Sommerstein (1998: 75): '…Do you see? you're calling *her* a woman, Amynia./ And doesn't she deserve it, for not doing her military service?'
14 (*so: horais gynaika tēn amynian kaleis/st: ukun dikaiōs hētis u strateuetai*).
15 In the current fragment we can undoubtedly infer mockery of sophists' grammatical disputes popular in Athens in the 5th century.
16 If this was a fact or a mere allegation is hard to say today.
17 Edmonds fr. 185 (1957: 549): '…stinking Head, a foul complaint.' 'Head' is a play on the name Cephalus (*kephalē* (κεφαλή) 'head').
18 (*dysōdē kephalon ekhthistēn noson*). Kassel, Austin (1989: 519, fr. 201): '… δυσώδη Κέφαλον, ἐχθίστην νόσον.'

3. Aristophanes, *Birds* 790–791 (Henderson 2000: 126, 127):

> And supposing some **Patrocleides in the audience needed to shit, he wouldn't have soaked his cloak …** [19]

> (εἴ τε Πατροκλείδης τις ὑμῶν τυγχάνει χεζητιῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξίδισεν εἰς θοἰμάτιον… [20])

The passage most likely refers to one politician (Patrocleides, *PAA*: 768555) active at the end of the 5th century and who was supposedly nick-named *ho khesas* (ὁ χεσᾶς), 'the shitter' (Sommerstein 1987: 248, Henderson 1991: 189, Henderson 2000: 126), perhaps due to some unfortunate incontinence incident. The invective hinges upon the use of the verb *eksidiō* (ἐξιδίω) 'exude,' a euphemism for *tilaō* (τιλάω) 'have a thin stool' or 'sweat/ ooze excrement' (Henderson 1991: 189) [21] and the allusion to Patrocleides' problems with incontinence or a one-off situation when he had been hard-pressed and could not contain himself. The joke works by means of stating that his namesake, if found in the audience, would not experience the same kind of predicament.

–   The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt, disgust.
–   The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, guilt, sadness, shame.

4. Theopompus, *Aphrodite*, fr. 5 (Storey 2011c: 322, 323):

> … a **brayer, Philonides** from Melite, was born on the Acropolis **after his mother had sex with a donkey.** [22]

> (… ὀγκάς ὁ Μελιτεὺς Φιλωνίδης, ὄνῳ μιγείσης μητρὸς ἔβλαστ' ἐν πόλει. [23])

Philonides (*PAA*: 957480), son of *Onētōr* (Ὀνήτωρ), had a nickname Onos (ὄνος) 'ass' (Storey 2011c: 323). The joke centers around this meaning, where *onkas* (ὀγκάς) comes from the verb *onkaomai* (ὀγκάομαι) 'bray' (of the ass) and *migeisēs* (μιγείσης) is a form of the verb *meignymi* μείγνυμι (μίγνυμι) 'mix; have intercourse with.'

–   The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
–   The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

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19 Sommerstein (1987: 103): 'And if some Patrocleides among you happens to feel he needs to crap, he wouldn't have had to … exude into his clothes…'
20 (*ei te patrokleidēs tis hymōn tynghanei khezdētiōn uk an eksidisen eis thoimation*).
21 Interestingly, Sommerstein (1987: 248) reads the verb in the current passage as denoting 'the silent passing of wind from the anus.' This would, however, be perhaps less compatible with the verb *khezdētiaō* (χεζητιάω), 'want to ease oneself,' a form of *khezdō* χέζω 'to ease oneself' (or 'shit' if one wanted to show the word's register) which precedes ἐξιδίω and logically refers to it.
22 Edmonds fr. 4, 5 (1957: 851): 'Philonides brays like an ass – he would;/ An ass begot him for his country's good.'
23 (*onkas ho meliteus philōnidēs onōi migeisēs mētros eblast en polei*). Kassel, Austin (1989: 711, fr. 5): '… ὀγκάς, ὁ Μελιτεὺς Φιλωνίδης, ὄνωι μιγείσης μητρὸς ἔβλαστ' ἐν πόλει.'

5. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 84 (Henderson 1998b: 232, 233):

… **Philoxenus is a faggot.**[24]

(… καταπύγων ἐστὶν ὅ γε Φιλόξενος.[25])

Male homosexual contexts abound in Old Attic Comedy. It is worth remembering that (male) homosexuality was not necessarily a taboo issue in Athens. As long as it conformed to specific social regulations, homosexuality seems to have been quite widely accepted, if not a welcome diversion from nuptial sex life (Henderson 1991: 204–8; see invective 8).[26] *Katapygōn* (καταπύγων) has a general meaning of 'given to unnatural lust; lecherous, lewd' (see invective 7), but, since it is commonly used in homosexual contexts in comedy,[27] the word would more appropriately be understood as 'a passive homosexual' – hence the translation of the fragment. In fact, Philoxenus (*PAA*: 941310) is referred to in a similar way not once in comedy.[28]

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

6. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 716 (Henderson 1998a: 142, 143):

… the **wide-arsed, prattling** son of Cleinias.[29]

(… εὐρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος χὠ Κλεινίου.[30])

Cleinias was the father of the famous (or infamous) Alcibiades (*PAA*: 121630). The latter is dubbed *euryprōktos* (εὐρύπρωκτος) 'wide-breeched, i. e., pathicus' (i. e., a passive homosexual) or 'gape-ass,' the term used for 'those whose *prōktoi* (πρωκτοί) [i. e., anuses] have been widened by constant buggery and who are on that account depraved or evil,' as Henderson wants to see it in Athenian context (1991: 210). (See also invective 17 and 18.) Additionally, Alcibiades is given the unfavorable epithet *lalos* (λάλος) 'talkative, babbling, loquacious.'

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

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24 Sommerstein (2015d: 11): '…the Philoxenus I know is a pouf!'

25 (*katapygōn estin ho ge philoksenos*).

26 However, perhaps only the active lover would normally have escaped stigmatization (or could even have been praised); the passive partner would usually have been ridiculed and condemned (see Sommerstein 1997: 161).

27 Cf. Henderson 1991: 209–10, 214, 215.

28 E.g. Aristophanes *Clouds* 686, Eupolis *Cities*, fr. 249, Phrynichus *Satyrs*, fr. 49.

29 Sommerstein 2015a: 105: '…a wide-arsed fast talker, the son of Cleinias.'

30 (*euryprōktos kai lalos khō kleiniu*).

7. Cratinus, *Chirons*, fr. 259 (Storey 2011a: 390, 391):

> And **Shameful Sex gave birth to his Hera**, a **dog-eyed** concubine.[31]

> (Ἥραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοσύνη παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα.[32])

The butt of the fragment is Aspasia (*PAA*: 222330), the long-standing partner of Pericles (see invective 12). She is called Pericles' *pallakē* (παλλακή (παλλακίς)) 'concubine' (i.e., opposite to the lawful wife) and *kynōpēs* (κυνώπης) 'dog-eyed, i.e., shameless one,' who was begotten by *katapygosynē* (καταπυγοσύνη) 'unnatural lust.' (See invective 5.)
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

8. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 53–57 (Henderson 2002: 22/24, 23/25):

> *Dionysus*: … a sudden longing struck my heart, you can't imagine how hard. …
> *Heracles*: For a **woman**?
> *Di*: Nope.
> *He*: Then for a **boy**?
> *Di*: Not at all.
> *He*: For a **man**, then?
> *Di*: Ah ah!
> *He*: Did you do it with **Cleisthenes**?
> *Di*: Don't tease me, brother; I'm truly in a bad way.[33]

> (Δι· …ἐξαίφνης πόθος τὴν καρδίαν ἐπάταξε πῶς οἴει σφόδρα. …
> Ηρ· γυναικός;
> Δι· οὐ δῆτ'.
> Ηρ· ἀλλὰ παιδός;
> Δι· οὐδαμῶς.
> Ηρ· ἀλλ' ἀνδρός;
> Δι· ἀπαπαῖ.
> Ηρ· ξυνεγένου τῷ Κλεισθένει;
> Δι· μὴ σκῶπτέ μ', ὦδέλφ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἔχω κακῶς.[34])

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31 Edmonds fr. 241, 241B (1957: 111): 'And Aspasian Hera he got of Unnatural Lust/To be a dog-eyed "keep."' Storey leaves the name of Aspasia out (thus amending the original text by Plutarch (the source of the fragment by Cratinus)) since, as he wants it, 'the joke is better if Pericles' "Hera" is not directly named' (2011a: 391). Edmonds renders the two proper names as 'Aspasian Hera.'

32 (*hēran te hoi aspasian tiktei katapygosynē pallakēn kynōpida*). Kassel, Austin (1983: 254, fr. 259): 'Ἥραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοσύνη παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα.'

33 The first part of the fragment is rendered by Sommerstein (1997: 41) in a much similar way (where the sequence *woman, boy, man* is kept); the end part reads as follows: '…So you had it off with Cleisthenes, did you?/Don't make fun of me, brother; I really am in a bad way…'

34 (*di: eksaiphnēs pothos tēn kardian epatakse pōs oiei sphodra/her: gynaikos/di: u dēt/her: alla paidos/di: udamōs/her: all andros/di: apapai/her: ksynegenu tōi kelisthenei/di: mē skōpte m ōdelph u gar all ekhō kakōs*).

The god of wine mentions his desire for a person, and Heracles tries to discover who that person can be. He lists prospective 'targets' of the desire, taking it to be of sexual character. The order of the targets goes along the lines of 'likelihood' and, what's important, corresponds to their relative social acceptability: woman, boy, man (Henderson 1991: 208). Dionysus confirms the latter type of target (*apapai* (ἀπαπαῖ (= ἀππαπαῖ) 'an exclamation of grief or pain')), but then shudders at hearing Heracles' guess: Cleisthenes (*PAA*: 575540; perhaps a prominent politician of the last decade of the 5th century, mocked as a passive homosexual (see invective 5) in numerous places in Old Attic Comedy[35]) is perhaps the least acceptable of all men. The definitive rejection of this 'candidate' for his desire is seen in Dionysus' reaction to Heracles' suggestion: 'don't tease me/ don't make fun of me' (*skōptō* σκώπτω 'mock, jeer; jest, joke'). Interestingly, it turns out that the god is desirous of Euripides, the dramatist, so he would not accept any other man. This does not, however, undermine the invective against Cleisthenes: the very mention of him at the end of Heracles' list is indicative of strong abuse.

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

9. Aristophanes, *Knights* 44–45 (Henderson 1998a: 234, 235):

> … Paphlagon, **a tanner, an arch criminal, and a slanderer.**[36]

> (… βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα πανουργότατον καὶ διαβολώτατόν τινα.[37])

Cleon (*PAA*: 579130), one of the most prominent politicians and popular leaders after the death of Pericles, hidden behind the character Paphlagon in *Knights*, is another customary target of comic abuse.[38] In the current scene he is called various names: *byrsodepsēs* (βυρσοδέψης) 'tanner,' *panurgotatos* (πανουργότατος) 'most wicked' (*panurgos* (πανοῦργος) 'ready to do anything, wicked, knavish,' or *diabolōtatos* (διαβολώτατος) 'most slanderous' (*diabolos* (διάβολος) 'slanderous, backbiting'). One could think that to call someone a tanner would have been a far cry from attempting to abuse that person, but in Aristophanes' comedy context, it is not so. Aristophanes appears to have assumed that tanning was a 'low' profession for a citizen whose ambition was to be a dēmagōgos (in a good sense), the people's leader.[39] Finally, it is worth observing that the very name given to Cleon in the play, Paphlagon, was most probably meant as an additional source

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35 E. g. Aristophanes *Acharnians* 118–121, Aristophanes *Clouds* 355–6, Cratinus *Wine-flask*, fr. 208, Pherecrates *Petalē*, fr. 143.
36 Sommerstein 2015b: 15: '… Paphlagon, a tanner, a first-class rogue and slanderer.'
37 (*byrsodepsēn paphlagona panurgotaton kai diabolōtaton tina*).
38 *Knights* is almost entirely dedicated to pelting abuse at Cleon. Other Aristophanes' comedies that ridicule the politician, often in numerous places, are: *Acharnians, Clouds, Wasps, Peace, Frogs*.
39 Whether Cleon's family profession was tanning indeed is not unquestionable, but it is most likely and widely accepted. However, see Sommerstein (2015b: 146–7) for an interesting observation on one British Prime Minister whose profession-implying nickname had nothing to do with the actual state of affairs.

of invective against the politician. It does not have one reading, but instead constitutes a conglomerate of several pejorative meanings: 1. 'man from Paphlagonia' (the place was a source of Athenian slaves); Cleon would thus be of low, slavish origin; 2. 'Paphlagonian,' that is non-Athenian, which would exclude Cleon from legal access to the political life of the polis; 3. 'boiling, blustering; spluttering; stammering, stuttering' (from the verb *paphlazdō* (παφλάζω)), where the implication would be his (agitated way of speaking, indicating his) untrustworthiness (Kanavou 2011: 52–54).

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

10. Eupolis, fr. 352 (unassigned) (Storey 2011b: 244, 245):

The shield-throwing hand of Cleonymus.[40]

(ῥιψάσπιδόν τε χεῖρα τὴν Κλεωνύμου [41])

Cleonymus (*PAA*: 579410) was an Athenian politician, Cleon's supporter, and a favorite target of comic ridicule.[42] In the current fragment, Eupolis takes up one such invective thread: Cleonymus' alleged abandonment of his hoplite weapon on a battlefield. If such an act did take place, it would have brought severe dishonor to Cleonymus, and if it did not occur in reality, an allegation of this kind would possibly have constituted a powerful invective.

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, guilt, sadness, shame.

11. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 614 (Henderson 1998a: 132, 133):

… the son of Coisyra … [43]

(…ὁ Κοισύρας… [44])

Presumably, in the current fragment, we can see one Megacles (*PAA*: 636460), a member of the powerful Alkmeonid family, whose members were such famous figures as Pericles (see invective 7 and 12) and Alcibiades (see invective 6). Supposedly, his mother[45] was one Coisyra (*PAA*: 581015), of Eretrian origin, whose name appears in the metronymic visible in the current fragment. The seemingly neutral mention of Megacles as being 'a son of Coisyra' should perhaps be viewed as a subtle invective of two possi-

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40 Edmonds: lacking.
41 (*hripsaspidon te kheira tēn kleōnymu*). Kassel, Austin (1986: 497, fr. 352): 'ῥιψάσπιδόν τε χεῖρα τὴν Κλεωνύμου.'
42 Most often for gluttony (Aristophanes *Acharnians* 88), weapon abandonment in battle (Aristophanes *Clouds* 353–4), and political untrustworthiness (Aristophanes *Wasps* 592–3).
43 Sommerstein 2015a: 95: '…the son of Coesyra…'
44 (*ho koisyras*).
45 Sommerstein (2015a: 187) suggests Coisyra may have been Megacles' grandmother, not mother.

ble readings: 1. Megacles is abused here as having non-Athenian ancestry (Henderson 1998a: 132, Sommerstein (2015a: 187), which, after the year 451, would have given him a half-citizen status, and/or 2. Megacles is intentionally disrespected in the text of the comedy by being named by means of a metronymic, which would have been insulting (Olson 2004: 233): an Athenian would have had a patronymic added to his name in the form of his father's name in the genitive case (thus, the usual address would have been Megacles, (the son) of Megacles, assuming we correctly identify the figure mentioned in the current fragment).

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness.

12. Cratinus, *Thracian women*, fr. 73 (Storey 2011a: 308, 309):

Here comes **Pericles, the onion-headed Zeus, with the Odeion on his head** … [46]

(ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς … Περικλέης, τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου ἔχων … [47])

Pericles (*PAA*: 772645; see invective 7), a prominent Athenian statesman and the unquestionable political leader of the 'golden age' of Athens – the time after the Persian wars to the beginning of the (second) Peloponnesian war – is ridiculed in the current fragment. He seems to have had a somewhat misshapen head, which is supposedly why he was always sculpted with a helmet on. In the fragment, Cratinus calls him *skhinokephalos* (σχινοκέφαλος) 'with a squill-shaped, i. e., peaked head' (squill is a plant with a large bulb, sea onion), which is sometimes translated as 'onion-headed.' Not only is Pericles 'squill-headed,' but he also has the Odeon, a special building for musical competitions, on his head, which could be taken to mean that he has an exceptionally large helmet on in order to hide the deformity of his head.[48] The physique-oriented invective is intertwined with political abuse: Pericles is like Zeus, i. e., he rules Athens like a tyrant.[49]

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, sadness, shame.

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46 Edmonds fr. 71 (1957: 45): 'Here comes the squill-pate Zeus, wearing the House of Music on his head…' (House of Music = Odeon).

47 (*ho skhinokephalos zdeus perikleēs tōideion epi tu kraniu ekhōn*). Kassel, Austin (1983: 159, fr. 73): 'ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς…Περικλέης, τώιδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου ἔχων…'

48 Cratinus may have used the Odeon as an example of a large structure on the politician's head since it may have been freshly built in Athens at the time of the staging of *Thracian women* (cf. Edmonds 1957: 45) and whose erection may have been initiated by the politician.

49 In fact, both types of invective were customarily directed against the statesman: Pericles as Zeus/tyrant e. g. Aristophanes *Acharnians* 530, Teleclides *Hesiods*, fr. 18, comic adespota fr. 703; Pericles, the 'onion-headed' e. g. Cratinus *Nemesis*, fr. 118, Cratinus *Chirons*, fr. 258 (in actuality, both notions seem to be present in these two fragments).

13. Eupolis, fr. 386 (unassigned) (Storey 2011b: 254, 255):

I also **hate Socrates**, the **babbling** beggar. He has thought out everything; but **where he might get something to eat, that he has never considered**.[50]

(μισῶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην … ἀδολέσχην … ὁπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι τούτου κατημέληκεν.[51])

The invective directed against the philosopher Socrates (*PAA*: 856500; see invective 1) begins with the straightforward *misō* μισῶ (= μισέω) 'hate' and *adoleskhēs* (ἀδολέσχης) 'prater, idle talker, esp. of reputed sophists.' Then it gets more subtle: Socrates, in all his wisdom, does not know where his next meal will come from, i.e., he cares more about idle talking than earning his living. The idea is expressed with the verb *katameleō* (καταμελέω) 'pay no heed, neglect.'

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipient: anger, guilt, shame.[52]

14. Aristophanes, *Peace* 54–55 (Henderson 1998b: 434, 435):

My master**'s mad in a novel way; not the way you all are**, but another, quite novel way.[53]

(… μαίνεται καινὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅνπερ ὑμεῖς … [54])

In the opening scenes of the comedy, Trygaeus' slave introduces his master's current obsession (i.e., trying to find a remedy for the ongoing war) to the theatre audience. Trygaeus exhibits apparent traits of delusion: he gazes at the sky all day and complains, has made a ladder and tries to reach Zeus (but falls off), and has even brought a dung beetle which he plans to ride up on. It is clear then that the master is mad; he *mainetai* (μαίνεται (from μαίνομαι 'rage, be mad')). When saying all that, the slave, wanting to make the master's state sound more familiar, compares his madness to the audience's madness: the master's lunacy is just of a different type. In effect, the abuse is (re)directed to the audience.

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipients: anger, sadness.

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50 Edmonds fr. 352 (1957: 431/433): 'And Socrates the impecunious babbler, *him* I hate/The man who studies everything save how to fill his plate.'

51 (*misō de kai sōkratēn adoleskhēn hopothen de kataphagein ekhoi tutu katēmelēken*). Kassel, Austin (1986: 511, fr. 386): 'μισῶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην … ἀδολέσχην … ὁπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι τούτου κατημέληκεν.'

52 In the case of Socrates, if his portrayal in the extant texts is adequate, one would wonder which – if any – emotions would have arisen in him upon hearing a comic actor utter an unfavorable comment in his direction.

53 Sommerstein 2015c: 9: 'My master is mad in a new kind of way, not the way *you* are, but another way, altogether new.'

54 (*mainetai kainon tropon ukh honper hymeis*).

15. Cratinus, fr. 354 (unassigned) (Storey 2011a: 416, 417):

Those odious women will be using **dildos.**[55]

(μισηταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες ὀλίσβοισιν χρήσονται.[56])

More often than not, women are given an unfavorable depiction in Old Attic Comedy.[57] Some of the most common flaws they are accused of are foolishness and libidinous carriage (or plain lewdness). The latter one seems to be taken up by Cratinus in the current fragment: not only will women use artificial penises, i. e. *olisbos* (ὄλισβος) 'penis coriaceus' ('leather penis' or, more directly, 'dildo' (Henderson 1991: 221)), which implies 'immodest sexual behavior' on its own, but they are also labeled as lecherous (i. e. characterized by *misētia* (μισητία) 'lust, lewdness'; *misētē* (μισητή) 'lecherous (of women)' Edmonds 1957: 131) by nature.[58]

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipients: anger, sadness, shame.

16. Aristophanes, *Knights* 420–428 (Henderson 1998a: 282/284, 283/285):

Sausage Seller: And just when they were looking up, I swiped some meat. …And I never got caught in the act, because if any of them spotted me, I'd stash it up my crotch and swear to god I'm innocent. So when one of the politicians saw me doing that he said, "There's no way this boy won't someday govern the people."
First Slave: That was a good guess! But it's obvious how he figured it out: **you perjured yourself about a robbery and took meat up your arse.**[59]

(… εὖ γε ξυνέβαλεν αὕτ᾽· ἀτὰρ δῆλόν γ᾽ ἀφ᾽ οὗ ξυνέγνω· ὁτιὴ ᾽πιώρκεις θ᾽ ἡρπακὼς καὶ κρέας ὁ πρωκτὸς εἶχεν.[60])

Politicians, a favorite target of Old Comedy playwrights, are made fun of in the current fragment. The implication is that a politician is an out-and-out liar/cheater, and to become one (i. e., a politician), a citizen must prostitute himself. In this context, the word *kreas* (κρέας) 'flesh, meat' should supposedly be understood as 'penis' (Sommerstein 2015b: 166).

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55 Edmonds fr. 316 (1957: 133): 'And lecherous womankind will the *olisbus* use' (*olisbus* = artificial phallus).
56 (*misētai de gynaikes olisboisin khrēsontai*). Kassel, Austin (1983: 294), fr. 354): 'μισηταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες ὀλίϲβοιϲι χρήϲονται.'
57 That is, with certain (important) exceptions, e. g. Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*.
58 Such implications or accusations are part of a larger issue. In general, women seem to have been at a serious disadvantage in Athens: they did not even entertain full citizenship rights.
59 Sommerstein 2015b: 51: '…the fact that you perjured yourself after committing a robbery, and that you had someone's *meat* up your arse.'
60 (*eu ge ksynebalen aut atar dēlon g aph hu ksynegnō hotiē piōrkeis th hērpakōs kai kreas ho prōktos eikhen*).

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipients: anger, sadness.

17. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1088–1100 (Henderson 1998b: 156/158, 157/159):

WORSE ARGUMENT: Very well, tell me: what group do **prosecutors** come from?
BETTER ARGUMENT: **From the wide-arsed.**
WA: I agree. And what about **tragedians**?
BA: **From the wide-arsed.**
WA: Correct. And **politicians**?
BA: **From the wide-arsed.**
WA: … Just look and see which make up the majority of **the spectators**. …
BA: Gods above, **the great majority are wide-arsed!** I can vouch for this one here,
anyway, and that one there, and this one here, with the long hair.[61]

(ΗΛ· …συνηγοροῦσιν ἐκ τίνων;
ΚΛ· ἐξ εὐρυπρώκτων.
ΗΛ· …τραγῳδοῦσ᾽ …
ΚΛ· ἐξ εὐρυπρώκτων.
ΗΛ· …δημηγοροῦσι …
ΚΛ· ἐξ εὐρυπρώκτων.
ΗΛ· …τῶν θεατῶν …
ΚΛ· πολὺ πλείονας, νὴ τοὺς θεούς, τοὺς εὐρυπρώκτους. …[62])

The central invective used in the current fragment, *euryprōktos* (εὐρύπρωκτος) 'gape-ass,'
i. e., implying passive homosexuality, we saw at invective 6. In the current excerpt, the
abuse is hurled at several (professional and other) groups: prosecutors, actors, politicians,
and theater spectators (i. e., ordinary citizens). The abuse seems to be hurled at just about
anyone within reach.[63]
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipients: anger, sadness.

18. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1263 (Henderson 1998a: 388, 389):

… the city of Suckerthenians![64]

(… τῇ Κεχηναίων πόλει.[65])

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61 But for minor differences, Sommerstein's (1998: 115) wording is convergent with Henderson's, and
the abuse is identically rendered: 'the wide-arsed.'
62 (*hēl: synēgorusin ek tinōn/kl: eks euryprōktōn/hēl: tragōidus/kl: eks euryprōktōn/hēl: dēmēgoru-
si/kl: eks euryprōktōn/hēl: tōn theatōn/kl: poly pleionas nē tus theus tus euryprōktus*).
63 The reference seems general, but it is worth remembering that the last part of the fragment is direct-
ed towards particular (if only understood generically) individuals sitting in the audience.
64 Sommerstein 2015b: 127: '… the city of the… Open-mouthenians.'
65 (*tēi kekhēnaiōn polei*).

Finally, all Athenians become the butt of the joke. We can see a blend of *Athēnaiōn* (Ἀθηναίων) 'of Athenians' and *kekhēnotōn* (κεχηνοτῶν) 'of the gapers' (from χάσκω (χαίνω) 'yawn, gape'), which could be understood as indicating those who have their mouths open, thus imbeciles (Sommerstein 2015b: 209) or those who have their anuses open, i. e. passive homosexuals (Henderson 1991: 209[66]). The invective seems quite strong, regardless of our preference for one interpretation over the other.

– The stipulated emotion on the part of the utterer/author: contempt.
– The stipulated emotion on the part of the recipients: anger, sadness.

E   Conclusion

In the eighteen examples of invective analyzed above, we see a number of people verbally attacked, both in an individual and collective manner. The targeted spheres (and other aspects) of life are gender (sample 1), sexuality (samples 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, 18), body features (samples 2, 12), bodily functions (sample 3), character traits (samples 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 16, 18), and morality (samples 1, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17). Other types of abuse are also present in the samples, somewhat more difficult to pigeonhole and often intertwined with the above categories (samples 4, 8, 9, 11, 14). If we take into consideration the fact that the eighteen examples are but a small selection of invectives to be found in the extant texts of the genre, we can conclude that Old Attic Comedy must truly have teemed with it.

Invective is both preceded by and entails emotion. The utterer may want to resort to verbal abuse due to the *anger*, *contempt*, or *disgust* they feel. The receiving end, on the other hand, may find themselves *afraid*, *guilty*, *sad*, or *ashamed*. Almost all these emotions may be stipulated to loom from the abovementioned samples. Certainly, since the context of the invective is comedic (and substantially distant in time), all the labeling of potential emotions accompanying each utterance is purely theoretical and highly tentative in the current text.

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66 Henderson's reading of the word is based on his analysis of homosexual (and other) humor found in Greek comedy. Interestingly, in the translation of the current fragment, Henderson chose perhaps a blend of the two interpretations: the word 'suckers' visible in the invective seems to reflect both meanings: imbeciles and passive homosexuals (the lexeme seems to have been a standard form of abuse in many contexts, being thus perhaps of more general category, not necessarily limited to actual passive homosexuals).

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Phraseological units as linguistic exponents of emotions (on the material of private correspondence of Henryk Sienkiewicz)

The article presents the role of phraseological units in verbalizing and naming feelings, as well as illustrates the usefulness of these units as exponents of expression. The analysis deals with semantic and functional phenomena related to phraseological units and marked lexis related to the expression of feelings, which Sienkiewicz shared in correspondence with his closest family members.

An important part of the article is devoted to theoretical considerations on the scope of meaning and understanding of the most important concepts and terms related to the studied issues, such as: expression – emotionality, feelings – emotions, as well as a problematized review of the linguistic literature on feelings and emotions and phraseological units as means of expressing them. The extensive literature on the subject organizes the current state of knowledge in this area. Based on the analysis of the included publications, the most important areas of interest of linguists in this extremely diverse and important sphere of human life are indicated (feelings in general; verbalization of feelings, linguistic expression, characterization of individual feelings or their categories, analysis of feelings in a contrastive approach, verbalization of feelings due to the sign of emotions, valency, non-verbal ways of expressing feelings, research on feelings, emotions from the perspective of other – non-linguistic fields of knowledge).

The study of phraseologisms conducted on the basis of the available literature on the subject and the private correspondence of H. Sienkiewicz revealed the great qualities of these units in expressing emotions and the power of their expression, which makes them an important and attractive means of linguistic communication allowing for multiple shaping of utterances of different nature.

Keywords: verbalization of feelings, emotions, phraseology, linguistic expression, private correspondence

Introduction

Feelings and emotions are among the most important aspects of human life and are essential components of all human activities. They inextricably accompany us from birth to death and are responsible for the proper functioning of the body and functioning in society. Without feelings, we would not be able to perceive and analyze signals from the world around us and respond to them accordingly. It is also important that the awareness of the existence of feelings and the ability to express them allows us for orientation in our own experiences and proper communication in the community regardless of the

relations existing between interlocutors and the type of expression (Stępień 2007: 49). Linguistic exponents of emotions and feelings are present especially in spontaneous, unofficial, colloquial expressions of people who share some kind of bond (e. g., family, partnership, emotional). We express our feelings directly, primarily in informal situations, creating spoken-spontaneous texts, and then we use the most linguistic, para-linguistic and non-verbal means to externalize them (Data 2000: 250). Researchers of the linguistic expression agree that language users rarely use original means to express their feelings; most of them reach for conventional, standard components, especially phraseological units that have been established in social consciousness. Given that almost all phraseology expresses a person, involves a person and almost always refers to a person, the popularity of phraseologisms used in the sphere of emotional life is fully justified. It should be emphasized that phraseologisms are not always just more expressive nominations of phenomena already named by words. These structures also characterize realities, the complexity of which makes it difficult (impossible?) to be defined in a single word.

