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A central image of the Earth globe, showing continents and oceans, with the word 'of' overlaid on it.



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Editorial

This is the 10th issue, no. 2 of *Styles of Communication*, the international journal which is published annually by the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies (University of Bucharest, Romania) in cooperation with the Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch, Poland. From 2009 to 2014, *Styles of Communication* was published by the “Danubius” University of Galați, Romania.

The main purpose of *Styles of Communication* is to show the unity existing within global diversity. As communication implies, besides the transfer of information to others and the decoding of the others’ messages, the production of meaning within (non)verbal texts/objects is closely connected to interculturality, creativity and innovation and it needs a refining of styles in order to avoid misunderstandings.

This journal is a plea for interdisciplinarity as its aim is to include different perspectives on cultural studies, coming from different fields, such as linguistics, semiotics, literature, political studies, communication, public relations, anthropology, translation studies, cultural studies and so on.

Styles of Communication is indexed by Index Copernicus, DOAJ, Genamics Journal Seek, EBSCOhost databases, and it is recommended by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

This issue is focused on various approaches to memory studies, political discourse and organizational communication.

We would like to see this journal as an ongoing project in which future issues may contribute to the exchange of research ideas representing broad communication - oriented approaches.

Camelia M. Cmeciu
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Politics, Media and Power: Relationships within the Frameworks of Political Memory

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Abstract: The main objective of this study is to scientifically prove the limits of the hypothesis that political memory is shaped by the media and press operations in Turkey under the influence of the political actors. The studies consist of using two different methods, media analysis and fieldwork. In this context, the media analysis involves newspaper articles about the political leaders from the 2014 Presidential elections. The newspapers were selected based on their political view and ratings. We collected and analysed 1067 articles from the most read five national newspapers which have different places on the political spectrum in Turkey, published between June 1 and August 10, 2014. The fieldwork chapter of the analysis consisted of a sealed envelope survey. The questionnaire forms were given to the 500 students from Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, 243 of them were valid; social media and media usage habits of the subjects were examined and evaluated with their replies to the memory-related questions. Lastly, the study concluded that the interactive-relationship between media and memory could be shaped by the political motivations of media and/or political actors, but the result can be eventually a false memory. That is, one's habitus has the determining priority regarding the scope and the content of the memory -or the false memory.

Keywords: political memory, politics, media, habitus.

1. Approach

Media and politics are in an interactive relationship in which frequently updated power balance. In this relation, the media can influence decision-making mechanisms and political elites by shaping the sphere of influence of political power. On the other hand, legislators and political powers have control of the legal grounds and operating conditions of the media. Thus, the interaction appears to be a very attractive opportunity for both sides, both politically and economically. The ubiquitous nature of the media provides itself with a strong position against political power via reaching out various social classes of the society at any time.

Media has an interactive relationship with society as well as politics. This relation

contributes to both cultural and individual memory in society. The need for information of the individuals provides media with an opportunity to set a useful framework regarding shaping memory. In the process of building this memory, it will not be appropriate to think that individuals are utterly surrendered by all submitted news which is shaped by the relationship between media and politics. A Bourdieuan concept, Habitus plays an important role in understanding how effective this news will be on individuals in the process of creating memories.

In this framework, the relationship between media and memory will first be examined. And then, media and political relations will be discussed, and the possible consequences of the mutual interest relation in the field of the media-politics-capital triangle will be evaluated. In the light of these results, the democratic nature of the media will be debated when considering the effect of the media on political memory. Finally, the data of the research are based on the field survey and media analysis before the 2014 presidential elections.

2. Political Memory

At first, we can say that political memory differs from the cultural memory of social/collective memory regarding the scope and paradigmatic view. (Akyıldız & Bora, 2013, pp. 213-214). The most important factor that distinguishes political memory from social memory is its usability as a weapon at the international level. Also, the collective (social) memory can be shaped by political memory.

Political memory is a concept associated with the way memories are remembered, recorded, or forgotten. Politics takes an active role in the process of differentiating memories from facts and plays an active role in differentiating memories from facts while providing a framework for shaping memory. According to Akyıldız and Bora (2013, p. 210), political memory studies is a field that explains which political events and facts are to be remembered, forgotten or are wanted to be forgotten. In other words, the difference between political memory and those above "objective facts" shows how events are perceived and remembered differently by individuals and society.

On the other hand, as with Foucault's conceptualisation of "technologies of the self", it can be argued that the construction of political memory is a political technology of the self (Akyıldız & Bora, 2013, p. 210). The main thesis of this approach is that the nation is a mnemonic politics of a great extent and it builds identity through this politics. Thus, political memory is described as a transitional justice mechanism and is introduced to compensate for past losses, damages and grievances in times of catastrophe such as authoritarian/totalitarian rulings, massive and devastating wars, massacres, genocide. (Akyıldız & Bora, 2013, p. 214). As the relationship with the past can be established through "remembering", in the form of a "culture of remembrance" and as a "reckoning

¹ Mnemonic: 1) "Helper for memory", Regeneration with memorial things 2) Art of memory Enhancement (Online Etymology Dictionary)

policy". It can also be established as a "forgetting culture" and "suppression policy" through "forgetting" (Sancar, 2010, p. 35). It is possible to see some of these strategies in the political moves of political actors to "forget" and not to "recall" As a consequence, they can make a variety of "forgetting" or "do not remember" politics and construct an identity from scratch on a political, religious or ethnic level. Consequently, the question of how the political memories of the individuals will be shaped will also determine how social memory will be shaped in total. Thus, social and political memory becomes an interactive space between the media, politics and society, which is why those concepts are the key to this study.

3. Mediated Memory

As Johnson and Raye (1981, p. 67) claim that "both perception of external stimuli and thought produce memories". In this respect, mediated memory means (Dijck, 2007) that the memory is mostly directed and made by the media, and it "comes nearer to understanding the mechanisms by which personal, social, cultural and collective memories become mediated and thus transmitted in both placed and boundaryless ways" (Hansen-Garden, 2009, p. 46). Moreover, the ubiquitous nature of digital media is a fundamental change in personal and collective memory formation (Burns, 2013, p. 39) because "the likelihood of media influence increases with exposure. (Joslyn, 2003, p. 442) In short, distribution has increased with digital media which led to a drastic change in the memory of individuals and society.

According to Morris and Suzuki (2005, pp. 29-30), media shapes the memories and "gives us access to a diverse range of voices and imagines of past events". Thus, memory and media are both a cause and a result of each other. These two emerged as units that allow the formation of social memory. Ideally, in the rapidly evolving and changing world of communication, "mediated memory" (Dijck, 2007) emerges as a viral spread of democratic memory. However, in practice, this may not always be the case. (We will return to this topic in the next subchapter in the context of depolitisation).

Bourdon's (1992, p. 545) survey from 1992, indicates that "audiences do not accept everything offered to them by the media, even if it is offered repeatedly if it is perceived to be a contradiction with 'what is learnt from other sources'." Joslyn advocates similar views on this issue: "Political knowledge serves as a resistance causing agent, permitting recipients of media messages to counterargue new information and assimilate it to their existing cognitions" (Joslyn, 2003, p. 442). But today individuals have much more options for media and they usually follow one which fits their worldview. Thus the media plays a role in enhancing individuals' established beliefs and thoughts and contributes to their memory as the way they would prefer.

4. Habitus and Memory

To understand the relation between politics-media-memory, the concept of habitus, which draws attention firstly in Aristotle's works, should be emphasised. Bourdieu used the concept of habitus, which he strongly emphasised in his terminology, to show social, political and economic relations. According to Bourdieu (2006), the habitus is a structure that internalises social practices and memories are closely related to the individuals' habitus. Also, individuals develop their media preferences due to their habitus. When the relationship between habitus and memory is examined in a Bourdieuan context, the concept of episodic and semantic memory emerges.

Actors are provided with episodic memory - that constitutes the memories of the individuals (Squire & Zola, 1996) - to be able to remember concrete and related events consciously. According to Matelski (2000, p. 75), the media offers supportive news for episodic memory formation. Although episodic memory is based on personal experiences, it becomes meaningful with semantic memory which is a long-term memory and makes the acquired information meaningful. Because episodic memory is related to the memories of individuals, it is also influential in the formation of long-term predispositions, that is, habitus. On the other hand, the interpretations of episodic and semantic memories related to a certain event will vary by the diversity of individuals' habitus and capitals.

5. False Memory

According to Lyle and Johnson (2006, p. 197), "false memories are memories for events that never occurred, or did not occur the way we remember them". Thus, false memory is different than misremembering. They can be developed due to different reasons (Johnson & Raye, 1981), but our focus here is on media. The media owners and editors who are very aware of their effects on individuals may play a role as shapers of the false memory regarding the perception and recollection of political events, and when they expect us to act a certain way they can frame the news or emphasize particular events, they can cause some effects on the memory by various techniques (e.g., *Agenda Setting*, *Spiral of Silence*; *Knowledge Gap*; *Media Dependency*; *Semantic saturation* i.e.). Thus, the media can distort reality by highlighting certain aspects of events and ignoring some others. This process ultimately contributes to the formation of false memory of individuals who may *remember* unrealised political events.

In Lippmann's terminology (2009, p. 27), he uses "pseudo-environment" to explain individuals' "interior representations of the world". They are "a determining element in thought, feeling, and action." Considering "a behaviour is a response to that pseudo-environment", it will be understood that having false memory is a projection of individuals' false interpretations of the facts. Moreover, it has shown that individuals do not follow media and social media channels that are incompatible with their ideas, they live in filter bubbles, as Praiser (2011, p. 17) claims, "we're never bored. We're never annoyed. Our media is a perfect reflection of our interests and desires."

Frenda, Knowles, Saletan and Lotus² (2013) have reached various conclusions regarding the existence of false memory in their work which is the most comprehensive False Memory study ever done. In the survey, 5269 people participated, one in every five subjects claimed that they *remember* the (fabricated) political events. The half of the respondents misread these events, while 27% claimed that they *saw* these fabricated events in the news.

The events that have been settled in memory are partly related to the pre-existing attitudes and evaluations of the people. Attitude-congruent events are supported by familiarity and similarity. (Frenda, Knowles, Saletan, & Loftus, 2013, pp. 280-286) Actual events without attitude-congruent do not find the necessary framework in the person and lead the person to conflict. Ultimately, the individual has to choose between the “truth” which is compatible with the rooted habitus and the realities. At this point, individuals generally continue to choose the first one, that is their truth.

6. Memory Formation under the Influence of Media

6.1. Research Method

The main purpose of the study is to investigate the relation between media, memory and politics in the framework individuals’ habitus. We claim that individuals with different habitus and capital have different political memories. SPSS2-v.21 program was used in evaluating the data obtained by the researcher's questionnaire and content analysis.

6.2. Media Analysis

In this section, it will be examined how many news reports about political actors (Far-right party MHP Leader Devlet Bahçeli, Kurdish Nationalists HDP leader Selahattin Demirtaş, AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President Candidate for CHP and MHP Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and CHP leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu) are made in the five selected newspapers (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sözcü, Yeni Şafak and Zaman) and how the actors are evaluated in these news articles. Thus, it will be investigated which newspapers are more likely to criticise which political actors or which ones are closer to their thinking and political view. In this context, the media analysis involves newspaper articles about the political leaders from the 2014 Presidential elections. The newspapers selected based on their political view and ratings. We collected and analysed 1067 articles from the most read five national newspapers which have different places on the political spectrum in Turkey, published between June 1 and August 10, 2014. The following table presents the news counts for each leader. Most of the news was made about Erdoğan, especially by the

² In the study, five unreal photographs were shown and the link between the political preferences of the individuals and the false memory was tried to be revealed. A photographic image has been added to all of these fabricated events. These images are about Lieberman, Cheney / Edwards, Bush, Clinton and Obama.

main-stream Hurriyet newspaper. Cumhuriyet and Sözcü newspapers which both have an opposition angle, are the second and the third most frequently reporting newspaper on Erdoğan.

| | D. Bahçeli | S. Demirtaş | R.T. Erdoğan | E. İhsanoğlu | K. Kılıçdaroğlu | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------|
| Cumhuriyet | 25 | 54 | 82 | 29 | 58 | |
| Hürriyet | 23 | 35 | 129 | 23 | 47 | |
| Sözcü | 25 | 15 | 84 | 27 | 53 | |
| Yeni Şafak | 9 | 13 | 71 | 10 | 10 | |
| Zaman | 29 | 22 | 51 | 22 | 32 | |
| Total | 111 | 139 | 417 | 111 | 200 | 978 |

Table 1: The Number of News on Political Actors in Selected Newspapers

Therefore, the presentation of political actors in the news has been evaluated in the category of “positive”, “negative” and “neutral”.

| Newspaper | D. Bahçeli | S. Demirtaş | R.T. Erdoğan | E. İhsanoğlu | K. Kılıçdaroğlu |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Cumhuriyet | | | | | |
| Neutral | 20 | 22 | 9 | 6 | 32 |
| Positive | 2 | 30 | - | 22 | 22 |
| Negative | 3 | 2 | 73 | 1 | 43 |
| Hürriyet | | | | | |
| Neutral | 21 | 26 | 68 | 3 | 32 |
| Positive | 2 | 9 | 57 | 20 | 14 |
| Negative | - | - | 4 | - | 1 |
| Sözcü | | | | | |
| Neutral | 18 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| Positive | 5 | 4 | - | 23 | 39 |
| Negative | 2 | 4 | 74 | 1 | 1 |
| Yeni Şafak | | | | | |
| Neutral | 6 | 6 | 2 | 4 | - |
| Positive | 1 | - | 69 | - | - |
| Negative | 2 | 7 | - | 6 | 10 |
| Zaman | | | | | |
| Neutral | 24 | 17 | 5 | 1 | 15 |
| Positive | 5 | 4 | - | 21 | 16 |
| Negative | - | 1 | 46 | - | 1 |
| Total | Neutral | Positive | Negative | | |
| 978 | 370 | 365 | 243 | | |

Table 2: Present Status of Political Actors in Selected News

When the news about Bahçeli is examined, it can be said that the newspapers displayed a neutral attitude towards Bahçeli but he was left behind. The reason for this is that he would not be a candidate in the elections, but he and his party would support İhsanoğlu by jointly nominating with the CHP.

On the other hand, the newspaper which made positive news for Kurdish Nationalists' leader and presidential candidate Demirtaş is the Cumhuriyet newspaper. The newspaper with the most negative news about him is Yeni Şafak which supports Erdoğan in any circumstances. Cumhuriyet newspaper indirectly supported Demirtaş to redistribute Kurdish origin votes of Erdoğan.

Only 9 of the 82 news reports on Erdoğan in the Cumhuriyet newspaper were neutral, and the remaining 73 were negative. There was no positive news about Erdoğan in the Cumhuriyet newspaper in this period. Five of the 51 stories in the Zaman newspaper were neutral, and the remaining 46 were negative. The Yeni Şafak newspaper has made positive news only for Erdoğan and has not even made one negative news item for this leader.

The Cumhuriyet; the Hürriyet, the Zaman and the Sözcü made positive news about İhsanoğlu (MHP and CHP's joint nomination). There was not a negative discourse about İhsanoğlu in these newspapers. The Yeni Şafak newspaper, on the other hand, made the only negative news.

While all of the news about Kılıçdaroğlu in the Yeni Şafak was negative, the Zaman and the Sözcü newspapers made the positive news. Most of the news in the Hürriyet and the Cumhuriyet newspaper were neutral.

In short, the Yeni Şafak newspaper stood up for Erdoğan whilst the Cumhuriyet and the Sözcü stood up for İhsanoğlu. Main-stream media, Hurriyet, tried to keep a balance between the power and the opposition but apparently, they could not.

6.3. Field Study

The research was conducted between 28 July-4 August 2014 on the sample of the students of the Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. The 500 subjects were asked to fill in the questionnaires distributed in the closed envelopes. Once the forms were filled in by the students, they were again collected in the sealed envelopes. Thus, it is guaranteed that the identities of the subjects or any personal information were not taken. At the same time, this was reinforced by the statement of the guarantee at the head of the questionnaire, but only 243 of the forms were filled and valid. Lastly, the data obtained were evaluated using SPSS and NVIVO programs.

According to the content analysis, we grouped the newspapers as dissentient (e.g. Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, Zaman), main-stream (e.g. Hurriyet) and Partisan media (e.g. Sabah). The following table shows a relationship between the votes cast in the presidential elections and the media preferences:

| presidential vote | Media Position | | | Total |
|--|----------------|-------------|----------|-------|
| | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | |
| Erdogan | 2 | 3 | 12 | 17 |
| Ihsanoglu | 24 | 13 | 10 | 47 |
| Demirtas | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Did not vote for political reasons | 10 | 5 | 2 | 17 |
| Did not vote for non-political reasons | 22 | 25 | 22 | 69 |
| Total | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |

Table 3. Presidential Vote * Media Position Crosstabulation

As we can observe from the above table, dissentient media users tend to vote for Ihsanoglu or Demirtas. Meanwhile, the vast majority of Erdogan supporters read partisan media. The subjects who did not vote for political reasons (e.g. they did not find any worthy candidate) tend to read either dissent or mainstream media. Those indications are consistent with the media content analysis' outcomes.

6.4. Findings Related to False memory

Inspired by the work of Frenda et al. (2013), six correct and six false statements were given to the subjects to calculate their political memory scores. Each reply was scored as the following way:

| | "I remember." | "I do not remember" | "I remember with pictures." |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| For False statements | -1 | 0 | -2 |
| For Correct statements | 1 | -1 | 2 |

Table 4. Memory Scoring System

The false statements³ are intentionally unrealistic, the content was never in the news of the period between June 1, 2014, and August 10, 2014. Some of the statements were made up entirely of fiction, that is, those "events" have never happened. Other false expressions were partly real, that is the (undesirable) action was real, but the name of the leader was not correct.

To understand the interaction between media consumption and false memory, we examined the subjects' media literacy group (Dissentient, Main-stream, Partisan media) and their "*remembering*" those false statements in the following table.

³ The statements and their content are listed in the appendix.

| | | Media Position | | | |
|--|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|----------|-------|
| | | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | Total |
| "Erdoğan has reached an economic trade agreement with North Korea." | I Remember with a photo | 15(%24) | 14 (29%) | 9 (19%) | 38 |
| | I remember | 30(%48) | 19 (%40) | 25 (53%) | 74 |
| | I do not remember | 17(%27) | 14 (29%) | 13 (27%) | 44 |
| | Total | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |
| | | Media Position | | | Total |
| | | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | Total |
| "Ihsanoglu asked Gulen for his permission to be nominated." | I Remember with a photo | 15(24%) | 18(38%) | 5(10%) | 38 |
| | I remember | 34(54%) | 16(34%) | 29(61%) | 79 |
| | I do not remember | 13(20%) | 13 (27%) | 13 (27%) | 39 |
| | Total | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |
| | | Media Position | | | Total |
| | | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | Total |
| "Demirtas has met with the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs." | I Remember with a photo | 14(22%) | 12(25%) | 10(21%) | 36 |
| | I remember | 33(53%) | 17(36%) | 24(51%) | 74 |
| | I do not remember | 15(24%) | 18(38%) | 13 (27%) | 46 |
| | Total | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |
| | | Media Position | | | Total |
| | | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | Total |
| "Demirtas congratulated TRT for its democratic publishing policy." | I Remember with a photo | 16 (25%) | 5(10%) | 7(14%) | 28 |
| | I remember | 33 (53%) | 28(59%) | 30(63%) | 91 |
| | I do not remember | 13(%20) | 14 (29%) | 10 (21%) | 37 |
| | Total | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |
| | | MediaPosition | | | Total |
| | | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | Total |
| :"Bahceli told Demirtaş that his ethnic background is mixed." | I Remember with a photo | 18(29%) | 5 (10%) | 6(12%) | 29 |
| | I remember | 29(46%) | 20(42%) | 28(59%) | 77 |
| | I do not remember | 15(%24) | 22(46%) | 13 (27%) | 50 |
| | Total | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |

| | | MediaPosition | | | Total |
|--|-------------------------|---------------|-------------|----------|-------|
| | | Dissentient | Main-stream | Partisan | |
| "Gül did not visit Kılıçdaroğlu." | I Remember with a photo | 21(33%) | 15 (31%) | 9 (19%) | 45 |
| | I remember | 27(43%) | 15 (31%) | 24(51%) | 66 |
| | I do not remember | 14(22%) | 17(36%) | 14 (29%) | 45 |
| Total | | 62 | 47 | 47 | 156 |

Table 5. False Statements * Media Position Crosstabulation

In the above table, the relationship between the recall of the contents of each false statement and their media preferences is observed. One of the most striking points is that the dissentient or the partisan media readers are more inclined to claim that they remember the fabricated events. This "inclination" is developed with habitus and their preferable media discourses. Thus, it can be understood that media with more rigid and angular discourse tends to strengthen the habitus in individuals. And, whenever individuals *want* to remember a political event which is never happened, they develop a memory with the references from their habitus which is fed by the media they particularly follow. Main-stream media followers tend to have much less strong ideas (that's why they follow mainstream media), and this laxity relatively frees them from an obligation to remember an event. The subjects who are following the media opposed to the leader who is named in negative statements are more likely to claim that they remember the fabricated news.

6.5. Political Memory and Political Trust Relation

According to David Easton (1975, p. 447), "the presence of trust would mean that members would feel that their own interests would be attended". This trust and satisfaction provide politicians with a useful environment to shape the political memory they prefer to be in individuals. On the other hand, political memory can alter trust in political institutions and incumbents.

In order to measure the political trust of the subjects, various political statements related to trust in political institutions took place in the questionnaire. We simplified items of the political trust scale borrowed from Craig and his colleagues' (Craig, Niemi, & Silver, 1990) research. After reading these items, subjects were asked to choose one of three options: "I agree", "I do not agree" or "No idea". These items are as follows.

- * *I trust in government.*
- * *I trust in the opposition.*
- * *I trust in the elected president.*
- * *The politicians we chose to keep their promises.*
- * *I trust in our political system.*
- * *Politicians are unreliable.*

The political trust scores for each subject were established by evaluating their replies in the following way: “0” for “No idea”; “-2” for “I do not agree”; “2” for “I agree”. In the following table, we can observe the relation between the political trust scores and the political memory scores.

| | Political Trust Score | | | | | | | | | | | Σ | | |
|-----|-----------------------|------|------|----|------|------|----|-----|-----|----|-----|---|-----|-----|
| | -2 | -1,6 | -1,3 | -1 | -0,6 | -0,3 | 0 | 0,3 | 0,6 | 1 | 1,3 | | 1,6 | 2 |
| -13 | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| -12 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| -11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 4 |
| -10 | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| -9 | 3 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 5 |
| -8 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | 8 |
| -7 | | | 2 | | 1 | | 3 | | | | | | | 6 |
| -6 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | 6 |
| -5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 15 |
| -4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 10 |
| -3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 4 | | | | | 12 |
| -2 | 9 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | 21 |
| -1 | 4 | | 3 | | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 1 | | | 14 |
| 0 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 29 |
| 1 | 15 | 6 | 17 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | | 1 | 1 | | | 60 |
| 2 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 27 |
| 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 12 |
| 4 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 3 |
| 5 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 9 | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Σ | 60 | 24 | 53 | 13 | 14 | 16 | 23 | 15 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 243 |

Table 6. Political Memory and Political Trust Relation

When the table above is examined, it will be observed that 28 of 60 subjects have the lowest political trust scores (-2) and the mean of the political memory scores of those individuals is -4,07. The 50 subjects' political trust scores were sub-zero and their mean of the group score was 0.60 and the mean of the political memory scores of the same subjects was calculated as 0.16 which is much more higher than the earlier group's one (-4,07). The majority of individuals with the highest political trust scores have an average or higher political memory scores. That is to say, as the political trust scores of these subjects decrease, the potential to remember political events also declines. According to Joslyn's claim as (2003, p. 442) “the trust in government may be a likely contributor to inaccurate memories” and thus, political trust has the potential to create a false memory in individuals because, “citizens' memories are a valuable resource for political elites, who

use and mould them to advance their legislative and electoral goals". (Joslyn, 2003, p. 440) However, as it can be seen from the table when the political memory weakens, the political elites may find themselves in an unreliable environment.

6.5. Political Memory and Social Media Usage

According to a report published by the Oxford University Institute in 2016, confidence in the news media has fallen from 45% to 40% over the last few years. (Newman, Fletcher, Levy, & Nielsen, 2016, p. 73). In the societies where the media is controlled by political power, political trust declines and social media becomes a *relatively* alternative source. Ince (2014, p. 25) claims that "usage of the new media technologies in the non-Western countries in the creation of counter-narratives against authoritarian discourses of the past" is a good example in this matter. This is also a good example of what Donk claims (2009, p. 14), "memory in the digital era seems to pluralize and elude from official monopolies of knowledge about the past."

However, social media is a powerful force working as forgetting and reminder. Excessive sharing leads us to forget many things, while repetitive sharing leads to remembering. Besides, a recent study (I.Tamir, M.Templeton, F.Ward, & JamilZakid, 2018) indicated that "using media to preserve moments may prevent people from fully experiencing them" and limit "our ability to remember the moments". In short, they claim that "media may impair memory" because "it externalizes an experience". This claim may be valid for political events which individuals participated personally, but if they did not, then we have a different situation. At this time, the problem is called "digital amnesia" which means "the experience of forgetting information that you trust a digital device to store and remember for you". This phenomenon is dangerous because "it prevents the build-up of long-term memories, and thus makes us process information merely on a shallow, moment-to-moment basis." (Karpesky Lab, 2015).

All these above-mentioned evaluations point to the need to examine the relationship between social media and political memory. In this research, a couple of questions were set to examine the relationship. The following questions were asked to the participants:

* *Do you read the political news first when you visit social media?*

* *Do you visit political sites such as political parties, political forums, debates on the internet?*

* *Do you read and share any political content?*

To measure the usage of social media scores of the subjects, we evaluated their responses in the following way: "0" for "Never", "1" for "Very rare", "2" for "Always". In the following table, we can observe the relationship between social media usage frequency and political memory scores of the subjects:

| | | Social Media Usage Score | | | | | Σ | |
|------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| | | 0 | 0,3 | 0,6 | 1 | 1,3 | | 1,6 |
| Political Memory Score | -13,0 | | | 1 | | 1 | | 2 |
| | -12,0 | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| | -11,0 | | | | 1 | 3 | | 4 |
| | -10,0 | | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | -9,0 | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| | -8,0 | | | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| | -7,0 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| | -6,0 | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| | -5,0 | | | | 3 | 4 | 8 | 15 |
| | -4,0 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 10 |
| | -3,0 | | | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| | -2,0 | | | 5 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 21 |
| | -1,0 | | | 3 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 14 |
| | ,0 | | 2 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 29 |
| | 1,0 | | 2 | 7 | 10 | 16 | 25 | 60 |
| | 2,0 | | 1 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 27 |
| | 3,0 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 12 |
| | 4,0 | | | 1 | | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| | 5,0 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| | 6,0 | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 9,0 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| 10,0 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| 13,0 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Σ | 2 | 7 | 38 | 50 | 70 | 76 | 243 | |

Table 7. Political Memory and Social Media Usage

The table above indicates that individuals with the highest political memory scores (above 6) are the most engaged in social media. But they are only a few subjects. More importantly, the least engaged users' (7 subjects with 0,3 score and 38 subjects with 0,6 score) mean of their political memory score is -1, meanwhile the vast majority of the users are highly engaged users (70 subjects with 1,3 score and 76 subjects with 1,6 score) and their mean of the political memory scores is -0,5. Although this result indicates a slight increase, the mean still remains below zero. This result supports the claim of that social media impair memory yet, it is seen that those with an average level (between 0 and 2) of political memory are active in social media.

6.6. Political Memory and Media and Social Media Belief Relations

In the case of conflicts between the “individual oriented social media” and the “institutional media” discourse, considering the effect of these two on memory formation, it is important what they choose to believe. Thus, the question, “If you see conflicting news between media and social media, which one do you believe?” was asked. The obtained data were compared with the political memory scores of the subjects at the following table.

| | | Media and Social Media Belief Relations | | | Σ |
|------------------------|--------|---|--------------|--------------|------------|
| | | None | Media | S.Media | |
| Political Memory Score | -13,00 | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| | -12,00 | 1 | | | 1 |
| | -11,00 | 2 | | 2 | 4 |
| | -10,00 | 2 | | | 2 |
| | -9,00 | 5 | | | 5 |
| | -8,00 | 8 | | | 8 |
| | -7,00 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | -6,00 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | -5,00 | 13 | | 2 | 15 |
| | -4,00 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 10 |
| | -3,00 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| | -2,00 | 12 | 4 | 5 | 21 |
| | -1,00 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 14 |
| | ,00 | 14 | 7 | 8 | 29 |
| | 1,00 | 40 | 6 | 14 | 60 |
| | 2,00 | 21 | | 6 | 27 |
| | 3,00 | 11 | 1 | | 12 |
| | 4,00 | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| | 5,00 | | | 2 | 2 |
| | 6,00 | | 1 | | 1 |
| 9,00 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| 10,00 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| 13,00 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| Mean scores | | -1,30 | -0.62 | -1,14 | 243 |

Table 8. Political Memory and Media and Social Media Belief Relations

The table above shows that in response to the question, “If you see conflicting news in the media and social media, which ones do you believe”, the vast majority of the subjects (n-165) answered "none" and the average memory score of those is -1.30. It implies that the subjects deem neither the social media nor the media reliable enough they are less likely to remember political events correctly. In this case, they may use other – probably internal- sources to check reality.

Meanwhile, the mean of the political memory scores of the subjects (n=47) who prefer to believe in social media rather than the media, is -1.14 which is very close to the first group's mean. This is probably because they prefer to keep their information sources limited in the filter bubble and save themselves from confronting ideas and memories. For example, 174 of the respondents stated that they did not use media channels that were incompatible with their ideas. Likewise, 206 of the respondents said they did not follow social media accounts that did not match their ideas. However, this isolation prevents individuals from having the chance to check reality and increases the likelihood of false memory formation.

The mean of the memory scores of the "media believers" (n=27) is -0.62. From the table, one can observe that those subjects mostly have low political memory scores. Only three of them have a positive score and yet, the average is not as bad as the rest's political memory scores averages.

7. Results

This research has investigated the relationship between politics, media and memory. For this purpose, the period between 1 June 2014 and 10 August 2014 was examined before the 2014 presidential elections in Turkey. We collected and analysed 1067 articles from the most read five national newspapers which have different places on the political spectrum in Turkey. In the fieldwork, questionnaire forms were given to the 500 students from Pamukkale University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. After the students answered the questionnaires, the forms were collected in closed envelopes because of the political content of the questions, and 243 forms were valid.

In the study, some compatibility between the results of the media content analysis and the field research was observed. First of all, a compatibility was noticed between the preference of the subjects for the leader and the media literacy that made positive news about this leader. The subjects *remembered* or did not remember the fabricated events in accordance with the dissenting or partisan media they followed. (Main-stream media followers are more consistent with the reality than the other two followers). Recall of fabricated events is due to the fact that these fabricated events actually coincide with the established judgments and expectations of individuals. And those political judgements and expectations are constructed by their various capitals, fed by the favourite media channels. Thus, individuals who follow the media opposed to the leader in the statements, are more prone to false memory, especially when the content is negative.

The media can influence society and individuals also by speaking on behalf of the public, especially the majority. When the claim of the media being the voice of the majority is overly exaggerated, those who think that they are not in the majority fall into a kind of silence vortex. This phenomenon is what Noelle-Neumann calls as "Spiral of Silence" (Noelle-Neumann, 1984). Meanwhile, if a newspaper is ideologically close to a certain political actor, then it reports in favour of this specific political actor. The main purpose of political power to control the mainstream media is here: to reach out to the

individuals who do not follow the media that openly support political power, and then, make them feel that nobody thinks like them. However as the findings of our study on the relationship between political trust and political memory coincide with Joslyn's (2003, p. 444) claim which is "distrust may serve as a resistance-causing agent, making it less likely that respondents' memories will be modified in a way that brings their preferences closer to those of government." Politicians, who plan to be persuasive via political memories of the individuals, have to earn to be trustworthy because controlling mainstream media alone would not help. On the contrary, this situation leads to individuals getting away from the media and providing information flow in social media according to their preferences. On the other hand, while social media offers opportunities for democratization as an alternative media, it also provides a natural environment for false memory with counter-memories within it.

Consequently, the research has shown that the power of the media is limited by the capitals and habitus of individuals because they don't want incompatibility between their thoughts, beliefs and what they learn from the news, and when it happens either they have to accept the new reality or they will escape to false memory. Usually, the latter one is easier.

Appendix

The following table shows the content of the false statements that we used for measuring and evaluating false memory.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| <i>False</i> | <i>"Erdoğan has reached an economic trade agreement with North Korea."</i> |
| <i>False</i> | <i>"Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu asked for permission for the nomination from Gulen."</i> |
| <i>False</i> | <i>"Demirtas has met with the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs."</i> |
| <i>False</i> | <i>"Demirtas congratulated TRT for its democratic publishing policy."</i> |
| <i>False</i> | <i>"Bahçeli told Demirtaş that his ethnic background is mixed".</i> |
| <i>False</i> | <i>"Gül has not visited Kılıçdaroğlu."</i> |

"Erdoğan has reached an economic trade agreement with North Korea." This statement was made up entirely of fiction.

"Ihsanoglu asked Gulen for his permission to be nominated" This expression is also composed of fiction as in the first statement. There is no information on the occurrence of such an event in any media source.

"Demirtas has met with the Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs." This statement is not valid for Selahattin Demirtas. The meeting took place between Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Barzani, the President of the Iraqi Kurdish Regional Government.

"Demirtas congratulated TRT for its democratic publishing policy." The statement was, in fact, the opposite. Before the presidential elections, Demirtas criticised

TRT in various ways, saying that TRT (the state's tv and radio channels) was biased and not objective.

"Bahçeli told Demirtaş that his ethnic background is mixed". In his sentence, Bahçeli used those words for Erdoğan, not Demirtaş.

"Gül has not visited Kılıçdaroğlu." Abdullah Gül, the former President of the Republic, was actually on his farewell visit to Kılıçdaroğlu. (CHP's leader).

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Valorisation numérique des minoteries Algérienne du XIXe et XXe siècle : l'aurore d'un processus de patrimonialisation d'un patrimoine industriel

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Résumé. Etablir un processus de patrimonialisation, ou l'adapter au contexte industriel des minoteries ? De telles initiatives ont été largement traitées par les protecteurs du patrimoine dans le monde. La conservation, la réhabilitation, la reconversion ont marqué l'histoire versant pour le profit des retombées touristiques. La valorisation des ressources par voie numérique, certes, est une action conservatrice, mais qui manque de pratique concrète sur le terrain. Le patrimoine médiatisé gagne en valorisation cependant, il perd de son état de conservation s'il y a un manque d'intervention. La sauvegarde du patrimoine industriel ne se considère pas prioritaire aujourd'hui pour L'Algérie, malgré cette richesse non exploitée qui se trouve en péril si aucune action de protection n'est engagée. Cette réalité observée est due en grande partie au détachement de la société de la mémoire des lieux que portent ces minoteries algériennes. Comment pourrait-on créer ou améliorer l'attachement entre société et minoterie par voie numérique?