The purpose of this article is, firstly, to present the role of phraseological units in expressing and naming feelings (theoretical part), and secondly, to conduct a semantic and functional analysis of phraseological units related to the expression of feelings, which Sienkiewicz shared in correspondence with his closest family members, as well as to show the usefulness of these units as exponents of expression (analytical part).

Before proceeding with the stated objectives, it would be worth outlining the scope of meaning and understanding of the most important concepts and terms related to the problem under study.

1   Expression – emotionality, feelings – emotions

In everyday language and in the existing linguistic literature on the subject, the terms *emotion – feeling, expressiveness – emotionalism, sensibility – emotiveness* are often used interchangeably[1] (Spagińska-Pruszak, 1994; Tymiakin, 2007: 206). Still, many studies attempt to define the semantic scope of these terms, and to separate not only expressiveness from emotionalism, but also expression and expressiveness and emotionalism from emotiveness (Skubalanka, 1972; 1973: 12; Grabias, 1981: 22; Wierzbicka, 1971; Czapiga, 2015: 19–27). Researchers from such scientific disciplines as psychology, psychiatry and neurology emphasize the differences in meaning and lack of synonymy that exist between these units. Anna Herzyk maintains that "emotions are treated as body reactions (physiological – accelerated heart rate, blushing; behavioral – escape, laughter) that respond to stimuli that are crucial for the survival of the organism, and which – unlike thinking – are difficult to understand precisely because of the functional differences between the organization of the emotional brain (the limbic system) and the cortex (the seat of thinking)" (2000: 7–66). Three other concepts, namely *mood, affect* and *sentiment*, are also sometimes combined with emotional experience. The difference between emotion and mood is the length of their duration – emotions are considered short-lived,

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1   The development of the Polish terminology related to the expressiveness of language and expressive lexis in a diachronic perspective was addressed by Barbara Mitrenga (2020: 105–121).

while mood is considered relatively long-lasting. The same applies to the nature of the stimuli triggering them: emotions are usually generated by events occurring quickly and without warning, while moods are seen as the result of events unfolding at a slower pace. Many theorists further assume that the primary function of emotions is to modulate and select actions (Tymiakin, 2017, 206–207).

The term *feeling*, on the other hand, means "being aware of, becoming conscious of emotional experiences, which is possible due to the existence of brain systems that create conscious sensation, and the interaction between them and emotional systems" (Herzyk, 2000: 66). In other words, in the structure of emotional life, the lower level is occupied by emotions, while the higher level is occupied by complex states such as feelings. The validity of the distinction between feelings and emotions is also recognized by Portuguese neurologist Antonio Damasio, who proposed that the term *feeling* should be reserved for "the personal, mental experience of emotions," while the term *emotion* should be used to describe "a set of reactions, many of which are externalized and become visible to outside observers" (2000: 50).

The difference in meaning between the two terms is also indicated by *The Great Dictionary of the Polish Language [WSJP Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego]*. The definitions in the lexicon state that *an emotion* is '**a strong feeling** caused by some intense experience, manifested by an animated facial expression, gesticulation, raised voice, accelerated heartbeat or internal arousal of a given person'; while *a feeling* is '**a mental state** we experience in connection with a situation or event and in which we express our attitude towards ourselves or our surroundings'[2]. The WSJP also provides the following entries: *expression* in the sense of 'book. **expression of feelings**, experiences or thoughts, mainly by means of gestures, facial expressions or words' and *emotionality* '**the emotional sphere of the human psyche**, a feature of something in which strong emotions are externalized'[3]. Semantic non-identity is also defined by the terms *emotionality* and *emotiveness*. The former is associated with the psychological characteristics of a person, with the state of their emotional sphere, and is therefore a concept related to psychology, while the latter belongs to linguistics, as it refers to linguistic tools used to express emotions in the act of speech (Szachowski, 1989, after Czapiga, 2015: 26).

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2   In psychological terms, *emotion* is defined as 'a special subjective type of mental state, resulting from conscious or unconscious evaluation of an event, triggering readiness to carry out certain actions, accompanied by somatic changes, mimic and pantomimic expressions and reactions of a behavioral nature' (Maruszewski, Doliński, Łukaszewski, Marszał-Wiśniewska, 2008: 598–605). Feeling, on the other hand, is 'a complex process or emotional state (love, hate, disgust, infatuation, ambivalence), directed toward a specific object (person) or abstraction – the object of feeling (*Słownik psychologiczny [Psychological Dictionary]*, in: https://www.bing.com/ck/a?!&&p=50ffff9fa02bc571JmltdHM9MTcyNDE5ODQwMCZpZ3VpZD0wNzAyNTFhNy02YTlhLTZhYjAtMWEwOC00Mml2NmJiYjZiM2QmaW5zaWQ9NTE5MQ&ptn=3&ver=2&hsh=3&fclid=070251a7-6a9a-6ab0-1a08-42b66bbb6b3d&psq=s%c5%82ownik+psychologii+pdf+uczucie&u=a1aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuc2xvd25pay1wc3ljaG9sb2dpY3puea.S5wbC91Y3p1Y2llLw&ntb=1; accessed 18.08.2024.

3   https://wsjp.pl/; entries: *feeling, emotion, expression, emotionality*. The WSJP does not list the lexeme *sensibility*.

Based on the presented definitions of the basic concepts of *feeling*, and *emotion*, it is possible to identify a register of distinctive features specific to both concepts. According to most researchers, emotions are multicomponent psychophysical states (caused by a disturbance of the body's balance in its relations with the environment), arising under the influence of perception and interpretation of world phenomena, which are accompanied by neurological and physiological changes that stimulate action and expression. Feelings, on the other hand, are a product of human social development, forming complex mental states that reflect an individual's positive or negative attitude towards objects, other people or himself.

However, as far as the problem of expressing emotions is concerned, based on the definitions cited and data from the literature, it can be assumed (Grabias, 1981: 19–40; Rejter, 2006: 57–71; Grzegorczykowa, 1979: 118) that *expression* is the process of externalizing the sender's personality, *expressiveness* is a sign feature resulting from the process of expression, whereas *emotionality* is the sender's emotional attitude to reality, expressed through various linguistic means[4]. Expression and expressiveness therefore characterize utterances whose main function is to express the sender's states and feelings with the intention of evoking analogous feelings and states in the recipient. Expressiveness is usually accompanied by a positive or negative evaluation. This is directly related to the evaluative component contained in the expressive linguistic sign[5] , manifested in the modal frame: *I think you know that it is good/bad*[6] (Grabias, 1981: 31). The externalization of emotions is always related to the expression of mental processes. "Such expression is encountered where the sender evaluates the phenomena of reality according to his intention, accepting or disapproving them with a state of emotional excitement" (Grabias, 1981: 27). Linguists agree that with the help of language it is possible both to talk about feelings and to externalize them, i. e., to engage feelings while speaking about various matters (the so-called *expression of feelings*). In the latter situation, the expressive function is carried out to express the speaker's emotional attitude to the world and the phenomena being described, by deliberately giving the utterance an emotional coloring (Mikołajczuk, 2006: 85).

Generally, two basic types of verbalization of the expressiveness of a dictionary unit are distinguished – explicit and implicit expressiveness. Implicit lexemes are words whose

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4 According to the theory of linguistic expression, language has a range of means and ways of organizing them that can be used to externalize feelings and to depict the sender's personality (Grabias, 1981: 17).

5 According to Jadwiga Puzynina, both feelings and emotions are always connected with evaluative markedness. "On the one hand, they are themselves a form of evaluation. [...] Most often, however, [...] they relate to evaluative judgments" (1992: 173). (See also Nowakowska-Kempna, 1995; 2000: 25–59; Damasio, 2000: 50).

6 A. Wierzbicka connects emotionality with modality and considers that an emotional sign is a predicative sign in which, in addition to the intellectual constitutive components, there is an additional indexical component of an emotional view of the content (Wierzbicka, 1971: 35; Grabias, 1981: 33). For this reason, a modal frame with the formula "*I feel that…*" is appropriate for emotionally marked statements. (Grabias, 1981: 31).

meaning and emotionality must be guessed and inferred from the context. They stand in opposition to explicit lexemes, the emotionality of which is expressed directly. In this group we can also distinguish signs of emotion, aimed at expressing the emotional states of the sender. On the other hand, explicitly expressive lexemes, motivated by meaning, often through neo-semantization, are also context-dependent and have an expressive sound. "The emotional nature of these words is related to the creation of new meanings that describe new phenomena of reality" (Grabias, 1981: 76–77). The expressiveness of utterances with explicitly manifested emotional states is achieved in language through reduplication of emotive lexis, word groups and whole sentences; the use of interjections; exclamatory intonation; accumulation of names of various emotional states (both positive and negative); as well as the use of other emotive markers in the immediate or distant vicinity (Czapiga, 2015: 26).

II   Emotions, feelings in linguists' research

The crucial importance of emotions in everyone's life makes the exploration of knowledge in this area an extremely important and desirable activity, even though the process of manifestation and expression of emotions is complex and can be analyzed from many different perspectives: linguistic, psychological, cultural or philosophical. Because of the research undertaken in this paper, I will be primarily interested in the linguistic approach, that is, the use of linguistic means (especially phraseological compounds) in verbalizing feelings and emotions in interpersonal communication. The expression, and especially the naming of feelings, has rarely been dealt with by linguists. There are several reasons for this, two of which are worth mentioning. First, defining abstract concepts requires special preparation, for it is not easy to name a feeling, because "it is something that is felt – not something that is experienced verbally, which cannot, in fact, be expressed in words"[7]; secondly, the very essence of emotions belongs more to the field of psychology than linguistics. For this reason, defining the names of feelings is not an easy task (they are commonly considered undefinable), as they refer to extremely subtle states of mind and consciousness, the structure of which is difficult to convey in words (Jędrzejko, Nowakowska-Kempna, 1985: 81). Nevertheless, attempts are being made: some authors completely reject the findings of psychologists, relying primarily on semantic intuition (Wierzbicka, 1971), while others draw on them abundantly, treating them as the basis of their own research (Jordańska, 1972; Jędrzejko, Nowakowska-Kempna, 1985; Nowakowska-Kempna, 1986).

Another important issue is the linguistic means used to describe feelings. Over the past few decades, many linguists have dealt with feelings, emotions and ways of verbalizing them. Currently, the literature in this area is extensive and thematically diverse. This fact is not surprising, considering how important a role feelings and emotions play in everyone's life. The rich bibliography on the characterization of feelings at the linguistic level, which today numbers in hundreds, includes monographs, articles, and studies devoted to:

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7   Of man's various mental states, only thoughts can be put into words (Wierzbicka, 1971: 30).

1) **feelings in general** (e. g., Wierzbicka, 1971; Grabias, 1981; Nowakowska-Kempna, 1995; Nowakowska-Kempna, Dąbrowska, Anusiewicz, (eds.), 2000; Puzynina, 2000: 9–24)

2) **characterization of specific feelings or their categories** (see, e. g., Mikołajczuk, 1999; 2009, 2000: 117–135; Kochmańska, Taras (eds.), 2010; Pajdzińska, 2003: 7–17; Bujak-Lechowicz, 2007: 195–208; Jędrzejko, 1998: 12–18; 2000: 60–75; Karaś, 2002: 27–35; Libura, 2000: 135–153).

3) **verbalization of feelings**[8]

4) **linguistic expression**[9] (especially the lexical exponents of the externalization of emotions, which express a person's actual reaction to the occurrence of a particular sensation),

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8 Linguists agree that with the help of language it is possible to both talk about feelings and to externalize them, that is, to speak with feeling about various matters. Thus, the feeling itself is one thing, and its recording in words is another (Wierzbicka, 1971: 30; Pajdzińska, 1999: 87). Therefore, the linguist, who has only the text before him, does not reproduce the emotions themselves, but only their image contained in linguistic signs (Jurewicz-Nowak, 264–265). Thus, based on the linguistic analysis, it is only possible to make approximate inferences about the emotional state of the sender (Mitrenga, 2020: 105–121). Language researchers emphasize the complexity of "expressing feelings" and distinguish three main manifestations of expressions: 1. non-verbal signs (gestures, facial expressions), 2. paraverbal signs (tone of voice), and 3. verbal signs (Habrajska, 2006: 9–20). In the case of names of feelings, three categories of terms can also be identified: 1. words that name states and feelings, 2. words with emotional coloring, 3. lexis for expressing and showing feelings. The works of many researchers show that language has a rich lexical and phraseological resource for naming feelings (e. g., Data, 2000: 245–252). Among the more extensive works discussing the said problem are the books by Iwona Nowakowska-Kempna (1986; 1995). In the first one, the author presented, among other things, a typology of names of feelings, dividing them into feelings – affects and feelings – attitudes. In the second – she classified the names of feelings due to the positive or negative sign of the feeling named. Phraseological names of feelings, in turn, were described by Anna Pajdzińska (1999: 83–101). Danuta Buttler, on the other hand, proved that the collection of names of feelings, although extensive, is still insufficient. The said researcher, while analyzing the semantic categories of colloquial lexis, noticed that among the nouns from the group of names of mental states bearing the qualifier "colloquial" in the first four volumes of Witold Doroszewski's *Dictionary of the Polish Language [WSJP]* and Stanisław Skorupka's *Słownik wyrazów bliskoznacznych [Dictionary of Synonyms]*, she found only two entries – *cykoria [chicory]* and *frajda [fun]* – which were names of feelings (1978: 35–45). The exponents responsible for direct (real-meaning lexis) and indirect (metaphorical terms) ways of naming feelings constitute an important issue related to the functioning of feelings in language. (See, for example, Tomczak, 1994: 26–33; Nowakowska-Kempna, 2000: 25–58; Data, 2000: 245–252; Sieradzka-Baziur, 2000: 209–233; Jędrzejko, Nowakowska-Kempna, 1985: 81–90; Jordańska, 1972: 105–125). Researchers dealing with the verbalization of feelings have also considered the distribution of lexis from this subject area in different varieties of Polish. There are works analyzing the linguistic exponents of expressing feelings and judgements occurring in statements of the following nature: – artistic (most often): (e. g., Kaptur, 2004a: 97–109; 2004b: 147–157; Szostak, 2003: 227–252; Błaszczyk, 2014: 117–135; Jurkowska, 2011: 47–56; Rudnicka-Fira, 1986: 215–235); – journalistic, Internet: (e. g., Wiatrowski, 2010; Gorlewska, 2015: 409–430); – colloquial: (e. g., Buttler, 1978: 35–45).

9 The works in this area have most often analyzed semantic phenomena related to the lexis used to express the sender's emotions, as well as the expressiveness of linguistic signs. Among the many dis-

5) **analysis of feelings in contrastive terms**[10]

6) **verbalization of feelings, according to the sign of emotion (-), (+) (evaluative markedness, valence)**[11]

7) **non-verbal ways of showing feelings**[12]

8) **the study of feelings, emotions from the perspective of other – non-linguistic fields of knowledge**[13].

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sertations devoted to this issue, it is worth mentioning two monographs by T. Smółkowa (1989) and by S. Grabias (1981), key to the general classification of expressive units and the understanding of linguistic expressiveness in general. In the first one, the author demonstrated that the expressive components of the meaning of lexical units 'carry two types of information: 1. information about the sender's emotions (expression in a narrower scope), and 2. information about the stylistic expressive features of linguistic signs' (Smółkowa, 1989: 36). Stanislaw Grabias, in turn, pointed out two basic types of verbalization of the expressiveness of dictionary units – explicit expressiveness and implicit expressiveness. He classified explicitly expressive words as units that are word-formationally or semantically motivated. The second category included words that lack an external exponent of emotionality, such as word-formation morphemes and semantic transformations. It is worth mentioning another source of expressiveness, the so-called latent expressiveness, i. e., neutral words that acquired expressive value thanks to the context (Grabias, 1981: 40). See also the comments above.

10 This is one of the most popular recent trends in the study of linguistic phenomena concerning feelings. The results of these studies make it possible to identify common (multicultural) features as well as differences in the ways of expressing feelings. (See, for example, Krzyżanowska, 2005a: 49–59; 2005b: 41–48; 2008: 61–78; Bednarczyk, 2014: 83–89; Gruszczyńska, 2003: 125–137; Szerszunowicz, 2010: 319–339; Mikołajczuk A., 2003: 111–123; Spagińska-Pruszak, 1994).

11 Among the many different concepts that classify emotional states by duration, intensity, or the type of need, etc., the basic division into positive and negative feelings is noteworthy. The main criterion for typologization here is the "quality" of emotional experiences – pleasant or unpleasant. Due to this simple, dichotomous division, the literature on the subject usually speaks of two basic types of emotions: positive and negative, and associated with them specific types of valuation *in plus* or *in minus*. It is only within these that a number of other, i. e., pleasant or unpleasant, experiences are singled out. Among dozens of verbalized expressions of emotions described in linguistics, one can mention, for example, attention, approval, caressing (ingratiation), indulgence, admiration, confidentiality, favor, joy, regret, emotion, compassion, and joke as positive emotions (and valorizations), and nostalgia, disbelief, dissatisfaction, impatience, distance, negation, disregard, sadness, grief, irony, embarrassment, longing, malice, anger, jealousy, contempt, offense, fear, regret, coarseness, rudeness, vulgarity, aggression, as emotional experiences (and valorizations) considered negative reactions. (See Rejter, 2006: 57–71; Lubaś, 2003: 42). A quantitative comparison of the two groups of terms clearly shows that negative emotions, more strongly felt by humans than positive ones, are described by more numerous lexical and phraseological units. In particular, anger, which is considered a basic, innate human emotion alongside fear, has often been the subject of linguists' research (Spagińska-Pruszak, 1994: 8; Mikołajczuk, 1994; 1999; 2003; Gruszczyńska, 2003). In the group of positive feelings and emotions, the most common object was love (see, e.g., Pajdzińska, 1999: 83–101; 1991: 15–28; Wierzbicka, 1971; Sawicka, 2000: 153–165; Jakubowicz, 2000: 233–245), and less often joy (e.g., Mikołajczuk, 2006: 84–93; 2009).

12 Both Polish and world literature devoted to this aspect is rich and diverse. This problem is particularly addressed by researchers who analyze feelings in communication and human interactions (see, for example, Załazińska, 2002: 111–118; Jędrzejko, Nowakowska-Kempna, 1985: 81–90; Gorlewska, 2015: 409–430; Knapp, Hall, 2019: 181–192).

13 Apart from linguists, the issue of emotions has been analyzed by researchers from other fields of knowledge, such as. **psychology**: (Jarymowicz, Imbir, 2010: 439–461; Oatley, Jenkins, 2003;

The presented overview of the extensive and thematically diverse research areas and the numerous literature representing them clearly shows how important a role feelings and emotions play in people's lives and how they continue to be of great interest to researchers. The authors of most of the works cited dealt mainly with naming emotions and ways of talking about them, and to a lesser extent studied issues of expressing them. The cited bibliography, although very rich, does not exhaust all the problems related to emotions and their functioning in language. It would be worthwhile, for example, to compile a detailed description of the means of expressing emotions and feelings, along with their functions in various types of texts, both spoken and written, which would be useful, for example, in glottodidactic and pedagogical pragmatics, or communicative science in general.

III Phraseological compounds –
concept, definition, role in interpersonal communication

Phraseologisms are widely recognized as lexical units with high qualities of imagery and expressive power, significantly enhancing the expressiveness of the text, its communicativeness and power of imagery (Lewicki, Pajdzińska, 1993: 319–321). For this reason, among others, these units constitute an attractive building block for contemporary language users, which can be shaped in many ways to create utterances of a different nature. The multifunctionality and communicative usefulness of phraseologisms is largely determined by the very nature of these compounds[14]. According to the classic definition by Stanisław Skorupka (1982), phraseologisms are polylexical units, fully or partially lexicalized, which usually have a different meaning than would be implied by the elements that make up these combinations. According to A. M. Lewicki (1982), phraseological units are characterized by the discontinuity of elements, which means that the elements forming these units do not enter into the relations of precedence and sequentiality typical of loose word combinations. On the one hand, the more or less arbitrary boundary of phraseologisms is marked by loose, fully collocable structures, with a transparent syntactic and semantic structure[15], and on the other, by fully lexicalized compounds in which the phraseologization process has already reached the maximum level. The functional efficiency of phraseologisms in verbal communication is evidenced by two more properties of these units:

– ease of reproduction, reproducing from memory (with the ability to modify the structure and meaning),

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Wojciszke, Bryła, 2004: 31–47; Stępień, 2007: 49–59); **pedagogy**: (Kopeć, 2000; Reykowski, 974); **sociology, philosophy**: (Dąbrowski, 2012: 315–335; Knopp, Matczak, 2013), **biolinguistics**: (Nowakowski, 2006: 143–155); and **speech therapy**: (Grabias, 2019: 47–56).

14 Language users, trying to express their feelings, rarely use original, subtle means, bearing the mark of creative individuality; most of them reach for conventional, standard means. Among what is socially established, phraseological units occupy an important place.

15 Due to the formal criterion, phraseologisms take on practically all grammatical and syntactic structures, such as phrases in the form of a sentence, in the form of a verb group, or multi-word combinations in the form of a nominative group or adjectival expression (Urbańczyk (ed.), 1991: 88).

– giving statements various semantic and stylistic shades (phraseologisms as elements of synonymous sequences allow to avoid repetitions of the same word) and gradation of expressive intensity, especially when it comes to expressing extreme emotions and judgments.

Experiencing a variety of feelings – only for some of them we have ready names: single-word (e. g.: *love, compassion, anger)* or multi-word names (e. g.: *remorse, joy at someone else's misfortune).* We also have the possibility of creating analytical names built from a generic lexeme and a noun specifying the cause of a certain emotional state, e. g.: *feelings of loneliness, abandonment, confusion, misunderstanding, harm, compulsion,* but constructions of this type only partially complete the Polish system of names of feelings. Lexicalized units that name and express feelings with varying degrees of emotional intensity and shade of meaning serve as an effective complement to this set. In the realm of emotional designations, it is also clearly visible that phraseologisms are not always just more expressive nominations of phenomena already named by words. Some phraseologisms cannot be replaced by other units, because they are the only lexical means of expressing specific meanings that do not have one-word equivalents (for example, get married, free love). If the author of the message wants to express himself as clearly and precisely as possible, without extensive periphrasis, he must use phraseologisms.

It is also worth emphasizing that phraseological units naming feelings are not only a faithful record of people's daily observations and experiences, but they also perpetuate the cultural behavior of a given community, its beliefs about the nature of emotions and its value system (Pajdzińska, 1999: 99). Studies of phraseologists confirm that the vast majority of idioms reflect an anthropocentric image of the world [16]. According to Anna Pajdzińska's observations, among real-meaning categories, the most numerous groups are formed by units naming feelings, speaking, and death (Pajdzińska, 1999; 1988). Phraseologisms are also among the basic linguistic means used to evaluate and manifest expression, and these, obviously, are inherent features of human experience of the world.

V Ways of expressing emotions in H. Sienkiewicz's private correspondence (on the example of lexis)

The purpose of this part of the article is to attempt to show the functionality and usefulness of the expressively marked vocabulary and phraseological units as exponents of emotions used by Sienkiewicz in his private correspondence. The research conducted here will reveal, in addition to the writer's character and idiolect, the expressive value of these means in a specific type – utilitarian texts of colloquial provenance. The preserved

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16 The phraseological resource of the Polish language provides irrefutable evidence that in our culture feelings are primarily associated with the heart, but also with the soul and the liver. There are dozens of phraseologisms that include the heart as a component, but none of them assigns it an anatomical function, as an organ pumping blood, but a container of feelings (see Krawczyk, 1982: 135–143; Wierzbicka, 1971: 104–105; Sieradzka-Baziur, 2000: 209–233).

collection of private letters[17] constitutes a source of enormous information for the con-
temporary reader and researcher concerning the still poorly understood sphere of the
writer's personal life. In addition to purely factual data, mainly concerning every day,
family, moral and social matters, such as travelling, health, visits/return visits, shopping,
raising children, as well as various socio-political and artistic issues, private correspon-
dence gives us the opportunity to discover the rich and extremely interesting sphere
of the writer's spiritual and emotional life and the linguistic means through which he
verbalized these feelings and emotions.

In his family correspondence, Sienkiewicz often touched upon topics that stirred
up various emotions, both positive and negative. The letters prove that the writer was
particularly eager to share his feelings with his loved ones, when he wrote about health
(his own and his loved ones'), raising children, travels, and subsequent marriages[18]. Due
to the wealth of the exemplification material[19] I will only deal with a small part of the
marked lexis, which the writer used in his letters devoted to his unsuccessful relationship
with Maria Wołodkowiczówna[20]. The basis of the excerpted material is constituted by
a fairly regular correspondence with his sister-in-law, Jadwiga Janczewska, written over
a period of three years, from November 22, 1893 (letter number 356) to March 26,
1896 (letter number 431) (Sienkiewicz, 1996b, pp. 542–547; 1996c, pp. 5–189). The
collection of more than seventy letters is a key source here, for it documents not only the
history of the entire relationship, from the attempts to win Maria's hand, the short-lived

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17 Sienkiewicz's family correspondence includes an extensive – more than 1,400 – collection of let-
   ters written to his three successive wives: Maria née Szetkiewicz – 10 letters, Maria of the Wołod-
   kowicz family – 6 letters, Maria née Babska – 600 letters, two children: daughter Jadwiga – 92
   letters, son – Henryk Józef – 66 letters, sister Helena – 64 letters and sister-in-law – Jadwiga
   Janczewska née Szetkiewicz – 563 letters. In total, the correspondence occupies nearly 3,000
   pages of print in a collected edition of Sienkiewicz's correspondence, edited by Maria Bokszcza-
   nin (Sienkiewicz,1996a; 1966b; 1966c; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c).

18 Sienkiewicz was married three times – his first marriage in 1881 to Maria Szetkiewiczówna was
   a very happy one, but it ended tragically, as Maria died of pulmonary tuberculosis after only four
   years of marriage, having orphaned two children – Henryk Józef and Jadwiga. Sienkiewicz's sec-
   ond wife Maria, née Romanowska (1873–1966), known as Marynuszka, was the stepdaughter of
   Konstanty and Helena Wołodkowicz, wealthy landowners from the southeastern borderlands. The
   marriage, contracted on November 11, 1893, turned out to be impermanent, as for reasons yet
   undetermined Maria left her husband after several weeks of living together. Biographical sourc-
   es (e.g., Krzyżanowski, 1956; Wachowicz, 1994, 2008) do not provide a clear answer as to
   what was the reason for Maria's departure and separation from Sienkiewicz. Sienkiewicz con-
   cluded his third marriage, aged 58, in 1904 to Maria Babska – his aunt's niece. (All information
   regarding Sienkiewicz's biography and personal life is taken from *The Introduction to the Letters*
   (Bokszczanin, 1996), biographical notes and explanations given in footnotes to the letters (Sien-
   kiewicz,1996a; 1966b; 1966c; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c).

19 In the entire collection of private letters, the group of phraseologisms counts about half a thousand
   units (Mariak, 2015: 125–140).

20 Since I have already studied the language of Sienkiewicz's private correspondence on several
   occasions (including the lexis of affectation and phraseologisms, see Mariak, 2014: 53–71; 2015:
   125–140; 2019), in this article I refer to the analyses and conclusions made earlier. I also use the
   material excerpted in those texts.

marriage to her, to the separation and the efforts on the part of the Wołodkowicz family to have it annulled, but also Sienkiewicz's personal thoughts, judgments, expressive opinions and comments accompanying the descriptions of these events. They allow us to lift the veil of secrecy concerning the writer's emotional and psychological sphere of life, his views on the institution of marriage, as well as the linguistic features of his letters and ways of expressing emotions.

Considering the subject matter addressed, the language of the corpus of letters studied here abounds in expressively marked lexis [21], manifesting mainly the writer's negative emotions. Sienkiewicz mostly verbalized his bitterness, sadness, sense of injustice, sometimes also anger and frustration after his wife's departure by means of a rich lexical layer of implicit and explicit emotionality, diverse in form, function and meaning, i.e., words that have the exponent of emotionality inscribed in their semantic structure or have acquired an expressive value as a result of various word-formation processes (Grabias, 2006: 39). The group of vocabulary related to speaking the untruth is particularly extensive in terms of meaning and frequency, such as e.g. *blaga [humbug]* (1895, 412) [22], *fałsz [falsehood]* (1894, 363, 363, 363, 383, 1895, 428), *hipokryzja [hypocrisy]* (1894, 381), *kłamstwo [lie]* (1894, 367, 369, 378, 378), *kręcielstwo [chicanery]* (1894, 371), *krętactwo [prevarication]* (1895, 407), *krzywoprzysięstwo [perjury]* (1894, 359, 359, 360, 363, 363, 367, 370, 373, 377), *łgarstwo [mendacity]* (1894, 386), *nieprawda [untruth]* (1894, 359), *oszustwo [fraud]* (1894, 381), *plotka [gossip]* (1894, 377), *potwarze [calumny]* (1895, 409), *szacherki [swindle]* (1894, 368), *wykręt [evasion]* (1894, 386); *krzywoprzysięgać [to perjure]* (1894, 377) // *krzywoprzysiąc [to perjure]* (1894, 369), *łżeć [to lie/fabricate]* [23] [*sic!*] (1894, 369), *okłamać [to lie]* (1894, 358); *zmyślać [to make up/invent]* (1894, 365). This semantic category can also incorporate phraseological units (in canonical and modified form), mainly expressions and phrases that descriptively name the concepts of lying and a lie, and other actions based on untruth, which also reveal Sienkiewicz's negative emotions e.g.: *stek zmyśleń [a pack of fabrications]* (1894, 397), *stek fałszów, podłości, wykrętów, łgarstw [a pack of falsehoods, meanness, prevarication, lies]* 1894, 386 (SF: stek kłamstw [a pack of lies], vol. 2, p. 213), *kłamstwa wprost bezczelne [outright brazen lies]* (1894, 384) (SF: bezczelne kłamstwo [a brazen lie], vol. 1, p. 330), *fałszywe świadectwo [false testimony]* (1894, 373) (SF: confirmed, vol. 2, p. 316), *zupełny fałsz [utter falsehood]* (1894, 367) (SF: wierutny fałsz [blatant falsehood], vol. 1, p. 217); *tonąć w sprzecznościach [drown in contradictions]* 1894, 397 (SF: tonąć w czym 'pogrążać się'[to drown in sth 'plunge/sink into'], vol. 2, p. 377), *złożyć fałszywe świadectwo [to give false testimony]* (1894, 359),

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21 For the purpose of this article, I take after Stanislaw Grabias that expression is the process of externalizing the sender's personality, while emotionality is related to valuation and expresses, through various linguistic means, the sender's emotional attitude to the communicated reality (Grabias, 1981: 57–71; see also Grzegorczykowa, 1978: 118).