L'objectif de ce présent article est la construction symbolique d'une mémoire et d'histoire personnelle propre aux minoteries algériennes du XIXe et XXe siècle. Une démarche introductive a un attachement social, attribuant à ces minoteries l'aspect patrimonial d'une construction sociale au sein de la société actuelle. La méthode adoptée est la recherche-action participative, conjuguant intervention sociale et médiation mémorielle par le biais de l'outil numérique. Sur une plate-forme rassemblant pédagogie, formation et travail, un programme touchant tous les groupes d'âge sera établi et lancé en premier sur les directions pédagogiques de l'enseignement, de la classe primaire à l'université, rendant cette plate-forme un espace de référence. Les liens sociaux unifiant les usagers avec leurs familles vont la faire émerger. Ce programme va contenir des formations et sorties lucratives sur terrain selon la tranche d'âge. La plate-forme quant à elle, aura la fonction de stocker et méditer l'histoire créée.

Cette méthode va influencer le niveau de fréquentation des minoteries ainsi la création d'une mémoire et d'histoire collectives des lieux aboutissant à un attachement social. Ensemble, les résultats attendus de cette démarche peuvent constituer un processus interactif de construction symbolique d'un patrimoine pour lequel il y avait peur ou pas d'histoire partagée avec la société. La catégorie la plus experte de la société bénéficiera d'un enseignement, et à long terme un attachement aux minoteries que la société avait à interagir et à créer sa propre histoire personnelle.

Le traitement de l'information aujourd'hui est pris par la fascination de la technologie. Le numérique gagne du terrain, et son expansion peut être utilisée comme élément d'analyse et expertise communicationnel œuvrant pour la qualité mémorielle de la société.

Mots clés: construction symbolique; attachement social; minoteries; patrimoine industriel; numérique; mémoire.

1. Introduction

La diffusion de l'information se fait aujourd'hui par des outils variés tels que les moyens de presse et les moyens numériques comme multimédias et audiovisuel, ils contribuent à rentabiliser le secteur culturel et patrimonial (Foster, 2003). Cette médiation se veut interprétative de l'histoire des nations.

La télévision, la source d'information la plus favorable des médias français pour la découverte du monde, tire ses voiles pour le sujet patrimonial à la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle (Le Hégarat, 2016). En France, les programmes télévisés se proliféraient, « chefs d'œuvre en péril » ; « des racines et des ailes » et bien d'autres. Ainsi que l'initiative du Cambodge par télévision nationale (TV3) sur un village inscrit dans un cadre culturel intitulée « Héritage National » soucieux de diffuser la diversité culturelle et naturelle du Cambodge (Bourdier, 2017). En Algérie, la diffusion ne se fait que pour les monuments antiques et dont des interventions ont été programmées ou complétées.

Malgré les efforts et coûts d'entretien fournis partout dans le monde, le patrimoine souffre de désintérêt par les travailleurs qui se réfugient vers des métiers avec des revenus plus aisés (Foster, Roche, 2003). Le journaliste Pierre de Lagarde a constaté ce détachement sociétal du patrimoine, et cela en adoptant un discours émotionnel avec indignation aux faits et conséquences de ce détachement (Le Hégarat, 2016).

Bien que le patrimoine soit médiatisé sous forme de documentaires et multimédias, il se trouve en péril et son état de conservation se dégrade de plus en plus. Des mutations sociales sur des localités culturelles urbaines peuvent faire fuir les occupants et amènent à long terme l'abandon des centres historiques comme c'est le cas en l'Italie (Micelli, Pellegrini, 2018). En France, un inventaire est établi pour des projets d'interventions malgré la grande conscience des habitants. (Figure 1, 2 et 3).



Figure 1. Cigogne de Fouesnant.¹

¹ Ministère de la culture français (2018). Présentation de la mission Bern "Patrimoine en péril" et publication de la liste des projets retenus.

Figure 2. Aqueduc romain du Gier et pont siphon de Beaunant.²Figure 3. Église Notre-Dame de La Celle-Guérand (Indre-et-Loire).³

La question réside dans la capacité de créer ou améliorer l’attachement du patrimoine à la société, un problème qui pourrait toucher diverses régions et cultures dans le monde. Ce présent article traite du sujet en l’adaptant au cas des minoteries du XIXe et XXe siècle en Algérie.

Un désintéressement au patrimoine, un phénomène social qui pourrait affecter n’importe quelle culture dans n’importe quel pays. Les causes se multiplient allant d’une ignorance identitaire au déficit financière. Pour le cas des minoteries en Algérie le problème réside en l’ignorance des valeurs culturelles de l’héritage industriel.

En utilisant les observations sur le cycle de la méthode recherche-action participative sur le terrain, la solution proposée se présenterait comme un plan d’action pour le cycle suivant fonder sur l’analyse et la réévaluation des résultats du cycle précédant, avec l’objectif de construire une mémoire symbolique et amélioration de l’attachement social aux minoteries du XIXe et XXe siècle en Algérie.

² Idem

³ Ministère de la culture français (2018). Présentation de la mission Bern “Patrimoine en péril” et publication de la liste des projets retenus. <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Presse/Dossiers-de-presse/Presentation-de-la-mission-Bern-Patrimoine-en-peril-et-publication-de-la-liste-des-projets-retenus>

2. Cadre analytique

Dès les années 1960, les journalistes à l'action politique et professionnels de la télévision, on fait du patrimoine un objet à protéger, et pour aboutir à leur fin, il fallait passer au grand public la notion du patrimoine et de sa protection (Le Hégarat, 2016). Au Canada, on assiste au rapprochement des écoles primaires et secondaires à la société et à l'environnement culturel suite à des orientations pédagogiques. Un flux qui a influé les collèges et universités par cette démarche (Larouche, Burgess & Beaudry, 2016). Une manière de diffuser le patrimoine et d'exploiter ses ressources à des fins pédagogiques et contribuer ainsi à la construction d'une identité. L'idée du séminaire MSL6514 « Conservation et mise en valeur du patrimoine industriel » présenté par Joanne Burgess, est une expérience dans laquelle elle voulait adopter l'échange avec la communauté, par les projets qu'elle donnait aux étudiants issus de diverses disciplines la tâche d'analyser un patrimoine industriel montréalais et de proposer des projets pour chaque cas pour éveiller leur sensibilisation envers le patrimoine (Larouche, Burgess & Beaudry, 2016).

Dans son étude sur le rôle de la télévision française Thibault Hégarat présente le comment de la popularité du patrimoine en quatre points suivant (Le Hégarat, 2016):

- *L'élargissement du public*: l'idée était de se focaliser autant sur les grands monuments que sur les plus modestes pour rallier un public plus large en intégrant tout tranche d'âge, Pierre de Lagarde insistait dans sa stratégie sur le rôle les jeunes étudiants travaillant comme bénévole à la restauration de vieilles maison. Les résultats de cette stratégie ont été recueillis dans les années 1990. Aujourd'hui, le public pour le patrimoine en France est un public de masse.
- *L'accessibilité au sujet*: rendre le sujet accessible par le grand public en donnant l'information par différentes méthodes comme le magazine et le jeu télévisé.
- *L'attractivité du patrimoine*: rendre l'objet patrimonial plus attractive en cherchant à exposer les plus « belles images » tant aux magazines qu'à la télévision ou tout autre méthode d'accessibilité au sujet.
- *Introduire les émotions*: faire du patrimoine le problème de tous par le discours en créant l'attachement à l'environnement culturel.

Pour faire face aux problèmes financiers dédiés à améliorer l'état du patrimoine, les Américains au XXe siècle ont inauguré le modèle de « fondation », une source de don par des mécènes plaidant pour la cause patrimoniale. (Foster, 2003)

3. Méthode

Les données de l'analyse: observation de ce qui se passe sur le terrain précédant une ou plusieurs actions touchant l'état physique et symbolique des minoteries en Algérie.

Les données consistent au croisement des photographies des minoteries prises lors d'une investigation sur tout le territoire algérien, et toutes informations sur les orientations institutionnels et sociétales vis-à-vis aux minoteries.

La recherche-action participative: il n'y a pas une manière de pratiquer la recherche-action, mais elle s'adapte à des situations où l'action est avantageuse pour obtenir un changement.

La démarche suivie dans cet article est la suivante:

- Collecte et analyse des données relatives aux résultats de l'intervention précédente.
- Le problème est réévalué pour établir un nouveau cycle.
- Identification du problème et collecte des données pour le diagnostic.
- Établissement des hypothèses et solutions possibles.
- Établissement d'un plan d'action.

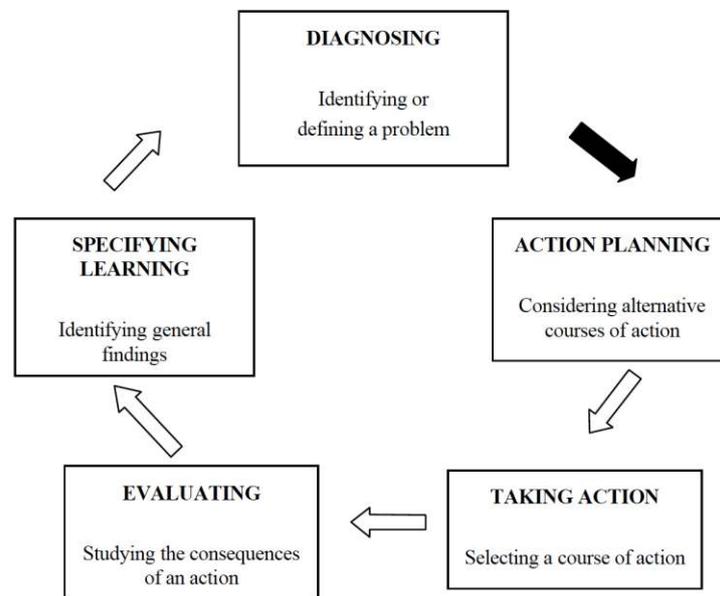


Figure 4. Schéma de recherche-action de Susman (in Catroux, 2002)

4. Les minoteries du XIXe et XXe siècle en Algérie (quel état pour quel niveau de médiation)

Au niveau du territoire Agro-alimentaire Algérien réside des minoteries du XIXe et XXe siècle. Faisant partie d'un l'héritage industriel, ces minoteries se trouvent dans un état de conservation varié comme présenté dans le (tableau 1). (Photographies de l'état de quelques minoteries en annexe 1).

| État | Très mauvais état | Mauvais état | Moyen état | Bon état |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|----------|
| Désaffectée | X | X | X | |
| Habitée | | X | X | |
| En état de production | | | X | X |

Tableau 1. État physique des minoteries en Algérie par rapport à la méthode dont elles sont exploitées. Source : auteurs.

La liste du patrimoine industriel protégé ne contient que deux installations bien que le nombre général des monuments et sites de l'héritage industriel dépasse de loin la liste de l'inventaire.⁴ Une médiation multimédia et numérique ne peut se faire en l'absence d'identification et de recueil de données sur le terrain. Les observations sur les régions où des minoteries se trouvaient nous donnent l'évaluation suivante de l'état symbolique de la société :

- Un fort attachement social aux minoteries pour les ex-travailleurs
- Un attachement modéré aux minoteries pour le réseau de voisinage.
- Une appréciation due à l'aspect constructive et esthétique pour les habitants de la région.
- Un détachement symbolique de la société où il n'y avait aucun contact avec des minoteries industriel (pas artisanale et pour utilisation personnelle).

Donc, le détachement n'est dû qu'à l'éloignement culturel de l'histoire des minoteries, par l'absence de la médiation.

5. Inauguration d'un plan d'action pour le nouveau cycle

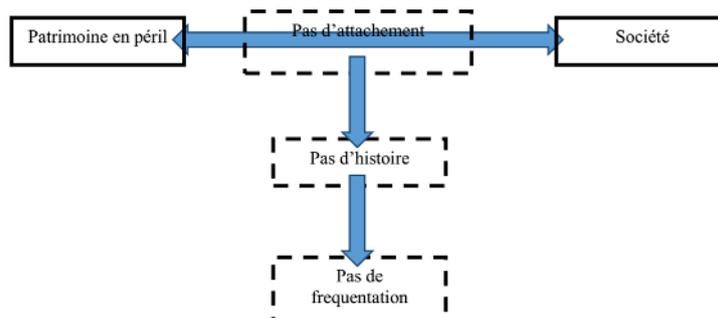


Figure 5. Processus du détachement de la société d'un patrimoine. Source : auteurs.

⁴ Site web: http://arvha.org/euromed/sp2/synthes/pack_model/main_1c.htm

À partir des points précédents sur l'état symbolique des minoteries, le processus de détachement sociétal du patrimoine se dessine. Le plan d'action envisagé va venir influencer le niveau de fréquentation des lieux patrimoniaux et créer ainsi une mémoire et une histoire collective des lieux.

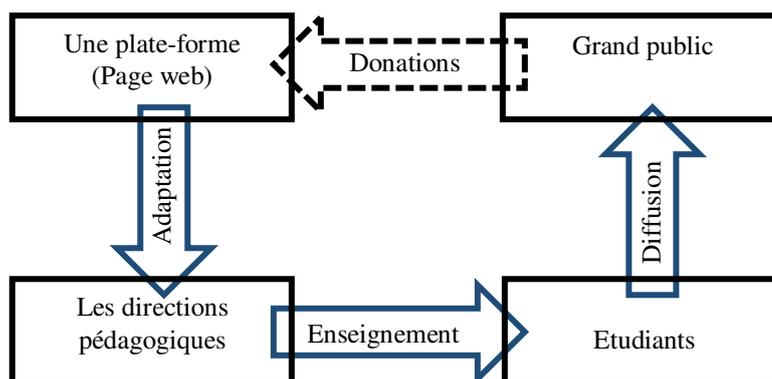


Figure 6. Plan d'action pour l'amélioration et/ou la création d'un attachement social au patrimoine. Source : auteurs.

Le plan d'action envisagé consiste en la création d'une plate-forme qui sera sous l'égide du ministère de l'éducation et les directions pédagogiques en orientant les enseignants vers une mission de « passeur culturel »⁵ aux étudiants. Une formation dédiée à chaque niveau d'étude sera donnée aux étudiants, et avec les relations et liens sociaux qui unissent les étudiants avec leurs entourages, la diffusion culturelle prendra un fondement dans la société et le grand public. Le cycle ne sera bouclé qu'avec une source financière qui sera assuré partiellement par des donations pour les différents stages et programmes sur le terrain et permettre une maîtrise de la question patrimoniale, et de tout ce qui va en dépendre.

Les points analysés dans le cadre analytique de cet article, sont intégrés dans ce plan d'action. La plate-forme fera usage de stockage muséologique numérique ouvert au grand public. Les nouvelles stratégies pédagogiques se feront par les directions pédagogiques comme démarche de sensibilisation et prise de conscience.

Vu que ce plan d'action s'inscrit dans la continuité et amélioration des cycles antérieurs, il se classe dans les projets de moyens et longs termes par la méthode de recherche-action participative par la participation des étudiants et grands publics.

6. Conclusion

Cet article traite de la construction symbolique du patrimoine au sein de la société en prenant comme cas d'étude les minoteries algérienne du XIXe et XXe siècle.

⁵ Cette expression est utilisée par Marie-Claude Larouche, Joanne Burgess et Nicolas Beaudry

En analysant les recherches antécédentes sur la diffusion de l'information culturelle en dépit de l'état de conservation, les stratégies pédagogiques en faveur du patrimoine et les modèles de financement établis pour l'intervention sur le patrimoine, le plan d'action - Proposé comme continuité aux observations des résultats d'un cycle de recherche-action - intègre le perfectionnement abouti par les expériences européennes et américaines au niveau de la popularisation du patrimoine et l'attachement de l'individu à son environnement culturel. La prise de conscience par le nouveau plan d'action pourrait prendre une certaine durée d'application pour une nouvelle réévaluation ou approbation du modèle établi.

Bien que cette étude ait abouti à un plan d'action pour recréer l'attachement sociétal aux patrimoines et l'augmentation du niveau de fréquentation, les résultats d'une telle démarche pourront faire part de nouvelles études pour améliorer la relation entre occupant et environnement culturel par de nouvelles stratégies et nouveaux modes de financement.

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Source en ligne

Site web: http://arvha.org/euromed/sp2/synthes/pack_model/main_1c.htm

Site web: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Presse/Dossiers-de-presse/Presentation-de-la-mission-Bern-Patrimoine-en-peril-et-publication-de-la-liste-des-projets-retenus>

Annexe 1.⁶



Photo 1. Une minoterie désaffectée. (Oran)



Photo 2. Une minoterie habitée. (Oran)



Photo 3. Une minoterie en état de production. (Rélizane)

⁶ Des photos prises par l'auteur durant le travail d'investigation sur le terrain durant l'année 2017.

Legends about Women in Kosovo's Monuments and their Media Presentation

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Abstract. Sacrifice, as a social phenomenon, is as old as mankind and is found in almost all cultures. Related to this, the main goal of this paper is to explore the social and historical relation of women's sacrifice in the honour of morale code, then analyzing mediatisation of this phenomenon in the present days. Cultural heritage monuments are such not just because they preserve the object, but also because they are covered with legends and stories. This paper will present three cases of Kosovo's cultural heritage monuments, which are related only to women. The first one is about the Girls' Fortress in Prizren. The fortress took this name because of two legends which were related to women. The second monument filled up in legend is the tomb and mosque of Xhylyfatyn in Peja. It is a rare example of a woman's sacrifice for her husband who was an army officer, and whose metamorphosis is on the bridge. The third monument is also related to the act of sacrifice, it represents the sacrifice of a woman who made possible constructing the Holy Bridge which links Gjakova to Rahovec; it is similar to the legend of sacrifice for objects construction which may be encountered in many cultures. All these stories about these legends are also published in the Kosovo's media and the paper analyses the ways they are presented in media. The qualitative research based on case studies, interviews and observation constitutes researching methods for this paper.

Keywords: cultural heritage, legends, media, monuments, sacrifice, women

1. Introduction

Women's sacrifice is part of almost every culture in the world. In Kosovo, there are some cultural heritage monuments that are related to this phenomenon. This paper discusses three different cases. The first one is about the Girls' Fortress in Prizren. The fortress took this name because of two legends, which were related to women. The second monument filled up in legend is the tomb and mosque of Xhylyfatyn in Peja. It is a

rare example of a woman's sacrifice for her husband who was an army officer, and whose metamorphosis is on the bridge. Related to the act of sacrifice there is also the legend within the third monument, the sacrifice of a woman who made possible constructing the Holy Bridge which links Gjakova to Rahovec and it is similar to the legend of sacrifice for objects construction which may be encountered in many cultures. The theoretical framework in this paper is based on the work of Albanian scholars, such as Isamil Kadare and Rexhep Qosja, and on the work of Mircea Eliade. Other theoretical contributions in this paper are the ideas of numerous authors who conceptualized theories of sacrifice by analysing this phenomenon spread in various cultures. All these stories about these legends are also published in the Kosovo's media and the paper analyses the ways they are presented in media (newspaper and online media).

People create relations with objects they use, and carry them as memory forms to future generations. However the stories about these objects inherited from the past are legends that hardly reveal the truth, but in a sense of emotional experience, they are very valuable pieces of cultural narrations of the past.

The qualitative research based on case studies, interviews and observation constitutes the researching methods for this paper. The content analysis method is also used to analyze media reports in different newspapers and online media, desk research and comparative method.

The paper is structured as follows: first, the analogies and variants of myths of sacrifice were briefly presented followed by three cases of Kosovo's cultural heritage monuments, which are related only to women's sacrifice. Finally, the paper discusses the media representation of these three cases.

2. Analogies and Variants of Myths of Sacrifice

Regarding to the definition of term "myth", Mircea Eliade had emphasized the fact that, unlike to the past, in recent times this word is used both "in the sense of" fiction "or" illusion" therefore ethnologists, sociologists and historians use it in the sense of" sacred tradition, primordial revelation, exemplary model (Eliade, 1998, p.1).

Related to the myths of sacrifice in the context of this paper, researcher Naser Ferri (2012) mentioned that the myth about the mure of people during the construction of buildings, in order to maintain the construction, is widespread in both Albanian and other Balkan countries literature. In his book "Mythologia viva", Ferri mentions the case of the construction of Adana Bridge in Turkey, built in 527-565, then the construction of the Arta Bridge in Northern Greece (1602-1606), for which it is said: forty-five construction masters and sixty workers build a bridge. Another example is the construction of the Agriadha Bridge, which is said to have been built by Marollis and Dhimitro in 1659, then the bridge in Gjirokastra on Drino, the Argesh Monastery in Romania, the Strumica Bridge in Bulgaria and many other occasions (Ferri, 2012, p.234).

3. The Girls' Fortress in Prizren

The upper Fortress, as it is known, is located on the top of a conical hillside, above the Archangel Monastery, just three kilometres from today's city of Prizren, to the East, towards the Sharr Mountains, at the "Gryka e Lumbardhit". The archaeologists do not have accurate data for the construction of this castle, but the castle dates back to Roman times. Historian Jahja Drançolli says that the girls' Fortress as well as the compound of the monastery of the Saints Mihal and Gabriel, are known at least from the 4th to 6th centuries A.D.

The legend says there was a girl who was unhappy with her engagement. So she decided to leave home and family. Helped by her friends who understood her suffering, they build a fortress, therefore this fortress took the name the girls' fortress. Another legend says this fortress is called the Girls' Fortress because there it is found a girl's statue filled with gold coins. Up to this day, an object now belonging to the cultural heritage of Kosovo, is known with the same name.

Like the majority of legends, even for the girls' Fortress, it is hard to achieve a final conclusion about the time when it started to spread around, or knowing its exact history of construction. During the research, we have seen there is nothing written about this legend, so it is difficult to know its primary goal of construction or which time it belongs, in the antiquity, in the early Middle Ages, in the late Middle Ages, or in a later age.

However the perspective in which this legend can be analyzed does not exclude the tradition of engagement or marriage, - choosing the destiny of life - of Albanian girls without their will and sometimes without their knowledge. In the Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini, which was gathered by Shtjefan Gjeçovi, Marriage is regulated in book 3. Article 31 speaks of "the rights of the girl". "Even if the girl does not have her parents, she has no right about her marriage, the right to decide for her, belongs to her brothers or cousins. She has no rights: a) To choose her own fate - she will go with whom she was engaged; b) having her own opinions over engagement; c) Having no rights in shoes nor on clothes." (Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit).

Was this legend a contradiction or a protest against this traditional action against the fundamental rights of women? The logic says yes, but it is difficult to prove. The legend does not give any other explanation on the fate of the girl afterwards. If it was a tragic one, this could have served as a method of discipline to other girls, in the sense of what could have happened if they would dare opposing the established social order.

It is worthy mentioning that in Kosovo the phenomenon of choosing the destiny of life – in every case in which the girl was in question but also even for boys in some cases – from the family and not from their own will, has been massively expressed until the second part of the twentieth century. In the second part of the twentieth century, this mentality began to change dramatically, and nowadays one could hardly find cases in which the girl has no right on marriage or expressing her thoughts and her will and feelings.

Regarding the second legend – namely that a girls' statue filled with gold coins was found – it is related to the legend known as “gold fever” expressed in the vast majority of old castles and fortress.

4. The Tomb and Mosque of Xhylyfatyn in Peja

The sacral object, believed to be built in 1697, is located in Karagaçi neighborhood in Peja, near the beautiful park with the same name. In the history which is held by the Regional Center for Cultural Heritage in Peja, it is said that “the facility is somehow characterized by the architecture of local mosques built by locals”. “With a quadrilateral base, the mosque consists of a prayer room and a minaret erected with engraved and plastered stones on the right side, that is in the middle of the mosque” (MKRS).

Related to the legend it says that there was a local woman who was married to an officer of the Ottoman Empire. His name is not known, but it is said that she had told the officer that whenever he was in battle, he would call on her name and God will help them. She was known as a devoted woman with uncompromised levels of humanity. She would show up her humanity till the end. She would die for Ottoman soldiers in order to save them from a battle somewhere in Montenegro. The war would take place alongside the river Lim. Ottomans were embarrassed there, and the officer called and prayed in the name of the woman. Her soul would become a bridge over which would pass the army. When he returned home, “the saint-lady” would ask the man how they had gone. He would tell her everything. Then the woman tells him “the truth” that she made her body a bridge. The officer would be convinced just after he would have seen all those injuries on the back of her woman caused by horseshoes. That moment she would take the last breath. The officer would order the construction of a mosque that would take her name, while her body would be buried nearby. The human sacrifice is historically expressed throughout the history of mankind, and is widespread in many cultures. What is important to mention is the fact that in different cases from different cultures and periods of history is the individuals, such as women or people with special needs, who are vulnerable to social exploitation. In this case, the sacrificed person is the woman. Furthermore Susan Sered says that “sacrifice tends to be highly gendered is, perhaps, not entirely surprising. Both gender and sacrifice are embodied cultural processes” (Sered, 2002, p.14)

It is worth mentioning that during the research on this subject, no similar case has been found, when a woman sacrifices herself for her husband.

5. The Bridge of Legends

This bridge holds the name the *Holy Bridge*, because of its legend related to this construction. The sacrifice of a woman by one of the three brothers, who built the bridge, is part of the history. Everyone knows it, there is even a song about it. Below the bridge

the White Drin River crosses and it flows into the Radavcac mountains. The River Stream divides Gjakova from Rahovec. It is believed that the bridge was built in the 17th century.

The legend says that the construction of the bridge was started by three brothers who were construction masters in the area, not far from the construction, and close to the attractive Canyon Drini i Bardhë, where this building was built.

The folk songs describe the event in a way in which the brothers decided to build the bridge. After three years of work, they could not finish it. The wall which was built during the day was falling apart during the night. One night they decided to guard the bridge. "They didn't see anyone to crash the wall – They saw the stones flying away – and they were scared", as a part of folk song says. In the morning they will meet around an old Derivish man, who wishes them a good day in construction. The three brothers told him that the work was not going well, they explained him the problem they had. The old Man gave them a piece of advice: You have to put an oath between each other – You should not tell your wives at home – The woman who brings the dinner – Must be sacrificed in the bridge. The old man disappeared and nobody saw him again. That is what the three brothers did. They put an oath, and went back home. But according to the legend, the two elder brothers broke the promise. "The older brother got ashamed – he told his wife – do not bring dinner to the bridge – because we will put you in the wall of bridge". The same did the second brother. In the morning, the three brothers went to the bridge and saw that its walls had collapsed once again. It was the time for dinner and there came the wife of the third son. She left her little son to her mother-in-law by saying her about a very strange dream she had about not coming back to her garden. And she went to the bridge. "Good work brothers-in-law – it would not be good for you – we are building your grave – since the three years we have been working on the bridge – we cannot build it – this bridge needs a woman's sacrifice – well done my brothers-in-law – I do not regret for being sacrificed", this is the moment when the wife of the third son hears the sad news. "I have a last wish, my brothers-in-law- I have left a little boy at home - Someone must get there to take him – I want to breast feed him – they went and took the child - they put him on her lap – and she did breastfeeding and fondle him". The woman was saying prayers for the child for a good luck in the future. She asked her brothers-in-law to send regards to her father and her mother, and to her sister, saying she must get married to her husband because he was a trustworthy person. Also in the last moments she requires them: "One last wish, brothers-in-law - she told them - Leave one of my breasts outside - When this baby child cries – It would console him."

The sacrifice of women like in the version of holy Bridge is also expressed in the Castle of Rozafa. An analysis from a historical point of view of different cultures shows us that usually the orders or advice for sacrificing a human being for a building were taken by wise men who were considered sacred, prophets or oracles. In this case, a wise old man, but unknown to brothers is presented to us. He gives advice on what should be done for the bridge in order to be built. Another element of the Albanian tradition encountered in this legend is that of the marriage of the sister of the sacrificed woman to her husband. This was done on behalf of the child in order not to be left an orphan after his mother's death, and for the purpose of family relations.

A very emotional moment and expressing the mother's connection to the child is that of bringing the boy to breastfeed him for the last time, and the demand to let one breast out in remembrance for the son of his mother. Based on this legend, it is believed the river - Drini i Bardhë was named. The legend says breast drains milk till to that day. The legend of Rozafa, like this one of a woman's sacrifice for a bridge construction was also treated in Albanian literature.

This legend was treated in books of Ismail Kadare (at the Three Arches Bridge, 1980) and Rexhep Qosja, in "Beselam Why Sacrifice Me". There Qosja aims to demythologisation of this legend. "Mark Tirta had noted that around 1878-1879 was the last known case of such sacrifices in Albania, in the case of the construction of the Old Bridge of Dashovica near Vlora, when it was buried a man with psychological and physical problems" (Ferri, 2012, p. 236).

However, the tradition of animal sacrifice, regardless of its gender, remains alive among Albanians. When the foundations of a house are put on place, an animal must be sacrificed. (ram, sheep, rooster, chicken, etc.)

From a gendered perspective, Susan Sered (2002, p. 14-15) says that "perhaps the most striking observation that can be made about sacrifice, and especially animal sacrifice, is that it is almost always a male dominated and oriented ritual activity. Furthermore, in a surprisingly wide range of cultural contexts, men's involvement with sacrifice is – implicitly or explicitly – contrasted to women's involvement with childbirth. In other words, in many different cultures men and sacrifice stand in structural tension with, or opposition to, women and childbirth."

6. Media Analysis

There are different legends about the girls' Fortress in the Kosovar media. In an essay Koha Ditore presents a history of this fortress in different historical periods, as well as in various stories which have been kept alive over the centuries. The two main legends prescribed in Koha Ditore are: one mentioning the construction of the fortress by some girls and other emphasizing the fact that a girl's statue filled with gold coins was found (Krasniqi, 2015).

Beside these two legends, another newspaper, Kosova Sot, introduces some other versions about the girls' fortress. In an article, this newspaper presents a legend which talks about the decision of a Dardans' King who built the fortress as a shelter for his girlfriend during the war.

Another legend, presented in Kosova Sot, says the fortress took the name the girls' Fortress, "because there were only girls and no any boy who served there". In another case presented in Kosova Sot, it is said that this Fortress was built by a Pasha for his daughter, who was sacrificed for forbidden love. The other legend presents the Fortress as a shelter for unmarried women.

These articles in the media present two phenomena of the time, the one which is related to women, and the fact that the father, brother or cousin would decide for her marriage, and the other phenomenon speaks of the women's role in the society of that time.

The Fortress's position is thought to have been assigned the function of controlling and preserving the road that sent to the Old Fortress of the city. The legend that mentioned the fact that there lived only girls tells about their role in the security aspect of that area. Contrary to the scriptures of the girls' Fortress, the Myth of Xhylyfatyn and the mosque that holds its name, is presented in the same description in different media. In the case of Xhylyfatyn or otherwise known as "The Tomb of the Princess", the media presents the woman's sacrifice for her husband (Krasniqi, 2015).

The similarities in presenting the same legend in different media exist even in the case of the Holy Bridge legend. Three different articles show the same story about the bridge which was built by three brothers during the day and crashed at night and as well as its completion after the small brother's wife was sacrificed. The legend for this Bridge resembles the legend of Shkodra Castle, but the article in Koha Ditore, shows that there are two differences (Krasniqi, 2013). In an article in Bota Press the legend is interpreted in a way that says "without sacrifice ... nothing can be achieved" (Bunjaku, 2016).

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The Retrospective Analysis of Selected Speeches Given by Winston Churchill from 1938 to 1945

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Abstract. Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill is one of the most recognizable figures in modern history. The former British Prime Minister occupied numerous roles during his lifetime – a politician, writer, laureate of the Nobel Prize for Literature, historian. However, for the purpose of this article we have focused on one of Churchill's most prominent roles – an excellent orator. The former Prime Minister has been remembered for giving superior speeches that during the war period gave people hope and courage. Churchill found good rhetoric as a remedy for every concern and as the most potent weapon against the enemy. A few well-chosen words wrapped into persuasive arguments that go together with excellent delivery can persuade even the most diehard defeatists. The following article constitutes the retrospective analysis of speeches given by Winston Churchill during the war period (1938–1945). The analysis focuses on the very content of the speeches, not their register. Therefore, we have not analyzed the applied rhetorical devices but the used arguments. The speeches have been analyzed according to the method of textual markers introduced by Piotr Chruszczewski in 2003. According to this method, the analyzed text is divided into small, consistent fragments which correspond to one strand. The fragments are then described by markers that constitute the models of the arguments that were used by the speaker. The social embedding of the analyzed speeches required coming up with additional models of arguments.

Keywords: Winston Churchill, rhetoric, oratory, World War II.

1. Introduction

In May 1940 Great Britain found itself in urgent need of a new leader. After five years of appeasement, the British people brought back the bitter words of Winston Churchill, who in 1938, just after the Munich Agreement, foresaw the serious situation that now had to be faced. Churchill, in his obscure speech *The Total and Unmitigated Defeat*, given on the 5th of October 1938, pointed out that the signing of the Munich agreement profaned the history of the British Isles and was just a beginning (Churchill, 1938):

“(...) And I do not suppose that this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year (...).”

Two years after delivering these prophetic words, Winston Churchill became Prime Minister. In the beginning, the British people did not consider this as a good choice.

Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill is one of the most recognizable figures in modern history. The former British Prime Minister occupied numerous roles during his lifetime – a politician, writer, laureate of the Nobel Prize for Literature, historian. Anthony McCarten ([2017] 2018, p. 33) adds a few more positions to the above list: a war hero, journalist, conqueror and visionary. Nowadays, Winston Churchill is considered as an icon, there are many publications on his life and career, which outnumber those devoted to George Washington, Adolf Hitler or Napoleon (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 33). His image is often used by the British to tempt tourists from all around the world into buying diverse objects with the image of the national hero. The hero, in 1940, was known to many as a drunkard, an object of ridicule and, among many others, a blunderer (*ibid.*). However, for the purpose of this article let us focus on one of Churchill's most prominent roles – an excellent orator. The former Prime Minister has been remembered for giving superior speeches that during this difficult time gave people hope and courage. Churchill found good rhetoric as a remedy for every concern and as the most potent weapon against the enemy. A few well-chosen words wrapped into persuasive arguments that go together with excellent delivery can persuade even the most diehard defeatists. At this point it is worth citing Winston Churchill (1897, p. 1) himself:

“Of all the talents bestowed upon men, none is as precious as the gift of oratory. He who enjoys it wields a power more durable than of a great king. He is an independent force in the world. Abandoned by his party, betrayed by his friends, stripped of his offices, whoever can command this power is still formidable. Many have watched its effects. A meeting of grave citizens, protected by all the cynicism of these prosaic days, is unable to resist its influence. From unresponsive silence they advance to grudging approval and thence to complete agreement with the speaker. The cheers become louder and more frequent; the enthusiasm momentarily increases: until they are convulsed by emotions they are unable to control and shaken by passions of which they have resigned the direction (...).”

Having read the first few sentences from Churchill's essay on rhetoric, *The Scaffolding of Rhetoric* (1897), one at once appreciates the importance of the art. According to the above passage, a person who is deprived of all his possessions and privileges, but yet in the power of words and knowledgeable of their accurate usage, is still in a favorable position. Churchill comments on a classic oratory situation, in which a once cynic audience cannot withstand the tempting power of perfectly combined words that give them hope for the better and for victory. In painting, certain combinations of colors conduce to the artistic effect desired by the recipient, in music it is all about well-chosen chords played together that create the perfect melody (Churchill, 1897). Drawing this fair comparison Churchill (*ibid*) points out that like in both these arts, in the art of oratory there are also some distinctive features. In his text he pays particular attention to the following elements: correct diction, rhythm, accumulation of argument, analogy, extravagance of language (Churchill 1897, pp. 1–5). According to Churchill (1897, p. 2), in a fine speech there is no room for any alternatives, for every argument one must come

up with the most suitable word. The idea of using long words is rejected, Churchill (*ibid.*) points out that short words are much better choice as their meaning “(...) is more ingrained in the national character and they appeal with greater force to simple understandings (...)” To put it briefly, in order to fulfill the condition of the correctness of diction, one should use short and well thought out words. Rhythm is another essential prerequisite for the formulation of a fine speech. When Winston Churchill prepared a speech, he would use any suitable occasion for rehearsing it. At this juncture, it is worth mentioning that before he became a great orator, Churchill had to overcome a few obstacles, with a speech impediment being the major one. Already at a young age, Churchill believed in perseverance as the only way to success. He practiced every day, when walking along streets he would repeatedly utter the following sentence – *The Spanish ships I cannot see since they are not in sight* – for he had a particular problem with words that began with ‘S’ (Montablo 1990, p. 11). Churchill practiced all his life with the same passion in his seventies as he did in his twenties. When he worked on his speeches he behaved like a composer of music (Montablo 1990, p. 12):

“(...) spending entire days dictating, he paced up and down the room, puffing at a cigar. He put his ideas to rhetoric as composers set theirs to music. The cigar in his hand served as a baton to punctuate the rhythm of his words. He tested words and phrases; muttering to himself; weighing them; striving to balance his thoughts; making sure the sound, rhythm and harmony were to his liking.”

According to Sam Leith (2011, p. 166) the hard work and meticulous preparation of speeches was in fact the only key to Churchill’s success. Leith (*ibid.*) points out that Churchill was never a talented orator who would be able to deliver a speech without prior preparation. The point made by Leith is indeed interesting and it is worth searching of other, related information. Herbert Samuel (quoted in Leith 2011, p. 170), a acquaintance of Churchill in 1935, said about the future prime minister:

“(...) the house always crowds in to hear hm. It listens and admires. It laughs when he would have it laugh, and it trembles when he would have it tremble ... but it remains unconvinced, and in the end it votes against him.”

Winston Churchill fought for acceptance for a very long time. When delivering his very first speech as a prime minister, *Blood, toil, tears, and sweat* (1940), he had no support of his party. His words moved the audience but not convinced it. According to Leith (2011, p. 172), Churchill finally won his position as a leader, for he “(...) occupied one position and waited for the people to come to him.”

Another essential element that Churchill enumerates in his essay is the accumulation of argument. In order to bring the audience to the climax of the speech, the speaker must put forward their arguments, one after another, all of them concentrated into one direction (Churchill 1897, p. 3). A good analogy may be the most powerful weapon of an orator, for it makes it easier to understand complex issues by bringing them into common knowledge. As Thomas Montablo (1990, p. 14) notices “(...) comparison clarifies understanding (...)” The last Churchill’s condition is the extravagance of language – the usage of such arguments and words that shall bring about emotions in the audience (Churchill, 1897, p. 3).

Being an excellent orator, Winston Churchill had always obeyed the presented rules while working on his speeches. He would polish every single fragment of his addresses, for, as it has been already mentioned, he found any alternatives unacceptable. In Winstonian speeches there was no room for any understatements. Churchill put the same effort into the preparation of the delivery. In spite of his handicaps, he would always transform his speech delivery into a breathtaking act. There were some peculiar ploys that Churchill employed. One of them was the dramatic pause at which he mastered (Montablo 1990, p. 13):

“(…) He relied on timing to assure heightened effect because it made silence even more eloquent than words and allowed his listeners to digest what they heard and get ready for what would be said next. His timing – his use of the dramatic pause – forced any restless members of his audience to look at him and listen.”

During his speeches, Churchill would scream, snarl and scowl. He would roar like a lion and coo like a dove (Montablo 1990, p. 13). His speeches became remembered and they outlive many generations. Churchill managed to influence the public mood and to change it according to his wish (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 10). He communicated emotions with punctuation, phrasing, syntax, rhythm and musicality (The Telegraph, 2017). Winston Churchill made history as an orator who mobilized the English language and sent it into the battle (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 10).

In this article we have analyzed eight speeches delivered by Winston Churchill in the years 1938–1945. The conducted analysis focused on the content of the speeches, not their style. Therefore, we have not analyzed rhetorical devices, but used arguments. The purpose of the analysis has been to investigate the arguments to which Churchill usually referred to in his addresses from 1938 to 1945. The speeches have been analyzed according to the method of textual markers introduced by Piotr Chruszczewski in 2003. According to this method, the analyzed text is divided into small, consistent fragments which correspond to one strand. The fragments are then described by markers that constitute models of the arguments that had been used by the speakers. Piotr Chruszczewski (2003, p. 15) enumerates the following markers: **A** – Situationality, **B** – Emotional attitude, **C₁** – Recent history references, **C₂** – Remote history references, **C₃** – General history/general knowledge references, **D** – Juxtaposed elements, **E** – Intertextual elements, **P** – Speaker’s policy and its implementation. Chruszczewski (2003) worked out this method while working on the communicational grammar of American presidential discourse. In other words, the author aimed at working out “(…) a set of patterns comprising both, linguistic as well as extra-linguistic rules responsible for efficient communication within particular areas of human activity (…)” (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 15). In the case of Chruszczewski’s study, the social embedding was the presidential discourse. Having analyzed all presidential inaugurals from 1945 to 1997, Chruszczewski (2003, p. 15) devised eight models of arguments. In the following part of the article, every marker has been explained in detail and supported by examples from Winston Churchill speeches.

(A) Situationality; is a marker that indicates any mention of a current situation; in other words, it marks any reference to situational embedding (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 17).

Example:

It is absolutely necessary at a time like this that every Minister who tries each day to do his duty shall be respected; and their subordinates must know that their chiefs are not threatened men, men who are here today and gone tomorrow, but that their directions must be punctually and faithfully obeyed. Without this concerned power we cannot face what lies before us. (Churchill 1940b).

(B) Emotions; is a marker that signals emotional approach of the speaker and his attempts to provoke emotional response of the audience (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 17).

Example:

All is over. Silent, mournful, abandoned, broken, Czechoslovakia recedes into the darkness. She has suffered in every respect by her association with the Western democracies and with the League of Nations, of which she has always been an obedient servant. (Churchill 1938)

(C₁) Recent history; is a type of a marker which is responsible for indicating the speaker's reference to any recent historical events (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

Example:

For the last thirty years I have been concerned in discussions about the possibilities of oversea invasion, and I took the responsibility on behalf of the Admiralty, at the beginning of the last war, of allowing all regular troops to be sent out of the country. That was a very serious step to take, because our Territorials had only just been called up and were quite untrained. (Churchill 1940b)

(C₂) Remote history; is a type of a marker which is responsible for indicating the speaker's reference to any remote historical events (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

In my holiday I thought it was a chance to study the reign of King Ethelred the Unready. The House will remember that that was a period of great misfortune, in which, from the strong position which we had gained under the descendants of King Alfred, we fell very swiftly into the chaos. It was period of Danegeld and of foreign pressure. (Churchill 1938)

(C₃) General knowledge; marks any reference to the general knowledge of the audience, in other words, any references to facts and history which is not unknown to the audience (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

Example:

It is generally said that the British are often better at the last. They do not expect to move from crisis to crisis; they do not always expect that each day will bring up some noble chance of war; but when they were slowly make up their minds that the thing has to

be done and the job put through and finished, then, even if it take months – even if it take years – they do it. (Churchill 1941)

(D) Juxtapositions; is marker which is assigned to juxtaposed elements, so elements that are different and have been put side by side in order to create a contrasting effect (Chruszczewski 2003, p. 18).

Example:

We must learn equally to be good at what is short and sharp and what is long and tough. (Churchill 1941)

(E) Direct intertextuality; marks direct references and quotations. Chruszczewski (2003, p. 18) underlines that this particular marker is not often used.

Example:

For all of us, at this time, whatever our sphere, our situation, our occupation or our duties, it will be a help to remember the famous lines: “He nothing common did or mean, upon that memorable scene.”¹(Churchill 1940b)

(P) Policy; is a marker that has been applied to any references to the speaker’s politics and its possible implementation Like in the case of direct intertextuality, Chruszczewski (2003, p. 19) points out that during the analysis of American presidential discourse, there was not a single fragment that was marked only with this particular argument. In our study the situation is not different. It has been noticed that policy most often appears together with situationality (A/P).

Example:

The disastrous military events which have happened during the past fortnight have not come to me with any sense of surprise. Indeed, I indicated a fortnight ago as clearly as I could to the House that the worst possibilities were open; and I made it perfectly clear that whatever happened in France would make no difference to the resolve of Britain and the British Empire to fight on, if necessary for years, if necessary alone. (Churchill 1940b)

The above markers were not sufficient for the analysis of speeches with completely different social embedding. In the course of our analysis, a few more markers have been included.

(F₁) Near future; is a marker that has been assigned to any argument that bears some reference to the nearest future. In the analyzed social embedding, it most often indicates the post-war arrangements. This marker usually occurs together with situationality (A) and policy (P). However, in a few situations it appears unattended by any other argument.

Example:

I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. (Churchill 1940b)

¹ This very fragment of Churchill’s (1941) speech has also been marked with situationality (A).

(F₂) Remote future; similarly to F₁, is a marker that indicates any future references, but refers to the remote future. In Winstonian speeches is quite a rare argument, and usually does not appear unattended by other ones.

Example

Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for thousand years, men will say, 'This was their finest hour.' (Churchill 1940b)

(R) Enemy criticism; marks any critical references of enemy actions.

Example:

(...) there can never be friendship between the British democracy and the Nazi power, that Power which spurns Christian ethics, which cheers its onward course by a barbarous paganism, which vaunts the spirit of aggression and conquest, which derives strength and perverted pleasure from persecution, and uses, as we have seen, with pitiless brutality the threat of murderous force. That power can be a trusted friend of the British power. (Churchill 1938)

(V) Victories; this particular marker refers to any references about foregoing victories and achievements, whether large or small, of the speaker's nation and its government.

Example:

I am happy to inform the House that our fighter strength is stronger at present time relatively to the Germans, who have suffered terrible losses, than it has ever been; and consequently we believe ourselves possessed of the capacity to continue the war in the air in better conditions than we have ever experienced before. (Churchill 1940b)

(L) Losses; this particular marker refers to any references to the foregoing losses and failures, both large and small, of the speaker's nation and its government.

Example:

I will begin by saying the most unpopular and most unwelcome thing. I will begin by saying what everybody would like to ignore or forget but which must nevertheless be stated, namely, that we have suffered a total and unmitigated defeat, and France has suffered even more than we have. (Churchill 1938)

To sum up, the analysis of the speeches has been run according to the following key:

| | |
|--|--|
| A – situationality; | F₁ – near future references; |
| B – emotional attitude; | F₂ – remote future references; |
| C₁ – recent history references; | R – enemy criticism references; |
| C₂ – remote history references; | V – foregoing victories and achievements; |
| C₃ – general history/general knowledge references; | L – foregoing losses and failures. |

D – juxtaposed elements;
E – intertextual elements;
P – speaker’s policy and its implementation;

3. The Analysis

A Total and Unmitigated Defeat – 1938

The first speech that was analyzed in the course of our study is the one Churchill gave on the 5th October 1938 in the House of Commons. Having signed the Munich Agreement, Neville Chamberlain came back to London where he assured the people of Great Britain “that he brought peace in their time”. Winston Churchill did not hide his disapproval of the policy of appeasement and leaving Czechoslovakia at the mercy of Adolf Hitler. In his speech he bitterly criticized Chamberlain’s pursuit of peace that had clouded his judgment. At this time, many British people perceived Churchill as a war instigator. According to Churchill, the British exposed their weakness and only encouraged Nazi Germany to further their territorial demands. In his speech, he foresaw the adverse consequences of the Munich Agreement with Hitler turning his eyes to Western Europe as his ultimate goal. Churchill aimed to warn the British people of the severe consequences that soon they will have to suffer. According to him, the best that the British government could do at that moment was rearming and building up National defenses.

Being one of the longest from the analyzed speeches, *A Total and Unmitigated Defeat* has been divided into 71 fragments. There were hardly any short fragments, as Winston Churchill constructed very long and complex sentences. A fragment that was made up of only one sentence would still cover about seven lines. According to the conducted analysis, 25 (35%) out of the received 71 fragments contain only one argument (one marker). There are also 34 (49%) two-argument fragments and 11 (16%) with three arguments. With regard to the arguments used they were applied as follows: **A** – 51 usages (72%), **B** – 18 usages (16,5%), **C₁** – 1 usage (1,5 %), **C₂** – 2 usages (3%), **C₃** – 9 usages (13%), **D** – 5 usages (7%), **E** – 3 usages (4%), **P** – 5 usages (7%), **F₁** – 15 usages (21%), **F₂** – 0 usages, **R** – 1 usage (1,5), **V** – 0 usages, **L** – 14 usages (17%). When it comes to frequency, situationality, near future and foregoing losses references take the first three places. Taking into consideration the social embedding of the speech, such a distribution of arguments is not surprising. References to situationality constitute 72% of the speech, for Churchill aimed at explaining to the audience what really took place in Munich from the future perspective, and that is where another most frequent argument appears – near future references. In his speech, Churchill pays much attention to the failures of Neville Chamberlain and his policy of appeasement, which results in the high occurrence of the respective marker. In the analyzed speech, there is also quite a high

percentage of emotions that are present in most of the political speeches. The next argument that comes in the line of frequency is C₃, references to general knowledge. It is always profitable for the speaker to refer to something that is known and respected by the definite majority of the audience. At this point, it is worth remembering one of the conditions on oratory that Churchill (1897) enumerated – is a good analogy. There is nothing more favorable than bringing arguments into common knowledge.

War – 1939

The next speech comes from 1939 and was delivered on the 3rd September in the House of Commons. On the 1st September the Germans invaded Poland. On the 3rd September, after Hitler's rejection of the Ultimatum issued by the British government, Neville Chamberlain announced that Britain was at war with Germany. On this day, Winston Churchill "(...)" made his last speech from the backbenches "(...)" (Churchill [2003] 2015, p. 188). In comparison to the previous speech, War is a significantly shorter one. It has been divided into 10 fragments. There are no one-argument fragments, 7 two-argument fragments (70%) and three-argument ones (30%). With regard to the used arguments they were applied as follows: A – 10 usages (100%), B – 8 usages (80%), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 1 usage (10%), D – 2 usages (20%), E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (10%), F1 – 0 usages, F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 0 usages, L – 0 usages. In this speech Churchill relied upon situationality (100%) and emotions (80%). The speech was aimed at increasing the morale of the British people, Churchill focused neither on foregoing victories and failures, nor on British history and lessons that could be recalled from previous times. The speaker intended to give people courage on this special day.

Blood, toil, tears and sweat – 1940

Being Churchill's first speech as the British Prime Minister, Blood, toil, tears and sweat is said to be one of the most powerful speeches in history. It was delivered on the 13th on May 1940, in the House of Commons. In fact, the speech is really short in content, as the first half is nothing more than Churchill's formal request for declaring confidence in his government. It is worth mentioning that at first Churchill was not considered as a good choice, but as the only one left. His speech had to be good enough to convince the House of Commons. Anthony McCarten ([2017] 2018, p. 138) describes the speech as the one to which Churchill had been preparing himself for all his life. The speech was Churchill's chance for appreciation and trust. He had one shot at mitigating general alarm and at this point he could do this only with the use of words (McCarten [2017] 2018, p. 132). This powerful but short speech has been divided into just eight elements: 1 one-argument, 4 two-arguments and 3 three-argument fragments. With regard to the distribution of the arguments are as follows: A – 6 usages (75%), B – 5 usages (62,5 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 0 usages, D – 0 usages, E – 0 usages, P – 5 usages (62,5 %), F1 – 2 usages (25%), F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 0 usages, L – 0 usages. So far situationality has been the most frequent marker. Taking into consideration the present-day perception of Churchill's speeches, it seems that being concise and, as it already has been mentioned twice, allowing no place for any

alternatives, is a recipe for a good and powerful speech. Churchill does not dwell on the past or future, once more, he focuses on the present day. This time, however, there is a large percentage of policy. The very titular words – blood, toil, tears and sweat – are a promise of Churchill's policy.

This was Their Finest Hour – 1940

Churchill gave this immortal speech on the 18th June 1940 (House of Commons). This is the second speech of 1940. We decided to include two speeches from this year, as it was an exceptional year for Churchill as a great orator. The speaker had to face the dissipating morale of the nation, as the beginning of the war was really difficult for Great Britain. Nazi aggressive propaganda aimed at the British people made them more and more unsettled. In addition to that, Hitler ran his campaign of fear. After the fall of France, which became a flashpoint with regard to people's dread, Churchill had to act and deploy his most powerful weapon – a speech. This was Their Finest Hour is quite a long text. It has been divided into 74 fragments with 40 one-argument, 28 two-argument and 6 three-argument pieces. The distribution of arguments: A – 36 usages (47%), B – 9 usages (12 %), C1 – 2 usages (3%), C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 4 usages (5%), D – 3 usages (4%), E – 1 usage (1,5 %), P – 13 usages (18 %), F1 – 13 usages (18%), F2 – 1 usages (1,5 %), R – 0 usages, V – 18 usages (24 %), L – 8 (11%) usages. Again, situationality is the most frequent argument. But this time there is a visible change with regard to the arguments of foregoing victories and losses. For every reference to some failure there have been two or more references to victories. This correlation has been presented in the following example (Churchill 1940b):

In France, where we were at considerable disadvantage and lost many machines on the ground when they were standing round the aerodromes, we were accustomed to inflict in the air losses of as much as two and two-and-a-half to one [41]. In the fighting over Dunkirk, which was a sort of no-man's-land, we undoubtedly beat the German air force and gained the mastery of the local air, inflicting here a loss of three or four to one day after day [42].

Having admitted one failure, in this case losing many machines on the ground, Churchill underlines the victories in the air. It is not without reason that there is also quite a high percentage of near future references arguments. This time the present day was not that important as in the case of the previous speeches. This time, when the reality was bitter and brutal, what counted most was the next day and new perspectives – new victories and achievements. That was the Churchill's main goal – to make the British people believe in the future, to make them continue their walk through hell with raised heads.

Never give in! – 1941

On the 29th of October 1941 Churchill visited Harrow School in London for their annual song festival. On this day of ceremonies Churchill gave a speech to the young students, in which he many times underlined the better situation and remarkable progress of the British people. The message was simple and short – as the title suggests – you should never give in. He uttered these few words over and over again. It seems that in every speech there have been some words that made history. This speech, which is quite short, contains 13

elements: 7 one-argument, 4 two-arguments and 2 three argument fragments. With regard to the arguments they were used in the following way: A – 8 usages (62%), B – 2 usages (15 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 1 usage (8%), D – 2 usages (15%), E – 1 usage (8 %), P – 0 usages, F1 – 0 usages, F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 3 usages (23 %), L – 3 (23%) usages. With the exception of situationality, which occurred most often, the speech was very diversified. Again, victories and failures references are noticeable. Churchill kept his speech simple, for it was delivered in front of very young people. Churchill never let his audience have fear of the war. In the spirit of this belief, he asked for a change in one of the songs that he heard during the concert. Instead of the word *darker*, in the *line nor less we praise in darker days*, the students should sing sterner days.

We Expect No Reward and We will Not Accept Compromise – 1943

The next analyzed speech comes from 1943 and was delivered on the 30th June in Guildhall, London. On this special day, Churchill received the Freedom of the City of London, so, in other words, an honour as a valued member of the community. In his speech, Churchill reminded his audience that nobody forced Great Britain to enter the war, but it was the right thing to do. He underlined that they never sought any profit or had any territorial demands. In his address, Churchill focused on describing the difficult journey to peace. The speech has been divided into 9 elements: 3 one-arguments, 2 two-arguments and 4 three-argument fragments. For the first time in our analysis the three-argument fragments constitute the majority of the text. The arguments have been distributed as follows: A – 8 usages (89%), B – 5 usages (56 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 2 usage (22%), D – 0 usages, E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (11%), F1 – 1 usage (11%), F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 2 usages (22 %), L 0 usages. In the analyzed speech the emotional attitude of the speaker is visible, which is not surprising as the situational embedding of the address, the ceremony of giving Churchill the Freedom of the City of London was ceremonious and made Churchill very emotional.

D-Day – 1944

The situational embedding of this speech does not have to be explained, as the title does this. Soon after midnight on the 6th June, the Allied invasion of occupied Europe started. Churchill did not want to speculate on what the course of this day held:

The battle that has now to come will grow constantly in scale and in intensity for many weeks to come, and I shall not attempt to speculate upon its course [9]. (Churchill 1944)

The speech contains 10 elements: 5 one-argument, 3-arguments and 2 three-argument fragments. So far, it has been proven that in his addresses Churchill opted for simple arguments, the one-argument fragment has been applied most often. However, as already mentioned, his one-argument and also one-sentences elements of his speeches are quite complex. The arguments of the D-Day speech present as follows: A – 9 usages (90%), B – 2 usages (20 %), C1 – 0 usages, C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 0 usages, D – 1 usage (10 %), E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (10%), F1 – 1 usage (10%), F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 3 usages (30 %), L–0 usages. The picture of Churchill' speeches begins to emerge with situationality and emotions as the most prominent element.

Victory in Europe – 1945

The final speech of our analysis and final with reference to the war with Nazi Germany, as it was delivered on the 8th May 1945, one day after Germany had unconditionally surrendered. This address has been split into 17 elements: 5 one-argument, 10 two-arguments and 2 three-argument fragments. The arguments have been assigned as follows: A – 14 usages (82%), B – 9 usages (53 %), C1 – 1 usage (6%), C2 – 0 usages, C3 – 4 (24%) usages, D – 0 usages, E – 0 usages, P – 1 usage (6%), F1 – 0 usages, F2 – 0 usages, R – 0 usages, V – 1 usage (6 %), L–0 usages. One of the most interesting aspects of the speech is that Winston Churchill never even mentioned the name of Adolf Hitler, who committed suicide. Again, Churchill was focused solely on the present day.

4. Conclusions

The analysis involved in the following speeches given by Winston Churchill: *A Total and Unmitigated Defeat – 1938*, *War – 1939*, *Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat – 1940*, *This was Their Finest Hour – 1940*, *Never give in! – 1941*, *We Expect No Reward and Re will Not Accept Compromise – 1943*, *D-Day – 1944*, *Victory in Europe – 1945*. The eight speeches have been divided in total into **212** elements: **87** (41%) one-argument, **92** two-arguments (43,5%) and **33** three-arguments (15,5) fragments. On the basis of received data, it can be concluded that Churchill kept his speeches simple. After having read Churchill's essays or rhetoric, *The Scaffolding of Rhetoric* (1897), the moderate density of arguments in Churchill's speeches, this is not surprising. As it has already been indicated, Churchill insisted on simplicity in oratory.

Table 1 represents the distribution of arguments in sequence according to usage.

| Arguments | Number of usages | Number of usages in % |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| A | 142 | 67% |
| B | 58 | 27% |
| F ₁ | 32 | 16% |
| V | 27 | 13% |
| P | 27 | 13% |
| L | 25 | 12% |
| C ₃ | 21 | 10% |
| D | 13 | 6% |
| E | 5 | 2% |
| C ₁ | 4 | 2% |
| C ₂ | 2 | 1% |
| R | 1 | 0,5% |
| F ₂ | 1 | 0,5% |

Table 1. Distribution of arguments in the analysed speeches

We find any result below 10% as irrelevant when it comes to the argumentative structure of Winston Churchill's speeches. According to the received data, the markers that are prominent in Winstonian speeches are: situationality, emotions, near future, foregoing victories, policy, foregoing failures and common knowledge references. Churchill in his speeches relied upon situationality – in most cases his speeches were largely focused on the present situation. During the analysis it has been indicated that he used the future only when the current situation was immensely difficult and Churchill wanted people to focus on future victories. Normally he would concentrate on the present day, he would not hide failures but would wrap them into victories and achievements. What is also worth mentioning is that there was no room for Hitler and the Nazis in the Winstonian speeches. Churchill never mentioned the names of the Nazis and never focused on their policy. For him, as an orator, the British people were the most important. He tried to bring many difficult issues to the common knowledge of his people.

Winston Churchill made history as a great orator and leader. When he became the British Prime Minister, at the age of 65, he was energized by the war. The British people quickly realized that Churchill was the best possible man in the right place. History dares to ponder on the possible consequences of not choosing Churchill for this position. Most of the speeches we have analyzed have passed into history and shall outlive many more generations. The speeches have been used as an educational tool allowing many people to master the art of oratory. They have been the material for many analysis and studies, but there is still much more to be discovered.

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The Linguistic Space of Cemeteries as a Reflection of Culture – Research Suggestion

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Abstract. Cemeteries as delimited areas, arranged according to certain rules, equipped with the set of selected elements, are like a mirror, which reflects the various aspects of the activity of the society that creates them. The aim of the article is to present the suggested way of describing cemetery space, as well as to decipher the information included in gravestone inscriptions (perceived as a linguistic statement). The analysis concerns the following types of necropolises: local, religious, as well as – treated as a new phenomenon in the Polish sepulchral customs – animal and virtual ones.

Keywords: cemetery, headstone inscription, epitaph, semiotics, the linguistic picture of the world, thanatology.

1. Introduction

Cemetery space may be perceived as a linguistic landscape, or more broadly – as a semiotic landscape that reflects the cultural attainment of a given society. The space of a necropolis is a culture text, a collective work created by the participants of a given community, as a result of a long-term process. Considering cemetery spaces as a culture text is based on the three features that a semiotician Jurij Łotman has distinguished: it is a delimited space that is unambiguously separated from the context, the space that is organised according to given rules; and lastly – the space that communicates the information regarding some external reality (Łotman, 1972, pp. 207-215).

The semiotic space of the cemetery includes a set of objects of multi-level message of selected meanings. A gravestone is an entity, which comprises of harmoniously co-existing, permanent elements – linguistic, architectural or graphic ones, as well as temporary ones – floristic or ornaments which are the sign of emotional attachment. In such a way, the sepulchral object combines various codes. The element, which is the most capacious semantics-wise, and at the same time communicates the selected meanings in the clearest way, is the text of the gravestone inscription; the text which has been intentionally written on the headstone, which signals the place of burial and which is also shaped both formally and semantically, according to the subjective criteria established by the author.

The meaningful contents of headstones comprise the information regarding firstly the central object of the description, that is the deceased person; secondly, the feelings

and experiences of the author (or authors) of the gravestone message (Rodenkówna, 1980, pp. 22-23). The messages of the former category are focused on the basic personal data of the deceased person, dates of birth and death, temper, achievements, professional and social statuses, and the function one fulfilled in one's family. The latter category comprises positive memories brought back by the relatives, declarations of undying memory and the linguistic expression of emotions. This two-level concentration is joined in the headstone inscription into an integral entity, as it stems from the common origin and is conditioned on the set of uniform circumstances.

2. Main Assumptions

The main assumption, which opens the research gate, is the presenting of a cemetery as a mirror that reflects the specific ways of interpreting certain elements of reality (both the material and spiritual one) by the participants of the society, who collectively create the necropolis' landscape over the years.

Methodological pluralism lets one analyse gravestone inscriptions using various research tools. It is possible to carry out the structural analysis, cognitive analysis; description made from the communicative grammar's point of view, normative analysis...

In this paper, the gravestone inscriptions were analysed according to the assumptions made by the Polish researchers of the concept of the *linguistic picture of the world*, that is Jerzy Bartmiński (1999, pp. 103-118), Ryszard Tokarski (1997/1998, pp. 7-24), Renata Grzegorzczkova (1999, pp. 39-46) and Jolanta Maćkiewicz (1999, pp. 7-24). This methodology, shaped according to ethnolinguistics, became the foundation for reconstructing the pictures of particular elements of the extra-linguistic reality. When using the method, an attempt was made to recreate the linguistic pictures of the deceased people, the respected values, interpersonal and interspecies relations, collective historical experiences, as well as the linguistic interpretation of death and expressing the emotions that are aroused after the loss.

In the description of the semiotic spaces of local cemeteries, one should also take the description of the necropolis' structure into consideration, which is seen as an intentional arrangement of symbols within a delimited space. At this stage, the methods presented by Western researchers, such as Philippe Ariès (1992, p. 492), Louis-Vincent Thomas (1991, p. 209), Michel Vovelle (2004, p. 605) and Polish ones - Jacek Kolbuszewski (1994, p. 293) and Sławomir Sikora (1986, pp. 59-60) become the theoretical basis.

The cemetery areas present the cultural attainment of greater communities, which are diverse in many aspects (material, social, age-wise) and smaller, cameral and local ones in an analogical way. Moreover, the necropolises' spaces reflect the attainment of the societies joint with different kinds of relations. In Poland, there is a collection of diverse, unique necropolises that are organised according to characteristic determinants.

One may distinguish three types of cemeteries that gather the deceased participants of a community that are integrated by various factors, buried in that particular place due to various reasons. Firstly, there are local cemeteries; secondly – religious ones; thirdly – animal cemeteries and virtual necropolises.

3. The Description of Local Cemeteries

Local cemeteries are small burial areas that gather the deceased inhabitants of a particular place. Local necropolises let one assess to what extent the local burial area preserves local culture. The description should comprise two stages: the first one being the description of the linguistic space of the cemetery (expressed by the gravestone inscriptions), the second one being the description of the well-thought, intentional structure of the necropolis which was organised according to fixed rules (the layout of graves, sectors, pathways and alleys, both main and side ones).

One such example may be the description of the parish cemetery in Śliwice (Kujawsko-Pomorskie voievodeship, Tucholski district):

The cemetery in a town surrounded by woodlands is a collection of unique monuments of the sepulchral art – specific headstones, richly ornamented inscription stones, as well as the inscriptions made according to the characteristic, local epigraphic convention.

Although, in the structure of gravestone inscriptions that has been developed for centuries one may notice a specific hierarchization of data concerning the particular deceased person, the inscriptions in Śliwice sometimes present the reversal of the standard order, the reversal of the “permanent model” (Kupiszewski, 1986, p. 28), which has been done in order to emphasize the selected data. In the epitaphs from Śliwice, the hierarchization of data has been made in many diverse ways, resulting from strictly individual valuing of the selected biographical data. In the inscriptions dedicated to young people, the duration of one’s life is sometimes indicated before one’s name and surname, for example:

HERE LIES / A YOUNG MAN OF 21 YEARS OLD / LATE / JAN O. / FROM ZAZDROŚĆ, / †20.4.1913. / ASKS FOR A WORSHIPFUL AVE / MARIA!

HERE LIES IN GOD / MY DEAR SON AND OUR BELOVED BROTHER / A 20 YEAR OLD YOUNG MAN / LATE/ MARYAN S. / FROM ZDROJE / †16.5.1914.

When applying this exceptional inversion, the passer-by’s attention is focused firstly on the tragic scope of the situation, on the premature, violent death that is contradictory to the natural order.

Indicating the role one played in one’s family (together with their positive assessment) may be the opening element of the inscription:

HERE LIES IN GOD / OUR DEAR / DAUGHTER AND BELOVED SISTER / (...)

HERE / LIES IN GOD / MY DEAR WIFE / (...)

It may also appear after revealing the onomastic data:

LATE ANTONINA RZ. / DEAR MOTHER GRANDMOTHER / *2.2.1875 †6.6.1935 / (...)

A characteristic tendency according to which the Śliwice inscriptions were subordinated (mostly the ones from the first two decades of the 20th Century) is showing the place of residence of the deceased person, directly after their surname, but before the date of death and the duration of their lives:

HERE LIES / IN GOD / OUR DEAR FATHER / LATE / PAWEŁ/ G. / FROM ŚLIWICE / †11.5.1913 / BEING 79 YEARS OLD.

HERE / LIES IN GOD / LATE / JAN CH. / FROM DUŻE KRÓWNY / †30.9.1911 / BEING 17 YEARS OLD.

Defining the origin of the deceased person is equivalent to perceiving it as one of the elements of the identity of the deceased person. It is mostly being aware of belonging to the aforementioned space (Długosz, 1994, p. 100), which manifests itself by giving this place a significant position within the biographical facts. The basis for the local epigraphic convention is, of course, the local mentality. The placement of this information in the systematized text of the inscription is what does matter here. (Długosz, 1994, p. 100).

The element of the epitaph, which is exposed in an intentional way (indicated before the onomastic data or right after it), is the information concerning the profession or the function of the deceased person, undoubtedly appreciated among the members of the local community:

HERE / LIES THE PARSON / MARCIN / K. / B. 4TH NOVEMBER 1833 / D. 6TH APRIL 1885. / R.I.P.

LATE / PRIEST WOJCIECH / K. / ŚLIWICEAN PARSON / B. 19. SEPTEMBER 1853 / D. 22. NOVEMB. 1918. / ETERNAL REST GRANT TO HIM / O LORD!

The last of the aforementioned epitaphs points out the function of the deceased person along with the adjective created from the name of the place; the following ones announce the profession of the deceased person and indicate that the person worked in that particular place:

HERE LIES IN GOD / LATE/ JAN / Ž. / CHEMIST FROM ŚLIWICE / *18.1.1881 / †12.4.1914 / REST IN PEACE

These data are the ways of appraising the deceased person, they let one recreate the local social structure, and are the interpretation of the achievements of the selected members of the community professionally- and socially-wise.