22 The year of writing and the number of the letter from which the quote is taken are indicated in parentheses.

23 "I wrote to Wołodkowicz that I am applying for separation and why – so maybe they also withdrew some milder accusation and are preparing something more serious. You have to *lie* anyway – anyway! It's all the same to them."

złożyć fałszywą przysięgę [make a false oath] (1894, 361) (SF: składać/złożyć przysięgę [take an oath], vol. 1, p. 780); *zmyślać na czyj rachunek [make things up on someone's account]* (1894, 365, 366) (SF: na czyj rachunek 'na czyj koszt, na czyje konto' [on whose account 'at whose expense, on whose account'], vol. 2, p. 5), *rzucać potwarze [to calumniate]* (1894, 361) (SF: confirmed, vol. 2, p. 86). All of the examples listed come from passages informing about the steps taken by Marynuszka's family, especially her mother, to annul the marriage. According to the writer, the actions of the Wołodkowicz family, based on lies, deceit and calculation, were intended to bring him down and blame him for the breakdown of the relationship. Here are a few examples from a very extensive list of quotes containing Sienkiewicz's directly expressed conviction about the dishonest practices of his wife and her adoptive mother:

> In short, all their *perjury*, *fraud*[24] and bribery could be thwarted by one simple statement of mine, that at that time I had an influenza (1894, 359); how much Mrs. Wołodkowiczowa is slandering me and what *she is making up on my account* (1894, 365); But if they want otherwise, if they do not retreat even from *lying* and *perjury*, just as they do not retreat from *breaking religious rules*, *perfidy* and *scandal* – then I do not know how my remaining in Cracow and seeing the Cardinal immediately could prevent this (1894, 358); There was indeed no permission from the parish priest, *perjury* in that case is not necessary – and although the matter does not cease to be *a filthy chicanery* against the conscience, it may lead to the goal more easily and is safer (1894, 371).

In addition to lies and falsehood, Sienkiewicz pointed to other socially unacceptable traits, attitudes, as well as illegal conduct of the Wołodkowicz family members. The most frequently described and condemned included, for example: *szalbierstwo [fraud]* 'a punishable act involving extorting something, here by bribing false witnesses or testimonies' (1894, 359, 378), *wykręty [prevarication]* (1894, 386), *awantura [adventure]* 'a risky venture, an affair/undertaking/scandal' (1894, 367, 378), *obmawianie [slander]* (1894, 365, 366), *intrygi [intrigues]* (1894, 384), and *protekcja [patronage]* (1894, 384). He considered actions worthy of the greatest condemnation to be dishonest acquisition of evidence, especially attempts to bribe witnesses, officials, among whom there were legal representatives, lawyers and doctors:

> In short, all their perjury, fraud and bribery could be thwarted by one simple statement of mine, that at that time I had an influenza (1894, 359); Now, from what I know about divorce, even if the bribed experts gave false testimony directly denying the real state of affairs, even if both of them decided to perjure themselves – such a period is too short and no consistory can issue a divorce decree (1894, 359); Taking things simply and with common sense – if moral coercion is

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24 The italics in quotations do not come from Sienkiewicz, they were introduced to identify the lexical forms being analyzed.

sufficient, as an expert lawyer says, I do not understand directly why these ladies would voluntarily perjure themselves, bribe witnesses, doctors, etc. (1894, 377).

Sienkiewicz, as a fundamentally honest man, an ethicist (this is how he described himself in a letter to Janczewska: "As an ethicist I can lament those spheres with a twisted moral sense, who do not understand that a woman who leaves her husband without reason, disregards the sacrament, seeks a divorce in a scandalous and deceitful way, sets a bad example" (1895, 407)) was deeply affected by the lack of moral principles and honesty in the actions of the Wołodkowicz family. He wrote directly about his negative feelings such as disgust, indignation, revulsion, and contempt:

– disgust (especially moral):
at present *I feel a kind of moral disgust at the atmosphere in which I lived*, but since I took Marynuszka, I am ready to suffer the consequences (1894, 359); *I feel deep in my soul a disgust of proving before the court to the woman who bears my name and who was married to me that she is committing perjury*, and therefore a criminal offense (1894, 363); *theft and robbery on an equal footing – and moral disgust takes over everything in me* (1894, 378);

– outrage:
I understand that caring, blinded love and all such things can be a cause for concern, but *I am outraged more than anything by this kind of specific predictions.* […] Mrs. Helena predicted that because of her condition and irritation, Marynuszka might die, lose her mind (1894, 363); But you know what I find most distasteful is the use of Marynuszka's health. *I have never encountered a more outrageous misuse and abuse in my life*" (1894, 365);

– revulsion:
The longer I am alone, the more time softens my physical longing for her – the more *my feeling of revulsion for the whole house and its atmosphere grows within me* (1894, 383); You understand that on the one hand one would like it to be so, both for personal reasons, and from a sense of justice, and *from the revulsion that such incredible impudence and disregard for everything that is true must give rise to* (1895, 412);

– contempt:
a woman for whom I have the deepest disgust and *contempt* (1895, 414); I do not love, I do not remember, I do not feel pain, *I despise* and loathe her as if she were something disgusting (1895, 417).

A verbal reflection of Sienkiewicz's state of mind and feelings is also visible in the vocabulary bearing negative values, with which the writer assessed the actions of the Wołodkowicz family, especially his mother-in-law – Helena. Among the terms there was vocabulary with a clearly deprecating function, exposing – according to Sienkiewicz – the true face, motives and consequences of the actions of Marynuszka and her mother, as for example.: *bezczelność [insolence]* (1895, 412), *egoizm [selfishness]* (1894, 368), *gra [game]*

(1894, 380), *hipokryzja [hypocrisy]* (1894, 381), *krzywda [wrong]* (1894, 364), *krzywda [recklessness]* (1894, 364), *lichota [paltriness]* (1894, 386), *nadużycie [abuse]* (1894, 365), *narwanie [hot-headedness]* (1894, 370), *nieprawość [iniquity]* (1894, 369), *niesprawiedliwość [injustice]* (1894, 364), *nikczemność [baseness]* (1894, 386), *obraza [insult]* (1894, 364), *okrucieństwo [cruelty]* (1894, 370), *podłość [wickedness]* (1894, 370), *przewrotność [perversity]* (1894, 381), *skandal [scandal]* (1894, 358), *sromota [ignominy]* (1894, 371), *szaleństwo [madness]* (1894, 370), *szelmostwo [roguery]* (1894, 370), *wiarołomstwo [perfidy]* (1894, 358), *zakusy [temptation]* (1894, 364), *zaślepienie [blindness]* (1894, 363), *zgorszenie [depravity]* (1894, 361), *złodziejstwo [thievery]* (1894, 378).

The linguistic signals of Sienkiewicz's negative feelings resulting from the bad relations between him and Marynuszka and her family are very numerous in the examined corpus of letters. An extensive group consists of adjectives and adverbs that combine a negative evaluation with a negative emotion in their semantic structure: *anormalny [abnormal]* (deed) (1894, 358), *bezczelny [impudent]* (lies) (1894, 384), *chytry [cunning]* (conduct) (1894, 359), *fałszywy [false]* (oath, testimony) (1894, 368), *kłamliwy [deceitful]* (method of divorce) (1895, 407), *niecny [foul]* (conduct) (1894, 362), *nienawistny [hateful]* (stand) (1894, 373), *obmierzły [abominable]* (something, trial) (1894, 365), *plugawy [filthy]* (chicanery) (1894, 371), *przebiegły [cunning]* (conduct) (1894, 359), *przewrotny [perverse]* (Mrs. Wołodkowicz's mind) (1894, 359), *skandaliczny [scandalous]* (manner) (1895, 405), *wstrętny [repulsive]* (things, here 'divorce case', bonds, romance) (1895, 407), *podły, trywialny [despicable, trivial]* (figures 'Marynuszka and her mother') (1894, 401); *niegodziwie [wickedly]* (conduct) (1894, 384). Numerously represented here is the category of negatively evaluative epithets referring to the Wołodkowicz family in general and the circles supporting it, e. g.: lit. *zgraja spod ciemnej gwiazdy [a mob from under the dark star]* (1895, 419); *ptaki odeskie [Odessa birds]*: if only you knew how less and less I care about these Odessa birds (1895, 407); *szumowiny odeskie [Odessa scum]*: one would like to show these Odessa scum that it's not deceit or meanness that wins and that one cannot afford everything (1895, 417); *sfery o zwichniętym sensie moralnym [spheres with a twisted moral sense]*: As an ethicist, I can deplore those spheres with a twisted moral sense who do not understand that a woman who leaves her husband without reasons, disregards the sacrament, seeks divorce in a scandalous and deceitful manner, sets a bad example (1895, 407); *hołota niższa od sfery, pojęć, krwi* (Sienkiewicza) *[a rabble lower than* (Sienkiewicz's) *sphere, notions, blood]*: I consider the whole house a despicable rabble inferior to my sphere, concepts, blood – and to win, in this case, – is to inflict defeat on oneself (1895, 417).

An important evaluative and assessment function, and at the same time revealing Sienkiewicz's feelings towards his wife and her mother, is fulfilled by expressively marked lexis, appearing in the description of the character traits and behavior of both women. Emotions of disapproval, indignation, condemnation expressed explicitly are indicated by negatively marked affectonyms. In the case of the mother-in-law, these are, for example: *wariatka [madwoman]*: I only count on the letters I have already written (…) and, finally, on the fact that the Church, in its own interest, will not allow a madwoman to make fun of itself (1894, 369), *baba [hag]* (lying) (1895, 406), *szuja [scumbag]*: My

mouth simply waters when I think about that scumbag (1894, 386), *kanalia [scoundrel]* (without principles of conscience, honesty and simple sense) (1894, 384). The negative value of these names was further intensified by the context, usually composed of marked attributes: *deceitful, without principles, conscience, honesty.*

The negative image of the wife and the mother-in-law is complemented by numerous passages documented in the examined corpus of letters, which descriptively depict character traits, inclinations, attitudes and behaviors of both ladies, commonly considered negative. Given the situation, the most frequently stigmatized traits include:

– violent character, a tendency to brawl, quarrel, impulsiveness:
  if the Church does not agree to become the plaything of Mrs. Wołodkowiczowa's adventurism – then I firmly promise you – that I will not agree to any returns (1894, 367), she threw a bone of contention between us just when we were leaving to start a life together (1894, 360), They really sowed what is called the wind – and are beginning to reap the storm. The more time passes, the calmer I look, the more unheard-of this row seems to me (1894, 381), that they want to separate like adventurers – that's their business (1894, 367), they are creatures bathed in hot water (1894, 361), Mrs. W. was burning with the idea of marrying her off to me, that is also certain (1894, 372); Now I proceed from the principle that there are no reasons for our separation, that they lie only in blindness and reckless impulsiveness (1894, 363);

– lack of or disregard for moral principles:
  Mrs. Helena has no simple moral sense (1894, 380), [her mother] breaks her moral sense and conscience and undermines even the religious principles that Marynuszka, even if she lacked a heart, could have defended in life (1894, 364), Marynuszka's head and simple way of seeing the truth have become twisted in these conditions (1894, 364);

– naivety:
  not only Mrs. Helena, but even M. is not so naive as to believe that she obtained a divorce on the basis of incompatibility of characters (1894, 380), in addition, they convince her [Marynuszka] that she is independent, that no one influences her – and she believes it (1894, 363);

– lack of empathy, inability to love another person:
  a heartless woman [about Marynuszka] (1894, 384), She has a dried-up heart because hers has been dried-up [about Marynuszka] (1894, 363), They benefit eagerly and sans sourciller – from every concession, from everything that someone can do at his/her expense, and they do not feel they owe anything in return (1894, 362);

– two-facedness:
  I am most deeply convinced that in her letter to Mrs. Tarnowska [Helena] is either lying deliberately or is presenting her mental restriction, her own hypocrisy as something real (1894, 380);

–   selfishness:
    Helena justified her imposition, her pushing herself between us, her fabulous selfishness on the grounds that otherwise Marynuszka would die without her (1894, 365);

–   lack of education, culture:
     they are different natures with culture only on the surface (1894, 362);

–   helplessness, inertia:
    Led by her on a string, Marynuszka was freed from her duties as a wife after two weeks (1894, 359).

Particularly expressive, emphasizing the intensity of the writer's negative emotions, are those passages in which the flaws and bad deeds of both ladies are accumulated and presented in the form of a list:

> Wołodkowiczowa is *an abnormal* mind*, little to say *a hot-headed* mind*, and at the same time *perverse* and *without moral sense* (1894, 360), *she* is *a lying, shallow, miserable, narcissistic hag,* and so it is H. 1895, 406), the young *woman* [about the Marynuszka], *who decides on divorce in advance and then seeks reasons, who does not hesitate for a moment to break her vows, has no scruples, no fear, and does not shrink for a moment from such a huge scandal, she belongs to some exceptional species that can be said to be capable of everything except living an honest life* (1895, 414), *they have acted wrongly, dishonestly and in a crazy way* (1894, 388), *a woman who leaves her husband without reasons, disregards the sacrament, seeks divorce in a scandalous and deceitful manner, sets a bad example, introduces a dangerous precedent and lowers the moral level*, *and* therefore there can be no two opinions about her (1895, 407), *a woman without conscience, principles and character* (1895, 428).

As can be seen from the examples presented herein, the negative evaluation component contained in them externalizes Sienkiewicz's emotional attitude. Among the feelings signaled, one can indicate primarily those that express complete disapproval and the writer's desire to maintain distance from the actions of Marynuszka, and especially her mother. The basis for the negative evaluation of their deeds was the betrayal of moral and ethical values:

> Believe me, there are mountains of conscious or unconscious falsehood, conscious or unconscious perversity in this, and if there is also good faith, then honestly one could ask what purpose it serves in life (1894, 363);

> but in fact an ever-widening moral chasm is being dug up between us. – Evil things are not as deadly as repulsive things (1894, 366).

The accumulation and diversity of the phraseological layer and the marked lexis in the letters is facilitated not only by the subject matter discussed, but also by the functional and genre-specific features characteristic of a private letter, which is an exceptional text (Zgółkowie, 1993: 114), as it combines features typical of both written (temporal and

spatial distance, established structure) and spoken genres (pragmatic function, interaction, linguistic means) (Data, 1989: 142–145; Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2009: 98). Studies of the content, structure and linguistic means indicate that Sienkiewicz treated everyday correspondence with his closest relatives as a substitute for personal conversation (Data, 1989: 146). The dominance of the utilitarian, pragmatic function over the aesthetic, literary one is manifested, among others, in the use of linguistic means belonging to the colloquial variety[25], and this variety, as is well known, is particularly predisposed to the expression of feelings, judgement and valuation. As for the lexis, it is worth noting that all units, both phraseologisms and vocabulary, belong to the medium-level colloquial variety (there are no vulgarisms here). Forms of this type were used by Sienkiewicz to convey private, sometimes even intimate information about his marriage to Marynuszka, and to express feelings and judgments accompanying these messages. Sienkiewicz's preferences for the choice of lexis reveal a certain character trait of the writer. It can be assumed with a high degree of probability that privately he was a sensitive, emotional man who willingly shared his emotions, feelings, thoughts with his closest ones, even in matters as personal as marital relations.

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25 In terms of the choice of linguistic and stylistic means, Sienkiewicz's correspondence implements all types of colloquial registers distinguished by J. Bartmiński (1993: 120–124) (neutral: emotional; informal: careful), but with the predominance of features characteristic of the emotional and careful registers. (See also Bańkowska, Mikołajczuk, 2003: 72).

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Twelve important emotions – conceptualizing children's inner experiences in therapeutic stories

The aim of the article is to show how adults influence or want to influence the development of children's representations of emotions, using the example of developing the ability to recognize, name and control affects in children aged eight to twelve. The analysis material is a collection of therapeutic stories addressed to recipients of this age. Each text presents a different emotion: pride, shame, jealousy, joy, fear, helplessness, satisfaction, sadness, surprise, longing, compassion and anger. The category of emotional discourse is used to analyze the ways of conceptualizing emotions. It enables the explanation of the context in which emotions arise and the analysis of the emotional lexicon, which consists of words or word combinations used for naming emotions, their symptoms (facial expressions, motor expressions and physiological reactions of the body), as well as actions, behaviors and sensations related to emotions. The article also discusses elements of conceptualizations created by adults *for* children, such as visual and metaphorical representations of emotions, as well as the way of presenting basic and mixed emotions.

Keywords: basic emotions, mixed emotions, therapeutic stories, emotional discourse, emotional lexicon

1   Introduction

More and more attention is devoted nowadays to the complex role of emotions in upbringing and education. Multiple perspectives are taken into account, including the neurophysiological, motor-behavioral, cognitive-experiential, and philosophical approaches, as it is difficult to explain the essence of emotions by limiting oneself to a single research paradigm (see Maruszewski, Ścigała 2000). This phenomenon should be viewed as multi-component intentional states. Their structure is co-created by cognitive and evaluative factors correlated with physiological and bodily changes that are closely related to neurological events. They are accompanied by a tendency to act, as well as emotional expression and coloring resulting from the individual's subjective feelings (Dąbrowski, 130).

Emotional development begins in early infancy and lasts throughout one's life – a person learns her own emotions, learns to manage them, motivate herself, feel empathy and engage in relationships with other people (Goleman 2007: 48–49). In this article I will focus on developing the ability to recognize, name and control affects in children at middle-school age (grades four to six). The students are thus aged from 8/9 to 11/12 years. Children at that age are able to reflect not only on their own affect, but also on the emo-

tional states of other people. They also wonder how they can help themselves, for example when they feel stressed, anxious or fearful. At the same time, they develop the ability to provide adequate help to other people in emotionally difficult situations, in which they experience distress (Rękosiewicz, Jankowski 2015: 21–22). This is therefore a key stage for the development of two self-regulation strategies, i. e. conceptualization of emotions and cognitive distancing. The first of these involves reflecting on the experienced emotions and verbalizing thoughts related to them, while the second refers to the awareness of the formation mechanism of emotions and knowledge of how to control them.

2 Methodological foundations

I intend to show how adults participate in this process and how they influence or would like to influence the formation of children's representations of emotions. The theory of emotion representation, developed in psychology by Tomasz Maruszewski and Elżbieta Ścigała (1998), refers to the scope, depending on one's individual cognitive abilities, in which an individual can make generalizations, detect cause-and-effect relationships or interpret various events and their own emotional reactions (Maruszewski, Ścigała 1998). The essential components of this type of representations are the (1) **image code** used for isolating and differentiating emotions at the primary level of facial expressions, gestures, objects and situations that have been affectively marked by the subject and are closely related to specific situations; (2) the **verbal code**, creating the verbal labels are created that group image codes in a way that is free from individual experience and may refer to typical emotions related to a given situation or person; (3) the **abstract code**, through which the representation of emotions becomes a concept (Stępień-Nycz, 2015: 47). These codes do not occur in isolation and constantly interact in various ways, one of the areas of these interactions is emotional discourse. Małgorzata Stępień-Nycz understands emotional discourse as:

> Conversations that a child or an adult has about emotions with people around them (friends, siblings, parents). They may concern the current situation or past or future events and the emotions associated with them. Such discourse may take various forms, both in terms of the level of complexity (e. g. the complexity of the discourse is different in the child-adult relationship and different in the child-child relationship) and the content (e. g. conversations about the causes of emotions, their consequences or manifestations, etc.) What distinguishes emotional discourse from other types of discourse is its subject matter (reference to emotions or, more generally, internal states) and context (Stępień-Nycz 2009: 30).[26]

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26 Rozmowy, jakie dziecko lub osoba dorosła prowadzi na temat emocji z osobami ze swojego otoczenia (przyjaciółmi, rodzeństwem, rodzicami). Mogą one dotyczyć obecnej sytuacji lub przeszłych bądź przyszłych zdarzeń i związanych z nimi emocji. Dyskurs taki może przybierać różne formy, zarówno jeśli chodzi o poziom złożoności (np. inna jest złożoność dyskursu, w relacji dziecko-dorosły, a inna w relacji dziecko – dziecko), jak i zawartość treściową (np. rozmowy na temat przyczyn emocji, ich konsekwencji bądź przejawów itp.) Tym, co różni dyskurs emocjonalny

Stępień-Nycz's remarks correspond to van Dijk's definition of discourse as a phenomenon based on three main dimensions: "language use, cognitive processes and interactions in their socio-cultural dimension" (van Dijk 2001, 42). These three dimensions include child-adult relationships typical of emotional discourse. In the language area, the adult interprets and names emotional states, which allows the child to notice, become aware of and differentiate them. In this way, the adult teaches the meaning of names and indicates the differences between them, which allows the child to make conceptual distinctions and organize them. On this basis, the young person builds her own meanings of the names of emotions. Moreover, "the use of names of mental states by adults constitutes a model for the child that he or she can use in his or her own statements" (Stępień-Nycz 2009: 33). The cognitive dimension of discourse goes far beyond the relatively easily observable linguistic and social aspects. According to van Dijk, "people are able to understand a sentence, achieve coherence between sentences, or grasp the meaning of a text provided that they share a certain common repertoire of socio-cultural beliefs" (van Dijk 2001: 26). The cognitive dimension of discourse thus refers to certain socially accepted axiological systems that help members of a given community organize their image of the world and determine the starting point of value judgments assessing various phenomena, including emotions. According to Grace Shugar, "the distinguished partner in this process is the adult who, receiving the child's statements, interprets them and builds new meanings on their basis" (Shugar 1995: 37). In this way, the adult involves the child in the process of social construction of meanings and allows the child to understand not only his or her inner world, but also the inner worlds of other people. In turn, the social dimension of emotional discourse refers to the context in which affectively marked situations occur, e. g. conflict situations. Constructive behavior of adults, which consists in explaining the causes of a given event, justifying prohibitions or orders or drawing attention to the consequences of actions and reactions, supports the social and emotional development of the child (Stępień-Nycz 2009: 34–36).

3   Source material and research procedure

The publication entitled *12 ważnych emocji. Polscy autorzy o tym, co czujemy* [Twelve important emotions. Polish authors on what we feel] will serve as exemplary material to discuss the role of adults in the development of emotion representations. It is addressed to audiences aged from eight to twelve years. It consists of twelve therapeutic stories written by renowned Polish authors of books, short stories, poems and songs for children.[27] Each text presents a different emotion: pride, shame, jealousy, joy, fear, helplessness, satisfaction, sadness, surprise, longing, compassion and anger. These types of stories refer to the therapeutic power of fairy tales and their importance for discov-

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od innych rodzajów dyskursu, jest jego tematyka (odniesienie do emocji czy ogólniej mówiąc do stanów wewnętrznych) oraz kontekst (Stępień-Nycz 2009: 30).

27 Anna Sójka, Maria Szarf, Maria Ewa Letki, Eliza Piotrowska, Renata Piątkowska, Roksana Jędrzejewska-Wróbel, Liliana Fabisińska, Anna Onichimowska, Beata Ostrowicka, Joanna Krzyżanek, Anna Czerwńska-Rydel, Agnieszka Frączek.

ering one's identity. Bruno Bettelheim in his seminal book *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tale* says, "By reflecting on what the fairy tale seems to imply about his or her inner conflicts at a particular moment in life, the child discovers his or her own solution to the situation" (Bettelheim 1996: 52). A therapeutic story (more often called a therapeutic fairy tale) is characterized among others by (1) concentration on one specific difficult situation; (2) the emotional, social, or cognitive basis of the difficulty experienced by the character; (3) creating the main character as a "model" for the child recipient; (4) a description of the criticized behavior; (5) presenting the consequences that the hero suffers as a result of his behavior; (6) initiating the hero's transformation under the influence of understanding the consequences of his actions, (7) the hero's internal transformation achieved either thanks to magical power or a magical object, or thanks to fictitious but realistically motivated events and people (Witkowska-Tomaszewska 2019: 17; 20). Importantly, children choose from such a story "what they are ready for, what they are able to face at a given moment, at the level at which they need it" (Witkowska-Tomaszewska 2019: 14). Therapeutic stories are therefore an important part of emotional discourse, including. Thanks to them the child may re-describe the representation of emotions and gradually internalize them. Specialized psychological procedures that use precise research tools allow capturing the conceptualization of emotions felt by specific individuals.[28] In literary texts, such as therapeutic stories discussed here, we are dealing with a conceptualization that takes into account the point of view of a given author. Although subjectivized, it is also intersubjective in the sense that it is involved in the socialization process that consolidates people in a given social circle, turns them into a community of thoughts, feelings and values, and also influences the perception and understanding of the social situation by members of this community (Bartmiński 1990).

Adopting such an assumption allows the use of a cognitivist perspective, especially since (based on a review of extensive literature), Urszula Jęczeń concludes as follows,

> Research on emotions is currently dominated by the cognitive paradigm, explaining the nature of emotions from the perspective of the participation of cognitive processes in their formation. Concepts as forms of mental representations capture the body of knowledge in the form of an ordered and interconnected structure of information in the long-term memory that an individual has in a given area (Jęczeń 2018: 98).

In linguistic research based on cognitive theories, emotions are described by indicating the accompanying physiological states as well as gestures and facial expressions. In my analyses, I will refer to the findings of Iwona Nowakowska-Kempna, according to whom feelings become understandable thanks to language, which makes it possible to combine their names, symptoms, as well as the associated behaviors and experiences into an integrated whole. To conduct a semantic analysis of individual concepts, Nowakowska-Kempna proposes a schema consisting of the following elements:

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28 Cf. Among others Jęczeń, U. (2018), Jach-Salamon, N. (2021), and Błaszczak, A. (2021).

(1) naming feelings (e. g. *sadness*, including naming the experiencer's feelings: *I'm sad*, *I'm sorry*, and naming the agent's actions leading to the emotion: *I [make someone] sad*,
(2) naming the symptoms of feelings (e. g. *he turned red*, *he frowned*),
(3) naming the actions and behaviors related to feelings (e. g. *he cried with happiness*),
(4) naming experiences – sensations related to a given feeling that occur in the experiencer (e. g. their hair stood on end in fear) (Nowakowska-Kempna 1995: 15).

The same elements will be used to present the conceptualization of emotions in the stories collected in *12 trudnych emocji…* In order to better capture the main tendencies in the ways children create their own representations of emotions, all texts gathered in the collection shall be discussed jointly.

4 Conceptualizations of emotions in the collection of stories 12 trudnych emocji…

4.1 Linguistic representations of adult participants in emotional discourse

I will begin the analysis by showing the linguistic representations of adult participants in emotional discourse. In the vast majority of cases, older participants are presented as mentors who enter the stage to name the emotion, explain its source, and then show the way to eliminate the side effects of the affect experienced by the child. This role is played primarily by women – mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters, educators, and nurses. Only once the mentor's role is played by the protagonist's older friend. In two cases, the men who indirectly participate in the emotional discourse are grandparents, and in only one story the teacher is a participant in this discourse. Fathers are either not included at all in the situations described (or they appear as episodic characters) or they are shown as people who avoid taking part in establishing verbal emotional relationships. In the story *Wstyd, czyli sposób na potwora* [Shame, or the Way to Deal with a Monster], a father reacts to his daughters' bickering by saying "We will certainly find some solution," and then

> […] he tiptoed back out of the room. Now that the girls had made up on their own, he could count on a moment of relaxation in front of the TV. He plopped down in his chair and thought about how he couldn't wait for his wife to come back from her training course. Since she left, he didn't have time for anything. Just work and home. A man's life is so hard… He selected the sports channel with his remote. Football players filled the TV screen. However, before Dad could even figure out who was playing with whom, he fell into a nap (21).

As a result, the older daughter turns to her younger sister who is in a difficult situation: "Mom will explain it to you when she comes back, because she's really good at it" (23). The author of the story *Bezradność, czyli powiedz komuś* [Helplessness, or Just Tell Someone] also referred to the stereotypical image of a father who avoids difficult situations. The girl, who is a passive participant in domestic disputes, is taken care of by her mother in times of crisis – "Dad did not leave the little house until the end of the day, they had their dinner separately" (61).

The role of women in emotional discourse shown in the twelve stories consists in naming and defining emotions, explaining their context and causes, presenting the con-

sequences of affective behavior, as well as indicating possible solutions to difficult situations. These roles are exemplified below.

1) **Naming and defining emotions**, e. g.:
– "Pity is not the same as compassion. Those who take pity on someone immediately put THEMSELVES in a better situation. They are actually taking care of themselves, not the other person who actually needs sympathy. Nobody wants pity. […] Pity is for cowards, those who are afraid and prefer to pretend that they are better off" (117).
– "To feel sympathy means to feel something with someone […] You cannot experience the same emotions as another person. But you can imagine it, put yourself in that person's shoes. Try to understand what she might be feeling" (118).
– "You have the right to feel angry. Each of us feels it sometimes […] it's not a nice feeling […], but it is sometimes necessary. There is only one thing we must not do –, harm others in anger" (120).