Defining the identities of the deceased people, indicating the dates of their life (or only the date of death and the duration of their lives) is sometimes connected with the information on the circumstances of their death. These messages are a part of the inscriptions of the people who died in an unnatural way, whilst performing their duties, as a result of an unfortunate coincidence or were killed by someone. This kind of information, although it is sporadically present in the Śliwice necropolis, apart from serving its basic function, refers to the local reality as well. One can find brief messages of general nature:

DIED A TRAGIC DEATH [1951]

DIED TRAGICALLY [2005]

as well as a much more detailed description:

KILLED IN THE WOODS BY A PINE TREE [1914]

The verb *to kill* implies the presence of the hangman and the victim, the killer and the killed. The executioner is the *pine tree*, the element of the nature, which does not kill a human intentionally, but as a result of unfortunate events. Śliwice is a town surrounded by forests, which on the one hand are perceived as beautiful, close, familiar and due to this they are the inspiration for the architectural aspect of the local sepulchral art (Kołyшко, 2012, pp. 37-38); on the other hand – including the message about one's death in the woods brings the associations with the dangerous, uneasy area.

The verb *to murder* used in inscriptions – analogous to *to kill* – implies the hangman and the victim, but is more emotionally charged, thus exposing the harm of one of the sides and underlines the negative attitude towards the outcome of the actions of the other. Here is an example:

MURDERED BY / A POACHER WHEN PERFORMING / PROFESSIONAL DUTIES [1923]

The aforementioned inscription bases on a contrasting contradiction – the author assesses the attitude of the deceased person in a positive way (died when performing their work), and the killer is described as *poacher*, that is someone whose actions are negatively assessed from the society's point of view. The gravestone dedicated to a young woman presents the description of the tragic event, in the form of a rhyming poem:

THE MOMENT OF PARTING CAME SOONER THAN PLANNED, / AS HER LIFE WAS SHORTENED BY MURDEROUS HAND [1973]

When in the epitaph one indicates the people who were responsible for the death, it leads, firstly, to public reprobation, and secondly, to emphasizing the fact that the life of that woman could have lasted longer. In the presented example, it is expressed by the words *sooner* and *shortened*, which indicate that the death was violent (Muzioł, 2016, pp. 331-332).

At the Śliwice cemetery, one can find epitaphs, which describe the circumstances of the death and at the same time relate to the collective historical experiences (Bronchard & Kołyszko, 2014, pp. 42-43):

MURDERED BY / THE NAZIS [?]

DIED A TRAGIC DEATH / IN THE ACT OF WAR [1945]

The martyrological aspect is also present in individual and collective inscriptions:

THE VICTIM OF WAR [?]

WAR VICTIMS [1945]

The ways of interpreting war experiences - as noticed by Długosz (1991, pp. 89-90 & 1997/1998, p. 170) – are diverse; at the sepulchral objects, one can find both the martyr and heroic aspects. At the Śliwice cemetery they are to be found – the first one in the aforementioned epitaphs, the other in the following one:

DIED A HEROIC DEATH / TO THE GLORY OF THE FATHERLAND [1942]

In the linguistic space of the cemetery, the reflection of the axiological system is being preserved, the system that is accepted – and foremost – respected by the participants of the local community. One ought not to disregard the power of the Polish national epigraphic convention, however the values declared on the gravestones should have a real relationship with the subjective way of perceiving the world.

The Śliwice necropolis preserves a specific linguistic picture of diverse values. Firstly, it is the local affinity; in the category of valuable elements there is the place, along with the whole network of connotations.

In the inscriptions in Śliwice, one may very often come across references to the religious values. It results from the sacred scope of the Polish cemeteries, the conventional shape of many inscriptions and the actual religious engagement of the local community. The common inscription opening *HERE LIES IN GOD* does not only reflect one's devotion, but serves the consoling function as well (Wysoczański, 2012, p. 257).

Other, often repeated phrases of distinct religious undertone are:

I TRUST YOU JESUS, THE CROSS IS THE SALVATION, OH MY MERCIFUL JESUS, JESUS, I HAVE TRUSTED YOU

Some more individualised ones are, for example:

„LIVE IN THE LORD” [1979], LIVE IN THE LORD AND PLEAD FOR US [1978], MAY GOD GIVE YOU HEAVEN [1910], IN OUR PAIN AND SORROW, THE WORDS OF / JESUS ARE OUR CONSOLATION ”THE ONE WHO BELIEVES IN ME / WILL LIVE, EVEN THOUGH THEY DIE” JOHN 11,25 [1973], I AM/ THE RESURRECTION/ AND THE LIFE. THE ONE WHO / BELIEVES IN ME WILL LIVE, / EVEN THOUGH THEY DIE! [1980]

Moreover, as far as the declared values are concerned, one should also include those connected with family life. It is the unavoidable result of treating cemeteries as the places of private cult. It has become almost common, at many Polish necropolises, to initiate the gravestone inscription by using a brief characteristic of the deceased person, from the strictly individualised point of view:

HERE LIES IN GOD / OUR MOST BELOVED SON [1910]

HERE LIES IN GOD / MY DEAR WIFE / AND OUR GOOD MOTHER [1912]

In this way, at the very beginning of the inscription, there is a specific introduction of the deceased person, connected with both the positive assessment and emphasizing the emotional scope of the relations. Exposing family values is closely related to emphasizing the importance of the memory:

HERE LIES / MY DEAR HUSBAND / OUR ALWAYS UNFORGETTABLE FATHER [1931]

THE MEMORY OF YOURS / WILL NEVER DIE AMONGST US [1982]

The authors of the gravestone messages suggest that death does not interrupt interpersonal relations:

YOU ARE IN OUR HEARTS...[1976]

(...) IN OUR HEARTS YOU WILL NOT CEASE TO BE [A FAMILY GRAVE]

Another issue, related to the exposing of the family values, is the linguistic expression of the emotions that emerge after the death of a close, beloved person (Ariès,

1979, p. 21). Cemetery is a space of memory, but also emotions that reach their climax at the moment of making the epitaph, but gradually become neutralised after some time. Expressing the emotions is on the one hand of a very individual character; on the other hand, it often takes the form that has been fixed within the epigraphic tradition. Undoubtedly, most attempts to express emotions on gravestones fall into the group of typical, repetitive inscriptions; however, it does not change the fact, that the basis of all this kind of activity are despair and yearning caused by the loss. Within the Śliwice cemetery, one may find texts that reflect the inner states of the mourning people:

IN OUR PAIN AND SADNESS THE WORDS OF JESUS ARE OUR /
CONSOLATION (...) [1973]

Presenting emotions that arouse after the death of a close relative dominates in the epitaphs dedicated to children (Steczko, 2010, p. 228):

YOUNG CHILD / YOU / PERISHED / TOO / EARLY / AND BROUGHT YOUR
HOME / MOURNING [1935]

WE FEEL GREAT / DESPAIR PAIN YEARNING / SLEEP AND WAIT FOR US
LITTLE CHILD [1945]

YOU VANISHED LIKE THE RAY / OF SUN / AND WE PARENTS CAN DO
NOTHING BUT MOURN [1959]

In Śliwice epitaphs, the linguistic picture of death is not uniform. On the one hand, one may find the *expressis verbis* expressions (Steczko, 2011, p. 93) (dominating but not exclusively, in the inscriptions dedicated to adults); on the other hand – mostly – in children's epitaphs – one resigns from calling the phenomenon directly and thus uses euphemisms that are culturally motivated.

At the aforementioned cemetery, there are the inscriptions that directly relate to the issues of Vanitas:

HERE / LIES / THE CORPSE OF THE LATE PRIEST [1867]

ON THE ASHES OF THE MOTHER / THERE LIES HER DAUGHTER [1988]

An opposing tendency to describe death and dying by using the means of language substitutes is a consequence of classifying those phenomena as a taboo sphere (for cultural or emotional reasons). The end of one's life is euphemistically presented as departing:

WE HAVE DEPARTED... / BUT WE EXIST. / AVE MARIA [2006]

The euphemisms used in children's epitaphs base on the associations fixed among the members of the language-cultural community. Death is identified with expiring (Burzyńska & Kamieniecki, 1997/1998, p. 84; Marciniak, 2008, p. 191):

YOU EXPIRED / TOO SOON / OUR LITTLE ANGEL [1950]

With a disappearing ray of sunlight:

YOU DISAPPEARED LIKE A RAY / OF SUNLIGHT / AND WE PARENTS ARE LEFT / WITH ETERNAL SADNESS [1950]

With a little bird which stopped singing:

(...) YOU SING NO MORE OUR SWEET / LITTLE BIRD / (...) [1945]

In the linguistic space of the Śliwice cemetery, there function the messages taken from the spoken language, the role of which is to finish the conversation and at the same time, suggest meeting each other again (it is also related to the belief in the existence of afterlife, after one's death):

GOOD BYE! [1908]

SEE YOU IN HEAVEN! [1910]

The aforementioned examples are of a two-way character, which means that their authors may be both the remaining members of the family and the deceased people themselves. In such cases, it is difficult to accredit the roles of the author and the receiver, due to the versatility, and because of it, unequivocality of the direction of the gravestone communication.

The linguistic level of sepulchral art is closely correlated with the arrangement of the burial area. The structure of the Śliwice necropolis may be presented as following:

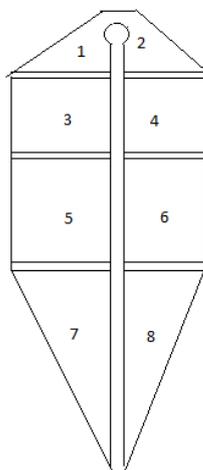


Fig. 1. The structure of the parish cemetery in Śliwice. From top to bottom: place of honour, children's graves, main gate.

Source: Author's

The area of the aforescribed cemetery has been divided into eight sectors of different sizes. The place of honour, distinctly separated, has not been situated in the middle of the cemetery, but in its rearmost part. In that place, the main pathway leading from the main gate closes a circle. In the circle, there are images of the scene at the Golgotha mountain, the graves of the priests related to the parish (but not of all of them), as well as the graves of the laymen (most probably they were the people of a high material status, which is indicated by both the size and the architecture of the gravestones dedicated to them).

In the middle part of the cemetery, along the main alley (on its both sides) there are two rows of graves from the second decade of the 20th century, the inscriptions on which being of a uniform character and of a characteristic style of ornaments around the text. These sepulchral objects face the main pathway, which may be perceived as a kind of specific ennoblement to the deceased people. (Sikora, 1986, p. 61). Besides the date of their death, it is difficult to find the common features of the people buried in the aforescribed part - it is a group which varied in gender and age, moreover the deceased people buried in this area were the inhabitants of separate towns.

The graves of the priests working at the Śliwice parish are situated not only in the place of honour, but also along the main pathway. It is the practice that is well-known in the folk burial culture (Sikora, 1986, p. 61).

Within the area of Śliwice cemetery, the part devoted to children's burial has been separated in a clear way (the fragments of sectors four and six) – however, one may find numerous children's graves in all the other sectors.

The area of this necropolis resembles „the coffin lid” (Kołyszko, 2012, p. 23), as it comprises the main area (adjacent to the main pathway) and the lower area (comprising, among others, the children’s graves). Those areas have been connected with stairs. This undoubtedly unique gradation has been conditioned only by the shape of the terrain, so one should not try to find any intentional selection of the deceased in such a division. Moreover, the sepulchral objects located in the upper and lower parts of the cemetery do not differ enough for one to be able to attribute a higher material or social position to the members of either of the groups.

4. The Description of Religious Cemeteries

Religious cemeteries are used to bury the deceased people who believed in Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Islam... A high diversification of the people living in Poland as far as their religion is concerned does not allow to set a quantitative boundary in an unambiguous way. Researching the religious cemeteries should base on reconstructing the linguistics pictures of the world that emerge from the inscriptions that are to be found at the cemeteries dedicated to the believers of diverse religious groups. When comparing the gravestone inscriptions, one may distinguish both the common elements, that are the epigraphic tendencies of the religious scope, and typical elements, of a limited religious range, conditioned by the religious-cultural autonomy. Surely, one must take into consideration the uniformed components, which are the result of a long-lasting proximity to the members of different religious communities, as well as the original elements, which show the continuity and autonomy of the co-existing traditions. The multi-levelness of the message the semiotic space of necropolises does not allow one to forget about the extralinguistic components, including the common elements and typical, unique ones. It concerns both the architectural and graphic aspect of the sepulchral object (for example, the symbols related to a particular faith, the way of ornamenting the gravestones), as well as the customs related to death, mourning and taking care of the individual burial place afterwards, that function within the particular religious-cultural circle (such phenomena as decorating gravestones with flowers – present in the Christian culture, or leaving little stones when coming to the grave – characteristic for the Jewish culture).

An exemplary comparison of a selected aspect (appealing to a passer-by) of the linguistic space of religious necropolises (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish) is as follows:

The tendency to put the inscription text containing a form of an appeal to a passer-by, which is characteristic of the Western culture, (Ariès, 1992, pp. 217-218) is seldom to be found at a Jewish cemetery. In the Jewish culture, saying prayers for the deceased should be finished before the first anniversary of their death (Levine, 2001, p. 186). After the year-long mourning – one is allowed to say them only on certain days (Tyloch, 1987, p. 323). Thus, praying for the deceased person at different times is interpreted in a negative way, as it suggests that the deceased person committed many

sins when still alive and needs „additional pleading” now (Levine, 2001, p. 169). Any kinds of request for prayers, addressed to the prospective passers-by, are contradictory to the Jewish sepulchral tradition.

There is a significant discrepancy between the Jewish and Catholic customs as far as the aforementioned matter is concerned. Among Catholics, the prayers for the dead are treated as the sign of concern for their afterlife. Taking care of the souls of one’s deceased relatives is the basis of devoting individual prayers to them, saying Holy Masses and other services, as well as placing on the gravestones the requests for praying to God, thanks to which the deceased ones will get a chance to avoid afterlife suffering.

The authors ask the passers-by not only for prayers but also for some reflection. Those messages concern the emotional sphere; they encourage quiet reflection on, and at the same time, empathising with the emotional state of the dead person’s family. One may also see requests for addressing the God, for a moment of engaging in prayers and not for emotional identification with anyone.

The interacting feature of the gravestone leads to opening a dialogue on many levels: *relatives: a passer-by, the deceased person: a passer-by*.

As far as the communication with the passer-by is concerned, the authors of the message often reveal their identity by characterizing their relationship with the deceased:

LEFT INCONSOLABLE / THE MATHER RAI / SES THIS STONE AND ASKS
PASSERS-BY / FOR A MOMENT’S OF THOUGHT TO GOD [CPS, 1850]

PASSER-BY, GIVE A MOMENT’S OF THOUGHT / TO THE SOUL OF THIS
NOBLE / WIFE AND MOTHER [CPS, 1877]

Mentioning the virtues of the deceased one is specific form of persuasion – the author tries to convince the prospective receivers of the message, that their deceased relatives deserved to be recalled, as they acted and behaved according to the widely-acclaimed norms and values.

In the other case, the authors address the passer-by on behalf of the deceased person:

ASKS PASSERS-BY / FOR AN AVE MARIA / FOR HIS SOUL [CPS, 1891]

It is also a persuasion technique, as the requests coming from – indirectly – the deceased person themselves, probably have a bigger influence on the passers-by walking past the sepulchral object.

In the Protestant tradition, there is no place for prayers for the deceased (Markiewicz, 1982, p. 61), as a result of disallowing the belief in purgatory. In spite of the ceremonial shaped in such a way, one may notice the following appeals to passers-by on the gravestones dedicated to Lutherans:

GRATEFUL DAUGHTERS LAY THIS MEMENTO / AND ASK FOR A MOMENT'S OF
THOUGHT / TO GOD [CE-AW, 1881]

WIFE AND CHILDREN ASK / FOR A REFLECTION. [CE-AW, 1899]

THE LEFTBEHIND WIFE WHO LOSES YOU TODAY / ASKS PASSERS-BY FOR
A QUIET REFLECTION [CE-AW, 1913]

The aforementioned examples confirm the prevalence of the epigraph convention of the extra-religious scope over the faith-related practice.

Appealing to the passer-by is mostly the element of older inscriptions, the ones that appeared until the second half of the 20th century. They are hard to find (although it is not impossible) in the epitaphs created at the turn of the 20th century or at the beginning of the 21st century, in which the authors more often interact with God than with passers-by. This is true for both the Catholic and Lutheran epigraphy. However, although the presence of the request for prayers is fully understandable in the former, in the latter – it may be the result of subordinating the gravestone inscription to the power of epigraphic convention.

Undoubtedly, the messages addressed to a random passer-by are motivated by the collective religiousness – the authors ask for prayers, not for the memory of the features or achievements of the deceased. Death and all the ritualised behaviours after it belong to the broadly-understood religious customs. However, one may not disregard the relation-making aspect of the appeal to a passer-by. The basis for the great frequency of those texts must be the faith in the actual granting of those requests, the tendency to reflect upon the afterlife destiny of a stranger, as well as the ability to identify with the family experiencing negative emotions.

5. New Practices in Sepulchral Customs

New practices that emerged within the field of cemetery cult at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, are the animal cemeteries and virtual necropolises. The former gathers individual burial places of the animals defined as, based on the posthumanistic philosophy, as companions (Barcz, 2013, p. 111); the latter gives the chance to take care of the memories of the deceased person on the Internet, as well as let one access the grave in an ever-open way, as it has no time and space barriers, and to interact with interlocutors, both familiar and strangers. These phenomena are not only a specific and seemingly unavoidable continuation of the epigraphic customs, but also their reinterpretation. The analysis of the gravestone messages, which base on the – more and more common – tendency to reduce any interspecies barriers, as well as the language rites functioning at the virtual necropolis, may lead to very interesting results, which will become the source of information concerning contemporary culture (Muzioł, 2014). What plays a dominant role is the selective approach of both the authors of the inscriptions dedicated to pets and the authors of virtual epitaphs to the resources

of the traditional epigraph convention and the rules of it - that is copying certain elements and modifying other ones. In this paper, the linguistic space of an animal necropolis will be analysed to a greater extent.

The expansiveness of the animal cemeteries is a very interesting phenomenon. Animal necropolis is not only a new era in the history of cemeteries, but foremost the evidence of the change of mentality, which is happening gradually, not revolutionarily. Setting a new paradigm of behaviours and rites comprising mourning, opening thanatological borders for the non-human beings, must leave visible marks in the development of the burial culture. Cemetery art, for centuries, has reflected all the mental and aesthetic changes, as well as the transformations connected to the intersubjective understanding of relations. Moreover, it reveals all the signs of the constant evolution of the collective imagination. It is true for the animal burial areas as well, which reflect positive valuation of interspecies relations, motivated by a certain outlook on life.

The following is a description of the linguistic space of an animal cemetery, concentrated on expressing emotions:

The linguistic expression of emotions in the epitaphs dedicated to animal companions is one of the most distinct signs of positive valuating of the interspecies relations; treating animals as members of households, as family members, after the death of which one usually enters the state of ritualised, culturally-conditioned mourning and inner despair, strong yearning, bereavement. This posthumanistic mourning – or rather the subjective feeling of the need to go into it – is the condition for the tendency to commemorate animals after their death. The source of the today's cult of cemeteries (for the burial of people) is the concept of „the death of the other one” (Ariès, 1979, p. 121), which causes a greater fear than one's own death; this way of perceiving death determines the functioning of the mourning rituals. Focusing on the death of a close person one feels affection for has become the foundation for the development of cemeteries seen as a place of private cult; however, the posthumanistic reflection upon death has caused this thanatological concept to broaden and include the beings previously excluded from it, that is animal companions.

In the light of the human-animal relations, which are determined by emotions, this kind of broadening is a necessary consequence – if there is engagement in a interspecies relationship, breaking it causes the other party to suffer. Due to this, one mourns not only after the death of a beloved person, but also an animal; both at the internal (mourning, yearning, sorrow) and the external (socially accepted rituals – including raising a gravestone) level.

Gravestone epigraphy, created in order to care for the memories of an animal, is a very distinct, and at the same time, hard to negate, sign of including the death of an animal into the set of the elements of – as Jacek Kolbuszewski calls it – „anthropologic and humanistic perspective” (2004, 576). The humanistic perspective shows a certain direction, it organises the issues concerning interspecies thanatology, mostly within the sphere of collective imagination; however including animal death in the humanistic perspective narrows the scope of the phenomenon down. When researching this matter, it is necessary to take the assumptions of postmodern ethics, and the posthumanism that has been based on it, into consideration.

Exposing the emotional engagement in human relations is one of the fundamental determinants of graveyard epigraphy, which has been shaped in the Western Culture for centuries. The character of the place and situation determines both the semantic content of the gravestone inscriptions (personal, almost intimate confessions, declarations of lifelong memory, expressing negative emotions), as well as their formal shaping (carefully thought-of hierarchization, the contents, laments, exclamations). The specificity of the gravestone text disables it from appearing in any place – it is the text of unambiguously specified purpose. The conditioning of the meaningful-formal construction favours its narrow usage and at the same time, its determinants being highly recognisable.

Seeing the cemetery area as a place of meeting, a place of interaction, is one of the bases of the broadly-spread tendency to share private experiences, feelings and reflections publicly. This motivation influences the linguistic picture of emotional states, which are common for the authors of gravestone inscriptions, dedicated to animal companions.

The descriptions of emotional states in the inscriptions dedicated to animals are usually analogous to the ones found at the epitaph gravestones dedicated to people. Thus, they are of universal character – isolating them would make it impossible to tell whether they were written for parents, spouses, friends or maybe dogs or cats. Here are the examples:

THE WORLDS WITHOUT YOU IS SAD [ZM, 2004]

MY GRIEF FOR YOU / IS IMMENSE! [ZKN, 2003]

I MISS YOU SO MUCH / MY HEART ACHES [ZKN, 2009]

An inscription, by using an exclamation mark, may be given a very expressive character, which can be associated with the plaintive epitaphs, which are mostly to be found in folk culture:

YOU ARE GONE! IT IS SO HARD TO COME TO TERMS / WITH ITS! I WILL NEVER SEE YOU AGAIN, NEITHER AT NIGHT NOR DURING THE DAY – NEVER!!! / HOW CRUEL THESE WORDS / SOUND !!! [ZKN, 2012]

All the lamentations, which are the linguistic evidence of grief, experienced tragedy and helplessness one feels when facing the Four Last Things in a direct way, come from the common source. This source is the need to show the receivers, readers, passers-by one's inner state, the state which is far from stability, caused by a sudden interruption of a positively-valuated relationship with a close being.

Moreover, the animal inscriptions indicate – which is a common practice in the Polish epigraphic convention – the external signs of inner emotions:

SLEEP TIGHT DOGGY, DREAM / TIME WILL DRY TEARS AWAY. [ZKN, ?]

The authors of the gravestone inscriptions dedicated to animals also emphasize the emptiness (Antas, 2014, pp. 253-254), caused by the feeling of loss of the beloved being:

NOW I AM ONLY LEFT WITH SILENCE, / WHICH HURTS AND GREAT
EMPTINESS [ZM, 2004]

WE MISS SO MUCH THOSE / EYES FULL OF LOVE... [ZM, ?]

THE HOUSE WITHOUT YOU / IS EMPTY [ZM, 2002]

I CANNOT LEAVE THE CIRCLE OUTSIDE YOUR VELVET, / WHEN THE
YEARNING LIKE CLENCHING TEETH / CRUSHES THE TOGETHERNESS, WHICH
IS NO MORE [ZKN, 2008]

Within the space of the animal cemetery – seen as a place of private cult – the manifesting of emotions connected with the interrupting of the interspecies relationship, sharing one's experiences and remembering publicly fall into the set of permitted behaviours and commonly (among the members of a given community) accepted, owing to which they contribute to the norms present in this, clearly separated, place. Expressing one's emotions openly, which is a consequence of experiencing posthumanistic mourning, manifests itself in both stereotypical texts, often duplicated within burial areas, and in the inscriptions which often are very personal, or even intimate memories or reflections of the owners of the buried animals.

6. Conclusions

Necropolises, regardless of their scope or the type of relationships between their authors, gather information concerning the deceased ones in a direct way, and the living ones, that is the authors of the headstone messages, indirectly.

Local cemeteries, seen as collective works of inhabitants, are a reflection of their memories, experiences, beliefs, hopes, aesthetic awareness, everyday reality, the axiological system they respect and the internal social gradation. Deciphering the cemetery area – the inscriptions and the purposeful organisation of its permanent elements – leads to a multi-level perception of the community.

Among the linguistic spaces of the religious necropolises, there are both the elements that differentiate them, as well as those that join them. It is equally true for both the structure of the gravestone inscriptions and their semantic contents.

Animal cemeteries are the evidence of the boundaries between interpersonal and interspecies emotional relations having become very vague. The ennoblement of the human-animal bonds is supported by the posthumanistic ethics, as well as by the social perception, according to which interpersonal relations ceased to be the only ones allowed in the contemporary world.

Undoubtedly, the cemetery space is a place, in which the research interests of the scientists of diverse scientific fields meet, for example of historians, architects, urbanists, monument conservators, culture experts, psychologists, literature experts, and of course linguistic scientists. The matters described in this paper are a mere fragment of the whole research field, only one of the multiple possibilities, one of the many points of view.

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Sources:

- CPS – Old Powązki Cemetery in Warszawa
CE-AW – Evangelical Lutheran Cemetery in Warszawa
ZKN – animal cemetery in Konik Nowy (near Warszawa)
ZM – animal cemetery in Mochle (near Bydgoszcz)

The Use and Misuse of ICT in Local Civil Dialogue in Poland

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze the extent to which the authorities of eighteen Polish cities with the status of provincial capitals use ICT to stimulate local civil dialogue. The quantitative analysis of the content of Internet media managed by local self-government institutions shows that over 80% of the aforementioned cities have not implemented an integrated online system, which would allow residents to report current local problems and obtain feedback concerning these issues. The analysis of online tools utilized during public consultations indicated that the most frequently adopted mechanisms are those, which not only exclude the in-depth dialogue between authorities and citizens but also deprive residents of a chance to respond to opinions of other members of the local community. An analogous situation also occurs during participatory budgeting, the formula of which includes the involvement of citizens at an early stage of a decision-making process. While residents of almost three-fourths of the analyzed cities can submit proposals of budgetary tasks via the Internet, only every fourth provincial capital uses online tools allowing residents to comment on the aforementioned projects. This situation should be perceived as a part of a broader problem – the vast majority of the analyzed cities have not even made an attempt at using ICT to establish a platform enabling a permanent, bilateral exchange of ideas and opinions between residents and local policymakers.

Keywords: participatory budgeting, public consultations, local self-government, citizen participation, civil society.

1. Introduction

The dynamic development of online media has led to a significant modification of the structure and functioning of local communication systems. One of the symptoms of this phenomenon is a growing pluralism of local public debate occurring both on the objective (a number and diversity of participants) and subjective (the scope of the problems discussed) levels. On the one hand, popularization of ICT offers local non-governmental organizations, informal social movements and individual citizens chance for a more active engagement into the co-shaping of local public opinion. On the other hand, the interactive and inclusive character of the online communication platform turns it into an effective tool which can be used by local authorities to stimulate a dialogue with citizens, as well as to include them into the process of governing their communities.

The pioneers in the studies on the role of ICT in the process of bilateral communication between local self-government (hereinafter: LSG) and citizens are the Scandinavian countries. One of the first such studies was Ranerup's (2002, pp. 177-193)

analysis of Internet applications that aimed to democratize local government in Sweden by improving citizen-government links. Berntzen (2004, pp. 300-307), on the other hand, analyzed the discussion forum *demokratitorget.no*, established by a group of Norwegian local governments, which provided a platform for communication between residents and local politicians. The problem of the impact of the new media on the functioning of Norwegian local governments and their relationships with citizens was also discussed in the study by Hanssen (2007, pp. 355-382) in the framework of the project entitled “ICT and local democracy.”

Since the middle of the last decade, research on the role of ICT in communication between local governments and residents has also been conducted in Poland. Of note in this regard are the analysis by Dzienniak-Pulina and Faliszek (2007, pp. 103-122) of websites of counties and communes of the Silesian Province as instruments for shaping the relations between local governments and citizens, and the study by Bohdan (2014, pp. 305-322) on local public consultations conducted on the Internet. Among the nation-wide research that has been conducted in Poland, particularly noteworthy is the comparative analysis by Kuć-Czajkowska and Wasil (2014, pp. 109-122) of Internet tools used by rural communes and municipalities in the process of bilateral communication with residents.

The present article, the main objective of which is to analyze the extent to which the authorities of eighteen Polish cities with the status of provincial capitals use ICT to stimulate local civil dialogue, is intended to contribute to this type of research. The analysis covered mechanisms allowing residents to report current local problems, online platforms facilitating a permanent exchange of information and opinions between citizens and local authorities, as well as Internet tools used in the course of local public consultations. Regarding the latter, particular attention was paid to consultations related to participatory budgeting, due to the fact that they raise considerable interest among citizens and involve them even at the early stages of the decision-making process.

2. Civil Dialogue Concept(s)

Since the last decade of the 20th century, civil dialogue has become a popular concept within European Union institutions as well as in many of its member states (Kendall & Anheier, 1999, pp. 283-307; Smismans, 2003, pp. 473-495). In recent years, this term has appeared both in statements made by politicians and representatives of NGOs, as well as in official government documents and acts of law. It is also frequently used by researchers analyzing processes related to political communication, civil society, and citizen participation. However, as Makowski (2011, p. 56) correctly argues, it is hard to support the claim that a civil dialogue theory has been already developed and the concept in question is interpreted in various ways. A step toward ordering the somewhat chaotic nomenclature in this regard is to agree with Misztal (2016, pp. 57-58) who claims that the term “civil dialogue” is used in scientific debate in a dual context. According to the first, inclusive approach, civil dialogue is considered to be a fundamental form of

public discourse which allows citizens to participate in public debate and to present their opinions concerning social problems that they find to be important. As a result, they are able to contribute to the shaping of public opinion, which can potentially influence the decisions made by public authorities. This meaning of civil dialogue resembles the concept of citizen deliberation conducted within a democratic public sphere (see Gimmler, 2001, pp. 21-30; Habermas, 1989).

The second, exclusive approach to civil dialogue, reduces its material scope to a systematic process of communication between decision-making centers and formal structures of civil society, conducted in accordance with adopted procedures. Some researchers equate civil dialogue with institutionalized forms of public consultations conducted by public authorities and involving representatives of NGOs, concerning decisions that are important from the point of view of different social groups (Mandrzyś, 2007, p. 115). A broader perspective is adopted by Makowski (2011, p. 50), who defines civil dialogue as “a system of relations between citizens and the state where citizens, through social organizations, communicate with centers of authority in an effort to exert influence on their decisions and on public policies.” This approach to civil dialogue emphasizes its institutionalized nature, which is manifested both in the formalized status of the participants of the process (public institutions and social organizations) and in setting their interactions within a strictly defined procedural network (public consultations, public hearings, etc.).

However, as Fazi and Smith (2006, p. 22) argue, civil dialogue carried out at various stages of decision-making process can include the interactions of various levels of formalization, “ranging from informal to legally recognized structures, from ad hoc to continuous exchange.” Such a standpoint is shared by Lewenstein (2011, pp. 12-13) who refers a concept of civil dialogue to the practical dimension of local public life, in which the increasingly important role is played by non-institutionalized actors. According to her, the category of local civil dialogue should include the processes of a two-way communication of a various level of institutionalization, occurring between local authorities and residents, including those who are not members of NGOs. A similar approach is also adopted by Theiss (2011, pp. 57-69) in her analysis of civil dialogue from the social network perspective.

In case of Poland, the adoption of the broad definition of the local civil dialogue is justified by reluctance of citizens to join social organizations and their limited interest in the participation in traditional public debates. According to the *Social Diagnosis 2015*, merely 9% of the adult population declares active participation in any organization, association, party, committee, religious group or trade union (Czapiński, 2015, pp. 333-334). This indicator would have been even lower, had the membership in religious unions and sports clubs been excluded from the analysis. Only every fifth adult Pole had participated at least once in any public meeting outside his working place, in the year preceding the study.

Taking into account the aforementioned data, it was decided that this analysis of the use of ICT in the local civil dialogue in Poland should include all aspects of a two-

way communication between LSG institutions and citizens referring to the problems of the given local community. The study has particularly focused on such mechanisms adopted by local authorities, which – on the one hand – allow citizens to engage in local public life in the way not requiring physical participation in public debates or consultations, and – on the other hand – are addressed also to the residents not associated with any formal structures of the civil society.

3. Design of the Study

While analyzing the use of ICT in local civil dialogue in Poland, it was decided to focus on 18 cities with the status of provincial capitals. This choice was based on three premises. Firstly, these metropolises possess greater financial and human resources than smaller towns, which should favor more professional approach to their communication policies and the use of diversified communication tools adapted to the needs of various groups of residents. Secondly, the great number of residents of the provincial capitals, together with relatively long distances reduce the effectiveness of the traditional forms of civil dialogue such as public debates or workshops.¹ Thirdly, the surveys carried out by the Central Statistical Office of Poland justify the assumption that the residents of big cities use the Internet more regularly and in a more comprehensive way than the rest of the society. This reflection can be illustrated by the case of acquiring information from the websites of public authorities. While in 2016 over 35% of the respondents from Polish cities with more than 100 thousand inhabitants declared that they had been engaged in such activities in the 12 months preceding the study, in case of rural areas this rate was lower by 19 percentage points (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2016, pp. 147-149).

In the process of developing methodological assumptions of the study, a decision was made not to use surveys addressed to representatives of local authorities. While the abovementioned method allows to include into the analysis a large number of LSG units, the data acquired in this way are of a declarative nature and not necessarily reflect the true state of affairs. The fact that such concerns are justified was proved by the outcome of the pilot survey, concerning the provision of local public services facilitating citizen participation. The review of the acquired data showed that in case of questions referring to the participatory budgeting, from among 186 analyzed communes only 6 provided answers compatible with the information published on their official websites (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2015, p. 22).

Taking into account the above considerations, it was decided to select quantitative analysis of the content of Internet media managed by individual LSG units as the basic research method. Communication platforms supplied by external entities and used by local authorities, including websites administered by LSG institutions as part of

¹ It must be noted that the analyzed cities significantly differ in the size of their populations. While there are about 1.75 million inhabitants in Warsaw, the number of residents of the smallest provincial capitals in Poland does not exceed 130 thousand.

community portals, were also taken into consideration. Contrary to the analysis carried out by Kuć-Czajkowska and Wasil (2014, pp. 109-122), the study did not cover e-administration tools applied by local authorities. It is because communication between citizens and LSG institutions taking place via these tools refers not so much to the problems of a local community, but rather to individual affairs of particular citizens.

The analysis covered these cases of the use of ICT in local civil dialogue, which had taken place since the beginning of 2014 up to the end of February 2017. In case of the annual initiatives, including – *inter alia* – consultations concerning participatory budgeting, the study included data referring to their last edition, and wherever possible, to their current edition. A single municipality with the status of provincial capital was the basic unit of the analysis. Each municipality was assigned parameters according to four sections of the adopted coding sheet. The first one referred to online solutions allowing citizens to report current local problems. Elements identified at this stage of the analysis included: the presence of an integrated system covering issues which different municipal services are responsible for, the scope of feedback concerning progress in solving a specific problem, and the possibility to comment on reports submitted by other citizens.

The second section of the coding sheet concerned the use of ICT during public consultations organized by local authorities. It allowed collecting information on the method of presenting information concerning particular consultations on the portal, the type of online communication tools used for their purpose, and the scope of online coverage of direct meetings with citizens. The analysis also verified whether the homepage of the town portal featured a hyperlink to a website devoted to consultations, and whether the latter included materials explaining the basic rules and mechanisms of such a form of civil dialogue.

Due to a specific nature of consultations concerning participatory budgeting, including the involvement of citizens at an early stage of the decision-making process in particular, a separate, third section of the coding sheet was dedicated to them. It referred to such issues as the procedure of submitting proposals of budgetary tasks via the Internet, the method of presenting information on the latter, the possibility for web users to comment on individual projects and providing an e-voting option. At this stage, the analysis verified whether the citizens have the possibility to follow the progress in implementing the winning projects online, and to what extent local authorities use ICT to consult residents in terms of general rules and methods of the participatory budgeting process.

The last section of the coding sheet focused on the degree to which LSG institutions used ICT to stimulate permanent exchange of ideas and opinions on the functioning of the local community between citizens and representatives of local authorities. The analysis covered the type of communication tools used, and verified if, in each particular case, issues reported by residents and responses of representatives of local authorities were made available to the public, and if the citizens had the possibility to express their opinions on the proposals of other members of the local community. In reference to the online discussion forums run by LSG units, it was also verified if the citizens were free to initiate new subjects of debates, and if the publication of their

comments required website administrator's approval. Other elements covered by the analysis included the number of forum users, the number of comments posted by them, the share of posts published by representatives of LSG institutions in the total number of posts, and the extent to which the discussion was dominated by the most active citizens.

Although the basic part of the study was of quantitative nature and relied on formalized categories, each stage of the analysis provided for the possibility to add additional, descriptive comments. The purpose of this solution was to take into consideration these factors which were difficult to account for in the quantitative analysis, and which might have influenced the effectiveness of a given communication tool as an instrument of local civil dialogue. For instance, during the analysis of the *Katowice Platform for Public Consultations* (<http://pks.katowice.eu>) it was noted that its users complained that it took too long for the website administrator to publish their comments. The quantitative analysis of the content of Internet media run by LSG institutions was also supplemented by an analysis of secondary data including, in particular, evaluation reports on the public consultations. Among other things, it allowed verifying if, and to what extent, the abovementioned documents included the opinions and proposals submitted by citizens via a specific Internet tool.

4. Analysis of Results

The analysis showed that only six provincial capitals have implemented an integrated online system allowing residents to report current problems requiring the urgent response by municipal services. The remaining cities provide only online contact forms or email addresses of particular municipal services. The basic limitation of these mechanisms is the fact that the submitted reports are not available to the public. Therefore, residents cannot express their opinions on the issues raised by other citizens. The lack of public pressure also reduces the motivation of LSG institutions to react promptly and effectively to the problems signaled by residents.

Only three of the analyzed cities – Opole, Lublin and Białystok – use applications similar in their functionalities to the popular *FixMyStreet* platform (<http://fixmystreet.org>). They allow citizens to easily raise – via an interactive map – problems concerning the local public space. Each report is directed to the relevant municipal institution and published on the website. It can also be supported or commented upon by other users of the platform. The residents can also follow the progress in solving a particular problem online. In case of Opole and Białystok, such feedback is limited to marking the report as “being processed” or “accepted for realization”. More precise feedback is provided to the users of the Lublin-based website functioning within *NaprawmyTo* (“Let’s fix it”) platform, which has been developed in cooperation with several dozen NGOs (<http://lublin.naprawmyto.pl>). However, also in this case, some situations occurred in the considered period, when the status of particular reports had not been updated for several months and even years. In spite of these

limitations, the abovementioned platform is immensely popular among the residents of Lublin. They have used it to raise over 12 thousand issues over the last four years. Almost three-fourths of those problems have been marked by the website administrator as “solved”.

The abovementioned communication mechanisms may seem unimportant from the perspective of the development of local civil dialogue as they generally pertain to smaller issues like illegal waste dump or damaged sidewalk. Nonetheless, the fact that a vast majority of provincial capitals resigned from implementing systems allowing residents to report current problems and obtain feedback concerning these issues significantly reduces the credibility of LSG units as institutions open to the postulates and needs of the citizens. This situation may disincline members of the local community to get involved in more complex forms of civil dialogue, including public consultations.

Furthermore, the way in which the information concerning consultations is presented on the municipal portals also does not encourage residents to engage in this kind of activity. Over one-fourth of the provincial capitals do not publish on the homepages of their portals direct links to the websites devoted to civil dialogue. The access to the information on public consultations is also hampered by the fact that it is presented in a dispersed way, in various sections of municipal portals, as well as on separate websites of different LSG institutions. This problem can be illustrated by the example of the portal devoted to civil dialogue in Gdańsk (<http://gdansk.pl/dialog-obywatelski>), which does not provide the list of public consultations carried out by the city authorities. In consequence, the residents interested in this form of participation in the local public life are obliged to follow all the news published on the main portal of the city, in the public information bulletin and on the websites of particular municipal institutions. Another problem is the fact that the details concerning particular consultations are not presented on the websites managed by LSG units in a user-friendly way. An extreme example of this phenomenon is the portal of Łódź (<http://uml.lodz.pl/konsultacjespoleczne>), where the publication of the information on the scope and form of particular public consultations is limited to posting links to the PDF files containing the official decrees of the city mayor.

The analysis also showed that provincial capitals do not use Internet media to broaden the residents' knowledge on available forms of participation in the process of governing their communities. Only every fourth city publishes materials explaining basic rules and mechanisms of public consultations and other forms of civil dialogue on municipal website. A more common practice is to make it possible for citizens to take part in consultations via the Internet. Communication tools most frequently used for this purpose by the provincial capitals include online questionnaires (83% of analyzed cities), polls (61%) and e-forms (33%). At the same time, it should be noted that the majority of analyzed cities still refer to solutions which unnecessarily complicate participation in public consultations via the Internet. In more than half of the provincial capitals, e-participation in certain consultations, covered by the analysis, required downloading, completing and printing the form, and later signing and sending its scanned copy via email. In Katowice and Gdańsk, qualified electronic signature or verified account on a

public administration platform were required to participate in some consultations carried out in the considered period.

The analysis of the catalogue of online tools utilized by LSG units while conducting public consultations leads to the conclusion that the most frequently adopted mechanisms are those, which enable only the following communication scheme: problem raised by officials – residents' opinions – final report and/or position of the authorities. Such solutions not only exclude the in-depth dialogue between policymakers and citizens but also deprive residents of a chance to respond to the opinions of other members of the local community. Only one-third of the provincial capitals encourage residents to publicly express their opinions and ideas by posting comments on the e-consultation platform or its Facebook fan page. It has to be noted, however, that this kind of activity is often treated as an event accompanying the consultations but not as an integral part of this process. The good example of this situation are consultations launched at the beginning of 2017, concerning the adaptation of the network of schools in Łódź to the new, nationwide educational system. During these consultations, the discussion threads were initiated on the online forum run by local authorities, which resulted in the publication of over 1.5 thousand comments. The official report on consultations, however, merely noted the fact that such a platform was used, ignoring the opinions and ideas of the residents expressed on that forum (see *Urząd Miasta Łodzi*, 2017, pp. 2-3).

The conducted study also proved that the online media are not used by the provincial capitals to expand the social range of the traditional forms of civil dialogue such as public debates or workshops. The residents have no possibility to participate remotely in the abovementioned events, and they are not broadcasted online. It is not even a common practice to provide Internet users an access to the recordings or protocols of such meetings. The issues raised during these gatherings are often presented only in evaluation reports on the public consultations, and therefore they cannot have an influence upon the residents' opinions.

One of the few positive examples of using ICT for supporting the process of the consultations based on direct meetings with residents is the citizen panel organized in 2016 in Gdańsk, referring to the protection of the city in case of heavy rainstorm. The project's website (<http://gdansk.pl/panel-obywatelski>) provided then the knowledge base containing the information regarding both the mechanism of the citizen panel itself and the subject of its first edition. All meetings organized within the framework of that panel were broadcasted online, and the recordings of the experts' speeches as well as their presentations were also published on the website.

While the citizen panel in Gdańsk was the first attempt in Poland to use such a form of public consultations, all the provincial capitals have already implemented the participatory budgeting (hereinafter: PB). The significant merit of such a mechanism is the fact that it involves citizens at an early stage of the decision-making process since they can submit their own proposals of budgetary tasks. Moreover, the results of the residents' voting on the aforementioned projects are usually respected by the local authorities, which gives the citizens the feeling that they have a real influence on the functioning of their

community. The abovementioned factors result in the fact that in Poland the successive editions of the PB raise interest of a significantly greater number of citizens than other local public consultations. This regularity may be illustrated by the example of Łódź where in 2016 nearly 150 thousand residents took part in the PB voting (Urząd Miasta Łodzi, 2016b, p. 433). In the same year, only 86 people participated in public consultations concerning the overall budget of Łódź (Urząd Miasta Łodzi, 2016c, p. 1).

Taking into account the aforementioned premises, the limited use of ICT by the provincial capitals for stimulating civil dialogue in the process of PB, seems rather surprising. While all of the analyzed cities allow the citizens to vote online, only in nearly three-fourths of them the procedure of submitting a project may be fully executed via the Internet. Only every sixth city included in the study does not demand sending scanned documents at this stage of the proceeding. The complicated procedure of forwarding proposals of budgetary tasks is accompanied by the fact that the descriptions of the particular projects are not presented on the websites in a user-friendly way. In more than half of the analyzed cities, such data are published in the form of separate files, while every third provincial capital posts online scanned copies of the paper documents. Obstacles in the access to information also occur as far as reporting on the implementation of the winning projects is concerned. Every third provincial capital does not provide such information on the websites devoted to the PB. Only half of the analyzed cities present data concerning the current status of all the projects. The remaining provincial capitals publish online a list of the completed projects or articles referring only to the selected investments.

From the point of view of the development of local civil dialogue, particularly relevant problem is the fact that the budgetary tasks do not become a subject of a wider public debate carried out with the use of ICT. Only 4 out of 18 analyzed cities have adopted online mechanisms allowing residents to respond to proposals submitted by other members of the local community. In Kraków, Bydgoszcz and Wrocław, citizens have a possibility to post comments under the descriptions of particular projects. In case of Warsaw, once the budgetary proposal has been sent via online application, the discussion thread is automatically initiated on the Internet forum (<http://app.twojbudzet.um.warszawa.pl/forum>). It has to be noted, however, that it does not offer many functionalities typical for this kind of platform, such as search tools or a possibility to browse the profiles of the users. A more common practice is to consult the general rules of the PB with Internet users - such actions are taken in 60% of the provincial capitals. In this respect, the online surveys with the purpose of evaluating particular editions of the PB, are among the most frequent. Nevertheless, in none of the analyzed cities the principles of the PB have become a subject of a wider online debate between residents and local policymakers, devoted to the development of this form of citizen participation in local public life.

This situation can be perceived as a part of a broader problem. The vast majority of the analyzed cities have not even made an attempt at using ICT to establish a platform enabling a permanent, bilateral exchange of ideas and opinions between citizens and local

authorities, concerning the functioning of their community. This function is not fulfilled by chats with local officials organized in nearly half of the analyzed cities, since they are hosted quite irregularly. Their effectiveness as instruments of the local civil dialogue is additionally limited by the fact that they do not allow for communication interactions between residents, and the content of the conversation itself is not registered on the municipal portals. Such limitations also occur while conducting a dialogue with residents on the basis of a contact form mechanism. This fact can be illustrated with the example of the Lublin-based website *Social Dialogue Box* (<http://dialog.lublin.eu>). It makes it possible to send to the mayor inquiries, comments and opinions concerning the functioning of the city. It has to be noted that both the issues raised by residents, and the responses they receive are not available to the public. A different solution was implemented on the Wrocław-based platform for civil dialogue, which allows citizens to forward e-petitions (<http://wroclaw.pl/petycje>). In this case, both the content of all petitions addressed to the local authorities and the responses of their representatives are presented on the website. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of this tool is significantly reduced by a complicated procedure of submitting a petition. Citizens are supposed to download, complete and print the form, sign it and then send its scanned copy via online contact form. It has to be noted, however, that pursuant to the Polish *Act of 11 July 2014 on Petitions*, in case of petitions sent via the means of digital communication, it is sufficient to indicate the entity submitting the petition, and provide its email address.

Every fourth provincial capital operates a discussion forum aimed at stimulating a dialogue with residents. Both, from the point of view of the number of active participants, and the number of published comments, they are inferior not only to the forums functioning on the commercial local news portals, but also to some communication platforms managed by local NGOs and informal social movements. A good example here is the Kraków-based *Social Dialogue Forum* (http://dialogspoleczny.krakow.pl/Strona_główna/Forum), on which over 900 entries have been published. In comparison, the users of the *Kraków Communication Platform* (<http://pkk.info.pl>), run by a group of residents interested in the municipal transportation system, posted over 1.5 thousand of comments during only one discussion devoted to the plans concerning the construction of the subway system in the city.

It also has to be underlined that the discussions on the forums operated by the local authorities are often dominated to a great extent by their representatives and the narrow circle of the local activists and members of the NGOs. This phenomenon can be illustrated by the example of the *Katowice Platform for Public Consultations* (<http://pks.katowice.eu>). From among nearly 6.5 thousand entries published on this forum, 42% were posted by its administrators and the representatives of the LSG institutions. As far as the opinions of residents are concerned, one-third of all comments from the forum were posted by five of its most active users.

One of the reasons for the limited social range of the forums run by the LSG units is almost a total lack of promotion of these services. From among five provincial capitals operating discussion forums, only Poznań informs about this fact on the homepage of its

portal. The additional factors, which discourage potential interlocutors, include a complicated procedure of registration, delayed publication of comments and unjustified narrowing of the topical scope of the debate. The latter problem is reflected by the example of the forum managed by the authorities of Łódź (<http://forum.samarzad.lodz.pl>), the activity of which has been limited by the website administrators to the topics and periods of formal public consultations launched by the city mayor.

The growing popularity of social media in Poland encourages the LSG institutions to make attempts at using them as platforms for debates with residents.² In the considered period, such a situation occurred, for instance, in Gorzów Wielkopolski, where in 2016, during the works on the Local Landscape Decree, a discussion forum was launched, which functioned as an event on Facebook (<http://facebook.com/events/1876747902559446>). A similar solution was also adopted by the authorities of Łódź. In the course of the public consultations on a new model of local public transport, they asked residents to share their opinions on the Facebook group “Łódź Connects” (<http://facebook.com/groups/1521145454874046>). During four months of the consultations, 579 people joined the group and they published 150 posts and 736 comments (Urząd Miasta Łodzi, 2016a, p. 234).

While using the social media facilitates the inclusion of a wider group of residents into the local civil dialogue, the specific nature of this kind of communication platforms does not favor the in-depth analysis of the discussed public problems. In this context, such issues like limited possibilities to structuralize discussion, difficulties in the access to archival comments or the limited functionality of the offered search tools are of a great importance. It also has to be noted that - despite the fact that the local authorities more and more frequently encourage citizens to participate in the discussions conducted via social media - they still have significant problems with analyzing the information received in this way. To illustrate this phenomenon, it is worthwhile referring again to the Facebook group “Łódź Connects”. The official report on the public consultations included only the quantitative data concerning the activity of the aforementioned group while the opinions forwarded by its members were omitted (see Urząd Miasta Łodzi, 2016a, p. 234).

Another problem are the cases, when possessing an account on a community portal becomes an indispensable requirement in order to participate in the discussions initiated by the local authorities. In the considered period, such a situation occurred, for instance, at the beginning of 2014, when the Wrocław municipality introduced an option to comment the content of its portal, albeit limiting it to the users registered on Facebook (Nowaczyk, 2014). This solution was criticized by some of the residents who pointed that the citizens wishing to share their opinions concerning the functioning of the city should not be obliged by a public institution to register on the particular commercial portal (see Kromolowski, 2014).

² In 2015, every third Pole aged 16 and more utilized the social media at least once a week (Batorski, 2015, p. 387). In comparison, the use of discussion groups or forums with the same regularity was declared by 14% of respondents. The same percentage of those surveyed declared acquiring information from the websites of public institutions at least once a week.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of the content of Internet media managed by the provincial capitals in Poland shows that the extent to which they use ICT for stimulating local civil dialogue is very limited. Over 80% of the aforementioned cities have not implemented an integrated online system, which would allow residents to report current local problems and obtain feedback concerning these issues. The fact that a vast majority of provincial capitals resigned from using a mechanism, which could make residents feel that they have a real influence on what their nearest social environment looks like, might discourage citizens from getting involved in more complex forms of civil dialogue, including public consultations. The analysis of online tools utilized by LSG units while conducting public consultations indicated, in turn, that the most frequently adopted mechanisms are those, which enable only the following communication scheme: problem raised by officials – residents' opinions – final report and/or position of the authorities. Such solutions not only exclude the in-depth dialogue between authorities and citizens but also deprive residents of a chance to respond to ideas and opinions of other members of the local community. An analogous situation also occurs during participatory budgeting, the formula of which includes the involvement of citizens at an early stage of a decision-making process. While residents of almost three-fourths of the analyzed cities can submit proposals of budgetary tasks via the Internet, only every fourth provincial capital uses online tools allowing residents to comment on the aforementioned projects.

This situation can be perceived as a part of a broader problem – the vast majority of the analyzed cities have not even made an attempt at using ICT to establish a platform enabling a permanent, bilateral exchange of ideas and opinions between residents and local policymakers, concerning the functioning of their community. The authorities' lack of interest in a more extensive use of ICT in the abovementioned sphere of local civil dialogue seems hard to understand in the light of the current studies on the potential of online media as platforms for citizen deliberation. They have proved that in case of Poland, online discussions concerning local public issues are significantly more rational and interactive than debates devoted to the nationwide problems (Parnes, 2016, pp. 94-97).

Undoubtedly, an evaluation of the role of ICT in the process of two-way communication between local authorities and citizens in Poland requires further studies covering various types of LSG units and applying quantitative methods more extensively. Also the impact of the local civil dialogue conducted via online media on the concrete activities and decisions undertaken by local authorities should be considered in the analysis. It has to be underlined, that regardless of the kind of communication tools used by a particular LSG unit, the basic factor which determines their effectiveness as instruments for civil dialogue remains the real – and not only declared – readiness of local authorities to adopt postulates and opinions presented by residents. This conclusion can be illustrated with the example of the *Warsaw Platform for Public Consultations* (<http://konsultacje.um.warszawa.pl>). This portal presents both legal regulations concerning public consultations and details of the issues which are currently being

considered. The platform uses different mechanisms including e-forms, online questionnaires, interactive maps, discussion forums and online polls. The latter instrument was used in 2011 during the public consultations concerning the name of a new bridge. Seven thousand of Warsaw residents took part in online voting and 80% voted for "The Northern Bridge" (Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy, 2011). The members of the City Council, however, ignored this result and dubbed the bridge "Maria Skłodowska-Curie Bridge".

This case reflects a broader problem of tokenistic character of many civil dialogue processes conducted by the local authorities. They too frequently perceive online debates and e-consultations not so much as an instrument for real inclusion of residents into the process of governing their community but as a chance to promote the LSG unit as a modern institution, open for dialogue with citizens. In effect, municipal officials, on the one hand, encourage Internet users to present their opinions and submit their postulates concerning the local community, while on the other hand, they ignore the issues raised by residents.

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A Socio-Cultural Aspect of Anti-language¹.

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Abstract. The article has been devoted to the phenomenon of anti-language and the focal point of the paper refers to the analysis of socio-cultural processes involved in the formation and reception of anti-language. The analysis has been aimed at defining the circumstances of the occurrence of anti-language as well as determining its role and functions at both individual and collective levels. My general approach to the study of anti-language outlines the social functions which govern the emergence of anti-languages with the explicit reference to language, context and text. Kenneth Burke (1966) defines man as a symbol-using animal. In his “Definition of Man”, Burke draws attention to the concept of negativity when he argues that negatives do not occur in nature and they are solely a product of human symbol systems. According to Burke, “(...) language and the negative ‘invented’ man (...)” (Burke 1966: 9). The study has begun with the premise that anti-language permanently depicts an antagonistic attitude towards the official language, whereas the negative attitude towards anti-language translates directly into stigmatisation of its users. The negativity of the affix *anti-* in anti-language has been culturally and socially structured as antithetical to language. Nevertheless, language and anti-language do not necessarily forge a typical antithesis in a polar sense. Victor Turner (/1969/ 1975) employs the affix *anti-* for his term *anti-structure* and explains that the affix has been used strategically and does not imply radical negation. This paper seeks to revise the one-dimensional attitude towards anti-language and fortify its social significance with a new quality. The basis for the study of anti-language has been its multi-functionality and multifaceted character. A modest corpus of anti-languages has been analysed in order to illustrate a complex and polysemic nature of this phenomenon.

Keywords: anti-language, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, stigmatisation, multi-functionality, the negative, symbol, culture, taboo.

The study of anti-languages, which I undertook two years ago while collecting research material for my M.A. thesis, has embraced the social and cultural facets of this linguistic phenomenon. The study began with the premise that anti-language permanently depicted an antagonistic attitude towards, what I conventionally termed, the norm language, and that the negative attitude towards anti-language translated directly into stigmatisation of its users. As a result, my first and foremost priority was to revise the one-dimensional attitude towards anti-language and distinguish a typology of anti-languages according to their functional features.

¹The issue of a pragmatic and sociolinguistic analysis of anti-language has been addressed by me in my M.A. thesis *A Typology of Anti-languages in Selected Instances of Literary Discourse*, written in 2018.

The concept of anti-language was first defined and researched thoroughly by Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (1978), who employed the term to describe the *lingua franca* of an anti-society. Halliday (1978) argues that anti-language and anti-society are a matter of choice, a “conscious alternative” (Halliday, 1978, p. 164) to conventions and standards imposed and exercised in the norm society. Émile Durkheim, on the other hand, postulates to recognise language as a social fact. Durkheim defines social facts as “manners of acting or thinking” whose distinguishing feature is their ability to “(...) exercise a coercive influence on the consciousness of individuals (...)” (Durkheim, [1895] 1982, p. 43). Language, thus, characterised as a social fact is imposed on its users while, at the same time, it restrains individuals from violating the norms of a social collective. The external coercive power, through the institutions such as education and culture, becomes indiscernible and operates in the field of habits and customs. However, it loses nothing from the power of its impact. Just as he recognises the implicit value of crime, Durkheimian approach to anti-language provides the same imposition. Applied to the rules of sociological method, anti-language qualifies to be a social fact no less than the norm language itself. Whenever an individual attempts to resist it, they will immediately become aware of the pressure it exerts upon them. Durkheim explicitly indicates that the coercive power asserts itself the most noticeably when it is resisted or denied:

A social fact is identifiable through the power of external coercion which it exerts or is capable of exerting upon individuals. The presence of this power is in turn recognisable because of the existence of some pre-determined sanction, or through the resistance that the fact opposes to any individual action that may threaten it. (Durkheim, [1895] 1982, pp. 56–57)

Whether imposed or wilful, anti-language constitutes a peculiar overture to a broadly understood adjustment. What anti-language and the norm language share in common is precisely their social DNA, although, as Halliday asserts, “[i]n all languages, words, sounds, and structures tend to become charged with social value; it is to be expected that, in the anti-language, the social value will be more clearly foregrounded” (Halliday, 1978, p. 166).

Anti-language, due to its low social affiliation, may not have seemed an attractive object of interest to linguists who often reduced its linguistic diversity to merely a secret code developed and sustained only to insulate a marginalised community. The biased tone may have been the result of a preconceived approach to anti-language, the approach preserved both in culture and language. The affix anti- has earned its semantic relevance through social arbitrary agreement. Although language is an arbitrary system, the choice of means and meanings is determined culturally and socially. The imposed meanings have not been established irrevocably once and for all, yet, whilst undergoing mediation and dispute, they remain within the social structure. Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (1978) explicitly underlines the fact that through exchanging meanings people simultaneously communicate the social structure. To paraphrase the words of Halliday: “(...) what we say is affected by who we are” (Halliday, 1978, p. 2). For Halliday, language is a tool with the support of which people express social processes while, at the

same time, it is the metaphor of these processes. The heterogeneity in languages reflects the diversity in society. Bronisław Geremek (1980) argues, for instance, that the mere fact of selecting a secret code for communication is immediately perceived as suspicious, and a potential threat to the social stability and *status quo*. Obscurity and ambiguity of language may activate a negative attitude and suspiciousness on the verge of taboo and the definition of *taboo* implies two seemingly contradictory aspects of an activity: the sacred and the accursed one. *Encycloapedia Britannica Online* provides a definition of the word t a b o o , where one can read about the dual nature of the concept:

Taboo, also spelled *tabu*, Tongan *tabu*, Maori *tapu*, the prohibition of an action based on the belief that such behaviour is either too sacred and consecrated or too dangerous and accursed for ordinary individuals to undertake. (...) Generally, the prohibition that is inherent in a taboo includes the idea that its breach or defiance will be followed by some kind of trouble to the offender (...).²

Daniel Heller-Roazen (2013) isolates a divine element in the secret uses of anti-language when he employs a narrative in which both gods and men have used to denote the same things but in a different manner:

The truth, however, is that within the terrain circumscribed by a grammar, obscure expressions can always be invented. They can, moreover, proliferate without end, for the parts of speech can be recomposed in infinitely new ways. The oldest literatures of the Indo-European traditions suggest, in striking unison, that the true masters of such obscure expressions are divine. A corpus of ancient sources leads one to believe that the gods of the ancient Greeks, Celts, Norsemen, Indians, and Anatolians, in particular, employed a set of special terms and phrases that were at once similar in form to those commonly recorded in human tongues and noticeably distinct from them. (Heller-Roazen, 2013, p. 84)

Secret language, being attributive to gods, might also be useful as a kind of smoke screen through which poets could skilfully avoid or camouflage words and expressions identified in society as taboo. Presumably, one of the methods to avert danger and to avoid the punishment was to employ a ciphered code, which had the effect of a ritual protecting communities and individuals from the unavoidable consequences in case of breaching the taboo, although, at the same time, the code could have become the source of taboo itself. The desire to maintain secrecy and conceal the true significance of signs whilst retaining the faculty of communicating messages lay behind the creation of *nomina sacra*. In his essay, titled “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal,” Larry Hurtado (1998) defines *nomina sacra* as: “(...) a collection of words (...) written in special abbreviated forms in Christian sources to indicate their sacred character” (Hurtado, 1998, p. 655). The origin of the Christian *nomina sacra* can be traced to Jewish scribal practice. Hurtado refers to Jewish scribal approach to the *T e t r a g r a m m a t o n*

² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/taboo-sociology>, retrieved on 28 December, 2017

as to the name which should be preserved from uttering. The four-letter abbreviation was often replaced by other signs or simply avoided, which expressed the great devotion of the scribes. As Heller-Roazen (2013) notices, the Christian *nomina sacra* “(...) illustrate[s] a linguistic phenomenon that is by all accounts more general” (Heller-Roazen, 2013, p. 105). Heller-Roazen (2013) refers to lexical taboos which are strictly prohibited, and yet, since the imposed silence surrounding such words and phrases cannot be fully guaranteed, “(...) a set of substitutions is also required” (Heller-Roazen, 2013, p. 105). These substitutions may be classified as linguistic euphemisms for the unexpressed taboo words through which social order is being maintained. Certainly, the purposes for which secret codes are applied can be of strictly pragmatic provenience. Daniel Heller-Roazen (2013) recalls the examples of Julius Caesar’s cipher and its simpler version used by Caesar’s nephew, Augustus, as the instances of encryption techniques employed to protect messages of military significance against their decoding by the enemies. Another example provided by Heller-Roazen (2013) is the practice of *atbash* which rests upon a similar principle as the Caesar’s cipher. Richard C. Steiner (1996) mentions two editions of the *Book of Jeremiah*, namely the Masoretic text and the Old Greek version, indicating that the *atbash* code-words may illuminate the milieu of the two editors. The analysis of the two *atbash* code-words for Babylon sheds light not only on historical and social background of the text but it also indicates different function of this kind of anti-language. On the one hand, it is employed for fear of repression; on the other hand, it serves as a tool for deriding the old ruler and legitimising the new one. The above examples may suggest that secrecy in anti-languages operates at multiple levels. According to Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (1978), “(...) secrecy is a necessary strategic property of anti-languages, yet, it is unlikely to be the major cause of their existence” (Halliday, 1978, p. 166).

Anti-language has earned the status of a social dialect, a distinctive linguistic category which tells the history of a community that has developed it. The notion of anti-language complements the notion of a speech community by incorporating social dialects, taboo phrases, imprecatory passages as well as sacred names or poetic signs and by suggesting a heterogeneous world-view embedded in both language and community. Language relates common experiences and different backgrounds and it reflects modes of thinking and ways of living. Florian Coulmas (2013) postulates to view languages as resources dependent on the reference group as well as the functional potential of language. The use of slang, for instance, as being one of the anti-language types, is no longer restricted to confined sub-groups of teenagers, soldiers or inmates. Slang has won approval among world-famous trendsetting musicians as well as in the unrestrained realm of global communication facilitated through social networks. Anti-language, or rather its elements smuggled in the mainstream literature, may provide diversity and contribute to individuals’ development as well as broaden their intellectual awareness. Novels such as *White and Red* by Dorota Masłowska (2002), *Pigeon English* by Stephen Kelman (2011) or *Orange Is the New Black: My Year in a Women’s Prison* by Piper Kerman (2010/2014) introduce their readers to the microcosm of a large city, gang-ruled estate and a federal prison through anti-language indeed. Applying anti-language to portray certain

national or local vices and stereotypes may be convincing, genuine and helpful in emotional and symbolic confrontation with understatement and euphemisms. Once spoken language of the social outcasts and underclass, the status and prestige of anti-language have become upgraded by adopting it into the written form. It seems justified to point out the fact that the concept of prestige is a subjective criterion based on value-laden determinants. Socrates³, a classic Athenian philosopher, perceived writing as a record of ignorance and a source of obscurity as written words were deprived of a crucial propriety of dialogue and discourse which features speech. Daniel Heller-Roazen (2013) describes the procedure of guarding secret messages in the Vedic religion in which knowledge is intended to be communicated to memory through hearing. Therefore, it appears that great prestige has been granted to sounds and oral transmission. The knowledge of Druids, highly regarded members of Celtic communities, was not intended for the masses and it would be against the law to commit it to writing. Nonetheless, in certain circumstances, only a written record could reinforce the anticipated power. In this context, it is worth mentioning *curse tablets* which constitute a distinct instance of anti-language employed to prevent anticipated future defeats. It should be clearly indicated that the main motivation of the *defigens*⁴ was to restrain or inhibit the victim and not to destroy them. The curse tablets address gods and the deceased as well as provide valuable information concerning ordinary provincial citizens from different parts of the Greco-Roman world. Christopher A. Faraone (1997) provides an analysis of the function and social context of the curse tablets (which he refers to as *defixio* to mean “binding spells”) in early Greek society. According to Faraone (1997), it is possible that the early *defixiones* were purely verbal and had a form of recited formulae performed during a ritual. As literacy gradually spread in the classical period, the verbal spells became transformed into more sophisticated written formulae. Although functioning in the underground (literally and metaphorically), curse tablets constituted a vital part of cultural and religious life of the ancient Greek society. Faraone (1997) interprets secrecy as a part of the traditional social ritual procedure which accompanied communication with gods. However, neither magic nor religion ably assisted in evaluating the cultural phenomenon of early Greek *defixiones*. Faraone (1997) argues that the rationale for this kind of ritual is based on “(...) strong belief in the persuasive power of certain kinds of formulaic language” (Faraone 1997: 8). The formulae employed in the case of curse tablets prove it difficult to distinguish magic from religion. Obviously, the language of curse tablets constitutes not so much a secret language, although “(...) the addition of any and all foreign-sounding deities, epithets and *voces magicae* was thought to increase the efficacy of every ‘magical’ operation” (Faraone, 1997, p. 6), but a fixed form which guarantees success of the spell. Faraone (1997) suggests that the text of the binding formulae was stripped of unnecessary supplements in order to render the message more effective.

³*The Phaedrus* by Plato. [In:] “Plato in Twelve Volumes,” Vol. 9 [274c-277a] translated by Harold N. Fowler. Retrieved on 1 May, 2018 from: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>

⁴ “The *defigens* – lit. “the one who binds” (Faraone [1997: 5])

People use their language in order to achieve different aims and, for that reason, “[a]ll use of language has a context” (Halliday [1985/1989, p. 45]). One of the most vivid instances of functional language is a *t e x t*. Halliday (1985/ 1989) refers to a text as to any example of living language which is made of meanings set in the context of situation and culture. A literary text is an exceptional form of language exchange between an author – a character – and a reader. This form of exchange is of a dialogical nature and thus furnishes the interaction between the participants. In order to summarise the function of a literary text in the sociolinguistic and cultural development of a human being, it seems justified to apply Pinker’s (1999/ 2000) definition of speech in reference to literature: when we commune with a literary text, “(...) we can be led to think thoughts that have never been thought before and that never would have occurred to us on our own” (Pinker, 1999/ 2000, p. 1). Roger Fowler (1981) postulates to “(...) relocate literary discourse within semiotic resources of their society” (Fowler 1981: 199) and return literature to the community. In order to do so, it is necessary to emphasise the communicative aspect of literature and relate the literary texts to the experience of readers. For Mikhail Bakhtin ([1975] 1981), a novel can be defined as diversity of languages which internally interweave and translate into *s o c i a l d i a l e c t*. Roger Fowler (1981) views literature as a discourse and, thus, as a process of communication. In accordance with Roger Fowler’s attitude to literary discourse, my aim has been to emphasise the *s y n e r g i s t i c d i m e n s i o n s* of texts: “[t]o treat literature as discourse is to see the text as mediating relationships between language users: not only relationships of speech, but also of consciousness, ideology, role and class. The text ceases to be an object and becomes an action or process” (Fowler, 1981, p. 80). My objective has been to re-determine the concept of anti-language in the light of literary dialogue and social imaginaries. The term *s o c i a l i m a g i n a r y* has been introduced by Charles Taylor (2004) to explore the structure of modern life in the West as well as multiple modernities around the world. Through the concept of social imaginaries, Taylor accounts for the differences among modernities. The Western social imaginaries are animated by different orders whose imposition is justified by means of mutual benefits. Wojciech Burszta (2008) refers to the concept of a culture trap or a culture dictate which compels people to form their identities in collective ideas, clear signs and symbols. According to Burszta, all traditional senses ascribed to culture have become gorgonised by social imaginary (Burszta, 2008, p. 156). Nonetheless, literary discourse provides a platform where prevalent meanings and common denotations can be negotiated in an active way. It was Bakhtin ([1975] 1981) who claimed that “[a] passive understanding of linguistic meaning is no understanding at all, it is only the abstract aspect of meaning (...). In the actual life of speech, every concrete act of understanding is active (...). Understanding comes to fruition only in the response” (Bakhtin, [1975] 1981, pp. 281–282). The material subjected to the analysis in the context of a typology of anti-languages has encompassed two novels:

- *Room*, a 2010 novel by an Irish-Canadian author, Emma Donoghue;
- *Pigeon English*, a 2011 novel by an English author, Stephen Kelman.