2) **Explaining the context and causes of emotions**, e. g.:
– "We just spoiled you a little. You are an only child, your grandmother and grandfather's only granddaughter. I'm not a mother myself, so I also love spending time with you and giving you gifts. We went a bit overboard. We wanted to give you everything to make you happy. […] We spoiled you, and from a happy little girl you turned into Miss Bad Temper who just wants more and more" (75).
– "Don't worry. It's just a little test, after all. Tests are for making mistakes […] Besides, Matthew and Caroline should be ashamed of themselves for teasing you. Everyone feels ashamed when they do something bad. And you were simply consumed by stage fright" (23).

3) **Presenting the consequences of affective behavior**, e. g.:
– "Anger out of jealousy harms first of all the person who feels it, because then their soul hurts, and it makes them even more angry and unhappy" (28).
– "It's a pity that they quarreled and have not been in contact with each other for several years […] Neither of them remembered what it was about. Sometimes it just happens… Someone says something stupid, someone else adds something, and then everyone waits for the other party to apologize. One year passes, then another, and another, and no one has the courage to take that first step" (43).

4) **Indicating possible solutions to difficult situations**, e. g.
– "And how to combat stage fright? – Paula asked. – Everyone has to find their own way. For example, you might say to yourself in your mind: "Hey, monsters, get back into the hole!" (23).
– "Remember that you can always come to me here and talk to me and ask for advice, because there is always a solution, you just have to look for it well. Two heads are better than one" (66).

Portraying women, regardless of their age, as the main (and often the sole) adult participant of emotional discourse is consistent with traditional gender patterns. Indeed, these patterns are so strongly established that the functions of adult women in the twelve stories are sometimes also taken over by female children and teenagers. Young recipients of therapeutic stories also encounter reinforcement of these stereotypes in their school textbooks, albeit increasingly at an implicit level, (Rypel 2012). Despite the changes taking place in modern societies, children are socialized to accept the gender perspectives of their society, that is, assumptions about masculinity and femininity. The world of women, despite their professional activity, is focused primarily on home and children and on creating relationships based on features such as empathy, caring, cordiality and emotionality. These features are certainly exhibited by many mothers who are highly sensitive to the child's needs and show the so-called warm parenting style.

Nonetheless current psychological research, cited among others by Stępień-Nycz showed that although these factors are extremely important for the child's social development, what the mother says to the child is more important for the child's understanding of mental states than are her own actions. It turned out that the child's participation in emotional discourse with the mother (understood as the number of references to emotional states) decidedly improves recognition of emotions and the child's development of an affective perspective in perceiving reality (cf. Stępień-Nycz 2009: 30–31). It can thus be assumed that well-written therapeutic stories can serve as a substitute for an adult in emotional discourse. It is also worth noting that since there is a clear relationship between conversations about emotions and mental states on the one hand, and the development of a child's emotional competences on the other, the gender of the adults who convey knowledge about emotions in therapeutic stories should not be as important as before.

A different way of conceptualizing adults is to show them as people on whom a child cannot depend because, despite their age, they are immature and unable to control their own emotions according to the requirements of their situation – "They should be smarter [...], after all, they are people, and adults at that. At least that's what they look like. But they behave very differently, worse than preschoolers" (57); "They sometimes say stupid things when they are angry, just like children" (66). Immaturity in adults also manifests in their lack of empathy and an unwillingness to understand the child's needs. Instead of helping the child build stable representations of emotions, they ignore them – "Adults are like conceited skyscrapers who don't really care what's going on" (64). At the same time, the guardians shown in the collection of the stories in question are granted the right to express commonsensical maxims which (although perhaps trivial) can be a point of reference for the child recipient in solving emotional problems, e.g.: "You must not take away someone's joy" (16); "A person relaxes most when they laugh" (41); "The most beautiful gift [...] is a smile" (42); "The first step is the hardest one" (43); "If you want something really good, you first have to make an effort" (48); "Fear has big eyes" (52); "You're not the only one in trouble. It's easier when there's two of us" (86); "Everyone is special" (118).

4.2 The emotional lexicon

Not all adults possess the cognitive and linguistic potential to effectively participate in emotional discourse, which is why therapeutic stories are so important in the development of the child's emotional lexicon. Words denoting emotional experiences and phenomena related to them are more than mere names – "they are a manifestation of a schema through which individuals receive, experience and assign meaning to their affective experiences" (Błaszczak 2021: 255). For this reason, the vocabulary excerpted from the discussed collection of stories has been arranged according to the categories adopted in the cognitive description of emotions, i. e. naming emotions, naming symptoms of emotions, naming actions and behaviors, as well as other physiological states.

1)   **naming emotions**
      she aroused fear in him; he was surprised; I was grateful; she felt sorry; I feel insecure; I felt proud; I am dissatisfied; I don't want pity/pity; he is not happy/I cannot be happy; he was overcome with terrible sadness/she became sad; he was overcome with longing/longing; he showed sympathy/needs sympathy/felt sympathy; he felt angry/became angry; she felt/was scared; she felt relieved; it irritated me/something irritates me; I'm ashamed/I'm ashamed; I was moved; he envied him; he made me feel bad, I hate it;

2)   **naming symptoms of emotions**
      a) the face
      eyes: sparkles in her eyes, tears came to her eyes, she rolls her eyes menacingly, eyes open wide, he closed his eyes, his eyes widened, she wiped her eyes with her hand, he covered his eyes with his hands; his **eyebrows** are going up under the line of his hair, she frowns menacingly; **mouth**: bit his lip, purses his lips; his **chin** trembled;

      b) facial expressions
      a grimace of anger, she had a sad face, a proud face, she grimaces, a wide smile, she smiles under her breath;

      c) kinesthetic expression
      she was fidgeting, he kept fidgeting, screaming in his sleep; she clenches her fists, she picked at her nails nervously, puts her hands in her pockets; he stamped his foot, he's stomping; he was tugging at him, she kept grabbing his hand violently; he showed him the middle finger;

      d) other physiological reactions of the body
      It takes your breath away for a moment, she took a deep breath, inhales loudly, swallows her saliva quickly, something tightened in her throat, he sighed heavily; your face is becoming more and more purple, you blushed, the blush started to spread on your face;: he felt himself peeing [out of fear], he peed himself; trembles, trembled; she burst into tears, she cried out loud, tears flowed in even streams and stopped on her chin; sobbing, wailing, sniffling; she said in a quiet, thin voice, she murmurs, he muttered under his nose, he hissed, she stammered, I moaned, she grumbled, her

voice broke; she was shaky; she laughed, burst out laughing, snorted with laughter, smiled from ear to ear; she beamed;

3) **naming of actions and behaviors related to emotions**
    he thought feverishly, he thought reluctantly, he thought with relief; he kicked him out of anger, he would have tripped him out of anger; [out of compassion] they help me, guide me, pamper me, she sympathized with all her heart, she comforted me; she showed sisterly solidarity, took her sister in her arms; he joked about fears; she swells with joy, she squealed with joy; he was bursting with laughter,

    he trembled with fear, he hugged the teddy bear tighter out of fear;

4) **naming experiences – sensations related to a given emotion**
    I constantly behave as if I was wearing shoes that were too tight and that I was somehow cramped; she had flies in her nose [was in a bad mood]; they treat me like an alien; being satisfied is so much fun; he would like to sink into the ground; all his hair stood on end; shivers started to run down his spine; he felt a tug in his heart; he saw something that made his hair stand on end; his heart is pounding; the voice passed through the throat with difficulty; he couldn't say a word; she felt stupid, I must be dreaming, there was nothing she could do about it; I need help; he thinks he is inferior.

The listing presented above shows that the emotional lexicon is an important part of therapeutic stories. Both the plot showing difficult situations often experienced by children and the linguistic layer of these texts are important for the quality of the emotional discourse they contain. The narration outlines the context of emotional discourse, while the vocabulary enables young recipients to verbalize and process the emotions assigned to the context of the story. The material also suggests that although on the level of the plot the authors show some ambivalence of the characters' feelings, decisions and reactions, this is barely reflected in the linguistic layer, and mentioned very sporadically, e.g.: "On the one hand he feels happy, on the other hand he feels panicked"; "I don't know if I'm more happy or sad"; "I'm dissatisfied (though I don't know why)." This state of emotional ambiguity is felt not only by children; everyone experiences it throughout their lives, and thus more attention needs to be paid to the linguistic aspects of its expression.

It is also worth referring to the linguistic exponents of emotional expression. Thanks to it, what we experience is never hidden, as it transpires in the facial expression, voice, gestures and body language – we conceptualize shame as redness of the face, joy as a smile, and sadness as tears (Scheler 1980: 24). As Dąbrowski notes, "Expression is the aspect of our emotional experiences that is available to and intended for others. Thanks to expression, others receive information about our condition, what emotions we experience, and therefore also information about what they can expect from us at a given moment (Dąbrowski 2014: 143).

Rather than focusing on facial expressions, the authors of the stories often point toward the expression conveyed by the voice, physiological reactions and, generally speaking, body language. According to Paul Ekman, the voice is a more reliable source

of information than the face, whose muscles we can control to some extent. However, a person cannot get rid of microexpressions, i. e. minimal changes that always appear when one tries to suppress emotions and control them ("she said in a quiet, thin voice," "she stammered," "her voice was breaking"). On the other hand, it is relatively easy to close this channel of conveying emotions – it is enough to not speak. It is much more difficult to hide one's face, although such attempts are indeed made (e. g. "he covered his eyes with his hands," "he turned his face away"). Body language also brings a great deal of information about emotions and mental states. Some even believe that the body provides more data than speech and the face, as facial expressions may be ambiguous and misleading (Ekman Paul: 76–77). It should also be mentioned that the authors focus only on universal or established manifestations of emotions in our culture. Although it is difficult to criticize such choices, it is worth paying attention to the fact that in an increasingly culturally diverse society, Polish children (but also adults) should be made aware of ways of expressing affect that are different from those accepted in our society. Their ignorance or even lack of awareness that foreigners may express their emotions differently might be a source of misunderstandings and even conflicts.

4.3 Visual and metaphorical representations of emotions

Another element of how adults conceptualize emotions for the benefit of children consists in reducing affects to their visual representations. This tactic is used by younger schoolchildren. It is related to their "anthropocentric attitude towards reality, anthropomorphism in describing animals, plants and egocentrism in the way of thinking about the reality surrounding them and other people" (Jach-Salamon 2021: 275). This cognitive pattern was used multiple times in the analyzed stories. The "difficult emotions" presented in the title are extremely uncomfortable states and make the child want to break away from them. For this reason, in the texts there is a certain separation of emotions from the subject who feels them. In this way, separate entities are created, external to the child's experiences. Since the selected emotions are unpleasant, their visualizations most often take the form of creatures that inspire fear in children, i. e. monsters, beasts, scary creatures, as in the examples gathered below.

– **Stage fright** is "A sneaky monster. The more we fear it, the more it tightens its grip on our throats (23); a strange disheveled **creature**[29] sticking out of a hole in the ground. […] It is neither a mole nor an otter" (25).
– **Fear** is "**a beast.** It has yellow, motionless eyes. A maw with teeth in it. […] This thing is both terrible and great. It's about to grab him and drag him deeper into the lake" (50).
– **Longing is** "such a big **creature** […] wraps its huge paws around us and doesn't want to let go. It squeezes tears from us like a lemon. Sometimes it becomes rough and saps our energy" (103).

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29 Emphasis mine, A. R.

– **Anger** is **a scary face.** […] "Pale, contorted with an angry grimace, with terrifying gleams in its eyes. […] The face was surrounded by something like a crown of twisted lightning bolts" (123).

Another form of implementing this strategy is direct personification of unwanted emotions, as in the examples below.

– **Dissatisfaction:** "It already wanted to come out of its hole and make him angry" (70).
– **Sadness:** "He crouched quietly in the corner, it's high time he gave Ivan a break" (87).

The examples provided here are typical of the way internal states are conceptualized by the youngest recipients of the stories. When defining emotions, children at this age usually refer to descriptions of exemplary situations and people (less often animals). Their conceptual and linguistic resources do not allow for a precise explanation of abstract names of concepts without referring to actually existing objects (Jach-Salamon 2021: 275). In the case of states that they cannot name, the functions of these objects are sometimes taken over by fantastic creatures or personifications of emotions. Meanwhile, the cognitive schema of the older recipients of the stories, i. e. ten- and eleven-year-old children, consists of a number of more complicated categories, including: superior level feeling/emotion, entity experiencing the emotion, causes of the emotion and its symptoms and names. Children realize that content related to seeing, touching or hearing emotions is only an indirect way of perceiving these phenomena. For this reason, they feel the need to anthropomorphize elements of the surrounding reality to a much lesser extent, and the metaphors and comparisons they use mainly use phrases taken from the language of adults, e. g. "he felt a tug in his heart", "his heart was pounding like a hammer" (Jach-Salamon 2021, 275).

This group of young recipients is also an addressee of non-standard metaphors, used not so much to transform linguistic expressions, but to create broader semantic structures. Language conveys information about reality, but at the same time serves to filter it in such a way that the elements of the presented world become in the stories an image of complex internal experiences of the children. In this way, metaphorical images of specific situations or objects are created, which help satisfy the natural need to understand one's own mental life and relationships with the outside world, and at the same time require some effort related to semanticization. For example, in the story *Bezradność, czyli powiedz komuś*, it is a description of the main character's observations as she watches some beetles, which constitutes the story's compositional framework:

– **the situation initiating the plot** – "[…] the beetle was lying on its back and helplessly moving its legs in the air. […] Jagoda crouched down and counted the beetle's legs with her finger. Six. A lot, but what good is it if he can't use them? They seemed completely useless when it was lying on its back. […] The beetles passing by paid no attention to their friend's desperate efforts. They marched ahead, occupied with more important matters. "Why don't you help him?!" Can't you see how tired he

is?! – she wanted to scream. And secondly, even if they had heard it, they probably wouldn't have done anything. And that would have been even worse (56).
– **the final situation** – "The beetles marched on just like the ones a year before and, like the others, they rolled over on their backs from time to time, and Jagoda gave them a stick so they could get back up. At one point, one of the beetles, which had just been waving its paws helplessly in the air, turned the right side up thanks to Jagoda's stick, then spread its navy blue wings and … soared into the air" (67).

Important elements of conceptualization through which adults want to influence the development of children's representations of emotions are also objects that constitute a symbolic image of complex internal experiences embedded in a specific reality. In the discussed collection of stories these include: grandfather's glasses (a symbol of distancing oneself from one's fears); a good luck talisman (a symbol of overcoming prejudice against a friend); an airplane (a symbol of longing for mother); potato pancakes (a symbol of a holiday that unites the family); hospital biscuits (a symbol of parents' interest and their constant presence in the child's life), and yeast cake (a symbol of memory of the deceased grandmother).

The stories included in the analyzed volume include all of the discussed ways of conceptualizing emotions, both in terms of language and plot. As emotional development depends on many factors and in each child it proceeds at an individual pace, children at middle school age will find in the texts of stories the type of conceptualization that best suits their own current cognitive level.

4.4 Basic and mixed emotions

The titles given to the analyzed stories, e. g. *Smutek, czyli czasem nie jest łatwo*; *Radość, czyli wystarczy poluźnić krawat*; *Złość, czyli trzask!*; *Zaskoczenie, czyli jak to z talizmanem szczęścia było* indicate a specific emotion that is the subject of reflection in a given text. However, upon reading, the individual stories show that the image of the emotion they present is not always clear. The titles mention such emotions as sadness, joy, anger and surprise, which are considered primary emotions by Robert Plutchik (1980) (along with trust, fear, disgust and anticipation). Plutchik organized them into four dyads, consisting of opposing emotions: surprise vs. anticipation, disgust vs. trust, fear vs. anger, sadness vs. joy. Among these pairs, "some are evolutionarily older than others – the older they are, the greater their importance for survival and the greater the power of their influence on behavior when they are aroused" (Jarymowicz, Imbir 2010: 441). The combination of these affects creates "mixed emotions", e. g. the combination of surprise and sadness creates disappointment, the combination of anticipation and anger bring aggressiveness (rage, fury), disgust and sadness bring remorse (Jarymowicz, Imbir: 2010, 442). This means that emotions cannot be simply divided into primary and secondary. In the course of one's life, thanks to the mediation of complex valuation processes, new qualities of emotions are created (Jarymowicz 2009).

In the early stages of life, people's experiences are similar and emotions are more universal. Gradually, as the personality develops, the ability to use new cognitive criteria for assessing the world appears and, as a result, various, previously unknown feelings arise – such as nostalgia, suspicion, admiration or compassion (Jarymowicz, Imbir 2010: 443).

In the titles of the stories written by Polish authors, in addition to the three basic emotions mentioned above, there are also more complex emotions, corresponding to the cognitive capabilities and experiences of children at middle school age. These are: helplessness, pride, longing, compassion, shame, contentment and jealousy. None of them are shown in isolation, but each time it is surrounded by a network of other emotions that create a complex picture of the child's internal experiences, e.g.: **jealousy** – anticipation, disappointment, hatred, anger, rage, regret, remorse; **helplessness** – threat, fear, anger, uncertainty, sadness, longing, discouragement, trust, relief; compassion – reluctance, jealousy, anger, suspicion, shame, remorse, acceptance, kindness, relief. As the examples show, the emotions (both the ones that are named and those shown through the situational context) create a complex system consisting of both basic and mixed emotions. Basic emotions are shown in a similar way, e.g. **fear** – longing, joy, lightheartedness, compassion, desperation, shame, fear, disgust, joy, pride. Thanks to this approach, a young recipient can reconstruct the emotions that precede the feeling of, for example, fear, helplessness, or compassion, and see the emotional value of the consequences of the actions taken, e.g. shame, humiliation, remorse, but also joy, relaxation, compassion, relief. Thanks to this, the experience of emotions is shown as a process in which feelings and affects interact, and the same affective component may accompany the feeling of different emotions.

On the other hand, the stories show that the same emotion felt by a specific individual may appear in different circumstances and have different sources, causes and objects. The characters feel **pride** in relation to (1) their own achievements; (2); their own skills; (3) actions directed at someone; they feel **shame** (1) before public speaking; (2) due to behavior inappropriate to the situation; (3) as a result of causing harm to someone. **Longing** may be felt for: one's mother, an animal, a season, a Christmas tree, holidays, a deceased grandma, a loved one, the feeling of closeness, or students.

5   Concluding remarks

Therapeutic stories and fables can be a very useful tool for building children's representations of emotions. They help parents, especially those who do not have appropriate language skills or psychological intuition themselves. For this reason, the number of such books on the publishing market is constantly growing. Workshops are even organized for parents, therapists and students, who are taught how to create therapeutic stories for children. In order for adults to help young children fully participate in emotional discourse using these texts, it is necessary to remember that they need to:

– be adapted to the age and cognitive abilities of the children for whom they are intended;
– take into account the fact that each child at a given stage of development undergoes mental changes in its own rhythm, which should result in the occurrence of various types of conceptualizations at the same time, e. g. through metaphors, visualizations, or the narrative layer;
– develop an emotional lexicon used to recognize and name emotions, their symptoms (facial expressions, motor expressions and physiological reactions of the body), as well as actions, behaviors and sensations related to emotions;
– explaining the negative and positive effects of experiencing emotions and their impact on the feelings and behaviors of other people;
– indicating ways of dealing with one's own emotions and providing emotional support to people in one's immediate environment.

Finally, it should be clearly emphasized that even the best therapeutic stories will not replace parents and other significant adults in emotional discourse – not only mothers, grandmothers, sisters and educators, but also fathers, grandfathers, elder brothers and colleagues. Nevertheless, where there is a lack of skills, empathy or good will on the part of adults, these stories can successfully take over their role, at least partially.

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Between patriotic elation and political calculation

Emotions related to images of death and destruction in Polish documentaries of the Great War (1914–1918)

The war of 1914–1918, called the Great War and later World War I, was the first globally filmed conflict in human history. In the Polish lands, deprived of statehood and placed under the administration of the occupiers, private cinematic entrepreneurs (such as the pioneer of national cinema Aleksander Hertz) took the initiative. One of the results of their activities was the production of documentaries. This article focuses on those non-fiction films that revealed the public emotions associated with the visualization of death and destruction. It discusses their reception, as well as the broader context of community experience (professed values, authority, a fulfilled life) that could be read from the screen representations.

Keywords, Great War, Polish documentary film, emotions in culture, film culture

When Arthur Ponsonby, with the fervor of a charismatic preacher, exposed the propaganda lies used by the powers involved in the Great War of 1914–1918 to bring about mass, almost voluntary participation of entire nations in the slaughter that awaited them, he also mentioned in passing: "A very important role was played by cinema, mainly in the neutral countries, especially in America, contributing to its involvement on the side of the Allies. To this day, there is an unremitting effort in England to scratch old wounds open through films" (Ponsonby, 1940: 21–22).

The appeal to the emotions that make up the catalog of patriotic duties in the empires that were pillars of the old order (Germany, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the United States) was based on the pattern created by popular culture, which foretold the inevitable apocalypse in its increasingly numerous manifestations. There even developed a group of writers described as the "sowers of fear." However, their task was not to warn others of the impending doom of the existing world, but rather mobilize future players in the global conflict by appealing to resentments. One example of creating an atmosphere of danger was the novel by the popular, though not highly regarded English writer, William Le Queux, *The Invasion of 1910*, published in 1906, which contained detailed descriptions of a successful German expansion into the British Isles, which, on the one hand, had been the obsession of every anti-British coalition since William the Conqueror, and on the other, could help assess the level of terror caused by the widespread sense of menace and insecurity among the people of the United Kingdom (Joll, Martel,

2007: 284). Cinema, which could then only boast about two decades of social impact, proved to be an even stronger foundation for shaping public moods, expressing anger, lending support, or echoing national lamentations (Guzek, 2014: 7–8). The anticipation of the outbreak of a world-encompassing conflict in the first half of 1914 was marked by the introduction into the repertoires of theaters of films unambiguously saturated with emotion. Analyzing only the programs of Warsaw's cinematheques, of which there were relatively few on the European scale – sources note the operation of only 40, compared for example to 600 in the German capital Berlin, we may reconstruct a "celluloid culture of fear." Among the screened productions there were both documentaries and more popular feature films. The former, among others, were represented by the two-part production *Maneuvers of the Belgian Fleet* and *Maneuvers of the French Fleet*, as well as *Cyclists in the Army*. On the other hand, feature film titles included *The Mystery of Adrianople* – "a drama in four parts", *The Martyrs of the Red Cross* – "a tragedy of modern war," *The Struggle of the Elements*, or *The Horrors of War*. The latter film, produced by French giant Pathé, was advertised as follows: "As the title itself indicates, the authors, staging the horrors of war on film, aimed to evoke a mood of horror among viewers and demonstrate how great an evil war is, especially today's war [….]. It opens with images of war that are terrible, cruel, evoking terror and dread, so familiar to us from the paintings of Artur Grottger and other artists. We see the cruel toll of cannons, mine explosions, etc." (GW, 1914, no. 194: 8)

The note, only seemingly dispassionate and devoid of emotion, also seems highly characteristic of sustaining the fear of the coming war, and cinematic participation in it. It was in fact prophetic, and showed how tightly intertwined real war is with its cultural image: "One of the largest American factories has now prepared a very interesting film, depicting scenes of modern war as it would be if it were declared by the great powers. Battleships, torpedo boats, submarines, war hydroplanes, the latest types of bombs, etc. are all involved in battle. The film was prepared using the U. S. Navy and several thousand troops under the command of officers. This performance for cinema was at the same time, as experts assure us, a one-of-a-kind military exercise" (GWa 1914, no. 95: 4).

In the Polish lands, or rather, in the lands of the future Polish state, whose eastern territories were intersected by the front lines of the warring armies, a national model of cinematography was being formed from the end of the first decade of the 20th century. In the Kingdom of Poland, and mainly in the Warsaw and Piotrków governorates (with a strong urban center such as Łódź), this project was most consistently and consciously implemented. The initiative belonged to the owners of cinemas, such as Mordechai Towbin, who is credited with directing the film *Prussian Culture*, but very quickly the dominant, even monopolistic position was attained by Aleksander Hertz, who, thanks to the Sfinks Film Society he established, became a true guardian of public sentiment – expressed mainly through emotions related to demands for independence. Is it possible to find patriotic elation in the films made in 1914–1918 by Aleksander Hertz and other smaller players, or should we rather describe his production strategy in terms of political calculations? Under complicated wartime conditions, it was impossible to stop at just one type of activity. It seems that patriotic elation was motivated by popular emotions,

the pressure of dynamically changing events, shifting orientations regarding the Polish cause, while political calculations were related to the administration of the public sphere by the occupying forces and the benevolence of the Russian and later German authorities. These conditions determined the diegesis of the feature films and documentaries created in the Sfinks film studio, as well as their public reception. Such an assumption leads to several methodological results – a reconstruction of the social and national anxiety expressed through the filter of popular culture, a study of the influence of media discourse on the reception of films, and uncovering the relations between political events and social tension, i. e. the emotions accompanying the events of the war and activities aimed at regaining Polish independence.

All the feature films of the Sfinks Society were produced in Warsaw. This is significant insofar as the future capital city of the independent Polish state between 1914 and 1918 was initially under Russian rule, which resulted from the geopolitical division of this part of Europe after the Congress of Vienna (1815), and later under German occupation, which began with the capture of the city by Prince Leopold of Bavaria's troops in the summer of 1915 and ended in the fall of 1918, with disarming enemy garrisons and the proclamation of the sovereign Polish state in the fall. It is an interesting finding that the film revealed the chronological framework for managing the expectations related to national independence. Sfinks welcomed the new reality with the film *Wjazd Leopolda Bawarskiego do Warszawy* [Entry of Leopold of Bavaria into Warsaw], with excitement being fueled by the presence of the commander-in-chief of the 9th Army at the screening, while one of the last screenings of 1918 was *Zaprzysiężenie wojsk polskich na placu Saskim w Warszawie* [Swearing-in of the Polish Army on the Saxon Square in Warsaw]. The symbolic dimension of this juxtaposition was understandable to any participant in those events – what began with a new occupation ended with a parade of Polish troops defending their regained statehood. In the face of the social and national mobilization required by the unsettled issues of the eastern borders (the Ukrainian issue and the conflict with Bolshevik Russia), the western borders (the Silesian uprisings and the Greater Poland Uprising) and the southern borders (the dispute with Czechoslovakia over Silesia beyond the Olza River and the Jaworzynka Valley), symbols on the silver screen played an important role.

In wartime conditions, cinematic emotions could not be expressed directly. First, the production and distribution system was subject to regulations stemming from a far-reaching distrust of popular culture, which was suspected of lacking in values and a tendency to demoralize youth. Secondly, wartime further imposed the rationing of any public activity. Thus, there were several centers of censorship, each of them treating communication through the cinematic screen differently. Initially, patriotic sentiments and strong pressure from Polish political circles placed declarations of independence outside the cinemas, but in 1915 the situation changed. It was permissible under the German administration, especially after the Act of November 5 announcing the creation of the Polish state under the patronage of the two emperors, Germany and Austria-Hungary, to promote the symbols of the eagle, the white and amaranth colors, references to heroic and martyrdom narratives of the nation's history, the celebration of anniversaries

and the celebration of national heroes. In addition, there was a correlation between the social aura, mass displays of national attitudes and declarations of patriotic elation, i. e. the economics of emotions, and film initiatives, chronicling duties and organizing the cinematographic movement. Documentaries intended for presentation in cinemas were treated natural filler material padding out multi-item screening programs. Their status of equivalence to feature presentation is evidenced by the press inserts, and large-size advertisements placed in frames on the front pages of Warsaw's most widely read newspapers. Very often the magnet that attracted the audience's attention was the timeliness and topicality of the documentaries. It is worth looking at some of the media testimonies that attest to the temperature of cinema presentations at the time.

An interesting genre was comprised of accounts of funeral ceremonies, which held a certain mobilizing power, as they attracted very large crowds of people wishing to demonstrate with their presence a broader civic or national attitude, participate in the common grief, and take the side of the values represented by the deceased during their life. Even before the outbreak of the Great War, Warsaw noted two such events that were considered important and emotionally charged. The first such report was *Pogrzeb generał-gubernatora warszawskiego Skałona* [the Funeral of Warsaw's Governor General Skalon], produced by the Sfinks Shareholding Society owned by Aleksander Herz. The event was highly symbolic. February 1, 1914, marked the death of Governor General Georg Skalon, a controversial figure, hated by some for his brutal repressions in 1905–1907, and appreciated by others for his "calm and considerate temperament, as he obeyed the firm instructions from the authorities in St. Petersburg, but he did not back them up with personal encouragement," (NG 1914, No. 75: 2). One of the cameramen employed by Sfinks, taking advantage of the widespread interest and the spectacular nature of the funeral ceremonies, wandered with his camera along the route from the Royal Castle to the station of St. Petersburg railroad, from where General Skalon's body was to be taken back to Russia at night (KW, 1914: 2). In addition to its informative, reporting value, the depiction of the deceased governor of the Russian emperor in a funeral procession, which traversed the route of the more important streets of the country's later capital, could have been treated as a symbolic complement to the romantic uprising of the last Polish insurrection, during which an unsuccessful assassination attempt was organized on the grand-governor of Warsaw. Emotions were therefore also heightened by the historical context. Two months later, in March 1914, crowds of Warsaw's residents escorted the late Julian Kosinski, professor of medicine at the Imperial University of Warsaw, pioneer of Polish surgery and co-founder of the Warsaw Scientific Society, to his place of eternal rest. The footage shot on this occasion was shown one day after the funeral (NW 1914, no. 143: 6). Here the cinematic emotions were quite different – media participation in the burial of a medical doctor – a respected, popular and socially active citizen built symbolic capital, while the mood accompanying it strengthened social and intergenerational ties.

For the first several years, wartime losses and deaths of tens of thousands of soldiers on the battlefields and in the trenches eliminated funeral reports from cinematic practice. It was not until 1917 that their emotional potential was recognized again. On

December 18 that year, a well-known physician and the first rector of Warsaw University after its reactivation, Dr. Jozef Brudzinski, died. This event moved the entire community of the future Polish capital city. Lectures at the university were suspended, the funeral mass was celebrated by Bishop Kazimierz Ruszkiewicz – vicar general of the Warsaw Archdiocese, crowds of Warsaw's academic community gathered at the Kazimierzowski Palace, and among the speakers was the future senator Tadeusz Katelbach. The coffin was followed in the procession by members of the Regency Council, representatives of the senates of the universities, cadres of the Polish Legions, the authorities of the Central Welfare Council and many other organizations. It seems that the film presented on December 23 in the capital's "Polonia" cinema reported only on those funeral ceremonies which were held in Warsaw (GP 1917, no. 252: 1). The emotions accompanying the farewell of this outstanding figure, which could have been shared by all cinema goers, are well reflected in the article published in the daily newspaper *Ziemia Lubelska*. The screening of the documentary *Pogrzeb D-ra Józefa Brudzińskiego. Pierwszego Rektora i Organizatora Wszechnicy Warszawskiej* [Funeral of D-er Józef Brudziński. The First Rector and Organizer of Warsaw University] was preceded by empathetic phrases: "Only from a certain perspective will it be possible to properly assess the purity of his intentions, his great love of the Motherland, his readiness to make sacrifices and offerings. We are losing a citizen of great moral value, indefatigable energy and enthusiasm. May he rest in peace in the land he loved so dearly" (ZL 1917, No. 637: 2).

The last year of the war saw the largest number of funerary documentaries. The first of these reported on the burial of one of the most outstanding representatives of the Polish stage and film of the time – Bolesław Leszczyński. His theatrical creations, jubilee performances, and other public appearances were meticulously noted by the press. It is not at all surprising that individual episodes of the artist's farewell ceremony were recorded and shown in several theaters (GP 1918, no.166b: 4, NG 1918, no. 239: 2). Incidentally, the sequence of the scenes was announced in great detail, as if the transfer of somber emotions was to concern not only those who accompanied Leszczyński on his last journey. This is because it allowed both detailed orientation in the schedule, but also, through emotional descriptions, to repeatedly co-experience the famous actor's passing (PP 1918, no. 134: 1, KW 1918, no. 165: 1). The ceremony, despite the deceased artist's wish to keep it modest, turned into an enormous street manifestation, full of pathos, photogenic, and therefore also beloved by film documentarians (Jasinska 2010: 277). The pace of post-production surprised everyone: "A record of timeliness was achieved yesterday by the cinematography of "Polonia": 6 hours after the funeral of the late B. Leszczynski, a majestic view of the funeral procession appeared on the screen – at the exit of St. Anthony's Church on Senatorska Street, at the entrance to the Theater Square, while directing the crowds around the square toward Bielańska Street. The photographs depict Warsaw's tribute to the great artist, whose likenesses in life and in his role as the Voivode, enlivened by the movement of his eyes and mouth, complete the impression" (KW, 1918, no. 165: 3).

The account shows that fragments of *Zaczarowane koło* [Enchanted Circle] (the role of the Voivode in a 1915 film) were inserted between scenes of the funeral ceremony, as

well as images recorded before Leszczynski's death, as he participated in the public life of Warsaw and was probably shown in any of the earlier "Sphinx" newsreels. Photographs from the funeral of Father Włodzimierz Światopełk-Czetwertyński, which took place on August 24, 1917, fall into the same category (KW 1918, no. 237: 1). This aristocrat, who came from Wołyń, was extremely popular due to his patriotic achievements – he fought in the January Uprising, for which he faced severe and, above all, humiliating repressions from the Tsar, and upon returning from Siberia, he presided over social institutions such as the Land Credit Society and the Warsaw Charity Society. Prince Światopełk-Czewertyński was an example of a good aristocrat, a Pole empathetic toward others and capable of making sacrifices for them, and therefore his on-screen funeral could be a moving experience for the viewers.

Very important, on a scale reaching well beyond the Polish lands, was the documentary depicting the funeral of Ludwik Zamenhof, a physician, creator of the artificial international language Esperanto, and candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, who died in April 1917. The elite of the Jewish community, including the Rabbi and Preacher of the Great Synagogue in Tłomackie Square, later founder of the Warsaw rabbinical school Samuel Poznański, along with Polish intelligentsia, and friends of the deceased, gathered at his grave. We do not know what scenes were included by the makers of the documentary *Pogrzeb dra Zamenhofa* [The Funeral of Dr. Zamenhof] (KW 1917, no. 112: 1), which was presented in Warsaw's cinemas, but it certainly included the title funeral scenes with the participation of the crowds gathered for the event.

The last of the great cinematic funeral registrations foreshadowed a new reality filling the tension between patriotic elation and political calculation. This was P*ogrzeb komendanta legionów Mościckiego* [the Funeral of Legion Commander Moscicki] (PP 1918, No. 131: 1, KW 1918, No. 165: 1). The death of Boleslaw Moscicki, the heroic commander of the 1st Krechovets Lancer Regiment, who died at the hands of Bolshevik soldiers while breaking through the line of battle, was widely discussed by the public. The funeral took place in Mińsk Litewski. The documentary seemed to articulate for the first time the danger from the new Russia emerging in the east – savage, riotous, and anti-European. Patriotic elation centered around the myth of a commander who sacrificed his life for future independence, whereas political calculation led through geopolitical threats to future armed confrontation.

Social sentiment motivated by the sense of uniqueness of the scenes recorded during these funeral ceremonies created a context that combined multiple strategies of reception. Firstly, the documentaries provided an important signal promoting the attractiveness of screen presentations. We may say participants of the spectacle had a sense of fulfilling a duty, meeting the cultural requirements, which include paying respects to the deceased. Secondly, they reinforced a sense of community, all the more so because the film accounts involved leaders of the public opinion, activists who enjoyed authority and held values accepted by almost all of Polish society. Thirdly, and finally, emotions made it possible, thanks to cinema, to strengthen the collective memory, manage it as a generational value and include it in the special experience brought by the war and the expectations of national independence. Unfortunately, there are no testimonies that talk about

the reception of any of these productions. The lifespan of such documentaries during the Great War (as well as later) was rather short; they would have been shown until the tape wore out, and thus we can now only make conjectures, possibly far-fetched. However, it seems that awareness of the triad of conditions of topicality, commonality, and generational experience must have occurred. I will refer here to a half-hour documentary released twenty years later, in 1935, showing the funeral of Marshal Józef Piłsudski. Not only has this film survived to our time and has been repeatedly used in productions showing interwar Poland, but it was also widely commented on by the press of the time – professional magazines and daily papers alike. The burial of the deceased, one of the creators of independence, became, thanks to cinema, a shared experience, while the screenings, which presented an account of the funeral ceremonies, filmed by Jan Skarbek-Malczewski and Latvian cinematographer John Dored (real name Janis Doredas), created an atmosphere akin to national psychosis (Guzek, 2014: 527) One of the organizers of the screenings wrote, "Almost 7 million people, from the poorest spheres, participated in this mourning demonstration in immeasurable solemnity. Everywhere the audiences stood up for the national anthem during the final send-off of the Commander's body. In Polesia, the rural population knelt at the sight of the coffin in which he rested. People cried … (…) Of course, accidents were unavoidable. In Chrzanów, 12 people fainted in the crush. In Brześć – many broken chairs and shattered windows, in Kielce – a cinema was damaged, in Rzeszów as well, and in Zagłębie a disaster would have occurred if not for the active help of miners. A cinema owner from Małopolska writes bitterly that on days of such mourning the populace should lie down and cry, and not jostle their way into cinemas free of charge … His grief is justified: chairs in his cinema were broken and the door torn out with the frame" (Kino 1935, no. 28: 6).

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After the outbreak of the war in August 1914, the need to control emotions through the cinematic image was unquestionable. Cinemas were full, their space democratized, the audiences represented various social strata and political groups, while awareness of the creative nature of the cinematic image was still minimal. As a result, no one questioned the authenticity of these accounts. The funerary documentaries discussed above activated the emotions associated with death that were tamed and individualized, with a clear display of the rituals that aestheticized the problem of leaving this world. And yet a brutal war was raging at the same time, one thus far not unseen, with the technology of slaughter perfected to a level where the casualty statistics were counted in the millions, while the horror of the frontlines was shared by the civilian population – the same population that frequented cinemas in large numbers on a daily basis. This last aspect created a new kind of emotion, which the experience of the viewer and the experience of the participant in frontline operations melted into a single experience. The initial sense of terror and doom in the summer months of 1914 began to give way to curiosity. In the first phase of the war, cinemas showed such documentaries as *Z placu boju w okolicach Warszawy* [From a Battlefield near Warsaw]. *Błonie. Rokitno. Raszyn. Józefów*, *Walki na linii Pruszków -Żbików- Żyrardów-Koluszki* [Blonie. Rokitno. Raszyn. Józefów, Fight-

ing on the Pruszków-Żbików-Żyrardów-Koluszki line], They were described as showing "ruins of a railroad track, workshops, waterworks, blown up bridges and semaphores" (NG 1914, No. 534: 1, PP 1914, No. 316:1). Awareness of the proximity of this terrifying universe even stimulated the new kind of leisure activity, suburban war tourism (Guzek 2014: 448), inspired by cinematic images, even if reproached by influential journalists. One Warsaw newspaper wrote of such practices: "this drive of mindlessly unruly crowds that cannot even respect the majesty of those terrible moments that have passed so recently, trampling over graves, looting the clothing of the fallen – as 'souvenirs', destroying the remaining property of already ruined farmers, is truly a drive of animals rushing forward to satisfy their raging hunger for sensation" (GP 1914, no. 754: 2).

The Russian front documentaries referred to in the paragraph above were superseded in 1915 by German opening sequences and the achievements of Polish cameramen who were active in the cinematic production of the Legion units fighting in their national uniforms, but within the armies of the Central Powers. The output of these uniformed filmmakers is substantial and includes a variety of productions – from May 3 celebrations, instructional posters on armaments, battle reports, and montaged panoramas illustrating the scope of the Polish military effort. Death and wartime horror, however, gave way in these films to building emotions that create a generational story. This strategy can be traced by referring to two films shown in Warsaw and other cities administered by the German occupation authorities, *Legiony polskie w ogniu* [Polish Legions under Fire] and *Tygodnik Urzędu Filmowego Wojska Polskiego nr 1.* [Polish Army Film Office Weekly No. 1].The former, dating back to 1916, was one of the earliest documentaries ever produced. It was composed of several scenes, and featured Col. Marian Januszajtis and Capt. Mieczysław Trojanowski, Lt. Col. Henryk Minkiewicz-Odrowąż, Maj. Mieczysław Norwid- Neugebauer, and contained several battle scenes – the repulsion of a sudden attack by the Russians, firing of Legion artillery, capture and interrogation of a Cherkess POW. The whole was supplemented by scenes from the daily life of the legionary community: morning ablutions in a creek, utensils in a field kitchen, a concert by legionary musicians played on instruments of their own making, and medics taking care of wounded soldiers (ZL 1916, no. 208: 3). The second film was meant to be a permanent cinematic chronicle of Legion life in the broadest sense, but only the first part of the planned set was completed. The weekly included the following scenes: "Polish legions in the field; Chief of staff Col. Sosnkowski, Lt. Sulistrowski, war reporter Lt. Dabrowski; Major Trojanowski; a company of the 5th regiment of infantry; Major Brzoza with his staff; crossing the Nida River under the command of Capt. Soladowski; artillery of the 1st brigade in position; loading and firing of a cannon; the town of Krzędon burned by the Russians" (Iskra 1918, no. 157:4). Both productions showed staff and line commanders, weapons and equipment of the subdivisions, positional and retaliatory actions, and some glimpses of the daily life of the military community. The only item that appealed to destructive emotions directly may have been the final segment of *Tygodnik Urzędu Filmowego* [Film Office Weekly] – destruction caused by the enemy, but as it seems, the context of death was reduced to a minimum, while the components of the depiction

focused on material losses. An analysis of other films made by Legion cinematographers confirms this method of constructing the possible on-screen emotions.

Wartime production of documentaries was not as complicated as story-driven films made with actors, the use of ateliers, and specialist crews. Most often, such a film crew consisted of a cameraman, make-up artist, set designer and, of course, the writer, and director, as well as extras. To report on a current event, all that was needed at the time was a one-man camera crew, a sense of the gravity of the situation, as well as courage … allowing one to be in the center of the events being reported. The documentary filmmaker of the time resembled more a television reporter 50 years later than a socially well informed filmmaker of the type of John Gierson. Of course, the effect he achieved depended on where the camera was pointed. We should not forget that it was during this world war that the type of war film correspondent was born – someone ready to risk life and limb to report on dangerous, important, interesting, but also truly horrifying events, where death, destruction, decomposition of the fabric of reality affect the status of the viewers themselves, shaping their emotions not only during the screening. Such images remain long in the memory and affect the perception of certain events.

Once in my research on film culture on the eve of Poland's regained independence, I came across a press release from 1915 about a mysterious "person with a camera." I never found out his first name, only his last name. One Warsaw newspaper referred to him as "*mister* Erkol" and named him "the hero of the cinematograph." "He is so devoted to his work that he has been known to take his pictures, literally, under enemy fire, as if it were not a real war, but only a staging with special effects. This is how, for example, he took pictures of the accurate shots of Russian artillery at a distance of just 6 versts from enemy forts, from where entire sheaves of shells flew out, pelting everything around with shrapnel. At another time, delighted by the accuracy of the Russian artillerymen, Erkol set up his camera only 600 paces from the enemy trenches, so that he had to be forcibly dragged away from under enemy fire. When significant Austrian troops appeared close to the Russian cavalry near Przemyśl, and when the Russian cavalry was ordered to attack and crush the opposing forces, the Englishman, having seized his camera, was the first to mount his horse and galloped toward the enemy. Having galloped some three versts, he jumped off the horse, set up his camera and instantly captured the scene of the Russian attack on the Austrians. Unfortunately, the valiant English photographer had to stop his activities for some time. Two weeks ago, having learned that the Germans were bombarding the town of T. with 42-centimeter "trunk" shells, Erkol rushed to the site of the unusual artillery duel. One of the shells fell right on his camera and exploded. Shrapnel from the shell smashed the camera into pieces, while Erkol was knocked to the ground, with wounds to the back and one hand. At present, the "hero of cinema" lies in one of the field hospitals, and, recovering slowly, vows that he will begin again soon, in the fire and smoke of battle, his favorite showy occupation" (KW 1915, No. 57: 8).

During the years of the Great War, the "hero of cinema" not only chronicled important events and conscientiously prepared frontline reports, bringing us the images that formed the true picture of the era. He was also part of the great propaganda machine for creating and managing collective emotions. It took several more years of experience with

films to understand that the cinematic documentary was not an accurate reflection of reality, but a powerful tool of persuasion, manipulation and raising the social, political or cultural temperature. With regard to the examples described in this article, we might quote here the words of Malgorzata Hendrykowska, who concluded one of the chapters of her History of Polish Documentary Film as follows: "The medium of film, just like photography, proved to be a powerful tool of propaganda. For those who used it for propaganda, it was obvious that for millions of people in cinemas, recording of warfare only confirmed the 'truthfulness' of the events being depicted. The image appealed to them much more intensely, more emotionally than, for example, press releases; it was simply much easier to receive" (Hendrykowska 2015: 71).

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Abbreviations of titles in references to the source material

GP	Goniec Poranny
GP2	Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze
GW	Goniec Wieczorny
GWa	Gazeta Warszawska
KW	Kurier Warszawski
NG	Nowa Gazeta
PP	Przegląd Poranny
ZL	Ziemia Lubelska

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We do not die – we buy the farm, kick salt away, or cover our ear – how does part for whole metonymy shield people around the world from the negative emotions related to death and dying? – thoughts about universality and variation *

Metonymy is not just a figure of speech, but a phenomenon that often determines how we think, what we experience and how we behave on a daily basis. As Littlemore (2015) notes, metonymy serves many different functions. One of them – so-called de-emphasizing or hiding – allows us to divert attention from taboo content, such as death, and protect ourselves from the negative emotions that such content might otherwise evoke. In this chapter I focus on one type of metonymy – PART FOR WHOLE – and show how this relationship is used by people of different cultures, using different languages, to think and talk about death and dying.

Keywords: metonymy, PART FOR WHOLE, death, dying, taboo, metaphor, African languages, conceptual integration theory

I follow Kövecses' observations (2005) and argue that metonymic conceptualization occurs under two pressures: "the pressure of context" and "the pressure of embodiment", and show that euphemistic expressions based on PART FOR WHOLE metonymy may be very localized, but also surprisingly universal, especially when they draw on certain anatomical and physiological properties all human beings share. In order to show the richness and diversity of forms in which PART FOR WHOLE metonymy manifests itself,

the material presented in this article was taken from many natural languages, including: Akan, Arabic, Croatian, Czech, Danish, English, French, German, Greek, Hausa, Khoekhoegowab, Minangkabau, Oshiwambo, *Otjiherero*, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, and Vietnamese. The theoretical framework for this article is provided by the school of thought commonly known as Cognitive Linguistics.[1]

Introduction

We do not know what it is like to be dead. What we do know, from when other people die, is not reassuring: Death is often painful, messy, and results in the loss of people we love. On the one hand, death is an enigma, and on the other, it's a tragedy. This combination of mystery and horror makes death uniquely terrifying. Thus, thinking and speaking about death may sometimes be extremely difficult. In order to make it easier and in order to protect ourselves from the negative emotions death evokes, we have invented various cultural and linguistic strategies. In this chapter I focus on one of those strategies, i. e. PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

In his book *Metaphor in Culture* (2005) Kövecses argues that metaphoric conceptualization in natural situations occurs under two pressures: "the pressure of embodiment" and "the pressure of context." In this chapter I follow Kövecses' observations and argue that metonymic conceptualization is no different from metaphoric one in that respect and is also influenced by the two types of pressure. I, therefore, group the linguistic realisations of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy into two categories. First, I discuss some embodied examples, which draw on certain anatomical and physiological properties all human beings share. I call those examples *universal* since they show up in various natural languages. Second, I show variation, i. e. examples, where the same target domain (DEATH or DYING) is activated from the perspective of a source dependent on the culture or context. I call those examples *local* due to their limited application.

The examples discussed in this chapter come from various natural languages and were collected from news articles, websites, social media, literary works, historical documents, and personal communication with native speakers of various languages, among other sources.

1   Death and the negative emotions it evokes

We all fear death. Anthropologist Ernest Becker in *The Denial of Death* (1973) notes that a significant part of our behaviour is motivated by a subconscious need to ignore or evade death. Also Greenberg, Solomon, and Pyszczynski, who draw upon Becker's work and who formulated terror management theory (TMT) (1997), come to similar conclusions. We all feel the need to shield ourselves from the deep fear of living an insignificant life which ends with death. It is not surprising then that death is surrounded by taboos in communities around the world. Those taboos may include restrictions on activities, such as touching the deceased, handling their possessions, or even engaging with indi-

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1   By Cognitive Linguistics the author means the second generation of cognitive science, as described e. g. by Lakoff (1987: XI-XVII) or Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 77).

viduals who have been in contact with the deceased. In his classic anthropological study Frazer noted, for example, that within the Shuswap community – an indigenous people of British Columbia, Canada – widows and widowers in mourning were explicitly prohibited from touching their own head or body. Among the Agutainos – an indigenous people who inhabit Palawan in the Philippines – a widow could not leave her house for seven days after her husband's death. And among the Maori, "any one who had handled a corpse, helped to convey it to the grave, or touched a dead man's bones, was cut off from all intercourse and almost all communication with mankind" (1911: 138–9).[2] Such customs are now extremely rare, but it would be wrong to assume that death has become less taboo. In fact, while some traditional taboos such as sex or defecation may have become more 'approachable', the studies, for example by Lakasing (2014) show the taboo of death is actually getting stronger than ever before. It is not surprising then that words such as *death* and *die* are in the top 1% of most negatively rated words in English (Warriner, Kuperman, and Brysbaert 2013).

2   How does metonymy help us think and speak about death?

Like it or not, we sometimes have to think and speak about death. And when we do, it is often euphemisms that come to our rescue. Traditionally a euphemism consists in replacing the original signifier, which is perceived as offensive, unpleasant or frightening by another one. It is often considered to be a 'veil' thrown over the signified in order to conceal it. As Allan and Burridge show (2006), euphemism is not a mere linguistic device. It is an everyday, comprehensive phenomenon, a "verbal behavior" (Crespo-Fernández 2005: 78), which serves a specific, functional purpose in social discourse. The cognitive tool that often plays a crucial role in euphemism creation is metonymy. But how does metonymy help us conceal a threatening or unpleasant concept such as death?

In *Metaphors We Live By* Lakoff and Johnson describe how metaphors highlight some aspects of a concept, but necessarily de-emphasize, or 'hide' other aspects.

> In allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept (e.g. the battle aspects of arguing), a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor. For example, in the midst of a heated argument, when we are intent on attacking our opponent's position and defending our own, we may lose sight of the cooperative aspects of arguing. Someone who is arguing with you can be viewed as giving you his time, a valuable commodity, in an effort at mutual understanding. But when we are preoccupied with the battle aspects, we often lose sight of the cooperative aspects. (1980: 10)

Highlighting and hiding are only natural, given what we know about how our conscious attention functions. We are unable to simultaneously concentrate on two aspects of a concept, just as we are unable to simultaneously concentrate on two elements of a

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2   These examples show how strong the death taboo may be. Still, it should be remembered that the evidence given by Frazer may be at times anecdotal. For some criticism of Frazer see, e.g. Leach (1961), Smith (1973), or Beard (1987 and 1992).

picture. As for example the well-known work by Rubin shows (1915), if there are two elements in a picture, one of them is normally *the ground* against which the other is understood. The other element is, at least for a while, *the figure* and the focus of our conscious attention.

The same assignment of figure and ground applies to metonymy. As Koch notes (1999: 151–2), metonymy seems to be a kind of *figure/ground* effect. To use Koch's words, "every concept designated by a given lexical item appears as a figure in relation to (at least) another contiguous concept that – for the time being – remains the ground within the same frame."

Metonymy operates within a single domain and offers two main backgrounding possibilities (see e.g. Wachowski (2019) for more details). We can either select a peripheral element of the domain or scenario (in a PART FOR WHOLE relation) or a very opaque/general one (in a WHOLE FOR PART relation). In the former, we access the taboo concept from the perspective of a neutral, less distressing source – often a peripheral component of the overall event. For example, *he closed his eyes* metonymically means 'he died', even though closing one's eyes is a minor, non-essential part of the overall process of dying. In the latter, selecting a more general or opaque domain for the source allows us to water down a more specific one that otherwise might be considered coarse, vulgar, or threatening. For example, with reference to *sex* we can select more opaque and palatable wording, such as *love,* as in *they were making love* or extremely general wording, such as *it* as in *I can always hear when the neighbours are at it. It's really embarrassing!* And in order to conceal the threatening aspects of death or murder we could say for example, *he is going to OJ his way out of his marriage* instead of *he is going to murder his wife* (Gibbs 1999: 65), where the famous American football player and actor *O. J. Simpson* stands for one salient event in his life, the murder he allegedly committed.

Let us now see how the former type of metonymy – PART FOR WHOLE – is used in euphemism formation and let us discuss some universal and culture specific examples.

3   How is part for whole metonymy used by people around the world to talk about death

Metonymy operates within certain parameters. As Kövecses and Radden note in their oft-quoted definition, metonymy must take place within an idealised cognitive model (ICM).

> Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model. (1998: 39)

Lakoff, who provided the first detailed analysis of ICMs, defines them as complex, structured wholes by means of which we organise our knowledge (1987: 68). ICMs are not a direct reflection of an objective state of affairs in the world, but rather are systems for organising knowledge according to certain cognitive structuring principles. There are a few important qualities of ICMs. First, they are created by human beings and are entirely culture-dependent. For this reason, they are sometimes termed Cultural Cognitive Models (Blount 2013). ICMs not only differ from one linguistic community to anoth-

er, but they can also vary within the same community. For example, as Blank notes (1999: 174), "an English breakfast typically includes bacon and eggs, buttered toast, etc., whereas in Scotland porridge made of oats is an important part of breakfast". Second, ICMs, as the name suggests, are idealised or oversimplified representations of reality. The bachelor ICM, for example, assumes a straight man who gets married once in his life, and "says nothing about the existence of priests, 'long term unmarried couplings,' homosexuality, Moslems who are permitted four wives and only have three, etc. – […] a *bachelor* is simply an unmarried adult man" (Lakoff 1987: 70). Finally, idealised cognitive models are wholes made up of parts, which allows for the PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART metonymies to occur.

Unsurprisingly, the ICM of DYING is also an oversimplified representation of reality. As such, on the one hand it draws on certain universals, which stem from the anatomical, physiological or cognitive similarities between all human beings, but on the other hand it also reflects various cultural and contextual differences. Let us now have a look at those two categories.

3.1 The universal

Why is it that in many different languages and cultures particular experiences are metaphorically conceptualized in very similar ways? As Grady (1997a, b) or Kövecses (2002 and 2010) note, the reason is that they are motivated by universal correlations in bodily experience. I argue that the same is true of metonymies. For example, certain innocuous physical symptoms taking place before, after, or at the very moment of dying are often euphemistically exploited and give rise to identical or similar metonymic expressions in various natural languages. This is for instance the case with the euphemistic expression *breathe one's last*, which in English is first documented in Shakespeare's *Henry The Sixth*:

> Ah, Warwick, Montague hath breath'd his last,
> And to the latest gasp cried out for Warwick,
> And said, "Commend me to my valiant brother."
>
> (*Henry The Sixth, Part 3 Act 5, scene 2, 39–42*)

A similar expression was found in ancient Greek, ψυχορραγής (psykhorragēs), meaning 'letting the soul break loose', as in: γυναῖκες ἐν τόκοις ψυχορραγεῖς – 'women giving out their last breath (= 'dying') during labour' (Liddell and Scott 1968). The metonymy is also used in other languages. In Polish one can say *wydać ostatnie tchnienie* 'to give one's last breath', in Arabic الرمق الأخير 'he gave his last breath', in Russian много/долго не надышит 'he will not breathe long/much' = 'he will die soon', or бездыханный – 'without breath' = 'dead' (Markunas 2010), and in the Minangkabau language, the main local language in West-Sumatra, Indonesia, people may say *Ratusan manusia kailangan angok dibueknyo* 'thousands people lose breath make [passive] = 'thousands of people died because of it' (Rosa and Zaim 2014: 485). Also in Khoekhoegowab (spoken in Namibia, Botswana, and South Africa) one could say *Iom Ioni* – 'breathe for the last time/ cease to breathe' = die.

Another inoffensive physical symptom of death which is metonymically used in different languages is closing one's eyes. People often close their eyes shortly before death. And when people happen to die with their eyes open, their relatives or friends will often ritually close them (see Wachowski and Sullivan (2021) for a more thorough discussion of this tradition). One can find numerous linguistic examples of the metonymy. In Polish people say: *zamknąć oczy* ('close one's eyes' = 'die'), e. g. in the well-known Polish novel by Maria Dąbrowska *Noce i dnie* (*Nights and Days*) one of the characters says: *chodź, kochanie […] mama zamknęła oczy* ('Come darling […] mum has closed her eyes' [translation by the author]). In Hungarian a singular form *eye* is used: *lehunyta a szemét* ('he closed his eye' = 'he died'). The metonymy is also present in Arabic, where people say: أغلق عينيه 'he closed his eyes' = died, and in Vietnamese, in such expressions as: *nhắm mắt xuôi tay* ('close the eyes and let go' = 'die').

The euphemistic qualities of closing the eyes can also be seen in art. For example, Polish Symbolist painter, Jacek Malczewski, who sought to represent absolute truths through metaphorical images, in one of his paintings depicts death as a woman closing an old man's eyes (*Death* 1902, Figure 1). This gesture makes death in the painting look merciful, kind, and perhaps motherly.

The act of falling is also commonly used in various languages as a metonymically derived euphemism for DYING. The speakers of Oshikwanyama, a dialect of the Oshiwambo language spoken mainly in Namibia and Angola, say, for example, *he fell down* (*Nima okwe lidenga po*) when they mean 'he died' (Hasheela 2018: 61). Similarly in Hausa, the language spoken in Nigeria and Ghana, one can say: *Ya tuntsura* ('he fell over' = he died) (Yahaya 2016: 153). When referring to an unexpected, untimely death, the speakers of Oshiwambo could say *okwa punduka* ('he has stumbled' = he's died), where *stumbling* first metonymically activates FALLING (falling is the result of stumbling), which then, also metonymically, referrers to DYING. What makes the expression interesting is that in addition to the metonymic operations, the sudden and unexpected character of stumbling is metaphorically mapped onto the type of death the expression denotes.

In Khoekhoegowab people use the expression *kai hais ge go ǁnâ* ('the big tree has fallen' = someone has died), where *the big tree* metaphorically refers to someone who played a significant role, e. g. as a leader in the community or the breadwinner of the family. Similarly in Oshiwambo to express your condolences you can say *omuti wa teka* 'the tree fell and broke' = an important person passed away (Paavo Hasheela – private communication, Okahandja, Namibia – February–July 2024).

In English, Polish, or Russian the act of falling does not refer to dying in general, but to being killed in battle. Hence, once can say: *fallen heroes* in English, *apel poległych* in Polish ('memorial roll call', lit. 'roll call of the fallen'), от *пасть* in Russian, as in: пасть смертью храбрых ('to die a hero's death').[3] The act of falling is also the probable origin

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3   The verb *polec* or *polegnąć* is now almost always used in its non-literal sense in Polish. Interestingly, another Polish verb *padać*, which also literally means 'fall', is used in the metonymic sense of 'dying' only when speaking of (wild) animals, as in: *ta sarana padła dwa dni temu* – 'the doe died (lit. fell) two days ago'. Hence, the word for 'carrion' in Polish is *padlina*.