Both novels constitute an accurate example of literature which is preoccupied with language as an evolving process by contrast to literature which reinforces an already established idea of what language should be. Jacob Mey (/1993/ 1994) speaks of “wording the world” when he maintains that words are not merely designations of things but they are interaction with the speaker’s environment (Mey, /1993/ 1994, p. 301). Emma Donoghue adopts a child’s language to de-charm the anti-language, re-context it and render it more penetrable and less esoteric to the reader. The process of de-charming involves an experiment with language, which is an infrequent procedure in literary fiction. Reference may be made to Irvine Welsh and his novel *Trainspotting* (1993) narrated in Scottish English with dialogues transcribed phonetically or Anthony Burgess and his novel *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) written in a fictional argot, N a d s a t . Obviously, in each case, slang performs different roles and fulfils different functions. Yet, what integrates the linguistic experiments is an attempt to explore the relationship between language and authenticity. Roger Fowler (1981) determines anti-language to be a process rather than a code (Fowler, 1981, p. 157). Language, thus, becomes comprehensible through the functions it fulfils, the same as the nature of language can be defined through the interactions it enables. The meaning is derived not merely from what people say, but, first and foremost, how they say it, when they say it, where they say it, and why they say it. Hence, language can be understood and acquired through the functions it serves and through the cultural and social milieu in which it is applied. Stanisław Grabias (/1997/ 2001) recognises not only the social character of language but also its interpretative nature towards reality, both at the collective and individual levels. Jean Piaget ([1927] 1971) determines speech as “a collective institution” and Adam Heinz (1978) maintains that words enable thinking in the same way as numbers enable counting. Language, from such perspective, does not reflect reality but it creates it. The process of denoting reality may be analysed from different perspectives. Daniel Heller-Roazen (2013) mentions the medieval performers of Old Occitan lyric poetry, the troubadours,⁵ whose secret language involved *senhals*, by which their identity was concealed. The term *senhal* was forged by a group of the fourteenth-century poets from Toulouse, who documented the troubadour poetic verses, and it denotes “(...) the troubadour procedure of substituting one name for another” (Heller-Roazen, 2013, p. 49). In the same way as contemporary poets and composers, troubadours possessed the skill and ability to manipulate reality. Hence, they could compose, transform and, finally, invent a convincing picture of reality in order to support different needs and expectations. The prime device, by means of which it could have been achieved, was language. Due to their peripatetic lifestyle, troubadours had an opportunity to witness the numerous disparate realities and the applied *senhals* functioned as indicative marks of their experiences. Heller-Roazen (2013) defines the function of *senhals* as of “founders” of unnamed reality. By naming what has been unnamed, a *senhal* becomes equally an addressee

⁵ “(...) poets of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries who, (...), called themselves “troubadours”: according to the most accepted etymology, “finders” or “inventors,” named after the Old Occitan verb trobar, “to find.” (Heller-Roazen, 2013, pp. 45–46)

and an addresser of the reality. Stephen Kelman (2011) places his main character in a relatively clichéd environment for immigrants in London. The social status of the newcomers is limited and, simultaneously, clarified by the descriptions of their physical milieu. Yet, Kelman's protagonist is not a voiceless anonymous outlander but he is granted viewpoints capable of challenging the reader's ideology. Although Stephen Kelman applies linguistic mechanisms to reproduce and consolidate differences and stereotypes, his main character displays in anti-language authentic naivety, vivid imagination and unconstrained faith in the power of words. The anti-language of slang is used as a tool employed to negotiate systems and hierarchies. Furthermore, the concept of anti-language may determine a reversed situation – from the incomprehensible children to confusing messages of adults. The situation of such reversal is perceptible in the narration of Jack, the protagonist of Emma Donoghue's *Room*. The transition from being incomprehensible to adults is reversed into the situation when the language of adults turns out to be at variance with the child's code. Emma Donoghue juxtaposes two linguistic worlds: the world of a child and the world of adults. For Jack, the language of adults does not make much sense, thus, it can be perceived by the boy as anti-language because it does not denote things and situations as clearly and directly as his language does, hence, it does not fulfil its elementary function of being communicative. Childhood may be perceived as a primitive, savage stage in the development of a human being. The stage, though, implies experiments and challenges.

Underprivileged languages, such as slang, become an expression of social tension and deprivation, yet, a vigorous deformation of the norm language can be perceived and experienced on the verge of poetry. Muriel Saville-Troike (/1982/ 2003) draws attention to the fact that "(...) language attitudes are acquired in the process of enculturation in a particular speech community, and are thus basic to its characterization" (Saville-Troike /1982/ 2003, p. 183). In the Dark Ages, secrecy and the procedure of deliberate language enciphering constituted a discernible domain of law-breakers of various types. In regard to common frauds and tricksters, secrecy was employed to conceal illegal activities and to evade justice. Nonetheless, in case of the Burgundian vagabonds, known under the name of *Coquillars*,⁶ a secret jargon was devised as a remarkably efficient technique employed to commit unremarkable crimes. Anti-language, as a hermetic form of speech, may oscillate between blasphemy and poetry, evidence of which can be submitted through the character of François Villon for whom the rogue tongue became the medium of verse. Of great importance in defining functions which anti-language fulfills could be its role in establishing the social view of the world in which people from the social underclass are found guilty *in potential* and *in actu*. The need to conceal language is perceived as intrinsically criminogenic. Thus, the linguistic decipherment is inevitably followed by the social recognition. The interrelation of language and its societal context is consistent with Mey's (/1993/ 1994) interpretation of pragmatics as: "(...) the science of language inasmuch as that science focuses on the language-using *human* (...).

⁶ It was a company of bandits and wrongdoers, who prowled the streets of the Burgundian capital in the fifteenth century of Common Era.

[P]ragmatics is interested in the process of producing language and in its producers, not just in the end-product, language.” (Mey, /1993/ 1994, p. 35). Bronisław Geremek (1980) delineates a literary mode for the anti-language of beggars and vagabonds in the medieval Arabic literature from the tenth century of the Common Era. Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (1978) points out to an entertaining effect of particular anti-languages and evokes *G o b b l e d y g o o k*, a secret comic tongue of the Victorian working-class. Daniel Heller-Roazen (2013) argues that *c a n t* shares something with poetry and can be perceived as a form of art. The significance and pleasure of the practice referring to encrypting texts was recognized and explored by the seventh-century grammarian, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (quoted in Heller-Roazen [2013, p. 96]):

Virgilius listed, in didactic terms, at least three reasons for such practices: “First, so that we may test the ingenuity of our students in searching out and identifying obscure points; second, for the ornamentation and reinforcement of eloquence; third, lest mystical matters, which should be revealed solely to the initiated, be discovered easily by base and stupid people.” (Heller-Roazen, 2013, p. 96)

Additionally, it is worth noticing a peculiar status of dialects which, on the one hand, provide a sense of community to a group and, on the other hand, they can prevent communication between groups. From the societal point of view, it is profoundly important to acknowledge and elucidate this capacity of human beings to use the same device in order to communicate, consolidate as well as to conceal, confuse and obfuscate the message.

In summary, my aim has been to contra-pose the formulaic confidence that anti-language solely corrupts norm language, values and perceptions. Although, an apparent purification of colloquial vernaculars into literary languages may be perceived as a treacherous attempt to standardise them, the truth is that a common fate for slang words is their assimilation into standard speech. Since humans learn language in a social environment, not in isolation, it can therefore be assumed that people use their languages in order to achieve different aims. Ultimately, the functions of language derive directly from social interactions and, therefore, language becomes a mode of behaviour by which a speaker evolves from a mere proprietor of language into its active user and *c o m m u n i c a t o r*⁷. The act of attaching and detaching meaning to selected types of language is a socially-constituted process, which means that any boundaries imposed on language derive directly from the social structure. Vernacular speech, similar to race, gender and age, is a social marker that gives rise to discrimination. A low or high status is assigned to a language on the basis of ideology, current politics, fashion and other social factors whose meaning can be defined in relation to time and history. Florian Coulmas (2013) draws attention to the fact that the vector of dependence is oriented from speakers to language and not from language to speakers. The significance and efficacy of anti-language should not be indisputably devaluated on the premise that it is reserved exclusively to socially marginalised people. Anti-language embodies characteristics of a

⁷ The word communication is derived from Latin *communicare* ‘to share, divide out (...)’ and literally it means ‘to make common’, ‘to make public’ – from the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, retrieved 15 March 2018.

language which could be referred to as *lingua sacer*⁸ in being both noble and cursed, both language of exclusion and of the socially excluded. A certain paradox is that the identity of anti-language is constructed via its direct opposition towards the norm language. The excluding factor of anti-language, which eliminates it from the norm society, is equally its identity provider. Halliday (1978) employs the notion of metonymy to explain the anti-society relation towards society. Anti-society is a metonymic extension of society within the social system whereas structurally both anti-society and anti-language remain metaphors for the society and language. Dawid, one of the characters in the Polish drama film titled “Symmetry,”⁹ when asked by his fellow inmate to legitimise an inconsistent and precarious character of law and order of the world, replies that the world does not make any sense and people have to provide the meaning by themselves. One of the objectives of mine has been to review anti-language as a social construct and an active mediator between people and realities it is able to encompass and delineate. Of particular relevance for my own perception has become to recognise a wide dimension of anti-languages and their diversified status in society. Referring to anti-language as to a language of *sacer state* takes place in accordance with the principles and morals of the norm language. Anti-language can, thus, be a cult object to its fans while remaining a monstrous distortion to its foes.

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⁸ The term refers to the concept of *Homo sacer* which denoted a person both hallowed and cursed in Ancient Roman religion. The term was further developed by an Italian philosopher, Giorgio Agamben (1998) in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen.

⁹ *Symmetry* is the Polish drama film from 2004, directed by Konrad Niewolski and produced by SPI International Polska Em Studio in 2003.

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Hillary Clinton's Debate Speech as an Example of American Political Discourse

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Abstract. This paper, being a part of a bigger project¹, aims at identifying linguistic features of American political discourse on the basis of Hillary Clinton's first debate speech from the 2016 presidential campaign in the United States². It begins by explaining the notion of discourse and depicting its relation to power. Then, the applied methodology is presented. It is made up of three components, namely a pragmatic analysis on the basis of deixis and presupposition, Critical Discourse Analysis according to the framework elaborated by Norman Fairclough, as well as quantitative research that aims at examining top phrases with the highest frequency. The paper finishes by presenting the results of the analysis and indicating possibilities for further research.

Keywords: discourse studies, American political discourse, pragmatics, Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Introduction

It is common knowledge that language plays a vital role in the process of exercising power. As can be imagined, such a powerful tool in the hands of politicians often becomes an efficacious means of persuasion. With the growing access to mass information, language itself appears to have an increasing impact on people's political decisions. That is why I chose the transcript of an official presidential debate – one of the events that constitute an inherent part of the US elections – as the research material for this analysis. It attempts to identify linguistic features of American political discourse on the basis of Hillary Clinton's statements. Although there already exists a small group of studies on Clinton's discourse (see e.g. Abdel-Moety, 2015; Halle, 2017; Qi, 2017), the three-dimensional method applied in this research allows me to provide new insights into the nature of American political discourse.

¹ On the basis on M.A. thesis by Mateusz Pietrus, entitled "An Analysis of American Political Discourse. On the Basis of Hillary Clinton's Speech from the 2016 Presidential Campaign," written at the University of Wrocław under the supervision of Prof. Piotr P. Chruszczewski.

² The transcript was retrieved March 25, 2018, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/26/the-first-trump-clinton-presidential-debate-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.5fccbc68d57f#annotations:10505517.

2. Discourse and its Relation to Power

Discourse has recently become an increasingly popular term. As noticed by Jerzy Szacki (1981/2002, p. 905), the word itself has made a noticeable career – it is used as a scientific expression for any longer text or statement. Although it is commonly viewed as a certain form of language use (van Dijk, 1997/2001, p. 2), such explanation is general and requires further clarification. Émile Benveniste (1966/1971, pp. 208–209), a French linguist, argues that “[d]iscourse must be understood in its widest sense: every utterance assuming a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way.” He therefore views it as a broad concept that deals with merely every attempt of an individual to communicate. David Crystal (1992, p. 25) defines discourse more precisely, describing it as “a continuous stretch of (especially spoken) language larger than the sentence, often constituting a coherent unit, such as a sermon, argument, joke or narrative.” A considerable number of different definitions make it possible to notice that the principal problem associated with the notion of discourse is its polysemy (Jabłońska, 2006, p. 55). In this study, I agree with Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2009, p. 1) who defines discourse as “a textual phenomenon of a socio-cultural nature” and contrasts it with text, which is described as “a singular realization of a particular discourse.”

Having analyzed selected definitions of discourse, let us now look at its relation to power. As the subject is relatively broad, in this section I focus solely on the works of two scholars – Pierre Bourdieu and Teun van Dijk. The first researcher – Pierre Bourdieu – acknowledges the importance of the symbolic, social, and cultural capital in the process of exercising power (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970/1990 in Jabłońska, 2006, p. 60). He also claims that people possessing certain capital rule in a sensible way those who lack such capital – they can use accessible instruments to affect people’s perception (Bourdieu, 1981). Thus, the effective and modern authority is exercised by the means of symbolic elements. This shows that the scholar postulates that dominance can be in fact achieved through communication acts.

The Bourdieu’s way of thinking seems to be continued by Teun A. van Dijk. He notices that apart from privileged access to such resources as wealth and knowledge, social power is also based on communication, as well as different genres, forms, and contexts of discourse (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254). The idea of power itself is explained as the control of one group over other groups. It may take two forms: action – an ability to limit somebody’s freedom of acting, and cognition – a possibility of influencing people’s minds (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254). Van Dijk (1993, p. 254) claims that modern and effective authority is usually cognitive, and uses such means as persuasion, dissimulation, and manipulation to achieve its goals. What is interesting, such mind management does not have to be manipulative – it may likewise take the form of routine forms of text and talk that seem to be natural and acceptable. In order to differentiate between the legitimate power and different forms of its abuse, the researcher introduces the idea of dominance (van Dijk, 1993, p. 255). Its stronger form – hegemony – occurs when somebody dominated not only can be influenced to such a degree that they accept dominance, but

also acts freely in the interest of those in power. According to Van Dijk (1993, p. 255), social dominance is not enacted individually – the most important role in this process is played by social elites. Although the scholar does not exclude other means by which power is exercised, he – similarly to Bourdieu – considers discourse to be effective and progressive.

3. Selected Areas of Pragmatics

Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics that studies the use of language as determined by social conditions (Mey, 1993/2001). George Yule (1996, p. 3) adds that pragmatic is predominantly concerned with meaning. He notices that people's utterances normally communicate much more than the words or phrases in those utterances mean by themselves. Thus, this area of linguistics goes far beyond the literal meaning of language communicates, trying also to reveal implicated but unsaid messages. It encompasses such terms as speech acts, implicatures, politeness, and others. My aim in this section is to describe two pragmatic concepts – deixis and presupposition – which are later used as a component of the methodology applied to analyze Hillary Clinton's debate speech.

3.1. Deixis

The first term – deixis – refers to the words or expressions that can be understood only in a particular context. By the way of illustration, let us consider the following two utterances: a) "Tom Smith is a doctor." and b) "He is a doctor." The sentence "a)" presents a pure fact, whereas the sentence "b)" cannot be fully comprehended without knowing the person that the pronoun "he" refers to. Thus, "he" can be considered a typical example of a deictic word. Steven C. Levinson (1983, p. 54) underlines the key role of deixis in linguistics. He defines deictic expressions as words and phrases whose understanding requires contextual information (Levinson, 1983, p. 54). Andreea Stapleton (2017, p. 2) adds that this information contains the knowledge of both the speaker and the addressee, as well as the time and the place to which a particular utterance refers.

Many different classifications of deixis can be found in literature (see *e.g.* Levinson, 1983; Yule, 1996; Lyons, 1977). George Yule (1996) distinguishes three main types of deictic expressions: person deixis, spatial deixis, and temporal deixis. Stephen C. Levinson (1983) renames temporal deixis time deixis and spatial deixis place deixis, as well as adds two new categories: discourse deixis and social deixis. A short description of all five types of deictic expressions can be found below.

- A. person deixis – in order to explain person deixis, Yule (1996, p. 10) proposes a three-part division: speaker (*e.g.* "I"), addressee (*e.g.* "you"), and the others (*e.g.* "he" or "she"). He also underlines that each participant of a conversation constantly moves between being "I" and "you." In many languages person deixis reveals certain social differences. This can be noticed, for instance, in various

forms of “you” (such as *tu* and *vous* in French or *tu*, *você* and *o senhor/a senhora* in Portuguese);

- B. spatial deixis – it is predominantly used to describe the relative location of people and objects (Yule, 1996, p. 12). This can be achieved by using certain adverbs (such as “here” and “there”) or some verbs (such as “come” and “go”, e.g. “Go to bed!”). It is also crucial to differentiate between two types of locations that the speaker can refer to, namely mental locations and physical locations (e.g. an American tourist temporary residing in Spain is likely to use “here” while talking about the USA);
- C. temporal deixis – it refers to time expressions used in an utterance. Their understanding, however, can be dependent on the hearer’s interpretation – the word “now” can apply both to the time when the speaker communicates something, as well as to the moment in which his or her message is being heard (Yule, 1996, p. 14). The same happens in case of the word “then” as it can be used both in past and future sentences (e.g. “I was at home then” and “I will do it then”). One of the most visible indicators of alluding to far events is the proper usage of tenses (Yule, 1996, p. 14). It is possible to observe (Yule, 1996, p. 15) that temporal deixis, similarly to special deixis, may sometimes refer to mental rather than physical distances (e.g. “If I was very rich, I would buy a huge villa”);
- D. discourse deixis – it can be understood as using certain expressions in order to point to a prior or succeeding portion of discourse (Levinson, 1983, p. 85). Otherwise speaking, it can be defined as referring to other parts of discourse by the speaker. According to Levinson (1983, p. 85), this can be achieved by using, among others, time-deictic words (such as “last”, e.g. “in the last paragraph”) or place-deictic terms (especially “this” and “that”);
- E. social deixis – this term can be defined as a reference to social relationships in utterances (Levinson, 1983, pp. 89–94). Charles J. Fillmore (1975, p. 76) understands it as “that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs.” One of the most frequently encountered examples of social deixis are titles of address (Levinson, 1983, p. 89).

3.2. Presupposition

Having understood the notion of deixis, let us now focus on the concept of presupposition. According to Yan Huang (2007, p. 65), it can be defined as “an inference or proposition whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a sentence.” This explanation considers presupposition to be a kind of precondition for the proper use of sentences. Notwithstanding, Yule (1985/2006, p. 248) describes presupposition as an assumption made by the speaker or writer about the knowledge that is already possessed by the listener or reader. An interesting point is made by Levinson (1983, pp. 178–180). He proposes to conduct a test for identifying presuppositions by negating sentences – the

information that is shared by both the positive and the negative statement can be referred to as presupposition. By the way of illustration, let us consider the sentence “My employees work hard.” The conclusion that can be drawn from both the original sentence and its negation is the fact that I am an employer. The concept of presupposition appears therefore to play a significant role in the process of understanding utterances.

In order to fully comprehend the notion of presupposition, it is vital to enumerate presupposition triggers – the words or constructions creating the presupposition. Levinson (1983, pp. 181–184) divides them into thirteen subgroups:

- A. definite descriptions (*e.g.* “Ann noticed/did not notice my neighbor’s new car.” – presupposition: my neighbor has a new car);
- B. factive verbs (*e.g.* “John was/was not aware that Sam was in Greece.” – presupposition: Sam was in Greece);
- C. implicative verbs (*e.g.* “She managed/did not manage to solve the exercise.” – presupposition: she tried to solve the exercise);
- D. change of state verbs (*e.g.* “Ann began/did not begin to drink water every day.” – presupposition: Ann had not been drinking water every day);
- E. iteratives (*e.g.* “I do not work in the UK anymore.” – presupposition: I used to work in the UK);
- F. verbs of judging (*e.g.* “John criticized/did not criticize Sam for being egoistic.” – presupposition: John considers egoism to be a bad feature);
- G. temporal clauses (*e.g.* “Since he came to London, he has been attending English classes.” – presupposition: he came to London);
- H. cleft sentences (*e.g.* “It was/was not Ann that brought a bottle of wine.” – presupposition: somebody brought a bottle of wine);
- I. implicit clefts with stressed constituents (*e.g.* “The light bulb was/was not invented by EDISON.” – presupposition: someone invented the light bulb);
- J. comparisons and contrasts (*e.g.* “John is/is not as optimistic as Ann.” – presupposition: Ann is optimistic);
- K. non-restrictive relative clauses (*e.g.* “The Aztecs, who created a complex society, were conquered by the Spanish.” – presupposition: the Aztecs created a complex society);
- L. counterfactual conditionals (*e.g.* “If John had only met many Americans, he would/would not speak English today.” – presupposition: John did not meet many Americans);
- M. questions (*e.g.* “Who is the recruiter in this company?” – presupposition: this company has a recruiter).

4. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is one of the most popular contemporary approaches used to examine texts. It is possible to find a number of different CDA models in

literature (see *e.g.* Fairclough, 1992 or van Dijk, 1993). In this section, I focus solely on the approach proposed by Norman Fairclough – the inventor of the term. For him, this method makes it possible to examine relations between discourse and various social elements, *e.g.* ideologies and social identities (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). He considers CDA to be normative and explanatory. The first feature means that its aim is not simply to describe the reality but also to evaluate it, whereas the second one implies that such an analysis should have an explanatory character (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). According to the scholar, CDA often requires a multidisciplinary approach.

Fairclough (1992) proposes a three-dimensional framework for analyzing discourse. It consists of three levels: text, discursive practice, and social practice. This model can be represented diagrammatically in the following way:

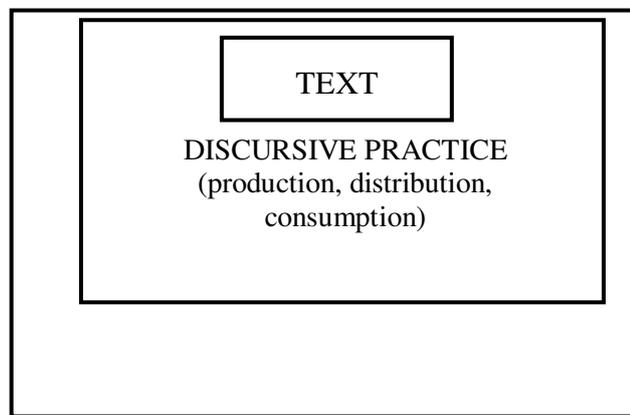


Figure 1. The relationship between text, discursive practice and social practice (adapted from Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

Fairclough (1989, p. 26) distinguishes three stages of Critical Discourse Analysis that correspond to each of the dimensions presented above. These are:

- A. description – it deals with the formal properties of a given text;
- B. interpretation – it focuses on the relationship that exists between text and interaction;
- C. explanation – it examines the relation between interaction and the social context.

Such an approach makes it possible to connect three distinct analytical traditions (Fairclough, 1992, p. 72), what consequently enables us to look at a given text from three different dimensions.

5. Method Description

The method used to analyze Hillary Clinton's speech from the 2016 presidential campaign is composed of three elements, namely chosen pragmatic concepts, one

approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, as well as a statistical computation of the most frequently used words or phrases. The research is to be conducted in the following steps:

- a. Pragmatic analysis – this stage aims at analyzing the text by applying the concept of deixis and the notion of presupposition;
- b. Critical Discourse Analysis – the goal of this step is to conduct a three-level analysis of the text according to the model elaborated by Norman Fairclough;
- c. Quantitative analysis – this stage aims at revealing the most commonly used words and phrases in the text under consideration. They are to be examined so as to disclose the message they transmit.

After completing all the steps described above, three distinct views on the same text are going to be obtained. The ultimate stage is to compare them with each other so as to draw final conclusions. In my opinion, this method has a number of advantages. First of all, it is multidisciplinary – it does not limit its scope to one field of linguistics only. What is more, the combination of three different perspectives provides an opportunity to expose the real intentions of the speaker. Finally, it sheds some light on American political discourse as a whole and enables to identify its unique features.

6. The Analysis of Hillary Clinton’s Debate Speech³

The following section presents the results of my analysis concerning Hillary Clinton’s first debate speech. These research findings are divided into three main parts: pragmatic analysis, CDA analysis, and quantitative analysis.

6.1. Pragmatic analysis

The first part of the pragmatic analysis aims at identifying, categorizing, and commenting on the deictic expressions occurring in the text. Such an approach makes it possible to identify both the type and quantity of expressions whose interpretation is dependent on the surrounding context. Let us begin by looking at the phrases belonging to the category of person deixis (Table 1).

| PERSON DEIXIS | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|---------------------------|---|----------------|
| | | deictic expression | quantity | example |
| FIRST PERSON DEIXIS | I | 135 | “Well, <i>I</i> support our democracy” | |
| | my | 11 | “ <i>My</i> father was a small-businessman” | |
| | me | 5 | “Now, let <i>me</i> say this” | |
| | mine | 1 | “concluded that <i>mine</i> would create 10 million jobs” | |

³ All quotations in this section come from the debate transcript retrieved March 25, 2018, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/26/the-first-trump-clinton-presidential-debate-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.5fceb68d57f#annotations:10505517.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----|--|
| | myself | 1 | “But I want to – on behalf of <i>myself</i> , and I think on behalf of a majority of the American people, say that, you know, our word is good” |
| | we | 167 | “That means <i>we</i> need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes” |
| | our | 43 | “I intend to be a leader of <i>our</i> country” |
| | us | 17 | “I want <i>us</i> to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work” |
| SECOND PERSON DEIXIS | you | 87 | “This election's really up to <i>you</i> ” |
| | your | 23 | “That is <i>your</i> opinion” |
| | yours | 1 | “and <i>yours</i> would lose us 3.5 million jobs” |
| | yourself | 2 | “So you've got to ask <i>yourself</i> , why won't he release his tax returns?” |
| THIRD PERSON DEIXIS | he | 65 | “ <i>he</i> knew <i>he</i> was going to stand on this debate stage” |
| | his | 18 | “we don't know all of <i>his</i> business dealings” |
| | him | 7 | “And they brought <i>him</i> down” |
| | a man | 2 | “But this is <i>a man</i> who has called women pigs” |
| | the man | 1 | “And you wouldn't pay what <i>the man</i> needed to be paid” |
| | she | 1 | “And <i>she</i> has become a U.S. citizen” |
| | this woman | 1 | “And he called this woman ‘Miss Piggy’” |
| | her | 3 | “Then he called <i>her</i> ‘Miss Housekeeping,’ because she was Latina” |
| | they | 34 | “that <i>they're</i> well prepared to use force only when necessary” |
| | their | 18 | “I think building the middle class, investing in the middle class, making college debt-free so more young people can get <i>their</i> education” |
| | them | 10 | “They had stocked <i>them</i> with centrifuges that were whirling away” |

Table 1. Person deixis in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

As evident from the above, Hillary Clinton's debate speech comprises twenty-three different person deixis expressions. The Democratic Party candidate most often uses words belonging to the first person deixis, and least those from the second person deixis. The deictic expression that appears the biggest number of times is the pronoun "we," which refers to Hillary Clinton and all the American citizens. Let us now look at the analysis of spatial deictic (Table 2).

| SPATIAL DEIXIS | | |
|--------------------|----------|---|
| deictic expression | quantity | example |
| this country | 3 | "the top percent of the people in <i>this country</i> than we've ever had" |
| here | 2 | "both <i>here</i> at home and around the world" |
| there | 1 | "I hope the people out <i>there</i> understand: This election's really up to you" |

Table 2. Spatial deixis in Hillary Clinton's debate speech

The above table shows that the text under consideration includes solely three spatial deictic expressions. The most frequently used one is the phrase "this country," and the least frequently used one is the adverb "there." The subsequent table presents the results of my analysis devoted to temporal deixis (Table 3).

| TEMPORAL DEIXIS | | |
|--------------------|----------|--|
| deictic expression | quantity | example |
| now | 8 | "we're <i>now</i> on the precipice of having a potentially much better economy" |
| then | 8 | " <i>then</i> he should tell us what his alternative would be" |
| today | 2 | " <i>Today</i> is my granddaughter's second birthday" |
| recently | 1 | "And we <i>recently</i> have learned that, you know, that this is one of their preferred methods of trying to wreak havoc and collect information" |
| eight years ago | 1 | "let's stop for a second and remember where we were <i>eight years ago</i> " |
| a few weeks ago | 1 | "I've met with a group of very distinguished, experienced police chiefs <i>a few weeks ago</i> " |
| tomorrow | 1 | "You can pick it up <i>tomorrow</i> at a bookstore" |

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| over the last eight years | 1 | “the progress we've made <i>over the last eight years</i> ” |
| for 40 years | 1 | “ <i>For 40 years</i> , everyone running for president has released their tax returns” |

Table 3. Temporal deixis in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

The above table reveals that Hillary Clinton uses nine different temporal deixis expressions in her speech. Two of them – “now” and “then” – appear eight times each. It is possible to notice, however, that the majority of deictics in this category are used only once. Let us look now at the expressions belonging to the category of discourse deixis (Table 4).

| DISCOURSE DEIXIS | | |
|--------------------|----------|---|
| deictic expression | quantity | example |
| that | 49 | “ <i>That</i> means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes” |
| this | 21 | “I have thought about <i>this</i> quite a bit” |

Table 4. Discourse deixis in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

It follows from the above that the text under consideration comprises solely two discourse deixis expressions. The most frequently used one is the word “that.” The diagram presented below (Figure 2) depicts the frequency distribution of all of the five types of deixis in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech.

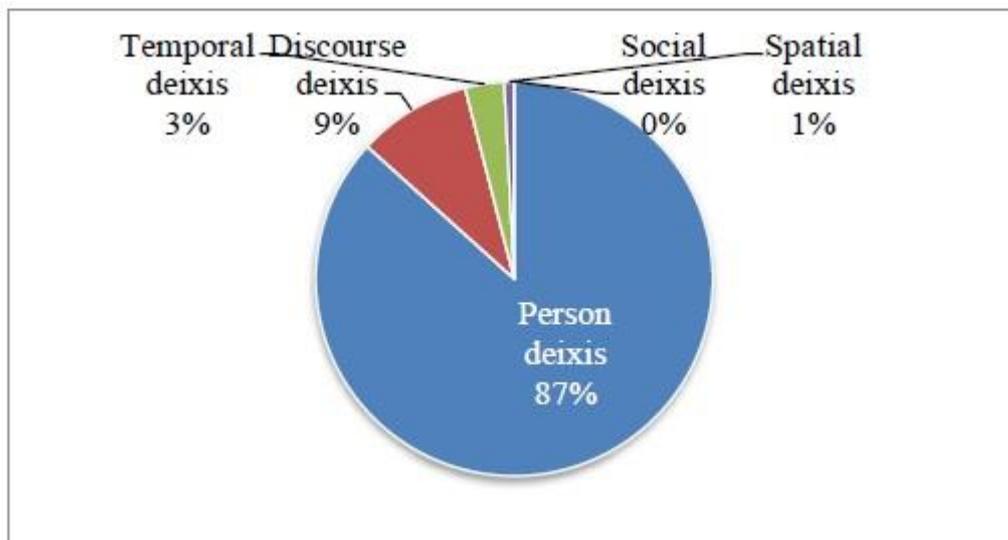


Figure 2. Frequency of five types of deixis in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

The foregoing chart shows that the vast majority of all deictic expressions used in the campaign speech belong to the category of person deixis. It should be also noticed that the research did not identify any social deixis expressions in the text.

The second part of the pragmatic analysis aims at identifying the thirteen presupposition triggers in the text and, afterwards, counting their frequency. This is supposed to reveal phrases that convey a broader message than their literal meaning. The results of my analysis are presented below (Table 5). Apart from the frequency, each trigger is illustrated with an example that shows both the lexical item or construction carrying presupposition, as well as the content it presupposes.

| PRESUPPOSITION TRIGGER | FREQUENCY | EXAMPLE |
|---|------------------|---|
| Definite descriptions | 130 | “the Iraqi government would not give that” >> There is a government in Iraq. |
| Factive verbs | 8 | “I know you live in your own reality” >> You live in your own reality. |
| Implicative verbs | 1 | “tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class” >> They were supposed to invest in the middle class. |
| Change of state verbs | 9 | “Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination” >> He hadn’t had any career before. |
| Iteratives | 9 | “We have to restore trust” >> There had been trust before. |
| Verbs of judging | 3 | “I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate.” >> According to Donald, the speaker is not properly prepared for the debate. |
| Temporal clauses | 10 | “When I was in the Senate, I had a number of trade deals that came before me” >> I was in the Senate. |
| Cleft sentences | 4 | “What I have proposed would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses.” >> Something would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses. |
| Implicit clefts with stressed constituents | 0 | – |
| Comparisons and contrasts | 3 | “he's not as rich as he says he is” >> He says he is rich. |
| Non-restrictive relative clauses | 3 | “if his tax plan, which would blow up the debt by over \$5 trillion and would in some |

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----|--|
| | | instances disadvantage middle-class families compared to the wealthy, were to go into effect, we would lose 3.5 million jobs and maybe have another recession” >> His tax plan would blow up the debt by over \$5 trillion and would in some instances disadvantage middle-class families compared to the wealthy. |
| Counterfactual conditionals | 2 | “And if I had to do it over again, I would, obviously, do it differently.” >> I don’t have to do it over again. |
| Questions | 22 | “Who does he owe money to?” >> He has some money. |

Table 5. Presupposition triggers in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

The above analysis reveals that Hillary Clinton uses eleven types of presupposition triggers in her speech. The ones used most frequently are definite descriptions (130 times) and questions (22 times). The frequent appearance of definite descriptions shows that the Democratic Party candidate very often refers to some unique issues, individuals, or objects. By using questions, she makes her speech much more open. My research did not reveal any examples of implicit clefts with stressed constituents in Hillary Clinton’s address. The presupposition triggers used in the speech play a vital function in communicating the overall message to the target audience. They are supposed to shape the Americans’ views on, among others, their own country as well as Hillary Clinton’s political opponent.