Fig. 1. Jacek Malczewski *Śmierć* ('Death') 1902

of the word *cadaver* in English, which now means 'a dead body', 'a corpse', and which was borrowed in the late 14th century from Latin. In Latin it originated from a perfective participle of *cadere* meaning 'to fall' or 'to decline' from a Proto-Indo-European root *kad* meaning 'to fall'. In Greek, the word πτῶμα *(*ptōma) means both 'a dead body' and a 'fall'.

In Akan, the language spoken in some parts of Ghana and Ivory Coast, the conceptual motivation of *fall* is different than in the above mentioned languages. It is not merely metonymic, but also metaphoric. The expression is a reflection of the popular conceptual metaphor in Akan, LIFE IS WAR. As noted by Owiredu (2020: 415), the Akan believe that life is "a constant battle for the living, and death is an indication that one has lost the battle". Thus, the expression *wadi ako atɔ*, which may be literally translated as 's/he has fought and fallen' means simply 's/he has died' rather than 'she was killed

in battle'. Metonymy is still present, since falling in battle stands for dying in battle, but this metonymy is followed by the LIFE IS WAR metaphor.

The heart, as one of the vital organs, is identified in some cultures as the centre of the entire body and as the seat of life. The moment it stops beating is thus seen as the central point of dying that marks the end of life. In Swedish, for example, *the beating heart* often metonymically stands for 'a living person' as in: *har slog inte ett levande hjarta* ('not a living heart was beating here'), which may be translated as: 'There was nobody here'. *She* or *he died*, on the other hand, is often conventionally rendered as: *her* or *his heart stopped*, as in: *han satt och skrev på en artikel nar hjartat stannade – han blev 72 år* ('He was sitting and writing an article when his heart stopped – he was 72') (Pietrzak-Porwisz 2007: 77) and the expression *sà lange hjartat siar* 'as long as the heart beats' (Svenska Akademien 2021) means 'to the end of life'. Similarly, in Polish one could occasionally find headstone inscriptions that say *kochane serce przestało bić* ('the beloved heart stopped beating' = he died).[4]

There are also some metonymies which occur under the "pressure of embodiment", but are local rather than universal, i. e. certain physical symptoms of dying come to be used as metonymic vehicles only in some languages, but not in others. For example, the fact that a dead body is motionless is exploited in the English word *stillbirth* 'the birth of a dead baby', but not, to my knowledge, in other languages. Other language-specific examples are: إسفرت أنامله – 'his fingertips got yellow' = he died in Arabic, *he's bloat* (= he's dead) in medical English jargon, *descolorido* ('colourless' = 'dead') in Spanish (Cirera Zapatero and Fernández Villaroel 1996), or застывать ('to freeze' = to die) in Russian (Markunas 2010).

3.2 The local

Kövecses (2005, 2017) discusses metaphor variation and shows how different cultures sometimes use different source domains for the same target domain. The same is true of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, where contextual (including cultural) differences may influence the selection of the source domain. Kövecses groups the most common contextual factors that play a role in the use and creation of metaphors into four categories: situational context, discourse context, conceptual-cognitive context, and bodily context. It seems that metonymies are no different from metaphors in that respect and are also influenced by the different types of context. In this part I will focus on the situational context only. According to Kövecses (2017: 14), *the situational context* "comprises a variety of different contextual factors, the physical environment, the social situation, and the cultural situation." Let us see how those factors influence the selection of a metonymic vehicle.

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4   It should be noted that although in Swedish the metonymy is fully conventionalised, in Polish it is normally only used poetically.

Fig. 2. Oshipando
courtesy of Drew Films & Photography cc, Namibia, Andrew Nangolo

Fig. 3. Oshipando (worn by twins or mothers of twins)
courtesy of Drew Films & Photography cc, Namibia, Andrew Nangolo

The cultural situation

To show respect for the recently departed relatives it is often customary for people to mark themselves in some way and show they are in mourning. That custom may sometimes show up in language and be used as a metonymic euphemistic vehicle for DEATH or DYING. For example, in the Ovambo community of Namibia and southern Angola, a child who loses a parent or a mother who loses a child is expected to wear oshipando as a symbol of mourning. Oshipando is either a one-string pendant or a piece of black

cloth which is hand tacked or loosely sewn on what the mourning child or mother is wearing the time.[5] It is not tailored on tightly because it has to fall off on its own – the time of mourning is said to end when oshipando comes off by itself.[6] Interestingly, twins and mothers who gave birth to twins get to wear a leaf of a palm tree around the neck or their wrist instead of a black piece of cloth (see Figures 2 and 3). This custom gives rise to such expressions in Oshikwanyama (one of two main dialects of Oshiwambo – the language spoken by the Ovambo people) as *Nyoko ota djala oshipando* ('Your mother will wear oshipando' = you will die) or *Nyoko ota djala ekulikwa* ('Your mother will wear a hanging (swinging) neklace' = you will die). Another symbol of mourning for the Ovambo people is wearing clothes inside out.[7] This custom shows up in language as *Nyoko ota pilikile*, which may be translated as 'your mother will turn inside out' (turn her clothes inside out) and which also means 'you will die' (Paavo Hasheela – private communication, Okahandja – Namibia, February–July 2024).

In Early Modern European courtly circles, it was customary for males to "bow and scrape" to show respect, gratitude, or as a farewell gesture. "Scraping" refers to the drawing back of the right leg as you bow, so that the right foot scrapes the floor or earth. While executing such a bow, the right hand is usually pressed horizontally across the torso while the left is held out from the body (see Figure 4.). The gesture was used throughout Europe, but it was only in German that the act of 'scraping' or 'scratching' (*abkratzen*) was exploited as a metonymic vehicle for saying goodbye, which was then metaphorically used to mean 'die' in modern German (for more of examples of DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphors see Sullivan and Wachowski 2020). Thus, in German one could say, for instance, *Bei dem Unfall wäre ich beinahe abgekratzt*, which means 'I almost scratched (= died) in that crash'. Interestingly, in English it was the excessiveness of the gesture that was used and it gave rise to the idiom *to bow and scrape* – to treat someone who is powerful in an extremely respectful way especially in order to get approval.

In Russia, where Orthodox Christianity is the leading religion, the deceased is often placed on a bier in the church before being laid in the grave. There the priest prays for their soul and uses a censer to incense the body. That gives rise to the expression дышать на ладан meaning 'to be dead' or 'to be almost dead', but may be literally translated as 'to breathe incense smoke'.[8] Also, in Russia singing religious songs is often an important

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5 Recently more and more people replace traditional oshipando with a piece of black cloth (Hasheela 2018: 74).

6 There are some strict rules which people follow when in mourning and when they have oshipando on. For example, you are not allowed to engage in sexual activities until oshipando falls off (Andrew Nangolo, private communication, Windhoek, Namibia – July 2024).

7 Clothes worn inside out and death are so strongly linked in the community that children who happen to put on their clothes inside out by mistake are immediately be reprimanded.

8 This expression, cannot really be explained in terms of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy alone. Instead it should be explained within the framework of the conceptual integration theory, as described by Fauconnier (1997) and Fauconnier and Turner (2002). It relies on a blend in which a partial structure of a living person, who engages in a volitional activity of breathing is blended together with a partial structure of a dead person, who is placed on a bier.

Fig. 4. Wenceslas Hollar: *The bowing gentleman* (Wikimedia Commons)

part of a funeral rite. This fact gives rise to a metonymic expression in Russian: песенка спета, which may be literally translated as 'the song is being sung', and which means that 'someone is going to die soon'.

In a few European languages the depth of the grave may indirectly refer to DEATH or DYING. In countries which use the imperial system, people might say for example, *there's no point worrying about it – we'll both be six feet under by then* (= we will be dead) (Cambridge 2000), where *six feet* refers to the traditional depth for a grave.[9] In countries which

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9   It should be noted that most modern graves in the United States are only 4 feet deep because the casket is placed into a concrete box.

use the metric system and where the depth of graves is normally measured in metres, people can say: два метра in Russian ('two metres' = 'the grave') or *dwa metry pod ziemią* in Polish ('two metres under the ground' = 'in the grave', 'dead'). As Dąbrowska notes (1998), the grave was also traditionally referred to in Polish as *sążeń ziemi* ('a fathom of soil'), a unit of length equal to the *spread of a man's arms* – approximately 1.78 metre, or *trzy łokcie ziemi* ('three ells of soil') – *łokieć* ('an ell') being the unit of measurement understood as the combined length of the forearm and extended hand.

In some cultures the depth of the grave is not that important and does not show up in language. What seems to matter more is how the body is laid in the grave or in the coffin. For example, the Hausa people, the largest ethnic group in Sub-Saharan Africa, often bury the dead on their right side, with the right hand under their head (covering their ear). This fact gives rise to such expressions as *Ya kwanta dama* ('He laid down on his right side' = he died) or *Ya danne kunne* ('He covered his ear' = he died) (Siemiąt-kowska, 2006: 150).[10] The Herero people of Namibia and Botswana, by contrast, sometimes say *ovirongo ma kondo netambo* – Otjiherero – 'travelling places on one's back' (= died) – since that is normally the position of the body transported to the grave. In Oshindonga (a dialect of the Oshiwambo language) the euphemistic expression that is often used is *okwa thanga uuzilo* ('he/she kicked the east' = he/she died), since it is customary for the Ovambo people to bury the deceased in such a way that their feet face the east – hence *kicking* used in the expression. Also, in line with that, the Ovambo people normally position their beds in such a way that their feet do not face east when they sleep because it is the position reserved for the dead – something that is immediately associated with death.

The social situation/the circumstances

The selection of the metonymic vehicle in such expressions as *to lose one's teeth* (= to die), *to come to a sticky end*, *to buy the farm* (= to die), or двухсотый 'two hundredth' (= dead) in Russian are all motivated by the situational context. The now old-fashioned military expression *to lose one's teeth* ('to die') dates back to the Napoleonic Wars and referred to what may now seem a very bizarre custom. At that time, when a soldier fell in battle, he usually had his teeth extracted. The teeth were later used in dentures for the well-off. Hence *losing one's teeth* metonymically stood for 'dying'. *A sticky end* allegedly draws on the fact that dead bodies, usually of senior officers who died in wars, were preserved in honey before being shipped home to be buried. It is an example of a multi-level metonymy in which *sticky*, as one of the properties of honey, evokes the substance itself. Being preserved in honey in turn refers to 'dying' or 'being dead'. *Buying the farm*

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10 This expression, as well as a few others in this chapter, cannot really be explained in terms of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy alone. Instead it should probably be explained within the framework of the conceptual integration theory, as described by Fauconnier (1997) and Fauconnier and Turner (2002) since it relies on a blend in which a partial structure of a living person, who engages in a volitional activity of lying down or covering something, is blended together with a partial structure of a dead person, who is placed in a grave. Still, since it is not really relevant for the discussion, I present the examples here, in a possibly oversimplified manner, as PART FOR WHOLE metonymies.

was first used during World War II and referred to death benefits paid to the family of a deceased soldier which were thought to be enough to pay off the mortgage to the home or farm. Двухсотый 'two hundredth' is a reduced form of Груз *200* 'Cargo 200' and refers to a dead body. It originated during the Soviet–Afghan War in 1984 when the Ministry of Defense of the USSR issued Order No. 200, which set the standardised maximum weight for the air transportation of a deceased soldier's body. Coincidentally the standardised maximum weight was 200 kilograms. The coincidence, i.e. the order number – 200, and the maximum weight of the casket – 200, helped to strengthen the link between the source – двухсотый ('two hundredth') – and the target – 'dead body'.

In extreme situations where the bodies of the departed are not buried, as is customary, that fact may give rise to various context-specific metonymic expressions. In German Nazi concentration and extermination camps, for example, where the bodies of the murdered inmates were burnt in crematoriums, expressions highlighting this fact were frequent, e.g. *przywieźli ich do komina* ('they've been brought to the chimney' = 'they've been brought to die,' 'to be killed'), *wylecieć kominem* ('to fly out though the chimney' = 'to die,' 'to be killed'), were *chimney* metonymically evokes CREMATORIUM, which in turn, also metonymically, stands for DEATH.

The selection of the metonymic source may sometimes be motivated by the need to downplay the gravity of the crime. During World War II many Jews were first displaced and moved to the ghettos, then taken to concentration or death camps where they were exterminated. Hans Frank and other German officials used the initial innocuous stage of the ordeal (*displacement*) as a metonymic, euphemistic vehicle to talk about the unpalatable target 'extermination'. In the same way other synonymous terms were used, e.g. *deportation* (German: *Deportation*), *relocation* (German: *Umsiedlung*), or *evacuation* (German: *Evakuierung*). The term *Evakuierung* ('evacuation') was the most euphemistic and deceptive of all the terms because it actually suggested saving lives – moving people from a dangerous place to somewhere safe.

The physical environment

The place where the body is buried may occasionally come to the fore and metonymically evoke death or dying. For example, in Sydney, Australia, people may sometimes say *He's as crook as Rockwood*. *Crook* means 'sick' and *Rookwood* is an abbreviated form of *Rookwood Cemetery* – the oldest and largest cemetery in Australia. *Rookwood Cemetery* metonymically activates the concept of dying and the expression is to be understood as 'he's likely to die'. Occasionally it may not even be the cemetery itself, but, for example the means of transport that goes to that place that comes to be used as a metonymic vehicle for DEATH. For example, in Vienna tram 71 goes to Zentralfriedhof – the largest necropolis in the city. Hence the Viennese sometimes say *Er hat den 71er genommen* 'He's taken the 71' (= he's died).[11]

Sometimes it is the "physical environment" *and* "the social situation" that determine the selection of the metonymic vehicle. For example, the doctor who informs a terminally

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11 Source: *www.zentralfriedhof.at*.

ill patient of their condition may say: *it's time you got your affairs in order*. Focusing on the matters that should be arranged when the patient is still alive, naturally helps to tone down the message and reduce the level of stress for the addressee. The important thing is, however, that understanding the desired meaning of the euphemistic expression (which is 'you are going to die soon') would not be possible without certain contextual clues, i. e. the physical environment (hospital) and the social situation (doctor speaking to a patient).

Similarly, the expression *to flatline* or *to give the Nebraska sign*, are highly contextual and used mainly in medical jargon. *Flatline* is inspired by the flatness of the line on an EEG monitor and metonymically refers to the death of the patient being monitored. *Nebraska sign*, on the other hand, which is an elaboration of *flatline*, is even more interesting because understanding it not only requires knowing the medical context – what the EEG reading means, but also knowing the most salient feature of Nebraska, which is its flatness. This example is then not only based on metonymy, but also on image metaphor where the flatness of Nebraska is mapped onto the EEG reading.

Just like some metonymies which occur under the "pressure of embodiment" are not universal, some which occur under the "pressure of context" are not local. In other words, sometimes the same or similar source comes to be used as a metonymic, euphemistic vehicle for death in different languages, even though the selection of the source is culturally motivated. For example, one can find metonymies for death which draw on eating or drinking habits in German, Croatian, Finnish, Akan, and Khoekhoegowab. Eating and drinking are essential part of life, which therefore can stand for LIFE itself via PART FOR WHOLE. In medieval Europe poor people often ate their food from one bowl placed in the middle of the table. The bowl was shared by everyone at the table, but the spoons were considered private. Putting down one's spoon – the most salient and the only personal eating utensil – signalled that one was finished eating. If eating was understood as representing life, then the end of eating could be understood as dying. In German this link shows up in language as *Er hat den Löffel abgegeben* 'he has put down the spoon' = he has died, in dialectal Croatian people sometimes say *Neki j' hitil žlicu na policu* = 'someone has thrown a spoon on the shelf' = has died (Jurin 2018: 217; Mohorovičić-Maričin 2001: 376) and in Finnish we find *heittää lusikka nurkkaan*, which means 'to throw a spoon in the corner' = to die. Whereas in the German, Croatian, and Finnish ICMs for eating a spoon plays an important part, in the Akan ICM for eating, the salient element is salt. As Owiredu notes, the Akan people believe that "the human being cannot live without tasting salt" (2020: 410) and so they sometimes use the euphemism *waka nkyene agu* ('he has kicked salt away') to mean 'he died'. In Khoekhoegowab you can sometimes say *khoes ge dôsa go ≠na* ('she kicked the can' = she died) or *khoeb ge dôsa go ≠na* ('he kicked the can' = he died). A can was traditionally used in the Khoekhoe community for boiling water. Thus, *kicking the can* could metonymically mean 'the end of drinking', which in turn could evoke DYING.[12] Regardless of the verb

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12 In fact a can is an important item in the Khoekhoe community. For example, traditionally when a suitor visits his future in-laws for the first time, he brings a gift bag wrapped in a blanket as a token of respect and to show he is capable of providing for the family. One of the most important things in

we use in this type of expression, be it *kick*, *drop* or *throw* or the item we use, be it *spoon*, *can* or *salt*, the rejection invariably stands for DEATH, via two stacked PART FOR WHOLE metonymies (rejection of item = end of eating/drinking = death).[13]

Conclusion

PART FOR WHOLE metonymy is a tool which not only helps us highlight a certain element of an Idealised Cognitive Model, but also hide offensive or frightening content we do not want to talk or even think about openly. Metonymy functions as a 'veil' or 'shroud' we throw over a negative concept, such as DEATH and DYING, and this way it shields us from the unwanted emotions the concept may otherwise evoke. Euphemistic expressions based on PART FOR WHOLE metonymy are often very localized, especially when they occur under the pressure of context. They may, however, also be surprisingly universal, especially when they occur under the pressure of embodiment, i. e. when they draw on certain anatomical and physiological properties all human beings share.

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the bag is a can – normally a can of coffee (private communication with native speakers of Khoekhoegowab, UNAM Windhoek, July 2024).

13 Just like some other examples in this chapter, the ones presented in this section are probably better accouted for within the framework of the conceptual integration theory, as described by Fauconnier (1997) and Fauconnier and Turner (2002), since they rely on a blend in which a partial structure of a living person, who engages in a volitional activity is blended together with a partial structure of a dead person. Still, since it is not really relevant for the discussion, I present the examples here as simply PART FOR WHOLE metonymies.

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You look great for your age,
or how not to compliment someone

Negging – a technique of emotional manipu-
lation – is constantly present in interpersonal
contacts. A person using this strategy seemingly
positively evaluates the intended recipient, but
then adds a hurtful remark, often an expression
of jealousy, aversion or – more frequently – ag-
gression, which causes the recipient of the mes-
sage to feel negative emotions and discomfort.
The aim of this article is to show what pseu-
do-complementation is in the context of emotions
and their connections with language, which we
understand pragmatically and situationally. Due
to the structure of the speech act in question,
which belongs to the group of expressivisms (dis-
comfortives), in the article we invoke the concept
of a compliment and then discuss the strategy of
negging. The last part of the article is devoted to
the analysis of anti-compliments, which have a
negative impact on both the recipient's emotions
and well-being.

Keywords: negging, emotional manipulation techniques, valuing

1   Introduction

The stimulus for our considerations was provided by the observed changes taking place in
the ways people communicate. Just as the reality in which we function is changing, sig-
nificant changes have been noticed in the linguistic habits of Poles. Still, for many users
of the Polish language, politeness in general, and linguistic politeness in particular, is an
extremely important matter, and as an element of linguistic etiquette it is of unquestion-
able value.[1] Polite language is not only a manifestation of good manners and elegance – it
also demonstrates the speaker's high personal culture and respect for the recipient.

   Today's politeness, however, is different from the politeness of old. Relaxed language
is common, and there is an increasing presence of colloquial words, sometimes even
vulgar ones, in politeness-related functions. Beside polite linguistic behavior and at-
tention to it, in recent years there has also been an increase in aggressive behaviors. For
many years now, the issue of friendly and unfriendly linguistic behaviors has been of
interest to researchers working in various disciplines (see e. g., Dąbrowska, Nowakowss

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[1]   For more on the place of linguistic etiquette among values, understanding key concepts in axiology
and in the area of language culture, including etiquette and acts of linguistic etiquette, see. e. g.
Marcjanik 1991: 61–65.

ka 2005; Jędrzejko, Kita 2002; Marcjanik 2007; Taras 2013; Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2015; Ostafiński 2020; Krzyżyk 2022). This reveals, on the one hand, the relevance of the issue of politeness and aggression in both language and culture, and on the other, the need for its description and analysis. These types of behaviors make up a large part of everyday responses. We believe that the research area we propose fits well within the scope of these issues, constituting, as we hope, another original and informative voice on this matter.[2]

2   Emotion in contemporary linguistics

Emotions, as an important element of human life, find their reflection in many areas of knowledge, particularly in psychology, with its subfield – psychology of emotions – thoroughly presented in scientific monographs (Oatley, Jenkins 2003; Lewis, Haviland-Jones 2005). Research related to emotions undertaken by psychologists concerns various aspects, such as typologies of emotions, neurological underpinnings of emotions, physiological manifestations of emotions, cultural backgrounds of emotions, individual differences in experiencing, expressing and verbalizing emotions, sociological and biological determinants of emotions, transformations of emotions, as well as emotional pathologies.

Classification of emotions remains an important issue, also for linguists – it varies depending on the scientific cognitive foundations and the adopted methodology. Psychological classifications distinguish from several to more than a dozen types of emotions, while linguistic classifications include many more (Grabias 1981; Nowakowska-Kempna 1995: 120–122; Lubaś 2003: 186–203). These differences result from the field of interest designated by a given discipline. The discrepancies between the "psychological" and "linguistic" classifications can be explained by the richer terminological apparatus of linguistics, extended synonymy and relatively unconstrained nomenclature of emotions beside the – also quite arbitrary – description of 'emotional reality,' e. g. kindness being introduced as an emotion, which results from evaluative beliefs combined with the emotion of approval. This also results from the fact that the main area of interest of linguists dealing with emotions are linguistic ways of expressing emotions (Lubaś 2003: 183). Analyzing various texts, Lubaś distinguishes 34 types of colloquial expression, dividing them into two main groups: 1) positive expression (and valorization), which includes: attention, approval, joy, admiration, joke, favor, toleration, feeling moved, familiari-

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2   The discussion on negging, i. e. the so-called 'malicious compliments,' has been developing in the public space for some time, as evidenced by various articles, sometimes of a guide nature, appearing on the Internet, such as: *Negging: złośliwe komplementy* (https://www.vogue.pl/a/na-czym-polega-negging-czyli-zlosliwekomplementowanie [date of access: Mar. 21, 2024], *Negging – jak poznać fałszywe komplementy* (https://przemocometr.org/negging/ [date of acz cess: Mar. 21, 2024), *Negging może nas poważnie zranić. Na czym polega?* (https://www.rmf.fm/magazyn/news,61394,negging-moze-nas-powaznie-zranic-na-czym-polega.html [date of access: Mar. 21, 2024]), as well as conversations with specialists and people experiencing negging in television programs, e. g. on morning TV shows, e. g. *Dzień dobry TVN* of Mar. 8, 03.2024 entitled *Negging – komplementy, które ranią* (https://dziendobry.tvn.pl/gorace-tematy/negging-czyli-falszywe-komplementy-to-forma-pasywnej-agresji [date of access: Mar. 21, 2024]).

ty, sympathy, regret and 2) negative expression (and valorization), including: nostalgia, disbelief, dissatisfaction, impatience, distance, negation, disregard, disappointment, embarrassment, irony, longing, sadness, malice, anger, jealousy, contempt, insult, fear and anxiety, regret, coarseness, rudeness, vulgarity, aggression (Lubaś 2003: 186–203).[3] The issue of anti-complimentation, in turn, is the implementation of negative emotions, especially negation, aggression, sometimes also anger, contempt, and jealousy. The extensive list of verbalized negative emotions results from the tendency toward a more expressive and decisive human reaction to what is inconsistent with one's system of values or the image of the world based on this system.

From a linguistic perspective, the emotionality of statements (discourse) can be extended to all types of messages, because "the manifestation of emotions takes place in every statement. When listening to someone speaking, we can always with a high degree of probability assess his emotional state in such categories as: he was glad, he was very angry, he was happy. This happens even when the speaker wants to conceal his or her experiences. Most often, in such cases, the manifestation of emotions is an unconscious process. Emotion is realized beyond the meaning of the statement, it is an added element" (Grabias 1997: 294). This is observable, of course, mainly in direct interaction, in spoken language. As Janusz Reykowski says, "Researchers look at emotions and describe them from various points of view, but in their connection with natural language they see two important issues: naming (and describing) and expressing emotions"[4] (Reykowski 1992: 43).

As follows from the above, the relationship between language and emotions has been the subject of interdisciplinary reflection, among psychologists, sociologists, philosophers, anthropologists and linguists. Cognitivism brought a breakthrough in linguistic research on emotions – previously, the issue of emotions had been marginalized, whereby emotions were treated as an aspect of semantic connotation or an issue within the purview of stylistics. Cognitive grammar has brought linguistics closer to psychology, and thus also closer to the study of emotions. Moreover, in investigations based on cognitive methodology, important phenomena include the human being (as the sum of the *soma* and *psyche*), the semantic connotations of lexemes and concepts, everyday

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3   A different classification of emotions is proposed by Stanisław Grabias, who classifies them as follows: 1. Positive emotions: 1.1. Directed at the bearer of the condition. 1.2. Directed at phenomena beyond the bearer of emotional states: 1.2.1. At persons, 1.2.2. Directed at impersonal phenomena and their states. 2. Negative emotions: 2.1 Directed at the bearer of the condition. 2.2. Directed at phenomena beyond the bearer of emotional states: 2.2.1. At persons, 2.2.2. At impersonal phenomena and their states (Grabias 1997: 298–299). This typology is subordinated to the overarching dichotomy: positive emotions – negative emotions. Grabias' conception concerns expressing emotions, not naming them, hence his attempts to assign the issue of emotions to specific pragmatic areas of language. Grabias argues that linguistic formulas illustrating the respective levels of the typology represent mainly the colloquial variety of Polish.

4   Grabias presents the problem slightly differently – from a sociolinguistic perspective – when he writes, "Można wyróżnić trzy sposoby uzewnętrzniania się emocji. Emocjonalne stany nadawcy mogą się w zachowaniach językowych przejawiać, mogą też być wyrażane lub komunikowane" [We may distinguish three ways of expressing emotions. The emotional states of the sender may be manifested in linguistic behavior and may also be expressed or communicated.] (Grabias 1997: 294).

experience, cultural and social conditions of all human activity (including linguistic activity). Another impulse comes from linguistic pragmatics – at the center of its interest is language in action. For this reason, such phenomena as situationality, instances of broadcast and reception, discursivity become of key importance. The research problem we have selected fits within the broader concept of emotions in human life.

3   The compliment as a speech act and a communication strategy

In keeping with the definition proposed by researchers of linguistic etiquette, among them Beata Drabik-Frączek (Drabik 2004; Drabik-Frączek 2014), Ewa Jędrzejko (2002), Małgorzata Kita (2013), Małgorzata Marcjanik (1993, 2014), Elżbieta Umińska-Tytoń (2004, 2011) **compliments** are culturally conditioned linguistic polite behaviors related to showing positive feelings and emotions (Mariak 2022: 2–3). The main purpose of their use is polite praise and the desire to please the recipient and create a pleasant atmosphere of mutual consideration.[5] Moreover, in order for a given statement to be treated as a compliment and not, for example, flattery, it should meet the following criteria: 1. the sender speaks about the recipient and to the recipient, 2. the sender's statement contains a positive evaluation of the recipient and/or whatever is related to him/her, 3. the sender expresses the message of his own free will, 4. what the sender says about the recipient is actually consistent with the sender's mental state, 5. the sender wants to create confidence in the recipient as to the truthfulness of the message, 6. the sender's pragmatic intention is for the recipient to feel complimented – positively valued – as a consequence of his statement, to feel well, 7. the sender's statement causes the recipient to feel a sense of pleasure, 8. the sender feels pleasure himself because of causing pleasure to the recipient (Drabik 2004: 22; Drabik-Frączek 2014: 143–144). The now widely known linguistic theory of politeness by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987),[6] based on the concept of *face* by sociologist Erving Goffman, understood as the image of a given person, his or her image in society, is also useful for the analyzing various speech acts, including compliments. Brown and Levinson introduce the concept of positive face, expressed in the desire to be accepted, understood, admired, recognized in society, and therefore having a positive self-image, and negative face, which strives to maintain distance, independence, and freedom of action. Due to these two types of faces, the so-called positive politeness (compliments, actions aimed at satisfying the requirements of positive face) and negative politeness (weakening or avoiding direct acts, such as orders, thus avoiding threats to the person's face). In the context of this theory, politeness should be understood as a set of strategies and specific behaviors aimed at mutual care and respect of the face of the sender and the recipient (Frankowska 2011: 30–31).

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5   This understanding of compliments developed only in the 19th century. Previously, any "nice, polite, polite comment" was considered a compliment. (Umińska-Tytoń 2011: 93–94).

6   For more on contemporary theories of linguistic politeness, see e. g. Żurek 2008: 33–43; Sztabnicka-Gradowska 2019: 97–119; Kępa-Figura 2022: 97–112.

4   Negging as a technique of emotional manipulation

When addressing the issue of complimenting or anti-complimenting (negging) as a tool to influence the interlocutor,[7] it seems reasonable to point out the most important differences between two techniques (strategies) of persuasion, common among methods of social control, i. e. persuasion and manipulation. Complimenting acts, and anti-complimenting ones even more so, serve both the purpose of persuasion[8] and manipulation,[9] which justifies the need to draw a line between them. The first common feature of both techniques is the influence on both the actions and beliefs of the recipient, i. e. his will, intellect and emotions.

Therefore, these are methods aimed at the recipient of the message, and the content expressed using them primarily fulfills an expressive function (targeted at the addressee). The influence on the interlocutor is achieved through the more or less marked and noticeable content of evaluative elements in the statement. The fundamental difference between manipulation and persuasion becomes visible only in the openness of exerting influence. Persuasion is open, sincere, direct, intentionally pure and transparent persuasion – the recipient easily interprets the purpose of the sender's statement, which is to convince him to take a specific action or change his way of thinking. However, when using manipulation, the author of the statement avoids overt persuasion, indirectly communicates his/her own intentions, and is insincere and deceitful towards the interlocutor.[10] Analyzing both phenomena from the perspective of the concept of a *language game*,[11] it can be assumed that

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7 On influencing people from a psychological and communication perspective, see e. g. Cialdini 2004.

8 We understand persuasion as gentle persuasion, persuasion, friendly and open suggestion (see also the entry *perswazja* in *Słownik Psychologiczny…* [Jankowiak, Krupiński 2012: 143–147]), "manipulation as a hidden, often very subtle, sophisticated form of subjugation" (Puzynina 1992: 203), coercion, use of a conversation partner through, among others, concealing the truth, indirect transmission of content (see the entry *manipulacja* in contemporary lexicographic works, e. g. WSJP PAN: 'influencing the views or actions of others in such a way that they are unaware of it' [https://wsjp.pl/haslo/do_druku/23201/manipulacja; date of access: Feb. 27, 2024]. Behavior/action defined as manipulation is clearly assessed as socially unacceptable). The choice of one of the above methods of influencing people is conditioned psychologically and depends primarily on the subject's self-image (who he/she thinks he is), the way s/he perceives and assesses the situation, partners and relationships with them, attitudes towards others, their views, etc., as well as the cognitive (intellectual) abilities and emotional predispositions of the interlocutor (Karwat 2001: 45–46).

9 The literature on the subject of manipulation is extremely rich (see, for example, the entry *manipulacja* in *Słownik Psychologiczny…* [Jankowiak, Krupiński 2012: 97–101]) – it is worth mentioning here an extensive monograph devoted to this issue entitled *Manipulacja w języku* (Krzyżanowski, Nowak 2004). The notion of *manipulation* in Polish is comprehensively and reliably defined by Jadwiga Puzynina (1992: 203–223).

10 On the premises determining the choice of a specific method of influencing the recipient (persuasion, manipulation, coercion, violence), see Karwat 2001: 46–48.

11 The concept of language game as communicative behavior was introduced by Ludwig Wittgenstein (for more on this topic, see e. g. Lenartowicz 2004, Gebauer 2009, Szczepaniak 2013). On language games or, more broadly, communication games – e. g. in media discourse, see e. g. Łuc 2010. On the metaphor LANGUAGE is A GAME, commonly used especially in logical, philosophical and artistic theories, see Kiklewicz 2007.

persuasion is a fair-play game, while manipulation is based on unclear and unfair rules. The sincerity of persuasion and the insincerity of manipulation also imply the assessment of these techniques in moral categories – persuasion as an honest action that raises no ethical objections, and manipulation as reprehensible, because it is based on negatively valued deception or dishonesty (Drabik-Frączek 2014: 142–143).

Negging – the *Cambridge Dictionary* defines this term as 'the practice of making negative or slightly insulting comments to someone you find attractive in order to make them take an interest in you,'[12] Negging is not a new phenomenon in interpersonal contacts, although in Poland it was defined as recently as 2012, in the Psychological Dictionary. Lexicon of human behavior (Jankowiak, Krupiński 2012) as 'manipulating someone's emotions by ambiguously complimenting them in order to undermine their self-confidence,'[13] Earlier (in the 1970s) this behavior was named and described by seduction coaches and pickup artists (PUA), who share their experiences and tips on how to seduce a woman – in the past on VHS tapes and in various guidebooks, today – mainly on social media – YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, on blogs and online forums. Pickup artists form one of the more recent masculinist movements, whose main goal is the seduction of women, understood as a game[14] or a thought-out strategy. Members of this "subculture of postmodern risk" (Malec 2022: 37) often identify themselves as the seduction community or the community of 'pickup artists.'[15] They talk about how to effectively flirt with women, reveal various ways of establishing contact with them and show techniques for gaining women's interest and favor. Negging, according to pickup artists, is a strategy that arouses the interest of the person being courted. Underhanded compliments, often used by pickup artists, are not considered offensive and harmful by this community, because their main purpose is to draw someone's attention, intrigue, provoke, and make the recipient think about what they have just heard.[16] A person who uses negging does not need to use overtly negative terms, i.e. harmful, deprecating, offensive, or malicious ones, but if negging remarks are made intentionally, with premeditation, and accompanied by an appropriate pragmalinguistic context (situational, communicative), they may be considered as a manifestation of unkindness, insincerity, rudeness or ultimately linguistic aggression, constituting a type of verbal abuse of the conversation partner. In some situations, they can be a means of humiliating, ridiculing,

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12 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pl/dictionary/english/negging [date of access: Jul. 2, 2024].

13 http://www.poradnia-jezykowa.uz.zgora.pl/wordpress/?m=202003 [date of access: 07.02.2024].

14 The process of seduction used by pickup artists can be described using Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory, whereby a person has the role of an actor, playing his role in front of others. During this performance, the actor sends signals to others indicating what social role he plays, what role he wants to take and how he wants to be treated by others. Goffman's game consists of several elements: behind-the-scenes interactions, physical props, and manipulation by impressions, (Goffman 2011; Strauss 2006; Turner 1998: 72–73)

15 For more on the pickup artists community as a subculture of postmodern risk, see Malec 2018; Malec 2022: 37–44.

16 https://www.vogue.pl/a/na-czym-polega-negging-czyli-zlosliwe-komplementowanie [date of access: Feb. 02, 2024]

or discrediting the interlocutor and gaining an advantage over them. Thus, they constitute an act of emotional manipulation, an example of destructive linguistic behavior, leading to conflicts or relationship disorders. In practical terms, negging consists among others in the use of apparent compliments (pseudo-compliments, malicious compliments), from the perspective of communication theory,[17] it is a form of communicating, influencing, and exerting pressure on the recipient. An anti-compliment, which is an intentional act, belongs to the group of *expressives*[18] and is intended to evaluate someone negatively, constituting a type of act of depreciation (Drabik 2004: 10)[19], strongly affecting the emotions of the interlocutor, causing a negative perlocutionary effect in the recipient, i.e. that of feeling bad (Drabik 2004: 12–13). Pseudo-complimentation understood in this way becomes an act of negative evaluation of the elements of reality, whereby the sender evaluates (p) as a negative state of affairs and at the same time expresses his emotionally negative attitude to it (p). Intention, i.e. illocutionary force, in various expressive acts is conveyed directly, i.e. with the help of a performative verb, such as *congratulate*, *sympathize*, *apologize*, *thank (someone)*, but (anti-)compliments are devoid of such a verb, while the intention – in the case of anti-compliments initially and ostensibly – is communicated with the help of vocabulary that explicitly valued positively (as in a compliment) and the so-called addition – a malicious, ironic, unpleasant remark (2), appearing after the first comment (the complimenting part), as in *You look great* (1) *for your age* (2); *You have a nice face* (1), *but you could lose some weight* (2); *You prepared this presentation very well* (1), *as if you didn't make it yourself* (2); *You've lost weight* (1) *you must have had some treatment* (2). Another obligatory component in the structure of both the compliment and the anti-compliment is the pronoun *you*, and further means of addressing the recipient directly.

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17 Pseudo-compliments, just like compliments, are a manifestation of people's communicative activity, a common practice and present in people's everyday life.

18 *Expressives* in the traditional classification proposed by John Searle (1987) are speech acts performed in order to show the mental attitude toward the state of affairs expressed in preposition (p), without any marked direction. The subject of their function is the sender's mental state (Drabik 2004: 14). According to Aleksy Awdiejew (1987), *expressives* are acts that fulfill the function of expressing emotions, which, apart from the modal function and the action function, is one of the three basic pragmatic functions. This means that expressive acts mark the emotive assessment (emotional attitude) and intellectual assessment of the sender toward the presented object or state of affairs.

19 Looking at the category of compliment from the point of view of cognitive grammar (compliment as a radial category [Lakoff 1987]) leads us to the observation that acts of complimenting constitute a heterogeneous set, i.e. some of them will be exemplary, canonical in nature, others, due to their structure, will distance away from the definitional center, still others will be located on the periphery of the model (Drabik-Frączek 2014: 143). Compliments that move away from the prototypical center (and thus have the fewest prototypical features, i.e. attributes, and the most peripheral features – marginal, non-prototypical ones [see Tabakowska 1995: 42; Taylor 2001: 97]) are classified by Drabik as acts of deprecation, e.g. *You're a very intelligent person, but you do not look like one* (Drabik 2004: 10; Drabik-Frączek 2014: 143); they which include pseudo-compliments/anti-compliments/malicious compliments, which are an example of the so-called denial, i.e. the technique of emotional manipulation, which is the subject of linguistic investigations in this article.

When analyzing anti-compliments, we need to take into account both the sender's intention (to make someone feel bad; improve one's own self-esteem) and the perlocutionary effect on the recipient. In the light of research conducted by Michał Post (2001: 135–147), anti-compliments can be included in the group of so-called discomfortives, i.e. acts aimed at having a negative effect. Anti-compliments, which are the opposite of compliments, also violate the traditional structure of a compliment, which includes the following components: 1) I say: something good can be said about you, 2) I feel admiration for you because of it, 3) I say it because I want you to feel good (Wierzbicka 1983: 130). There are significant modifications and shifts in the structure of an anti-compliment: 1) I say: seemingly something good can be said about you, 2) I feel satisfied with it because in this way I increase my self-esteem, 3) I say it because I want to make you feel unpleasant, sorry, or bad.

5   Anti-compliments – examples

Examples of anti-compliments on social media are abundant. By sharing photos or videos on Instagram, Facebook, X or TikTok, we create a space for Internet users to express their opinions, which often take the form of negging. Comments usually refer to appearance, the way of performing a given activity, partners and the environment from which the people posting photos on social media come from.[20] According to the definition quoted above, negging is ambiguous complimenting in order to depreciate the recipient, weaken his self-confidence, and diminish his merits and achievements. The two-part structure of an anti-compliment – so characteristic of it – canonically includes two components: a complimenting (praising) comment (1) and a malicious, or ironic remark (2),[21] which have a negative impact on the well-being of the recipient, e.g.

You look very good with this kind of hair! (1) *Much better than straight* (2).[22]

The above example cannot be considered a compliment because: 1. the sender is speaking about the recipient and to the recipient, 2. the sender's utterance contains a negative

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20 These are the most common aspects that are the subject of criticism and malicious, subjective assessment in social media – the examples collected and analyzed in the article concern especially the highlighted spheres.

21 In the anti-compliments collected, we also find ones that deviate from the generic pattern. They often take the form of one sentence. In this type of comments, the sender makes a seemingly unpleasant comment, referring to a condition/thing that was (in his/her opinion) more favorable for the addressee, e.g. *You are prettier without makeup; You look prettier without makeup; I prefer you with natural makeup.* These comments suggest that the way someone looks at a given moment is unfavorable or less favorable. In this case, makeup is unnecessary, according to the interlocutor. What the sender means is: you look nice, but you're better off without makeup. The example: *It's as if it was not you. Wow!* is also interesting in communicational terms. 'Wow' means 'you look completely different in this photo.' The exclamation *wow* presupposes what is expressed directly, while revealing the true intentions, emotions and thoughts of the sender: 'you look like a different person in this photo, better, because you are delightful; your natural appearance is not as attractive.'

22 The material base consists of examples from social media and randomly selected websites. The original spelling of the comments has been preserved.

evaluation of the recipient and/or everything related to him, 3. the sender is expressing the message of his own accord, 4. what the sender says about the recipient is not consistent with the sender's own mental state, 5. the sender wants to convince the recipient of the truthfulness of the message, 6. the pragmatic intention of the sender is that, as a consequence, his/her statement made the recipient feel bad or make him feel worse, 7. the sender's statement causes negative feelings in the recipient, 8. the sender feels pleasure for himself as a consequence of the unpleasantness caused to the recipient.

As Drabik-Frączek notes, a compliment has a positive function because it rewards the recipient, valuing him positively. In addition, it leaves the recipient a choice – he can refuse the request contained in the compliment, e. g. *Your dinners are the best! I'm sure you'll help me with cooking*. A compliment also has a phatic function, it serves to establish and maintain relationships. It is important to be tactful so as not to offend the recipient (Drabik 2014: 148–149). Meanwhile, an anti-compliment as an expression of criticism is an example of emotional manipulation, rudeness, even linguistic aggression. Negging uses evaluative elements, and the recipient is often not emotionally and mentally prepared to accept a malicious comment "smuggled" within the utterance,[23] e. g.

> *Pretty girl* (1), *but you had your breasts made too big for your figure.* (2);

> *Nice makeup*, (1) *but it would be better to wear it natural or not at all* (2).

The above examples are neither compliments nor attempts at flattery[24] (although the phrases "pretty girl" or "nice makeup" are traditionally grouped among compliments), because their senders do not want the recipients to feel positively valued. Anti-compliments are not intentionally pure, transparent and sincere. Initially, the recipient does not know what the commenter's intentions are and does not expect to be attacked with a malicious comment. Due to the anti-compliment's basic purpose, which is its negative impact on the interlocutor's emotions, the recipient – usually surprised by an unpleasant remark or disagreeable comment – often cannot effectively defend himself against a verbal attack. Basically, compliments are divided into three groups: prototypical compliments, for which the sender's intention is to positively evaluate the recipient, persuasive compliments, are given in order to please the recipient and influence his thinking and actions, and manipulative compliments, in which the intention to please the recipient is completely repressed (Drabik -Frączek 2004: 143–144). A characteristic of manipulative compliments is that they attribute a value to the recipient, a feature that he or she does

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23 Grażyna Habrajska notes that "In our opinion, manipulation differs from persuasion in that it does not require (although it does not exclude) the use of argumentation, and therefore, the recipient is generally not prepared to accept the sender's proposition. The sender not only does not make the recipient aware of his pragmatic goal, but also tries to mask it or point to a goal other than the actually intended one. (Habrajska 2005: 120).

24 According to Drabik-Frączek, flattery uses manipulation, it attempts to "buy" the recipient, influence the recipient of the message, as a result of which he is in a subordinate position compared to the sender. In turn, compliments using persuasion influence the recipient, but the sender's intention remains clear and sincere. (Drabik 2004: 144–146).

not have (Drabik 2014: 143–144). In the light of this typology, anti-compliments should undoubtedly be placed in the last group and considered a type of manipulative compliments. Verbal manipulation, just like anti-compliments, uses various mechanisms/gimmicks.[25] One of them is the use of the opposing conjunction "but," negating the meaning of the preceding sentence, which could be considered a compliment, as illustrated by the following examples:

It's wonderful you lost 20 pounds (1), ***but***[26] *there's still a long way to go…* (2);

Nice video (1), ***but*** *your makeup is too dark in my opinion* (2);

You look nice, (1) ***but*** *this make-up ages you a bit* (2);

You look pretty (1), ***but*** *I still prefer you without make-up or with light make-up because then you are the most beautiful* (2);

Looks nice (1), ***but*** *behaves like a spoiled idiot* (2);

Angelica, you are beautiful (1) ***but*** *you look a bit unfavorable in this photo* (2);

You are beautiful (1) ***but*** *no offense, I don't like the make-up* (2);

Pretty girl (1), ***but*** *you had your breasts made too big for your figure* (2);

You are a beautiful woman (1), ***but*** *unfortunately you don't look good here* (2).

Anti-compliments suggest to the recipient that his achievements or changes in life are insignificant. The sender makes it clear that the recipient's efforts have been pointless, as the effect is not satisfactory or the actions taken have not brought the desired result:

I'm proud of you for quitting smoking! (1) *Too bad you already have all these wrinkles.* (2)

Congratulations on winning the dance competition. (1) *Maybe one day you'll try a real sport.*[27] (2)

You finally passed your test! (1) *I hope you will be a better driver than you were as a learner…* (2)

False compliments often include comparisons to other people or other objects in extra-linguistic reality. In this way, the sender creates an ideal that the recipient is unable to attain despite his best efforts. Everything the addressee does is diminished:

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25 Among other researchers, Grażyna Habrajska writes about linguistic manipulation, the persuasive function of speech acts, as well as interactive, modal, emotive-evaluative operators that perform the persuasive function, (see Habrajska 2005).

26 Emphasis mine.

27 Usually, the analyzed speech acts are devoid of performative verbs that clearly indicate the type of act. In the above example, the verb *congratulate* appears, but this is rare compared to the wealth of examples canonically implementing the genre pattern.

There's still a bit left (1)*, but you've lost almost as much weight as Maciek!* (2)*;*

You look great (1) *for your age* (2)*;*

Great exam results (1)*. Maybe next semester you will do as well as your friend* (2)*;*

Good on you for getting a new job. (1) *It's a pity you don't earn as much as me* (2)*;*

You're almost as funny (1) *as my ex* (2)*;*

You're moving well, (1) *but you're still far from Elvis* (2)*.*

Negging uses manipulation, especially affecting the emotions and feelings of the interlocutor, sometimes revealing itself at the level of the sound, e.g. in the intonation. Statements constructed and uttered in this way may acquire a characteristic "suspense," quality, as in

These pants are great (1)*, they look… interesting on you* (2)*;*

You look great! (1) *I would never have the courage to wear such a hairstyle* (2)*;*

When will you return to your own face? (1) *I'm asking because she wasn't that bad…* (2)*.*

Another group of pseudo-compliments are those that contain the phrase *for you*. In this way, the commenter praises a given person, but suggests that something fell flat or failed, pointing out that someone else could have performed the activity better or achieved better results:

You look extremely slim in this, (1) *for you!* (2);

I didn't expect that a cold fish like you (2) *could have so much fun at a party* (1);

People like you can never be bothered (2)*, and here are the results!* (1);

You did it well, (1) *for a new employee* (2).

Anti-compliments are based on stereotypical perception of other people. Even if the commenter expresses praise, s/he points to negative features of the environment/group the person being assessed comes from/functions in on a daily basis, which is illustrated, among others, in the examples below.

You're not my type (2) *but you interested me* (1)*;*

Our company usually does not employ immigrants – because they are lazy, (2) *but for you we can make an exception* (1)*;*

I don't usually pick up women like you, (2) *but for you I'll make an exception* (1)*;*

Chicks from the Academy of Fine Arts are generally off the wall, (2) *but I think you have your stuff under control* (1).

Negging is not only about malicious comments targeting someone's appearance or achievements, but also about taking away agency, suggesting that success achieved through hard work is not the result of effort and is undeserved. Anti-compliments trigger the so-called impostor syndrome:[28]

> *Nice – you've lost some weight!* (1) *You've had some treatment, no doubt?* (2);
>
> *I'm surprised you did so well with this report.* (1) *Who helped you?* (2);
>
> *Well, nice photos. I won't say I don't like them,* (1) *but instead of posing in a bikini, you could have come up with something more creative* (2).

Due to the manipulation mechanisms used, false compliments often suggest that a given person's achievements are somehow unusual or surprising, emphasizing that someone has never succeeded at anything before. What has been achieved is the result of chance, coincidence or luck – this is how the effort and work are depreciated

> *Yes! Finally some change!* (1) *I didn't think you would take care of yourself!* (2);
>
> *You're really interesting.* (1) *I did not expect it* (2);
>
> *You look really good.* (1) *I think you finally made an effort today* (2);
>
> *Now you look good!* (1) *The dresses you chose earlier emphasized the flaws of your figure!* (2).

A similar approach is to suggest that in order to achieve something and be more attractive, you need to make a change in your life. Such discomfortives are phrased as advice that – firstly – the recipient did not ask for, and secondly, it does not result from a desire to help, but is an opportunity for a malicious comment:

> *You know, you'd actually look sexy (1) if you lost about 20 pounds (2);*
>
> *It's good. (1) You'd look better if you colored your hair though (2);*
>
> *You look quite all right with short hair. (1) Even though long hair is definitely nicer (2);*
>
> *Michał is nice,(1) but you and Wojtek looked nicer together (2);*
>
> *Your hairstyle is nice,* (1) *but people with your hair color really shouldn't wear bright colors* (2).

When using negging, the sender of the message seemingly evaluates the recipient positively – praising and complimenting him or her (1), and then adds a remark that makes the recipient feel worse (2), which is characteristic of such speech depreciative acts/dis-

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28 The impostor syndrome as a concept is difficult to define clearly. According to Kamil Łuczaj, it is "a psychological phenomenon based on a lack of faith in one's own abilities, as when we feel that we should not be where we are" (Łuczaj 2021: 13). Sylwia Mikurt and Kamil Łuczaj note that "people struggling with impostor syndrome are full of fears. They feel significant anxiety, they are afraid that one day it will come to light that they are not as competent as they initially thought." (Mikurt, Łuczaj: 84).

comfortives. From a communication standpoint, anti-compliments are not always clear to the recipient, and thus they may sometimes be ineffective. A malicious comment must be noticed, recognized and properly decoded. Weakened effectiveness of discomfortives is influenced by the fact that the recipient of the message usually hears praise first, and only then – a malicious comment. Sometimes the recipient's attention is focused on the first part of the statement, so s/he does not always understand the true intention of the sender. Further, by pointing out the interlocutor's advantages along with the need to change some behavior, the recipient may be misled and take such a statement as good advice or constructive criticism. Therefore, it is not always easy to draw the line between a *good*, *kind word* and anti-complimentation. We need to remember that in the case of an anti-compliments, the sender's actual intention is to make the interlocutor feel bad, lowering his or her mood:

Bardzo dobrze Ci w takich włosach! (1) *O wiele lepiej niż w prostych* (2);

Jest prześliczna. (1) *Tylko po co tę buzię ciągle otwierasz?????* (2);

Piękna twarz! (1) *Co do ciała – myślę, że parę kilogramów byś mogła przygarnąć* (2);

Jesteś piękną kobietą, (1) *ale według mnie niestety nie wyglądasz tu dobrze* (2);

Klaudia jesteś piękna, (1) *ale mam taką myśl, że teraz jesteś przesadnie chuda* (2);

Wszystko pięknie, buzia śliczna, (1) *ale Pani chudość zaczyna mnie przerażać* (2).

You look very good with this hair! (1) *Much better than straight* (2)*;*

It is really beautiful. (1) *But why do you keep opening your mouth all the time?????* (2)*;*

Beautiful face! (1) *As for the body – I think you could gain a few kilos* (2)*;*

You are a beautiful woman, (1) *but in my opinion, unfortunately, you do not look good here* (2)*;*

Klaudia, you are beautiful, (1) *but I do think that you are too thin now* (2)*;*

Everything is beautiful, your face is beautiful, (1) *but your thinness is starting to scare me* (2).

Anti-compliments are characterized by expressions that are meant to prepare the recipient for words of criticism, such as: *no offense*, *I love you*, *you're great*, *I adore you*, *I admire you*,[29] thus softening the unflattering content of the message and weakening the interlocutor's vigilance:

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29 Superlatives and verb forms are among the main exponents of a compliment as a speech act. They are also an expression of the positive assessment and evaluation of the recipient of the message. Moreover, such phrases as *for me* or *in my opinion* reveal that the sender, the author of the compliment, wants to sincerely appreciate the recipient. When creating an anti-compliment, the same commonly used methods are used, but the sign of the evaluation changes from plus to minus. The use of a direct address to the addressee in this case reinforces subordination, inequality, and asymmetry of roles between the sender and the recipient. (Drabik 2004: 16–17).

You are beautiful (1) *but **no offense**, you look terrible with this make-up!* (2)*;*

You're beautiful. (1) ***No offense**, I love you, but it's my opinion – this make-up makes you look like a corpse* (2)*;*

Angelika, you are beautiful (1) *but in this photo your look is a bit unbecoming, but **overall I love you <3*** (2)*;*

*Sofia **I love you**, I see you are developing* (1) *but please change your facial expression… Your mouth looks the same in all the photos* (2)*;*

You are great, (1) *but too skinny and getting thinner by the minute.* (2)*;*

***I love and admire** your beauty,* (1) *but you've lost a terrible amount of weight* (2)*;*

***I love you**, you're a good model* (1) *but you look unwell in these photos* (2).

The phrases *I love you*, *you're great*, *I admire you* are unambiguous expressions of sympathy, delight, admiration, appreciation, etc. toward the addressee they follow the typical construction of compliments "1) I say: something good can be said about you, 2) I feel admiration for you because of it, 3) I say it because I want you to feel good" (Wierzbicka 1983: 130). Moreover, these are clearly affirmative expressions, positively evaluating the addressee, revealing an encouraging and – one can assume – sincere emotional attitude of the sender towards the recipient. However the added malicious comment, often in the form of an ironic, unpleasant remark, causes a semantic and axiological shift in the message formulated in this way: "1) I say: seemingly something good can be said about you, 2) I feel satisfied about it, 3) I say it because I want you to feel uncomfortable: 'you are beautiful, but your make-up is ugly; in general you are beautiful, but in this case you look like a corpse; you are beautiful, but it is not visible in this photo; I love you, but you have strange lips and in every photograph you look identical, so you're boring; you're great, but too skinny, so in my opinion, you're not great at all; I admire you for the way you look, but you weigh too little, which makes you less attractive; I like you, but because of that 'You're so skinny, you look unwell'.

Anti-compliments often include emotionally charged means of linguistic expression, such as the verbs *scare/terrify*, the adjective *terrible* and the corresponding adverb form *terribly*, which serve to strengthen the criticism:

Wszystko pięknie, buzia śliczna, (1) *ale Pani chudość zaczyna mnie **przerażać*** (2)*;*

Taką piękną kobietą byłaś, (1) *przepraszam, ale chudość **przeraża*** (2)*;*

Uwielbiam i podziwiam twoją urodę, (1) *ale **strasznie** schudłaś* (2).

Everything is beautiful, your face is beautiful, (1) *but your thinness is starting to **scare** me* (2)*;*

You were such a beautiful woman, (1) *I'm sorry, but this thinness is **terrifying*** (2)*;*

I love and admire your beauty, (1) *but you have lost a **terrible** amount of weight* (2).

6 Conclusions

The intensity of aggressive behavior is particularly pronounced on the Internet, which results from the character of this medium, and particularly its anonymity. In addition to compliments and positive opinions regarding the content posted by users on social media, you can also find many counter-compliments, as illustrated by the examples provided above.

Negging, which involves giving ambiguous compliments, is a tool of emotional manipulation and criticism.[30] The most frequently used manipulative tricks include: using the conjunction *but*, which excludes and undermines the content expressed in the first part of the sentence (e. g. *It's great that you've lost 20 pounds, but there is still a long way ahead of you…*), direct or indirect negation of a given person's achievements (e. g. *Well! Finally, some change! I didn't think you would take care of yourself!*), comparisons to other people as well as various objects in extralinguistic reality (e. g. *You look great for your age*), changing the sense of the message through intonation (e. g. *These pants are great, they look … interesting on you*), the phrase *for you*, depreciating the achievements of the recipient of the statement (e. g. *You look exceptionally slim for you!*), references to stereotypes (e. g. *I don't usually pick up women like you, but for you I will make an exception*), referring to the so-called impostor syndrome, which takes away the agency and importance of the actions taken by the interlocutor (e. g. *I'm surprised that you coped with this report so well. Who helped you?*), pointing to the unusual or not independent way of achieving a goal (e. g. *You look really good. I think you finally made an effort today*), quasi-advice (e. g. *You know, you'd actually look sexy if you lost twenty pounds*).

In negging, positive evaluation is not sincere. The purpose of false compliments is to put pressure on the interlocutor and make them feel uncomfortable. The recipient's self-confidence and sense of value are taken away, sometimes their vision of the world is disrupted, and the accepted system of values is reversed. Phrases such as: *I'm sorry, no offense, I love you, I admire you, you're beautiful* in Polish clearly positively evaluate the object to which they refer, and also serve to build a climate of sympathy and trust. In the structure of anti-compliments, their presence serves, on the one hand, to enhance the effect of surprise and, on the other hand, to hurt the recipient. Anti-compliments are a manifestation of unfriendly, aggressive linguistic behavior that is socially unacceptable, they are also an expression of reluctance towards the recipient, jealousy, negation, rudeness, bad manners, and primarily indicate the sender's low self-esteem.

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30 It happens that people who use negging are exposed when the interlocutor correctly interprets the anti-compliment, i. e. recognizes hidden malice or irony. Then, explaining the double meaning of the statement, the sender reduces the pseudo-compliment to a joke and shifts the responsibility for misunderstanding the comment to the recipient, often using such phrases as *You don't understand jokes; Why are you so serious? I didn't mean anything bad; Nothing can be said to you anymore; I just wanted to express my opinion; I didn't know you had a problem with things like this*. This issue, certainly interesting from a cognitive perspective, requires separate in-depth research. Similarly to the issue of factors determining the use of anti-compliments in everyday communication. However, due to space limitations, we will not reflect on these areas of research here.

Researchers emphasize that emotions and emotional reactions are influenced by various cultural factors. The cultural determinants of the relationship between language and emotions reach the highest structures of communication, e. g. discourse. The examples collected and analyzed here use the Slavic and Romance offensive discourse perceived as spontaneous in the area of expressing emotions – in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon model, which involves controlling one's emotions (so-called defensive discourse) or in the culture of the Far East, in Japanese, Chinese or Vietnamese languages, in which direct expression of emotions is avoided (Sławkowa 2006).

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Izabela Bawej
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The smile as a way of expressing positive emotions in interpersonal relations

Smile tho' / your heart is aching, / Smile – Even though it's breaking, / When there are clouds in the sky – You'll get by, / If you Smile through your fear and sorrow, / Smile and maybe tomorrow / You'll see the sun come shining through – For you. / Light up your face with gladness, / Hide ev'ry trace of sadness, / Altho' a tear may be ever so near, / That's the time you must keep on trying, / Smile – What's the use of crying, / You'll find that life is still worthwhile, / If you just smile.