6.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

The aim of this part is to perform a Critical Discourse Analysis of Hillary Clinton’s debate speech according to the principles elaborated by Norman Fairclough. It is to be partially based on Fairclough’s list of questions (see Fairclough, 1989, pp. 110–112). Since the scholar considers it to be only a list of possible directions that can be investigated and does not require discourse analysts to use all of them, my research focuses only on those which might provide significant insights from the point of view of the entire analysis.

The textual analysis of Hillary Clinton’s address reveals that the politician speaks clearly and avoids ambiguity. The vast majority of sentences are expressed in simple present tense. The speech comprises many modal verbs (*e.g.* “can” used 29 times and “should” used 15 times). In most sentences, the agency is clear (*e.g.* “I prepared to be president”). The agents are mostly animate (*e.g.* “Donald”), but it is possible to encounter several inanimate ones as well (*e.g.* “race” or “mental health”). Hillary Clinton uses predominantly the active voice. The overwhelming majority of sentences are declarative. Although a few imperative phrases can be encountered (*e.g.* “please go and have a look”),

the speaker seems to avoid them, trying to encourage the audience to engage in a particular activity in a more indirect way (e.g. “If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them”). One can observe that the speech comprises both accurate figures (e.g. “40 percent of the world’s population,” “3.5 million jobs” or “\$13 trillion in family wealth”), as well as imprecise data (e.g. “a lot of great business people” or “many families”). The Democratic Party candidate evokes important events from the US history (e.g. the Great Recession). Her address comprises several examples of the word game (e.g. “trumped-up trickle down”). Finally, it is worth noticing that Hillary Clinton uses intertextuality – she refers, among others, to the address given by Michelle Obama at the Democratic National Convention.

Following Fairclough’s framework (1989), let us now focus on the second stage of the analysis – interpretation. First of all, the results presented above enable us to identify the type of audience that the speaker wanted to target. Although the politician talks a lot about the middle-class in her speech, the simplicity of chosen structures suggests that the working class was also aimed at. Both the issues she discusses and the kind of grammar she uses enables me to conclude that the upper class of Americans was not very much targeted. Frequent references to historical events shows that the address is tailored to a very specific audience – it could not be given in a different country without a number of amendments. This may suggest that one of Hillary Clinton’s aims was to create a sense of community and unity. Recalling emotional happenings from the US history (e.g. the 11 September attack on the World Trade Centre) was most likely used to make the Americans aware that although they cannot change the past, they can truly impact the future of their country by voting for one of the two candidates.

Let us begin the last part of the analysis – explanation – by identifying the ideology that Hillary Clinton wanted to transmit in her address. It is not surprising that most of her postulates coincide with the program of the Democratic Party (e.g. helping the poor or fighting with social injustice). One can observe, however, that she also underlines the importance of some issues in an indirect way. These are, among others, the importance of family life (e.g. “today is my granddaughter’s second birthday”) or women’s rights (“this is a man who has called women pigs”). Although the politician proposes a number of changes, at the end of her talk she expresses her respect for the American democracy. We can notice that the presidential debate is a moment in which Hillary Clinton exercises power by the very fact of giving her speech. A rich political experience makes her a person whose words have a huge impact on the decisions of others. In spite of the fact that her performance is full of ideological slogans, it is worth underlining that it has only one goal – winning the election.

6.3. Quantitative analysis

The last stage of my analysis focuses on identifying top phrases containing eight, six, four, and two words. This is supposed to reveal the most important messages that the Democratic Party candidate wanted to communicate in her address. The frequent

appearance of certain expressions suggests their significance, especially with reference to those used only once. This type of analysis is therefore a valuable component of my overall research – it exposes a number of essential issues from the speech expressed through repetition.

The results of the study are presented below. They begin with the presentation of top phrases containing eight words (Table 6).

| Top phrases containing 8 words | Occurrences |
|--|-------------|
| “we've got to do everything we can to” | 2 |

Table 6. Top phrases containing 8 words in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

As evident from the above, Hillary Clintons openly identifies herself with the American citizens. Instead of creating a division into “I” and “you,” she prefers to use the pronoun “we.” The Democratic Party candidate wants to engage her compatriots so as to introduce all the changes together. The phrase quoted higher up on the one hand implies that their collective work will require a lot of effort, but on the other seems to be a motivating slogan. Let us now focus on the analysis of top phrases containing six words (Table 7).

| Top phrases containing 6 words | Occurrences |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| “I want us to invest in” | 2 |
| “would add \$5 trillion to the” | 2 |
| “when I was in the Senate” | 2 |
| “we've got to do everything we” | 2 |
| “add \$5 trillion to the debt” | 2 |
| “guns out of the hands of” | 2 |
| “to do everything we can to” | 2 |
| “when I was Secretary of State” | 2 |
| “got to do everything we can” | 2 |

Table 7. Top phrases containing 6 words in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

The table presents nine different phrases that appeared twice in Hillary Clinton’s address. They include her visions of the future (*e.g.* investments and changes of gun laws), references to the past (especially Clinton’s experience as the Secretary of State), as well as motivational statements. The Democratic Party candidate seems to underline her previous work, depicting it as a valuable asset that her opponent lacks. Similarly to the first part of the analysis, it is possible to observe the frequent appearance of the pronoun “we.” This proves that one of Hillary Clinton’s main aims is to engage her electorate in implementing the political plan. Let us now look at top phrases containing four words (Table 8).

| Top phrases containing 4 words | Occurrences |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| “we need to do” | 5 |
| “we also have to” | 4 |
| “I want us to” | 4 |

Table 8. Top phrases containing 4 words in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

As visible from the above, Hillary Clinton willingly uses the first person plural. This may suggest that she wants to create an intimate bond with the people and, as a result, persuade them to identify themselves with her political proposals. The subsequent table presents top phrases containing two words (Table 9).

| Top phrases containing 2 words | Occurrences |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| “I think” | 37 |
| “and I” | 27 |
| “to be” | 26 |
| “we have” | 26 |
| “of the” | 24 |
| “in the” | 22 |
| “going to” | 21 |
| “to do” | 21 |
| “have to” | 21 |

Table 9. Top phrases containing 2 words in Hillary Clinton’s debate speech

It follows from the above that Hillary Clinton very often declares her opinion – the phrase “I think” is used thirty-seven times throughout the speech. The Democratic Party candidate’s address appears to be strongly future-oriented. This can be seen in such expressions as “going to” or “have to” (both appear twenty-one times).

7. Conclusions

The analysis of Hillary Clinton’s debate speech provides us with a number of valuable observations concerning, among others, the attitude of the speaker towards the audience, strategies implied in the process of text creation, as well as the ideology that the address was supposed to transmit. First of all, it is possible to notice that the Democratic Party candidate is well aware of the pragmatic aspects of language use. The frequent usage of the personal deictic expression “we” shows that the politician wants to identify herself with the audience. Most of the presupposition triggers identified in the text are supposed to improve the image of Hillary Clinton in the eyes of the Americans, as well as shape their views on certain political issues. The Critical Discourse Analysis reveals that the speech was targeted towards the middle and lower classes of the American society.

Because of numerous references to the US history, the address was tailored to be given in this country only. The ideology transmitted in the speech reflects the program of the Democrats (*e.g.* helping the poor or fighting with social injustice), as well as some issues particularly important for the speaker (*e.g.* respecting women's rights). Because of Hillary Clinton's social position, her possibility of exercising power is very strong. The quantitative analysis of the text showed that the majority of phrases used more than once are supposed to connect the speaker with the audience, and then encourage its members to take an active role in changing their country for the better.

The study of Hillary Clinton's address enables us also to identify a number of features of American political discourse. First of all, it has an ideological character. Secondly, it implies the manipulative use of language. Thirdly, it aims at creating a strong bond between the speaker and the audience. Apart from such general characteristics, one can also notice that the message is more important than the structure – the level of grammar and vocabulary is adjusted to the expected audience. Besides, the speech is intertextual and has numerous references to the history of the United States. These and other characteristics make American political discourse unique. In my opinion, the results of this study open up many possibilities for further research. It could be extended, for example, by an analysis of the debate speech given by Donald Trump. This would show the differences in strategies and performance of the two candidates, and consequently, reveal new insights on the nature of American political discourse.

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Tropaeum Traiani Monument. A Multi-Channel Strategy for Sustainable Development of the Territory through Cycle Tourism

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Abstract. The article explores the methodological approach of the designer around the promotion and communication project of the Tropaeum Traiani and the municipality of Adamclisi, located in the Dobruja region in Romania. The designer's ability consists in adapting to new scenarios, storing and reprocessing new information, taking note of the change and reasserting the project management. In this case the research has doubled between two targets, on the one hand, the stakeholders of the territory and on the other hand, the cyclists. The first phase of the project deals with the collection of data regarding the identity of the territory and the case studies of sustainable tourism. The second phase focuses on the data analysis and the field research, while the third phase deals with a target trend tourism research. At the end we collect some feedback from the stakeholders and the cyclists on the project and analyse the results from which to draw conclusions for future developments.

Keywords: Adamclisi, cyclists, action research, survey.

1. Introduction

Why is the Adamclisi monument little known outside of Romania? How can digital channels help in the promotion of the monument? These were the questions we have asked at the beginning of the project, which sees the Tropaeum Traiani, as the protagonist of the territorial promotion of the municipality of Adamclisi. In Valea Urluei, in Dobruja, there is a Roman settlement called Civitas Tropaeum Traiani, flanked by the triumphal monument Tropaeum Traiani, a mausoleum and a military funerary altar, erected in honor of the Roman soldiers who fell in the battles held in the area in 102 (Poenaru, 1983). The monument and the Trajan's column in Rome are a fundamental and evident proof of the Daco-Roman war between Trajan and Decebalus, which through its epigraphic sources and metopes allowed us to reconstruct historical events. These two monuments are contradictory for certain details but converging on the essential traits, they speak about the drama that underlies the origin of the Romanian people (Florescu, 1980). Tropaeum Traiani also called the Adamclisi monument, derives from the Turkish word *Adamklissi*, the Adam's church, that was probably a reference to the mound-like shape of the monument, which evoked the shape of a church's dome (Mitrovici, 2016).

The first who reported the existence of the monument were some travellers, soldiers and scientists, but nobody stopped to give a scientific definition of the monument if not Grigore Tocilescu, who in 1882 undertook the first archaeological excavations in the area and published his results in the “Monumentul triumfal Tropaeum Traiani de la Adamklissi” book (Miclea & Florescu, 1980). Tocilescu was also the first to carry out scientific research and to discover that it was a war trophy, built by the emperor Trajan around 106. The tropaeum represents the certificate of origin of the Romanian people, because it is thanks to the Roman conquest that the Dacians assimilated and adopted the language and Roman culture (Poenaru, 1983). In 1974 the building of the museum and the setting up of the archaeological material inside it began, while the restoration of the monument ended in 1977. In the self-supporting building of the monument some of the original stone blocks are visible, while the original metopes are placed inside the museum and faithfully reproduced on the restored structure (Serbanescu, 2017). Once the historical background of the monument and the millennial significance connected to the city of Adamclisi has been clarified, we have extended the research to the surrounding territory through the action research, participant observation and video-interviews to the main stakeholders in the area. Thanks to this collection of qualitative data we identified the needs of the inhabitants and the municipality. It has emerged that the territory does not have the necessary structures to accommodate a large number of tourists. The need arose to find a way through which to promote tourism without the risk of excessive overexposure of the monument that would inevitably lead to the distortion of the territory. The solution was to try to adopt a sustainable approach to territorial development and attract a trend target that respects the principles of environmental sustainability.

2. Related Work

The project starts with the aim of promoting the monument, but we realise that we cannot promote the monument without taking into consideration the territory within which it is inserted. The online researches show that the communication about the monument is not properly conducted, because the territorial needs were not considered. “How to promote the monument in relation to the territory and attract a sustainable tourism?” is the question this article tries to answer. In this article we will talk about sustainable tourism and ecomuseums. We will move on to a global search and analysis of the recent trend target, focusing on Millennials and cycle tourists. The challenge is to grasp the true essence of the territory and find its values and weaknesses, from which to develop the communication strategy, thus creating a methodological research model universally applicable to unpromoted territories.

The concept of sustainability has a dual value, on one side, ecological, regarding the balance conservation between the components of the natural habitat; on the other side, anthropological, referring to the tourists enjoyment experience of the environment (Bizzarri, & Querini, 2006). World Tourism Organization defined sustainable tourism at

the “Euro-Mediterranean Conference on Tourism and Sustainable Development” (1993) as: “[...] a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems.” (UNTWO, 2014, p. 3). As set out in Agenda 21 for the travel and tourism sector in 1996, sustainable development is based on three pillars: social, environmental and economic sustainability (Ceccherelli, 2016). It implies a drive towards the diffusion of lifestyles oriented through efficiency, reduction of waste and reuse of resources (Caroli, 2006). The management of a territory and the use of available resources should optimize the results in the present or at least maintain the wealth of currently available ones over time.

The ecomuseum is a good way to attract tourists and make them understand the museum from a sustainable point of view. The term “ecomuseum” was coined by Hugues de Varine (1978) and it referred to a museum dedicated to the entire territory, that can represent its inhabitants, their culture and what they have inherited from the past (Varine, 2005). The ecomuseum is a museum without walls, a community-led initiative that connects existing and new attractions to preserve heritage and local traditions around a central theme; people themselves have strong links with the place and a collective sense of identity (Reale, 2000; Davis 2005). It is clear that ecomuseums contain everything in the region that refers to its territory as an intangible heritage and tangible evidence of landscapes, wildlife, vernacular construction or material culture (McDowell, 2008). We can look at case studies already applied to the territory, as the Flodden ecomuseum, where a monument was erected in memory of the Battle of Flodden, which took place in northern England in 1513. The ecomuseum is made up of 41 offline physical sites and has supported and trained a large number of community volunteers to actively contribute to the collection of historical testimonies, with the will to pass them on to the future generations (Joicey, 2017). Another case study can be found in the tourism management of Seychelles, where the goal is to improve the quality of visitor experiences. The purpose is to encourage Seychelles hotels to integrate sustainability practices into their commercial operations to safeguard the biodiversity and culture of the islands. The government imposes very strict rules for any activity linked to tourism to a long process of approval. Furthermore a Sustainable Label Commission, that involves a tourism management and a certification program, was designed to inspire more efficient and sustainable ways of working (GSTC, 2017). The models of Flodden and Seychelles have in common the involvement of the locals, the communication through online and offline channels and the aspiration to improve the territory for future generations.

Once the examples of strategic approaches have been identified, we consulted the data of travel agencies such as *Booking* and *Trekkssoft* to get an overview of the types of tourists and their behavior related to holidays. According to *Trekkssoft's Travel Trend Report 2017*, on a sample of 145 companies, it emerged that the tourist is no longer satisfied with a pleasure trip, but he or shee seeks new adventures trying to get out of its comfort zone. According to *Booking Trend Report 2018*, the most popular experiences among tourists are visiting the traditional wonders of the world (47%), eating traditional

local food (35%), participating in a unique cultural event (28%), learning something new (27%), making a fantastic road trip (25%) and visiting an isolated or difficult place to reach (25%). Traveling to discover a place and its culture is one of the most important reasons that makes tourists move from one place to another. The search for new journeys in not yet explored territories is due to the desire to escape from the crowds and most popular cities with the possibility of spending less (Momondo, 2018). So what is that specific trend target that lends itself to a type of experiential journey, with a sustainable attitude towards the environment? Sustainability is fully within the values of the Millennials. The *Travel Pirates* survey, the largest social travel community in the world on sustainable tourism, confirms that the philosophy of travel based on sustainability is much more widespread than we think. Among the 1.357 participants in a *Travel Pirates* survey, 66% said that the respect for the environment is essential when traveling, while 34% said they try to adopt sustainable behaviors (Adnkronos, 2017). Another trend target is the category of cycle tourists, which is constantly growing in recent years. A study commissioned by the European Parliament in 2012 estimated that there are over 2.2 billion bicycle trips and 20 million with overnight stays in Europe each year (Lumsdon et al., 2009). The cycle tourism market is a safe investment, in fact according to the European study *Regionalwirtschaftliche Effekte des Radtourismus*, in Germany the turnover of bicycle touring grew from 5 billion in 2000 to 9 billion in 2009. Investments made in cycle tourism infrastructure, especially in cycle paths, have been recovered in less than two years (ETI, 2007).

About 20 km away from Adamclisi the trans-European cycle route Atlantic-Black Sea crosses the Romanian country. EuroVelo6 is the most popular route among all EuroVelo routes, as you can see from the *Google Trends* chart (Fig. 1). The famous sections along the rivers of the Loire and the Danube are known for cyclists all over the world, but what are the reasons that drive to cycle? According to the 2017 CHIP survey, more than half of the interviewed cyclists pedal for health issues, or to keep fit. 11% are motivated by reduced time to travel from home to work, while 10% prefer to save money (Ruebens, 2017).

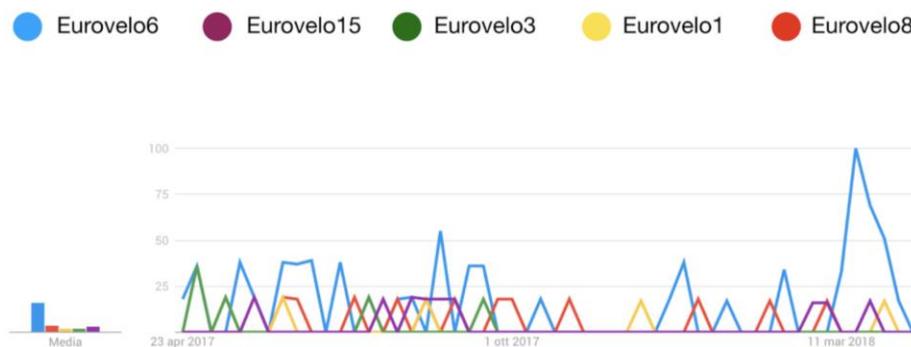


Figure 1. Google Trends, 2017-2018 (Source: extrapolate data from Google Trends)

3. Project Workflow

The project directly focuses on the territory, using design as a bridge between the complexity of the problem and the contingency of the solution and at the same time focusing on the creation of the relationship between problems and solutions (Chow & Jonas, 2009). The role of the designer is to adopt the learning by doing process, that means “creating while constantly testing out visual or spatial outcomes of ideas” (Özkar, 2007, p.100). We do not have to follow a preset path. According to Frayling (1993), design is a practice that involves the thinking and the doing part, for example actions can follow reflections and reflections can follow actions. During the research phase the designer unconsciously or consciously faces a path that refers to the double diamond structure, featured by a divergent and convergent thinking. Divergent thinking emphasizes a broader exploration, focusing on identifying significant new customer problems and opportunities, while convergent thinking prioritizes opportunities and emphasizes customer needs and desires (Laurel, 2003). The divergent phase, applied to our project, is characterized by literature review, desk and action research. The desk research focuses on the identity of Adamclisi compared to other cities with similar historical heritage, strategic models of sustainable tourism and research on type of sustainable target. The outputs of this first phase are two: the positioning of Adamclisi and the identification of its local needs. In the convergent phase, the needs of the chosen cyclists' targets were identified through a survey and finally the concept of the project was defined: a multi-channel strategy through the *Facebook* and *Instagram* platforms.

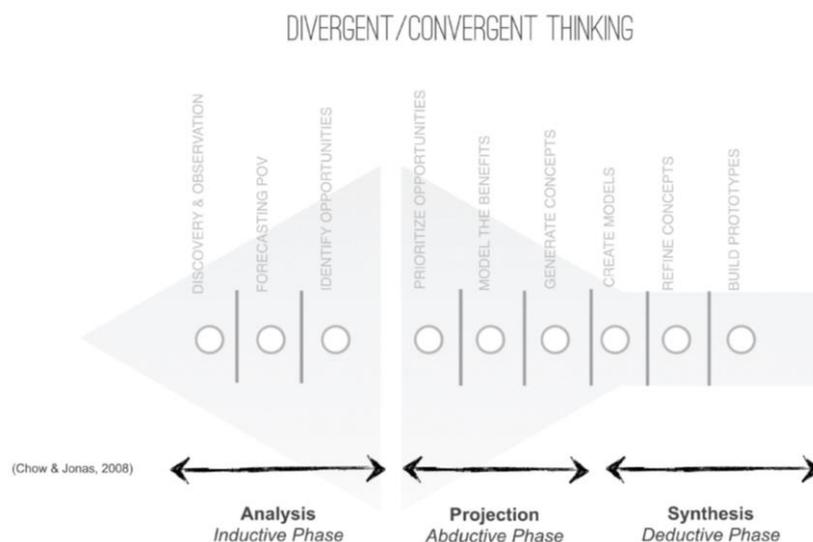


Figure 2. Scheme of the research phases that combines the developed model from Chow and Jonas (2008), with the "Fuzzy Front End" process (Rhea, 2003).

3.1 Data research

The research started from the focus on the monument, its history meaning, incorporating the entire region, that has a strongly seasonal seaside tourism, especially concentrated during the weekends. It is important to consider examples of cities that have managed to successfully promote themselves from which to take a cue and have a wide-ranging vision of the surrounding environment before entering the project specifications. For example, Sibiu is one of the best known cities in Romania, the 2016 INSSE data confirm that it is the 3 most visited city in the country, having increased by 29% compared to the previous year. In 2007 Sibiu was one of the capitals of European culture and it was well promoted thanks to the organization of events on the territory and the updated website on the activities to be done on the spot (Loghin, 2018). By comparison with the other cities, we can say that Adamclisi has a significant different element for which it is known: Tropaeum Traiani, the monument that represents the origin of the Romanian people. As can be seen from the *Google Trends* graph (Fig.3), the monument is not widely known abroad and the term “Tropaeum Traiani” is mostly sought by Romanians, followed by the Moldavians, Italians and Spanish. The question spontaneously arises, how can we attract a type of international tourism? So we decided to undertake a field participatory action research, using video interviews as tools and participant observation as a technique.

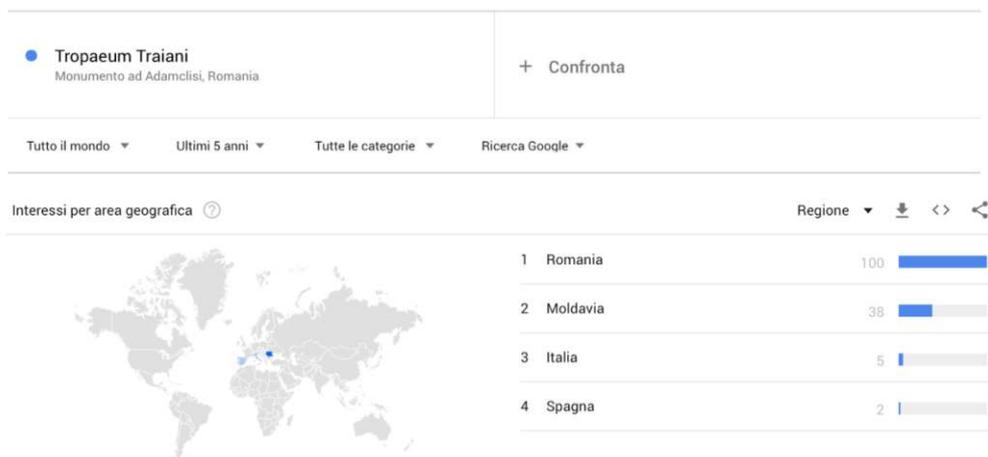


Figure 3. Research of the term Tropaeum Traiani, last 5 years.
(Source: extrapolate data from Google Trends)

3.2 Adamclisi: identity, local and needs

As a first step we interviewed two main archeology experts, Costantin Chera and Gheorghe Papuc, who personally participated in the restoration of the Tropaeum Traiani. They spoke about the monument related to its history by adding personal insights. Ion Nicolae, the sculptor of the trophy, was also interviewed on the same topic to obtain a greater awareness of the monument from a technical and compositive point of view. On the one hand, there are the opinions of those who experienced the period of restoration and what that involved on the historical level; on the other hand, the mayor and the citizens living side by side with such a big resource. The historians' interviews helped us to frame and confirm the identity of the monument while the interviews with the citizens revealed the community identity of Adamclisi. The interviews were carried out through a mediator, a person who acted as an intermediary between the designer and the interviewees. To use an unknown person during an interview involves the lack of trust on the interlocutor side, therefore the sculptor of the monument started a dialogue with the mayor of Adamclisi aimed at explaining the idea of promoting the town. The interviews were structured according to the following aspects: presentation of ourselves and the project, presentation of the questions to the interviewee, assembly of the camera and microphone, consent of personal data treatment, and video interview.

At the end we agreed that the mayor would schedule the appointments with some previously identified citizens: a farmer, a beekeeper, a breeder, a priest and the director of the museum. The interviewees corresponded to the main stakeholders, those who mostly frequented the municipal administration. For the mayor, the types of questions were about the administrative and management of the municipality. Interviewing the stakeholders we wanted to bring out the values, the shortcomings and the needs. Then we proceeded to a re-elaboration phase of the data in which we reviewed the notes taken during the interviews. We also listened to the footages and extrapolated the most important topics, drawing a lineup in which each key concept was punctuated by the duration of the frame. After completing these steps, we compared the interviews to identify common ideas and reorganized the results of the qualitative analysis through a synthetic scheme, that represents the emerged common needs (Fig.4).

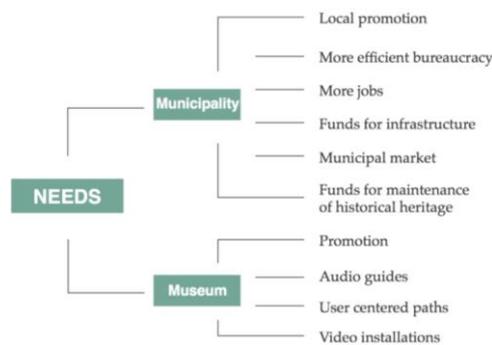


Figure 4. Chart of the needs of Adamclisi

The strong point of the territory is the protected area, that is included in the European Nature 2000 program, an ecological network that aims to preserve natural habitats, taking into account the economical, social, cultural interests in a logic of sustainable development (Rete Natura 2000, 2018). The territory is not ready to accommodate a type of mass tourism, because there are not enough facilities to receive tourists. So how could one attract a trend tourism without damaging the territory? We can look for an answer in the sustainable tourism and further investigate particular assets or heritage sites in a wide range of actors and stakeholders (Ulbricht & Schröder-Esch, 2006).

3.3 Target research

This part of the quantitative research takes place online, accumulating statistical data and comparing generational tourism and growing tourist trends in recent years. Coinciding with this research, it has been discovered that the cycle tourists are an incipient existing target in Adamclisi. Cyclists have a different lifestyle and characteristics based on the place chosen to ride. According to a CIRM survey on bicycle use, the city cyclist cannot stand the traffic and is convinced that he/ she has the mission to improve the air quality; he/ she also has a strong respect for the environment and uses the bike especially for Sunday outings (Cillo, 2012). In reality there are no real categories in which to pigeonhole cyclists, because the types varies according to different situations, for example, a person can daily move by bike to go to work and in the weekend to be a cycle tourist. According to the results of an analysis conducted by EuroVelo on *La Loire à Vélo* cycle path we prefer to refer to the three main categories of cyclists (La Loire à Vélo, 2016):

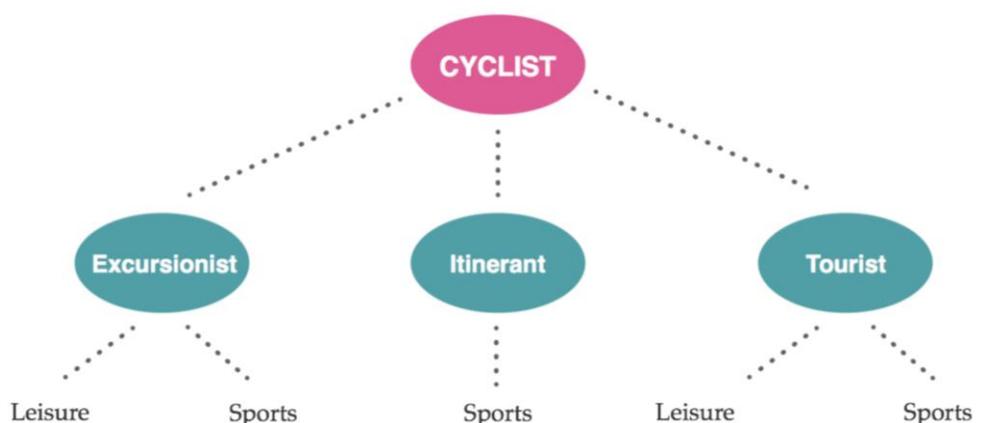


Figure 5. Types of cyclists (La Loire à Vélo, 2016)

- The excursionist is a cyclist who rides a day or less, or returns home at the end of the day.
- The itinerant cyclist is a cyclist who travels by bicycle, he changes his lodging as he moves forward. This category does not include cyclists who use vehicles other than bikes to move from one accommodation to another.
- The tourist is a cyclist who spends at least one night away from home.

These three categories are further divided between sports cyclist, who uses special equipment to travel for long distances (>50 km a day) and leisure cyclist, who uses the bicycle for short distances (<50 km per day). Once the potential of this target emerged, we began to investigate cycling routes and we discovered EuroVelo, a network of 15 cycle paths that crosses 42 European countries with spread over 45,000 km away (Bodor et al., 2016). EuroVelo6 Atlantic-Black Sea is a cycle circuit that stretches from Nantes to Constanza, passing only 20 km far from Adamclisi.

To reach the cycle tourists target, first we must find their needs and secondly identify their behavior before, during and after the trip in order to understand the effective touchpoints that allows to reach them. For this reason we created a survey aimed at studying cycle tourists. To determine the questions of the survey (Fig. 6) as a first step, we interviewed an itinerant cyclist amateur who travels several times a year by cycling for more than a week. Then we developed thematic guidelines, in a generic form, which after the interview were refined in specific questions, giving form to the final survey (Ronzon, 2008). We used the *Google Form* as a tool to spread the survey, that was structured into six sections, each of which corresponded to a different topic. Part of the questions were of a cognitive type, thanks to which we understood what the cyclists took with them on the road, where they stayed and what kind of devices they used to orient themselves.

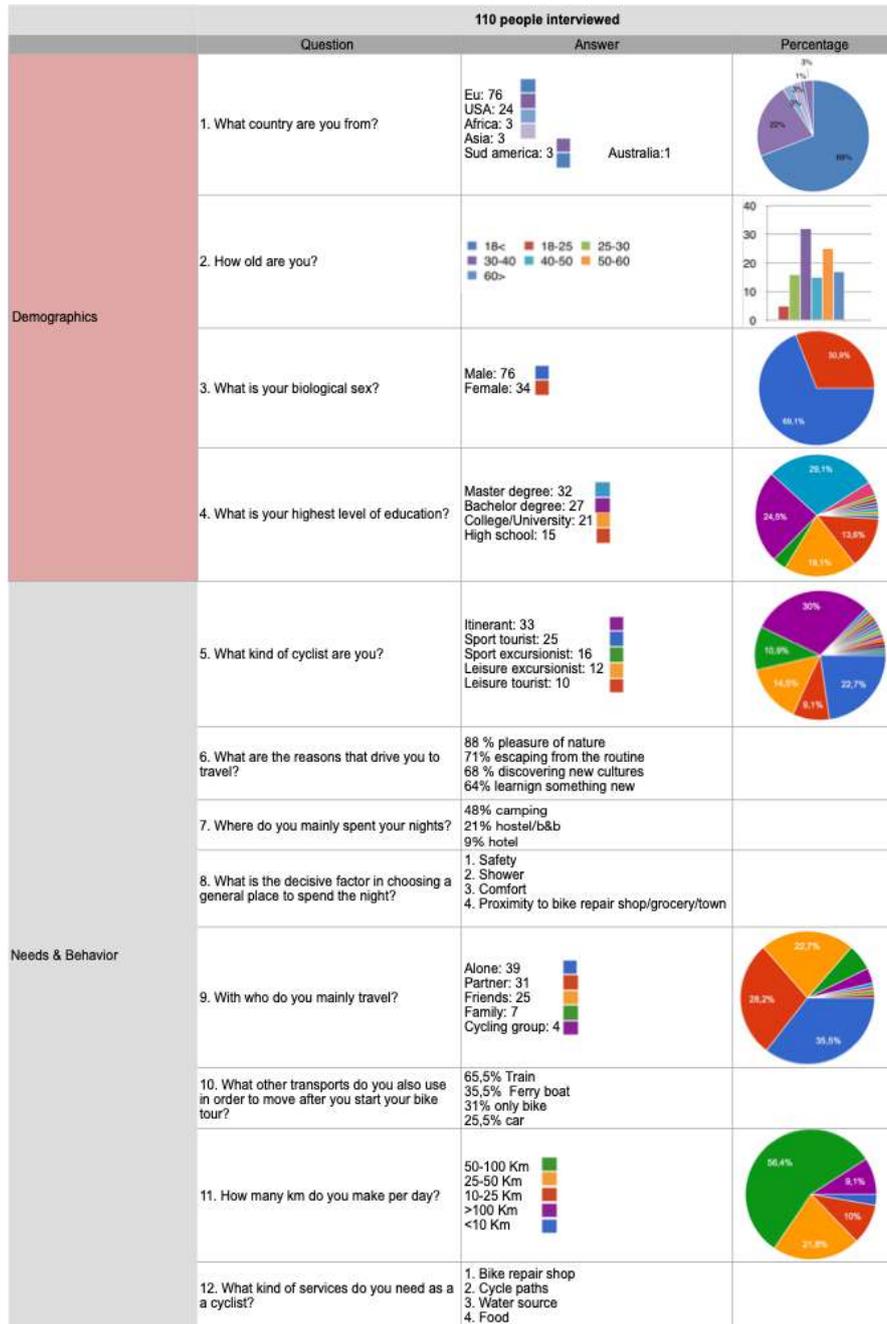


Figure 6. Part of cycle tourism survey results (you can find more here: <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSd5OnRfIrotdXkd7tJFuFlpWWXdKiuO2uLiesHh4FuTRaNFw/viewanalytics>)

On the one hand, we obtained quantitative results linked to demography, in which we tried to identify gender, age, nationality and studies and on the other hand, open-ended questions reflected a qualitative aftermath. The answers were structured into three categories: single, multiple-choice and free answers. The interview was conducted on a sample of 110 people, all over the age of 18, including one third women and two thirds men. This type of target is well-educated, in fact more than 70% have a university degree. 30% consider themselves as itinerant cyclists, while another 30% as sporty and more than 50% of cycle tourists say they travel between 50-100 km per day. As you can see in the chart (Fig. 6) the main reason why cyclists are driven to travel is the pleasure of being in contact with nature, escaping from the routine and discovering new cultures. Cyclists love to explore parks and nature, sampling local foods and visiting historical and cultural sites. What they most need is a shower and a comfortable place to spend the night, but also some spots along the bike path where they can eat and have the opportunity to repair and rent their bike. The presence of a cycle path is very important for them, since greater safety is guaranteed. As it also confirmed by a ENIT study, those who decide to embark on a cycling holiday pay close attention to the possibility of staying in welcoming facilities, with a guaranteed shelter for bicycles, cycle shops and info points.