Charlie Chaplin [1]

Showing one's feelings is a fundamental part of human experience and communication. The expression of positive emotions can manifest itself in different ways depending on the culture, social rules, and individual preferences of the members of a given cultural community. One of the most expressive emotional means of communicating without words is the smile. It is a universal facial expression that is understood by everyone around the world, even if they do not speak the same language. It is recognized and accepted in most cultures, although its meaning may vary according to accepted cultural norms. A smile can be seen from a distance. It is generally a sign of affection, kindness and friendship. It also has the opposite side, that of irony, malice and falsity, but also full of compassion, melancholy or shame.

Although a smile is a universal expression, its meaning is not universal, as it also depends on the specific situation or the prevailing value system in a given community. Structurally similar smiles in Poland or Japan, for example, may have quite different meanings, as different facial expressions reflect the different values of these cultures. Although an English proverb says that everyone smiles in the same language, the meaning of a smile may be interpreted slightly differently, depending on the social and cultural context.

The smile is one of the most expressive emotional means of communication, whereas the present study is devoted to the analysis of the smile as a symbol of positive feelings in the context of human interaction. On the basis of a semantic analysis of the word in selected word combinations (such as phraseological compounds, common phrases, proper names) in Polish, it was shown what positive emotions a smile evokes. This enabled gaining a deeper understanding of the ways in which positive feelings associated with a smile are expressed, as well as learning about its key role in interpersonal interactions.

Keywords: smile, positive emotions, joy, happiness, socio-cultural context

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1 https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/3986728/Charlie+Chaplin/Smile, accessed 3.04.2024.

1   Introduction

A fundamental part of human experience and communication is the ability to express emotions and thoughts. People most clearly reveal feelings through their facial expressions, such as a smiling, a grimace, the expression of surprise or sadness.

The smile is a universal facial expression, understood by everyone around the world, even if they do not speak the same language. It is recognized and accepted in most cultures, although its meaning may vary slightly depending on the local cultural norms and specific social contexts.

Smiling belongs both to the realm of emotional expression and to non-verbal communication. When we are happy, joyful or satisfied, our natural reaction is to smile. This is how we build relationships with other people, showing that we are friendly to them. In addition, when we smile at someone, we often elicit a reflexive smile from them in response, which can reinforce positive communication patterns.

Smiling is a common way of expressing positive emotions in many cultures around the world. In various societies, smiling is seen as a sign of cordiality, kindness, friendship and openness. People often smile to express a positive attitude toward others and to signal a willingness to interact socially.

As smiling is one of the most expressive emotional means of communication, this study is devoted to the interesting research topic of the smile as a symbol of positive feelings in the context of interpersonal relations.

Johann Gottfried Herder asserted that language contains the spiritual world in all its manifestations and dimensions. Since thinking and feeling depend on language, the way we perceive the world is also dependent on it. Herder regarded language not only as an instrument of communication, but also as a means of shaping thought; "It is true that without thought we cannot think, and through words we learn to think: thus language gives human cognition contours and shape" (Herder, Sämtliche Werke 1951, T. 3: 231 after Mańczyk 1982: 34). A valuable source of knowledge about what positive emotions the word *smile* evokes is the analysis of its meaning in various contexts. The present paper focuses on studying the meaning of the word *uśmiech* (smile) based on the example of selected phraseological compounds, common phrases and proper names containing this word in Polish.

The Polish language was chosen because a study of the word *uśmiech* in the Polish socio-cultural context allows us to learn about the peculiarities of Polish culture, especially with regard to the attitude of Poles to smiling and its vital positive meaning in interpersonal relations. This allows a deeper understanding of the ways in which positive emotions are expressed, along with the discovery of subtle emotional nuances.

2   Emotions and their expression

Our preferences and behaviors are largely controlled by emotions, as they shape our perceptions and determine our intuitive judgments. Our feelings act as an internal compass that tells the mind what is important and what it should focus on. This often happens so automatically that we do not notice the subtle power of emotions; we think we have consciously and rationally decided on one course of action or another, for example buy-

ing a new appliance for our home, or starting a relationship with a new partner. In this process, usually only after the fact does our mind provide us with rationalizations that justify our previous decision, taken intuitively (Schnabel 2015: 17–18).

Emotions are part of our personality and the way we respond to various situations in life (Białek 2013: 19–20). They are usually associated with circumstances relevant to the individual, and their intensity always depends on the degree of individual significance of the triggering event. Emotions also act as an innate means of communication, informing those around about what is happening 'inside' the person. In this way, they help in assessing how the person might behave in the near future (Huber 2011: 8). As Bänninger-Huber (2021: 82) points out, emotions are therefore not just phenomena that occur deep within an individual, but also processes that often arise, occur and are regulated in interactions. Also, Łosiak-Pilch (2022: 11–12) points out that emotions are individual reactions and subjective sensations that occur most often in a social context, in interactions with other people. A very important role is then played by the facial expression of emotions, which is a message to others about the emotional states we experience. This allows those around us to know whether we share their joy or express displeasure. It is worth noting here that emotions are episodic states that we experience regularly, many times during each day. They last from several seconds to several minutes. Emotions appear suddenly, build up quickly and fade slowly. They are always reactions to something specific, some event or the actions of others, such as anger in response to an insult, joy in response to a compliment (Evans 2022: 5–6; see also Ekman, Davidson 1998: 21–22; Rastetter 2008: 68).[2]

Whether in our professional or private lives, our entire existence is filled with all sorts of emotions. Despite this, there is no universal definition of emotion. For example, according to Klöster (2021: 16), emotion is used as a general term for an organism's valuing, integrating and complex reaction to a given situation or triggering stimulus.

Ulrich Schnabel (2015: 123), analyzing various definitions of emotion, assumes that an emotion is an episode of related, synchronized changes in the state of all or most of the body's systems in response to an assessment that an external or internal event is relevant to the body's most important goals. In doing so, he emphasizes the special quality of emotional processes, such as the fluttering of the heart or the tightening in the stomach that can accompany them.

The most common assumption is that emotions are creations of the central nervous system, and are expressed through facial expressions (Szarota 2006: 25; see also Ekman, Davidson 1998: 344).

Ekman (2004) emphasizes that humans cannot choose what emotions they experience or whether they want to experience them at all, because facial expressions and physiological changes associated with emotions occur automatically. It should be noted

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2   Here it is worth noting that emotions differ from moods because they are characterized by a specific pattern of facial expression. Moods last longer, while emotions fade faster (Ekman, Davidson 1998: 350). A mood is a state of moderate intensity, which can persist much longer, up to several hours or days. Although its intensity can fluctuate, it does not follow the characteristic course of emotion (single build-up – fade). In general, mood is distinguished from emotion by the absence of facial expression (Łosiak-Pilch 2022: 12).

after Klöster (2021: 16) that emotions are visible in behavior – people change their facial expressions, gestures, body posture or tone of voice (most of us are able to "regulate" the expression of our emotions, i. e. the way we experience them individually).

Emotions are triggered by information processing and evaluation of events. They are accompanied by more than the physiological changes mentioned above and changes in facial expression. Other related phenomena include recall of selected memories or expectations, as well as certain ways in dealing with the events that trigger a given experience, since emotions involve subjective experience (Ekman, Davidson 1998: 344).

Emotions have several functions. Their most important role is to prepare a person for action or to make them take action. In this way, they cause people to focus their attention, and thus affect one's thinking ability, self-esteem and perseverance, among other capabilities. They can serve motivational properties if people aim to maximize the experience of positive emotions and minimize negative ones. Emotions allow people to cope with the events that trigger them. However, if they become too intense, they can disorganize our behavior. For this reason, each person's emotional experience affects their well-being, and can affect their mental health (Ekman, Davidson 1998: 344; see also Schnabel 2015: 38; Klöster 2021: 16).

As can be seen from the above, expressing emotions through facial expressions, tone of voice or gestures performs the important function of communicating our emotional states to other people. These signals make it possible for others to know what we are feeling and they influence the behavior of our recipients. For instance, sharing a smile can defuse an unpleasant situation or create an instant bond even between strangers (Ekman, Davidson 1998: 113).

Emotions can be divided into three groups: universal and innate basic emotions,[3] higher cognitive emotions, and culturally specific emotions[4] (Evans 2022: 5–6; see also Ekman, Davidson 1998: 21–22). With basic emotions, nonverbal communication without words is possible. An example is the object smile (Evans 2022: 8–10).

Emotion can also be understood as a bridge between intrapsychic and interactive processes of affect regulation (a facial signal always has several functions simultaneously). Thus, for example, a smile can be an expression of the intrapsychic experience of joy. As an interactive signal, it can communicate to the interaction partner: "You are likeable." At the

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3   Ekman (2004: 3) distinguishes seven basic emotions: sadness, anger, surprise, fear, disgust, contempt and joy. Typically, these emotions are divided into positive and negative. Negative emotions include fear, anger, disgust, sadness and contempt. Joy is considered a positive emotion. Surprise, according to the researcher, is neither positive nor negative. However, such a division into positive and negative emotions is not without its problems for Ekman, since negative emotions are not always experienced as unpleasant. "Some people take pleasure in angry confrontations, while others feel quite comfortable crying hot tears during a sad movie, for example" (see also Rastetter 2008; Bialek 2013: 19–20).

4   Higher cognitive emotions, like basic emotions, are also universal, but show greater cultural variability. They are not as automatic as basic emotions, build up more slowly and take longer to fade than basic emotions, such as love, guilt, shame, embarrassment, pride, envy, jealousy. Culturally specific emotions are not universal, occurring only in selected cultures. They will only develop in a given culture if certain conditions are met (Evans 2022: 13–16).

same time, it can signal a wish for the other person to continue his or her behavior in the sense: "You or what you are doing pleases me, keep doing it" (Bänninger-Huber 2021: 82).

At this point, it is important to mention the universal nature of feelings. As Bochenek-Roik (2015: 56) notes, certain aspects of nonverbal behavior are universal. However, they may be interpreted differently based on the value system and norms characteristic of a given culture. Therefore, in some countries, the display of emotions is regulated by certain restrictions. For example, in Western cultures, the expression of emotions is valued, while in Eastern cultures an indirect approach is preferred, as negative feelings must be concealed in social situations in order to maintain harmony in the group (Sánches, Bullock 2022: 158). The same applies to smiling.

3 What is a smile?

A smile can be seen from a distance, as it is one of the most common facial expressions.

Few facial expressions are as varied as the smile. We encounter, for example, typical forms of smiling in the phrase *keep smiling* associated with the English, in the wide '*say cheese*'-type smile characteristic of Americans, or in the impenetrable smile of East Asians (Wulf 1986: 313).

In general, it is a sign of sympathy, kindness and friendship. It can also have the opposite side, for example, that of irony, malice and duplicity, but also sympathy, melancholy, or shame. Physiologically, a smile is one of the chief grimaces – the opposite of the grimace of pain. Basically, however, the facial expression inherent in it expresses: joy, cheerfulness, openness, a positive attitude to life and other people (Hendrykowski 2017: 204; see also Szarota 2006: 19).

Our personal and professional relationships can depend on how often we smile. People smile when they are happy, embarrassed, sad, when they feel embarrassed or awkward, and even when they are offended. A smile can express different feelings, such as love and contempt, pride and submission (Szarota 2012: 9).

In the *Universal Dictionary of the Polish Language* (2009: 1191), a smile is defined as "characteristic movements of the lips consisting of their upward bending and slight widening denoting various feelings of a person, usually positive, such as joy, satisfaction, which are also a sign of attitude towards someone or something, such as irony or disregard." A similar definition can be found in the *Grand Dictionary of the Polish Language* (2018: 124–125), where a smile is defined as "a slight upward bending of the lips and their widening, combined with facial expressions, usually being an expression of joy, contentment, sometimes also expressing irony, embarrassment, disregard, etc."

Christoph Wulf (1986: 313) writes of a smile that it "surrounds the face, lips, cheeks, eyes. Often it is not directed at other persons or objects, but suffices for itself."

Smiling is an innate behavior. Infants, around the age of three months, smile at their mothers – and all over the world. However, even though this behavior is innate, later on it is dictated by cultural norms (Baumann 2016; see also Schnabel 2015: 156). As noted above, although smiling is a universal expression, its meaning is not, as it depends on the situational context and cultural norms. Structurally similar smiles in Poland or Ja-

Fig. 1. A smile (https://www.tapeciarnia.pl/tapeta-dwie-usmiechniete-dziewczynki-z-kreconymi-wlosami, accessed Apr. 30, 2024)

pan, for example, may have very different meanings, because different facial expressions reflect the different values in different cultures (Patterson 2011 cited in Szarota 2012: 8).

Stępień (2022: 142–143) writes that individual acts of smiling are suspended between the general dimension (related to the physiology and neurobiology of smiling) and the cultural dimension (concerning among other things the norms treating the conditions and features of a smiling expression). Some smiles are automatic, appearing without the participation of conscious processes, while others are controlled, submitting to the processes of their formation. We can add that in the latter case, they may be part of skills developed and tailored to meet strict requirements, such as those related to the performance of a particular job. Also worth noting is that smiling as a type of facial reaction is often associated with the sound-based reaction of laughter (see also Rastetter 2008; Hofmann 2015).

A smile, usually seen as a simple facial expression, is a complex phenomenon that has a profound effect on our mood, physical and mental well-being, and on the consolidation of social ties. It is also a natural tool for improving our quality of life.[5] In addition, **it serves many functions in our daily life. For example, it reduces stress.** When we smile, our brain releases endorphins, which reduce the level of the stress hormone cortisol. This biological reaction creates a feeling of calm, happiness, contentment and well-being. Smiling can lower the heart rate and blood pressure, which further contributes to stress reduction. Smiling also relieves pain, as the endorphins released through smiling act as natural painkillers. It is an element of communication and of forming community ties. It plays a critical role in social interactions, helping to build trust and strengthen interpersonal bonds. Smiling can be a self-regulating mechanism, improving our emotional state. It is also often associated with a person's attractiveness, as it influences positive per-

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5   https://www.fazialis.de/de/mimik/laecheln-und-lachen/dostęp: 25.04.2024.

ceptions of beauty. As a universal sign of uplifting emotions, it adds beauty to the face.[6] It also has another communicative function; it is used, for example, to mask various internal states, such as resentment, irritation, or even one's intention to mislead (Szarota 2012: 23–25; see also Rittner 1986: 324).

As Volker Rittner (1986: 330) points out, the variety of forms of noncommittal smiling is considerable – it allows us both to show commitment and attention, and hide them. At the same time, smiling protects our body and psyche, as can be seen from the fact that the maximum number of social and psychological functions can be achieved with minimal effort of one's facial muscles. In reflex smiling – we often smile without need or necessity – the principles of economization are revealed to prevent risky personal and physiological effort.

Smiling is the prototypical expression of joy. However, according to Ekman (2004), other optimistic feelings such as contentment, amusement, relief, etc., can also be expressed by smiling. Here it should be emphasized that of all the types of smiles, only a genuine smile is a signal of joy. A genuine smile is one that is accompanied by the experience of a positive emotion that one would probably want to pass on to others. This smile is called a *felt smile*, *happy felt smile*, *enjoyment smile* or also a *Duchenne smile*, in honor of the French anatomist Duchenne du Boulogne – the first to differentiate between a genuine smile and a fake smile –one that carries no favorable feelings (Ekman, 1990; Huber 2011: 25)[7].

Smiling in selected situations is part of the act of communication. After all, one would be hard-pressed to imagine a conversation devoid of any facial signals. People speak, raise their eyebrows, frown their foreheads, make "big eyes," squint, grimace, or smile. In communication, the sender smiles when, for example, she wants a verbal message to be emphasized, when she asks for a favor. Smiling helps her attract the attention of the listener, and can also indicate sociability and friendliness. However, it should be noted that smiles are abused by liars in order to create the image of a trustworthy person.[8] Smiling during a conversation provides a feedback loop, i. e., it indicates a positive response from the listener (often, however, it can only be out of politeness), an understanding of the conversation and active participation in it (Szarota 2012: 101–108; see also Rittner 1986: 327).

There are different types of smiles that are reflected in body language. Two types are basic, i. e. automatic and volitional smiles. Automatic smiles appear on our faces without the participation of consciousness, while volitional smiles submit to the control of our consciousness (Szarota 2006: 19).

For example, Angelika Frankenberger (2023) distinguishes the following types of smiles:

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6   https://www.fazialis.de/de/mimik/laecheln-und-lachen/dostęp: 25.04.2024.
7   French physiologist and physician Guillaume-Benjamin Duchenne is credited with the distinction between genuine and fake smiles (Mai 2023). Duchenne studied the mysteries of smiling and in 1862 discovered the so-called "true" smile, which we cannot consciously control. In his words, such a smile is caused "only by the sweet feelings of the soul." The doctor discovered it by teasing the faces of test subjects with an electric current (Baumann 2016).
8   As William Shakespeare (2006: 233) wrote in *Hamlet*: "He who smiles may also be a villain" (Act One, scene five, *Hamlet*).

(a)   polite smile – this is often superficial, and expresses politeness or kindness, but not necessarily genuine joy;
(b)   spontaneous or genuine smile – this type of smile is not false, and represents genuine joy and happiness. It is often referred to as "sincere."
(c)   reserved smile – such a smile is subtle and can signal a certain shyness, or aloofness, and composure;
(d)   triumphant smile – it manifests pride and superiority, often in competitive situations;
(e)   ironic smile – such a smile can be used to show derision or sarcasm and often involves a degree of malice.

The differences between the above types of smiles lie in their intensity, accompanying facial expressions and emotional signals conveyed. However, the interpretation of a smile can vary greatly from culture to culture, and the ability to recognize different types of smiles is an important part of social competence. Indeed, not every smile is the same (Frankenberger 2023; see also Mai 2023).

4   The smile across cultures

The way emotions are expressed can vary depending on the community and social context. What is considered appropriate in one culture may be inappropriate in another. In different cultures, the expression of positive emotions, such as joy, may manifest itself in a variety of ways depending on the cultural norms, prevailing community rules or individual preferences of the members of a given cultural community. As already noted, smiling is a common way of expressing joy or happiness in many cultures. Although an English proverb says that everyone smiles in the same language, the meaning of a smile is sensitive to the prevailing socio-cultural rules.

Let us use selected examples for Western cultures (selected European countries and the United States), Eastern cultures and from Muslim countries.

People from the United States distribute smiles very generously. The smile typical of American culture[9] "does not reflect deep emotions, but expresses firmly held beliefs about social life and the nature of interpersonal relationships. It is also characterized by spontaneity because, being 'in use' every day, it has become an automatic response in various social situations" (Szarota 2012: 28). Most Americans are friendly to others and open to people, so they generously bestow smiles on others, even newly met people. In American culture, kind words and broad smiles are natural and expected (Szarota 2012: 28–29). The ideal American smile is the so-called Hollywood smile, in which two even rows of and snow-white teeth without gaps are displayed. What is deemed undesirable is the "gummy smile," in which the upper gums are exposed in addition to the teeth. This is because in the United States, the smile primarily has a commercial significance (Szarota 2006: 76, 81; see also Schnabel 2015: 232).

An important value for American culture is serenity, a friendly attitude toward the world, consisting of cordiality to others. However, it is not about making personal con-

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9   The United States is a multicultural country with large ethnic differences in the use of smiles.

tacts or deeper relationships. Therefore, a sign of friendliness in social interactions is a polite smile. In American culture, the so-called smile for show tends to be valued as part of the rules of social life: 'I want to be liked, accepted, seen as a friendly and cheerful person' (Szarota 2006: 81, 83).

The French and Spanish keep a smile for those they really like (Szarota 2012: 10). Historically in Spain, good manners dictated seriousness. People in the streets rarely smiled, because in this country it was traditionally considered a smile not as a symbol of joy, but rather of unkemptness. Today, the rule in Spain is that a smile is bestowed only on acquaintances. However, a stranger ceases to be a stranger after the first meeting. From that point on, a smile may already appear, because we already know each other, but it is worth noting that a smile in the case of such an acquaintance is not mandatory (Szarota 2012: 75–76).

French people smile less often than Americans, for example, they tend not to smile at strangers unless they have a good reason. This does not mean that they are incapable of smiling. They do it, but in a group of good acquaintances or friends, not on a bus or in the street. This is why, for example, French officials are perceived by foreigners as gruff, sullen and stern. Nor is smiling part of the ritual of introducing oneself and greeting in France. For the French, smiling has other functions: it is intended, for example, for a friend, for a child, for a loved one (Szarota 2006: 100–101). Nowadays, the French are smiling more and more, so as to change the image of France as an inhospitable and unfriendly country to tourists.

Poles and Germans are also not eager to offer smiles to people outside their immediate circle of friends and family. They do, however, smile in formal situations, if their job demands it, for example. Poles on public transport or in a store do not smile at strangers, they keep their distance, do not look them in the eye, and tend to be wary of strangers. They smile when they want to talk, when they invite someone to contact them. They do so less often than Western societies because they do not trust strangers. For Poles, what matters most is family and the closest circle of friends (Szarota 2006: 92–92).

In the past, the Swiss and Germans commonly tended to regard smiling people as intelligent. In contrast, smiling people in Russia and Japan were perceived as silly. The Swiss and Australians perceive smiling people as sincere. However, Indians and Argentines see it exactly the opposite – such people appear insincere to them (Baumann 2016).

A smile has a different meaning in Asian culture. It is primarily a form of social etiquette. The Japanese, for example, are members of a collectivist society. Thus, from birth they are persistently taught to respect group values, show positive emotions toward their own group. Negative feelings must be masked, as they can "harm" social cohesion. Therefore, the Japanese show smiles in situations involving negative sensations, such as anger. This is because one of the most important values of Japanese culture is social harmony, based on cooperation, trust and the ability to share with others. To achieve this, one must control one's emotional expression. According to the Japanese, uncontrolled displays of emotion could hurt someone and shatter social cohesion, so they mask their own feelings by smiling. The Japanese suppress not only socially destructive emotions, like anger or contempt, but also positive ones, such as joy. Another way to achieve social harmony is to communicate obedience in hierarchical relationships, e.g. Japanese employees smile when they have to inform their superiors of the mistakes they have made,

pupils and students smile when they don't know the answer to a question. With a smile, they exhibit a corresponding degree of deference. When they are unhappy or embarrassed, they smile. Japanese people will not reciprocate a smile to a stranger who smiles at them on the street. Their smile is usually a subdued half-smile, and women often continue to cover their mouths with their hands while smiling, which is a sign of good manners (Szarota 2012: 29–34, 73–74; see also Szarota 2006: 64–65; Evans 2022: 11).

Nowadays, one can see a cultural shift in the interpretation and meaning of a smile in Japan. Thanks to globalization, the Internet and television, cultural exchange has become much more intense. Therefore, younger Japanese are moving more and more towards the Western way of expressing emotions, and smile more and more when they are happy (Baumann 2016).

Chinese people reserve smiles only for acquaintances because they think they will be asked for some kind of favor. Wide, teeth-revealing smiles are considered in China to be inferior and indecent, especially when women smile in this way. However, in the 1990s, new standards emerged in the service industry, foreign to East Asian traditions, requiring full smiles revealing teeth. That's why smile schools began to spring up in the country, providing courses for employees on how to smile in order to appear credible (Szarota 2012: 73–74; see also Evans 2022: 11).

In Bangkok, Thais smile, even when their smile doesn't reflect their true feelings. They smile in the face of everyday problems or in the face of the death of a loved one. They don't do so out of a lack of feelings, but in doing so they convey a silent message that what has happened is irreversible. With a smile, they want to spare others the grief and do not want to take away their joy of life (Szarota 2006: 69).

In many Muslim countries, even in those where the influence of Western culture can be seen, such as Egypt and Morocco, still in some regions a smile on a woman's face, especially an unmarried one, is interpreted as an invitation to sexual contact and is perceived by many men as a sign of her immoral conduct. This is because they believe that only comfort girls dare to smile at strange men. In Saudi Arabia, for example, women in public must hide their faces behind veils, so even if they smile, no one can see it. In that country, a predominantly serious expression is preferred, and smiles are interpreted as a sign of insecurity and aloofness (Szarota 2012: 90; Frankenberger 2023).

5   Smiley faces

In this context, it is worth mentioning electronic communication and the expression of emotions through *smiley* faces, the so-called *smiley* – the symbol of a yellow round face with schematically marked eyes and mouth, which conveys various emotions visible on the human face, such as: ☺ – a smile, good humor, ☹ – displeasure (see Bawej 2024: 547).[10]

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10 The first emoticons – ideograms used to express emotions – were created as early as the 19th century. It is assumed that the beginning of the existence of emoticons is connected with an article published on March 30, 1881 in the American satirical magazine *Puck*. At the time, it featured designs for four 'faces' – happy, sad, indifferent, and surprised. Nowadays, users of social networks are not limited to the popular faces, but also use other signs, such as images of animals, plants, objects or

Fig. 2. Emoticons (https://www.google.pl/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fpixabay.com%2Fpl%2Fimages%2Fsearch%2Femotikony%2F&psig=AOvVaw3Xhb3Xm1PXDqEeiWDNo65P&ust=1712744324113000&source=images&cd=vfe&opi=89978449&ved=0CBIQjRxqFwoTCIjimo30tIUDFQAAAAAdAAAAABAE, accessed on Apr. 9, 2024)

☺ This round face represents a warm and friendly smile. The smiling face mainly expresses happiness, friendship, gratitude or appreciation. It can be used to express contentment, satisfaction or gratitude. It is also used to show admiration, affection, and even support.

It can discreetly and modestly reveal happiness, joy and serenity. It can be used to share feelings of warmth and positive energy with others, express satisfaction and acceptance, as well as say "thank you," respond to a pleasant surprise, offer support or simply share a moment of happiness.[11]

Although smiley-face emoticons are widely recognized as universal, they can also exhibit cultural complexities. For example, in the United States and Europe, the emoticon :), ☺ symbolizes a happy face. The Japanese, to signal a happy face, use the symbol ^_^. Koreans and Chinese use a similar symbol. The Chinese also have a sign depicting a smiling woman, with distinctive cheek dimples marked in addition to a smile: *^_^*. The emoti-

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even places (https://www.polskieradio.pl/39/156/Artykul/2706812,Emotikony-%E2%80%93-jezyk-obrazkowy-ktory-istnieje-juz-od-dwoch-wiekow, accessed 9.04.2024).

The first time emoticons were used on the Internet was on September 19, 1982 at 11:44 a.m. by American computer scientist and Carnegie Mellon University lecturer Scott Fahlman. While exchanging emails with his university colleagues, Fahlman suggested using an ideogram symbolizing a smile: ":-)" – to indicate jokes. The emoticon became a permanent fixture of the internal correspondence of the university's faculty, and later very quickly gained popularity in other schools as well. More and more new ideograms began to emerge at the time – for example, the surprised or broadly smiling face (https://www.polskieradio.pl/39/156/Artykul/2706812,Emotikony-%E2%80%93-jezyk-obrazkowy-ktory-istnieje-juz-od-dwoch-wiekow, accessed 9.04.2024).

11 https://www.emojiall.com/pl/emoji/%E2%98%BA%EF%B8%8F, accessed 9.04.2024.

con is a reference to ancient Chinese etiquette, according to which women could not smile too widely and had to be restrained in showing positive emotions (Szarota 2012: 118).

Cultural differences are also reflected in the combinations of letters and punctuation marks with which people express emotions in short text messages, such as a smile, wink, sometimes even a sob or sniffle. In Europe, the difference between such feelings is determined by the mouth: for joy :-) they point upward, for sadness :-(downward. In Japan, by contrast, emoticons express feelings almost exclusively with the eyes. That's why a Japanese smile looks like this: ^_^, while a crying face is expressed by the Japanese as ;_; (Baumann 2016).

Also worth mentioning is the addition of identical punctuation elements to an existing emoticon to mark the intensity of a given emotional state. Thus, the sign for a smile :-) supplemented with two, three, four or more closing parentheses presents increasing joy: :-) → :-)) → :-))) → :-))) (Wierzbicka-Olejniczak 2014: 127).

8   Summary

The smile is a reaction to various emotional states: it appears in a moment of relaxation and calm, or accompanies happiness and joy. It is often associated with proximity to those who are important to us. Indeed, a smile can serve as a conscious expression of our feelings (see also Wulf 1986: 314). Smiling is an individual reaction and subjective sensation, occurring most often in our interactions with other people. It depends on the prevailing social rules, as well as the individual preferences of each person. Smiling can provide numerous benefits in interactions. Its power not only leads to greater happiness and satisfaction, but also benefits social relationships.

The above analysis also shows that smiling is not only commonly seen as an expression of joy, happiness, and kindness. In the right proportions, it is also a gesture that shows positive emotions and good will toward others. "With the help" of **a smile, beauty can be perceived, including inner beauty, which is not limited to external appearance.** A smile helps build trust and friendship between people, and encourages openness in communication. It is a gesture that can help break down barriers and connect people, to form and maintain relationships with others. It can ease tensions during conflicts, help socialize, and relieve stress in formal situations. It improves the mood and creates a positive impression in family and work situations. **As a communication tool, smiling acts as** a universal sign of understanding and acceptance.

Although the above analysis was conducted on the basis of material in Polish, the results are more widely applicable and are not limited only to the Polish language and culture. In many societies, the word "smile" is a universal symbol of positive emotions, and the Polish language was used here only as an example to show how positive feelings can be expressed regardless of language and culture.

9   Concluding remarks

Smiling is an innate human behavior and part of facial expression, which is formed by tensing the corners of the mouth. Regardless of culture and society, this facial expression is universal, so a smile is a signal that is understood and read everywhere in the world.

Smiling is a common way of expressing positive emotions in most cultures, symbolizing joy, friendship, kindness, openness, and a positive attitude towards another person.

At the same time, a smile is a powerful tool in social interactions. Despite cultural differences, smiling is a universal way of building bonds and positive interpersonal relationships. In many communities, smiling is considered a social norm, expressing politeness and respect toward the interlocutor. Of course, cultural norms influence the interpretation of a smile, as it may be more accepted and expected in some situations in a given community than in others. Thus, the perception of a smile may vary depending on the cultural background, accepted cultural norms or the specific situation, especially since it is not always perceived as an expression of sincere affection or joy.

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