One of the fundamental aspects in choosing the destination of the trip is the word of mouth, in fact the stories of friends are an important decision-making factor. Cyclists will share their experience, producing content on blogs and forums themselves. This type of target is present, active and participates on social platforms, creating and sharing contents of travel experiences. They choose the places to visit based on already existing cycle paths or roads with little traffic, opting for pre-established routes from which deviate from time to time. During the holiday, a good number of cycle tourists orient themselves mainly thanks to *Google Maps* or using specific apps like *Strava* and *Maps.me*. We can conclude that the cycle tourists fully satisfy a sustainable development of the territory. Having identified their needs and those of the stakeholders, we confronted each other trying to understand the links between them. How could one satisfy the needs of both targets?

3.4 Analysis of Results and Future Developments

According to the decision making phases (Fig. 7) and the survey results, a map of channels was drawn and for each phase the channels that best meet the specific needs were chosen. *Instagram* is the channel that best represents the phase of inspiration, because it is a growing social media, with more than 700 million registered users, that embeds suggestive pictures and short videos. Thanks to the intuitive hashtag system is much easier to reach the target of interest. Although *Facebook* does not appear among the first choices in the results of the survey, it can provide information that the cycle tourists look for in the decision-making phase, or in the choice of the destination. Cyclists need to be reassured during the planning phase, through an official and reliable source such as a landing page, where you can find more information about the territory, a map with the

points of interest, events and a way to enter contact with stakeholders and book the holiday. In the first phase of the project it was decided that the *Facebook* page would carry the function of the landing page, which will be later created. *Google Maps* is the most popular app for orientation among cyclists, as confirmed by the survey 77/109 people use it, but *Strava* is their favorite, as already identified in chapter 4, because they synchronize it to the bike computer placed on the bicycle, recording their goals and their personal records.

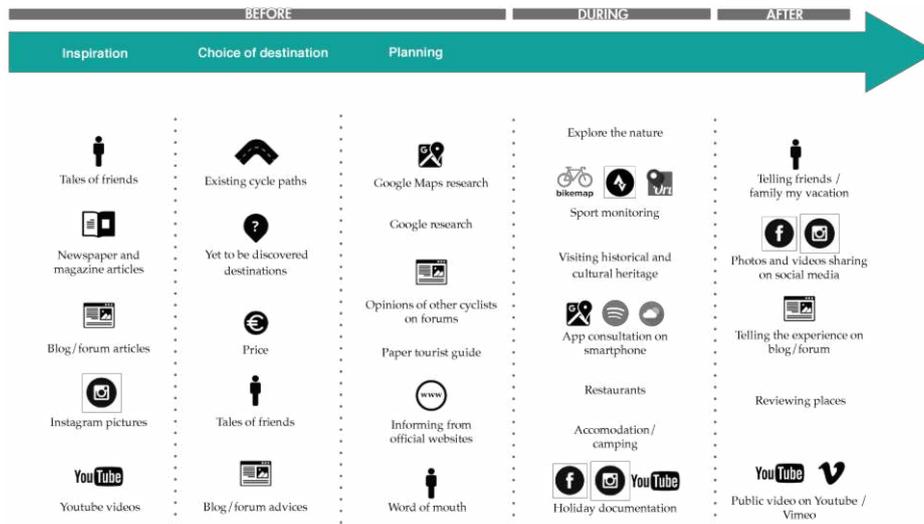


Figure 7. Map of channels inserted in the various phases of decision making

The engagement from *Maps* and *Strava* takes place while the target explores the territory. Based on the awareness of the importance of the various decision-making phases that the cyclist has to face, we decided to map all the offline and online channels related to the target and the stakeholders, combining the territorial offer with the needs of cyclists. We identified the major entrepreneurs in the area by searching on social networks those companies that had a media profile or just a physical meeting point. The data were synthesized in a map of channels on which we tried to find the right connections between the territory and the cyclists. As can be seen in fig. 8, the afflux is concentrated in the same way on both *Instagram* and the cycle tourist *Facebook* page, this is due to a natural flow by both targets but also to the designer's choice to reinforce the existing flow, creating engagement and focusing the spotlight on those two pages. So it was decided to create a multichannel promotion, through the *Instagram* page “The Roots Rider” whose goal is to inspire the target and through the *Facebook* page “Cycle Adamclisi” whose goal is to inform and connect cyclists with stakeholders. The entire project is communicated in a *Facebook* group, designed for the target of stakeholders. Future developments of the project include the opening of a landing page, which will

have an institutional role and will replace the functions of the current *Facebook* page and those of *Strava*, designed as a further engagement of cyclists on the territory. In this case, the *Facebook* page would become a community in which cyclists can exchange opinions and feedback. We talk about a long-term strategy whose real expected results will take place next summer, in the meantime the effectiveness of the various profiles will be studied, correcting the strategy where it will be necessary. The behavior of the users will be further studied on the social pages of the project, monitoring the type of content and determining the decisions to be taken in order to best satisfy the users. Based on the data collected by social monitoring, the landing page and its structure will be established. Thanks to this project we have been able to create a local awareness for the stakeholders of the municipality and an easily identifiable imaginary for cyclists. We hope that in the future we can open a dialogue between cyclists and stakeholders.

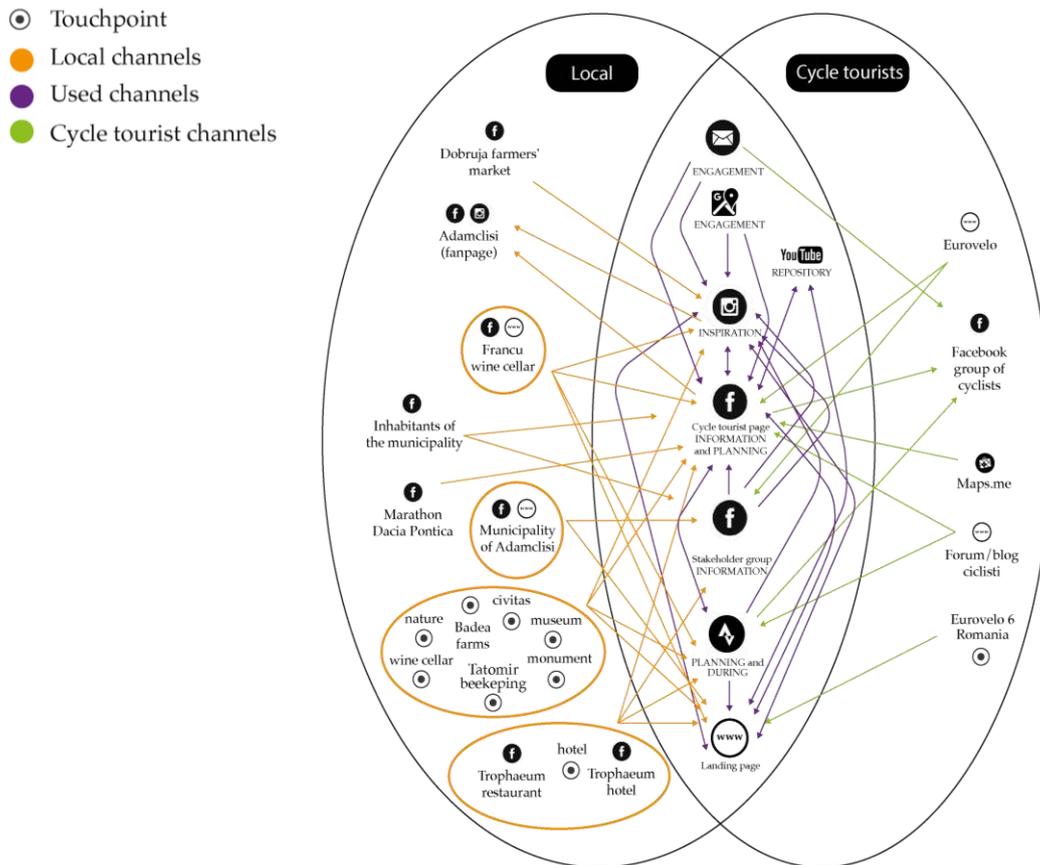


Figure 8. Map of channels and touchpoints

4. Conclusions

To conclude the design process and give a more complete answer to the initial question *How can digital channels help in the promotion of the monument?*, we asked both cyclists and stakeholders for a feedback on the project. The strategy is re-proposed to both targets through semi-structured interviews: 5 via *Google Forms* addressed to stakeholders and one e-mail discussion with Mr. Struck, the influencer and administrator of the *Facebook* group *Bicycle Touring & Bikepacking*. He suggested: "It would help to have some pictures of people enjoying themselves, both locals and visitors" (Struck, personal communication, July 9, 2018). Mr. Struck claimed that it never fails to present the idea of fun, safety, and a community that welcomes visitors.

On the other side, we gave to stakeholders the information about the benefits of cycling for the municipality. Those explanations were very useful, since none of the respondents knew about the EV6 cycling route. Stakeholders are aware that by attracting cycle tourists, they will be able to increase their commercial development. This project is not only concerned with promoting the territory, but also becomes a vehicle for information, highlighting new perspectives. The stakeholders believe in the realization of the project and they are also convinced that the construction of a cycle path can implement the influx of cyclists, though the absence of funding cuts the possibility of growth in this direction.

The most effective way to develop a type of sustainable tourism is to 'grasp' the territory without a pre-setting methodological approach to follow. It is necessary to understand within which market the project is placed, to look at those who made similar projects to what you intend to do and to take them as inspiration. The role of the designer is to observe, listen, store and manage information, analyze data, produce output in line with the needs of the territory and tourists and finally reflect on feedback. In this case, the designer stands as a mediator between reality and planning, having the flexibility to change the direction of the project, to improve the impact and the benefits on the territory. We hope that the undertaken work might be a structural model in the construction of a sustainable project.

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Woodrow Wilson's War to End All Wars
Textual Features of the Presidential Address to Congress
Delivered on April 2, 1917

We make war that we may live in peace.
Aristotle "Nichomachean Ethics"

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Abstract. Only five presidential messages led to formally declared wars in the history of the USA. While attempting to shed some light on the role of discourse in the origins of armed conflicts, the contribution explores a selection of textual aspects of war discourse on the basis of President Woodrow Wilson's Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany. The address is analysed in the context of the remaining four presidential messages delivered before the formally declared wars by J. Madison, J. Polk, W. McKinley and F. D. Roosevelt. The first section of the paper¹ gives a short description of the relevant theoretical foundations of the analysis. In the second section the methodological underpinnings of the analysis are established (Fairclough, 1992; Chruszczewski, 2002). The problematic of readability of texts is introduced and it is followed by the introduction of the typology of arguments devised by Chruszczewski (2003). In the third section the analysis of the presidential speech is preceded by a brief overview of Wilson's presidency. Following the presentation of the results of the readability test, the structure of a general model of argument development is presented and the results of the analysis are discussed with focus on the semantic content of Wilson's Address as well as on the reasons for the continual increase in the readability of the five consecutive presidential war messages.

Keywords: political discourse, discourse analysis, readability of text, typology of arguments.

1. Introduction

Analyzing the history of mankind appears to be the study of an endless chain of wars events. Regarded as uninevitable, wars are feared by nations but decisions are made by individuals. Approaching the thematic of war conflicts from political and historical perspective gives an impression that war is regarded as a citizen's duty and the ruler's privilege. Linguistic research, while giving an insight into diverse aspects of war discourse, reveals the secrets of the language used by the social actors of war scenes. Focusing attention on communicational and rhetorical tools used in the discourse of war as well as social and cultural aspects of language allows to understand how language is

¹ The article is an altered version of fragments of the MA thesis by Leszek Wojteczek (University of Wrocław, 2018).

used and in whose interest it is used. It helps to embrace the problematic of war by shedding light on the role of discourse in the origins of armed conflicts.

2. Related Work on Woodrow Wilson's Discourse

With many researchers paying attention to the analysis of Woodrow Wilson's political activities, it is the president's oratory skills and his power to use language as an instrument to achieve his political goals that have continuously attracted scholars and enhanced research (Blakey, 1970; Schulte Nordholt, 1991; Rudanko, 2012). Agreeably regarded as an outstanding orator, Wilson employed his rhetorical talent to become a triumphant politician. Kraig (2004) gives an insightful overview of Wilson's presidency bringing to life less known aspects of the political discourse of the Progressive Era, providing a detailed account of Wilson's career path from being a lecturer at Princeton to becoming the leader of the nation. As the Chief Executive of the country, Wilson reshaped the role of America in the modern world (Ambrosius, 2002; 2017). However, this came with his enormous effort as the ultimate decisions regarding participation in war conflicts rested in the hands of the Congress (cf. Treanor, 1997), not the President. Relating to the emergence of mass communication, Kraig (2004) addresses the issue of its role in Wilson's political activities, highlighting the importance of the media. The press, in particular, played a vital role in convincing the Congress and the public to accept his war message of April 2, 1917. Wilson skillfully used the modern media as a powerful tool in his relations with the Congress. Persuading unwilling politicians and the equally reluctant public into entering the war in 1917 became the victory of the president's oratory skills. Kraig (2004, p. 164) highlights the fact that one of the president's outstanding qualities was the use of *kairos*: "the most influential rhetoric, [...], is often that which says the right thing in the right way and somehow strikes an idea at the precise historical moment when it is ripe to be accepted."

In opposition to numerous critics of Wilson and Wilsonianism (cf. Ambrosius, 2002; Striner, 2014), Hogan (2006, p. 142) regards the President as a perfect "orator-statesman," perceiving him as the politician whose idea was to discuss crucial policy issues not only with the political elite but first and foremost with the American people. Tucker (2007) confirms the prevalent view that Wilson's presidency was a turning point in American history while Manela (2005, p. 1116) observes that "the foreign policies of nearly every American president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt can be understood, in one way or another, as owing a debt to Woodrow Wilson." The end of isolationism and Woodrow Wilson's attempt to set a new order in the pursuit of the world "safe for democracy" led to establishing America's primary role in global politics for many decades to come.

3. Theoretical Assumptions

The subject matter of the paper falls into the area of discourse studies whose beginnings can be traced back to the 1950s. This was then that Zellig Harris ([1952] 1970), in his article *Discourse Analysis*, introduced an approach to analyzing texts, which had a tremendous impact on linguistic research shifting the interest of researchers towards the functional view of language (van Dijk, [1977] 1980; Fairclough, 1989; Wierzbicka, 1985; Duszak & Fairclough, 2008). The study of discourse includes rhetoric, style, meaning, vocabulary, syntax, sounds, gestures, speech acts, strategies, and other aspects of human interaction. It has been expanding with the advent of technology incorporating online texts and video. In effect, non-verbal aspects of discourse have gained more importance and discourse itself has become even more difficult to define. According to Gee ([1999] 2001, p. 19) “discourses are not ‘units’ with clear boundaries.” Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 2) see discourse as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world).” Schiffrin (1994, p. 39) regards discourse as language in use: “Discourse is ‘above’ (larger than) other units of language... [it] arises not as a collection of decontextualized units of language structure, but as a collection of inherently contextualized units of language use.” Fowler (1986, p. 86) perceives discourse as a “complicated process of linguistic interaction between people uttering and comprehending texts.” Other linguists approach the problematic of discourse situating it in the context of communication. In Labocha’s view, discourse is:

[...] a social and cultural norm mediating the creation of texts and utterances, interacting with other components of communicative act. It is dynamic and changeable as it shapes the utterance and the text [...]. Discourse is the norm and the strategy at the same time. (Labocha, 2008, pp. 60–61, trans. – L.W.)

Grabias ([1994] 2003, p. 264) and Laskowska (2004, p. 14), consider discourse as stretches of language closely related to style, genre and communicative context. Grabias in particular, highlights the social aspect of discourse perceiving it as social interaction in which language plays a crucial role. Van Dijk (1997a, p. 2) points out the fact that the term discourse is commonly understood as language in use. For theorists discourse is the manner in which language is used which, as van Dijk states, is still a very broad definition, and adds that in order to specify the meaning of discourse it is important to answer a number of issues, such as: who uses a given language form, how, why and when. Nijakowski (2006, p. 17) shares van Dijk’s view on the definition of discourse, highlighting its three aspects: the circumstances of production, the distribution of discourse and the circumstances in which it is received. The importance of non-linguistic aspects of communicative act when attempting to define discourse is expressed by Duszak (1998, p. 19). In her view, discourse embraces text and context, where context refers as much to the situation in which language is used as to the participants. Therefore, discourse becomes a dynamic and evolving process. The dynamic character of discourse is also highlighted by Chruszczewski (2006, p. 50), who considers discourse as “a

dynamically changing phenomenon of linguistic core – *i.e.* texts – that is engulfed by its situational, social and cultural embeddings which together form the nonlinguistic context of any textual message.” In his study of political discourse, Chruszczewski (2002, p. 17) proposes a model of discourse which he calls “the model of the communicational grammar of discourses.” The model highlights the structure of discourse locating texts in the centre of situational, social and cultural embeddings. Texts are situationally and socially dependent as they come into being within a particular speech community in a specific situational context and they are embedded by a particular culture of a given speech community.

As can be seen, the meaning of discourse is multiple and it becomes the researcher’s choice which theoretical and methodological perspective is adopted for a specific study. For the purpose of this paper I follow Norman Fairclough’s interpretation of discourse in which textual level of discourse is embedded in “discursive” practices of production, distribution and consumption as well as social practices being undetachable parts of any discourse as it always exists in a specific time, place and within a particular speech community engaged in their social relationships. As Fairclough’s definition of discourse focuses on social relations, I also take into consideration and relate to Chruszczewski’s notion of discourse, particularly to the view in which the importance of not only situational and social embeddings but also cultural embeddings of discourse is highlighted.

4. Methodological Considerations

The end of the 1970s brought Critical discourse Analysis (CDA), a new perspective in discourse research. Having evolved from the Critical Linguistics and associated with Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew (1979), CDA was significantly influenced by Halliday (1978; 1985) who proposed his functional view of language. Proponents of critical approach to discourse claim that language, as Fiske (1994) observes, “is never neutral.” It always involves the use of power and ideology expressing the dominance of those in power and those who are dependent. For van Dijk, CDA has become an “umbrella” term for all those approaches which see discourse as a social activity and attempt to analyze language without deriving it from its situational and socio-cultural embeddings.

Putting emphasis on political aspects of discourse, Fairclough’s socio-cultural method, along with his systemic-functional linguistics, forms one of the main approaches in CDA. Similarly to Foucault’s somehow vague interpretation of discourse, Fairclough sees it as a constant struggle between those in power and those that are oppressed. In effect, his analysis focuses on the problematic of dominance and resistance. Researchers (see: Hidalgo Tenorio 2011, p. 190) appreciate the consistency of Fairclough’s method of analysis, however, doubts are expressed as it allows the use of various methodological tools and may result in not as critical analysis as it is expected in accordance with the main tenets of the approach.

4.1. Socio-Political Aspects of Discourse

The analysis of the presidential address requires reference to the definition of political discourse. Chruszczewski (1999, p. 208) observes that “speech delivered by a politician in an inherently political environment and concerning politics is a realization of political discourse.” In van Dijk’s view (1997b, p. 13), political discourse should be defined in terms of its actors, primarily politicians. However, as he rightly points out, they are not the only participants of discourse. While performing their political activities, politicians have to relate to voters, citizens, members of political parties, the public, etc. Van Dijk calls them “all participants in the political process.” He highlights the need to establish limitations in understanding the term “political discourse” in order to avoid creating a very blurred idea of discourse that, in effect, would lead to the analysis of a very broad public discourse.

For proponents of CDA language is not only “socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 134). As van Leeuwen (2008, p. 6) declares, “social practices are socially regulated ways of doing things.” Politics is a heavily regulated social practice. Politicians’ roles, usually understood as activities that are meant to lead to solving various social issues, are inserted into social and cultural contexts. Presidential speeches are strictly political but they are also social events.

4.2. Fairclough’s Approach to Discourse

In order to embrace Fairclough’s view of discourse and its analysis, it is vital to present the way he interprets some of the key concepts of his theory. In his interpretation of CDA, Fairclough (1992) states that relations between those in power and those inferior are discursive. He draws heavily on Foucault’s idea of discourse as the means of mediating power relations between the oppressors and the oppressed. In his view, studying discourse means investigating the relationship between language, ideology and power and the main task for researchers is to address social issues. Discourse is ideologically shaped and undergoes a constant mediation between text and society where texts are understood not only as written documents but as “the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event.” Fairclough (1993, p. 138) differentiates the meaning of discourse regarding it as an abstract noun, which he interprets as “language use conceived as social practice,” or a countable noun, which he understands as a “way of signifying experience from a particular perspective.” This way, he distinguishes various political discourses related to issues such as inequality, poverty, racism, or other forms of oppression.

As CDA does not offer a consistent methodology, researchers rely on various methodological tools which are borrowed from adjacent fields of science. Fairclough, in his attempt to provide a comprehensive method (1989; 1992; 1993; 1995; 2003; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), proposes a three-dimensional framework for the analysis of discourse, to which he refers as Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). Since

he sees discourse as social practice, this attitude is reflected in his model. He distinguishes three separate areas of study: the first dimension – an analysis of texts, in either form: written or spoken. Studying at micro-level, researchers investigate a variety of aspects of textual linguistic nature; the second dimension – the analysis of discourse practice. It embraces the problematic of production, distribution and consumption of texts. Research at this level involves attempts to answer questions such as who produced a text, who is the target recipient, why was a given text produced; the third dimension – the analysis of discursive events as an example of sociocultural practice. Research is concentrated on intertextual and interdiscursive aspects and considers wider social contexts of production, distribution and consumption of a text.

4.3. Readability of Texts

Readability is defined as the effort that has to be put into reading a written text in order to understand it. Being directly related to the content of a text, readability is assessed mostly by the analysis of a text structure, syntax, and lexis. There are also other parameters researchers use to assess how difficult a given text may be for readers. The size and type of font used to print a text may play a significant role in creating text that would be regarded as easy or difficult to read. It becomes an important aspect when focusing on communicative goals for which a given text is designed. It was in the late 19th century when researchers studying the problematic of readability came to conclusions that there was a direct connection between the level of complexity of vocabulary and syntax and a success or failure in fulfilling a communicative aim. Particularly the use of unusual multi-syllable words, frequently of foreign origin as well as lengthy phrases or sentences contributes to a very low level of readability of a text. In linguistics the Gunning Fog Index is one of a number of readability tests available for analyzing English writing. Devised by Robert Gunning (1952), Fog Index is a relatively simply applicable formula. To perform such test, a set of guidelines requires to be followed. First, a passage of around 100 words is selected. It may comprise one or more paragraphs. None of the sentences may be omitted. Then, by dividing the number of words in the investigated piece of text by the number of sentences the average sentence length is established. Next, three or more syllable words are counted. Compound words and proper nouns are omitted. Common suffixes are not counted as syllables. Finally, the average sentence length and the percentage of complex vocabulary are added and the result of the calculation is multiplied by a factor of 0.4. The result is a number which applied to the Fog Index gives information about the level of readability of an investigated text. The number according to the Fog Index presupposes that the given text can be understood by a reader who left education system at a later age than the index. Nowadays texts can be tested with the use of an application available online ². *Table 1* presents the index in relation to the consecutive levels of education³.

² Gunning Fog Index. Retrieved October 20, 2016, from <http://gunning-fog-index.com/>

³ Indeks czytelności FOG. Retrieved October 20, 2016, from Polish Wikipedia website., Trans. – L.W.

| Fog Index | Reading level |
|---------------|--|
| 1-6 | easy language, understood by primary school pupils |
| 7-9 | easy language, understood by junior high school students |
| 10-12 | rather simple language, understood by high school students |
| 13-15 | rather difficult language, understood by undergraduate students |
| 16-17 | difficult language, understood by postgraduate students |
| 18 and higher | very difficult language, understood by university graduates and higher |

Table 1. Readability of texts - Gunning Fog Index

The index calculates how many years a reader needs to spend in a school education system in order to be able to understand a given text after only one reading. The Fog Index of 18 shows that a text is too difficult to be understood by most people. It has to be observed that the tool is somehow limited. Long words which according to the Fog Index formula should be regarded as difficult do not need to be such. However, despite limitations, the formula may be regarded as an efficient tool for testing the readability of texts as it proved to be reliable over the many years of use⁴.

4.4. Typology of Arguments in American Political Discourse

The analysis of the semantic content of Woodrow Wilson's war address is based on a method devised by Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2003) and follows the method of analysis that was used by the author in his *American Presidential Discourse Analysis*. In his work, Chruszczewski analyzed inaugural speeches of the American presidents starting from 1945 until 1997. Having devised eight argument markers and applied them to the presidential inaugurals, the researcher came to conclusions that American presidents avoided building complex arguments that would comprise many elements. One-element or two-element arguments were prevalent. Only one five-element argument was identified within the material under investigation. The presidential speeches were classified into categories: America oriented, strategy oriented and spirit oriented inaugurals. Additionally, the America oriented speeches were then divided into two groups, positive and negative. The author concluded that American presidents made uncomplicated speeches and were very careful with the speeches so as not to overload them with an excess of information (Chruszczewski, 2003, p. 76). In the researcher's view, to analyze texts according to his method, we have to follow a procedure which comprises five stages. First, a speech has to be analyzed. The analysed text has to be divided into arguments. A single argument relates to a single idea or thought. The arguments are numbered (see: Appendix) and a set of markers is established and applied to the arguments. Then, a quantitative model has to be established. The third stage involves

⁴ Gunning, R. (1969). The Fog Index After Twenty Years. *New Media and Society*, 6/2, 3–13. Retrieved December 30, 2016, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/002194366900600202>

juxtaposing all the investigated texts. Having done the first three stages, the general quantitative model can be worked out. The final stage involves drawing conclusions based on the research.

The following Chruszczewski's markers are applied in the analysis of Woodrow Wilson's address (see: Chruszczewski, 2003, pp. 17–19):

- S** a marker relating to **situationality**. The marker identifies the context in which the address was delivered. The speaker makes reference to the time, place and social actors of the scene.
- E_m** a marker relating to **emotions**. It refers to those sections of the speech that play on the receivers' emotions. Their use is intended not only to convey the speaker's emotional state but also to rise emotional states of the listeners and carry them in the desired direction.
- R₁** a marker referring to **recent history**. Indications to very recent events, usually related to political affairs, are made by the speaker.
- R₂** a marker relating to **remote history**. The speaker refers to distant past, frequently important historical events, milestones in the country's history.
- K** a marker relating to **general knowledge**. The marker is used when reference to the areas of knowledge regarded as common and shared by the speaker and the receivers is made.
- I** a marker referring to **intertextuality**. The marker identifies the speaker's reference to intertextual elements within the address.
- J** a marker referring to **juxtaposition**. The speaker uses opposing elements within one argument to contrast different ideas in order to make an impact on the recipients.
- P** a marker referring to the **speaker's policy**. It is related to the speaker's view on the development of forthcoming events. The speaker voices his plans regarding future actions.

Because of the specific pre-war context of the document under investigation, there is a need to apply additional argument markers. They are as follows:

- C** a marker referring to the speaker's **conciliation efforts**. It is used to investigate to what lengths the speaker attempts to present himself as unwilling to declare war and attempting to resolve the forthcoming conflict in a peaceful manner. If the speaker decides to proceed towards war, it happens only after all possible means of maintaining peace have been exhausted and all efforts made or initiated by the speaker are regarded as futile.
- E_v** a marker used to investigate the speaker's references to **enemy as evil**. To justify war, the enemy is pictured as driven by evil forces and, consequently, has to be fought against.
- T** a marker referring to the **speaker's threats**. The speaker speaks to threaten the enemy and to show strength, determination and power.
- T_c** a marker relating to **technicality**. The marker identifies the speaker's references to pre-war preparation of troops, their organization and localization.

- U** a marker relating to the speaker's utterances in which various aspects of **universal values** are elaborated on⁵. These are freedom, human rights, justice. The marker also indicates remarks to democracy made by the speaker.
- G** a marker relating to **guidelines**, objectives, plans, instructions expressed by the speaker.

4.5. An Overview of Woodrow Wilson's Presidency

A successful President of Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson joined the Democratic Party and soon became the Governor of New Jersey which gave him solid foundations for entering national politics. With his visionary and progressive political and economic views, he was run for presidency by Democrats in 1912 and took the office in 1913. He confirmed his opinion of being a reformist politician by implementing his ideas: lowering tariffs, introducing new federal income tax and antitrust law. In order to control banks, he established the Federal Reserve System. By being firm and consistent while governing the country, Wilson kept strengthening his position within the Democratic Party. As the President of the US, he became the real leader of his party and the real leader of the complicated Washington politics. With the outbreak of World War I, Wilson persisted on a policy of neutrality of the US in relations with the Allied Powers and the Central Powers, which was not difficult to maintain as, at that time, it was preferred by all Americans. Keeping away from European conflicts was one of the principles to which American governments consorted. The attitude of neutrality was strengthened by the fact that at least a third of the American society were immigrants or the children of immigrants with the largest group of German-Americans. This led American politicians to sustained efforts to keep the US neutral. In the presidential election of 1916, Democrats supported Wilson with a slogan "He kept us out of war," which allowed him to defeat his opponent and keep the post for the second term. Starting with 1915, relations with both fighting parties became more complicated and American neutrality entangled Wilson in an uneasy relationship with Germany on one side, and Britain on the other. Introducing the use of submarines in warfare by the Germans and their treatment of neutral and belligerent vessels at open international waters led to outbursts of American anger. Throughout this period, Wilson worked hard to maintain neutral stability and keep America distant from war. However, warfare activities of both the Allied Powers and the Central Powers, the atrocities of war and the number of deaths, led to the evolution of Wilson's approach to the problematic of maintaining American neutrality. In the president's view, the only way to secure long lasting peace was to achieve "peace without victory" (Jones, 1983, pp. 412–414, 420). Such peace would be maintained through an international organization. This would lead Wilson to his efforts to create such an independent body. He succeeded in 1920 when, as a result of peace talks, the League of Nations was established. However, before that could materialize, it was April 2,

⁵ For more on American values in presidential speeches see: Włodarek, L. (2010). George W. Bush's War on Terror from a Political Discourse Perspective. *Styles of Communication*, 2, 140–175.

1917 when President Woodrow Wilson decided that the war activities became too obtrusive to American citizens and that American neutrality was no longer respected. This led him to decide that the USA neglect American policy of neutrality and enter the war.

5. The Analysis of Woodrow Wilson's Address

Only five American presidential messages led to formally declared wars. President Woodrow Wilson's request for war was one of the aforementioned addresses⁶. It is analysed in the context of the other four presidential messages delivered before the remaining four formally declared wars. These are in chronological order: James Madison's⁷, James K. Polk's⁸, William McKinley's⁹ and Franklin D. Roosevelt's¹⁰ messages issued before the war with Great Britain in 1812, the war with Mexico in 1846, the war with Spain in 1898 and World War II respectively.

5.1. The Readability of Wilson's Address

Assessing readability of the recipient is an important aspect to consider when preparing a political speech. To deliver an effective speech the speaker has to write it up in such a manner that it is understood by the hearer. For the sake of precision the whole text of the address was tested. The other four presidential messages issued by J. Madison, J. K. Polk, W. McKinley and F. D. Roosevelt were also tested for comparison. *Table 2* presents the results of the tests. To put the presidential speeches in a wider context, readability test results of congressional declarations of war¹¹ and presidential

⁶ Woodrow Wilson, Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany (April 2, 1917). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <http://millercenter.org/president/wilson/speeches/speech-4722>

⁷ James Madison, Special Message to Congress on the Foreign Policy Crisis—War Message (June 1, 1812). Retrieved October 12, 2016, from <http://millercenter.org/president/madison/speeches/speech-3614>

⁸ James K. Polk, War Message to Congress (May 11, 1846). Retrieved October 12, 2016, from <http://millercenter.org/president/polk/speeches/war-message-to-congress>

⁹ William McKinley, Message Regarding Cuban Civil War (April 11, 1898). Retrieved October 12, 2016, from <http://millercenter.org/president/mckinley/speeches/message-regarding-cuban-civil-war>

¹⁰ Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War (December 8, 1941). Retrieved October 12, 2016, from <http://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/speeches/speech-3324>

¹¹ United States Congress. An Act Declaring War Between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dependencies Thereof and the United States of America and Their Territories (June 18, 1812). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/1812-01.asp

United States Congress. An Act providing for the Prosecution of the existing War between the United States and the Republic of Mexico (May 13, 1846). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/29th-congress/session-1/c29s1ch16.pdf>

United States Congress. Declaration of War with Spain (April 25, 1898). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/image/HR10086_Spanish-American-War.htm

United States Congress. The Declaration of War against Germany (April 6, 1917). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://nationalcenter.org/DeclarationofWWI.html>

United States Congress. Joint Resolution Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Japan and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same. (December 8, 1941). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/77th->

proclamations¹² that followed are also included.

| Conflict | Presidential messages/requests for war | Congressional declarations of war | Presidential proclamations |
|----------------------|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| War of 1812 | 23.99 | 60.49 | 20.91 |
| Mexican War | 18.86 | 17.05 | 16.00 |
| Spanish-American War | 18.04 | 11.46 | 19.04 |
| World War I | 17.42 | 19.62 | 21.27 |
| World War II | 14.03 | 19.97 | 11.56 |

Table 2. Readability of the selected presidential addresses and messages

As it can be seen, Madison's message exceeded the 23 factor of the index and can be regarded as very difficult to understand. Both, Polk's and McKinley's messages received value around the 18 factor, which recognizes language as very difficult to understand. The speech delivered by Wilson is placed little below the 18 factor, but still requires university education in order to be understood by the receiver. Only Roosevelt's message is positioned at the lower end of scale. Factor 14.03 suggests that it was still a rather difficult language, although as the table clearly shows, this message was the easiest to understand. It is observable that over the century the Gunning Fog Index factor of the presidential messages moved steadily down the scale. Quite evidently, the readability of the texts increased. One of the reasons for the increase in understandability of the texts might have been the fact that the oldest messages were addressed to a very narrow group of recipients – members of the Congress, a rather educated strata of American society, with a very little possibility of reaching wider audience due to very limited means of communication at the time, as Carey observes (1983, pp. 303–325)¹³. The first telegram in the United States was sent by Morse in 1838, and it took six years before the first message was sent from the Capital in Washington in 1844. Although commercial telegraphy spread fairly quickly, it took another decade to build connections with the

congress/session-1/c77s1ch561.pdf

¹² James Madison, Proclamation of a State of War with Great Britain (June 19, 1812). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/june-19-1812-proclamation-state-war-great-britain>
James K. Polk, Announcement of War with Mexico (May 13, 1846). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/may-13-1846-announcement-war-mexico>
William McKinley, Proclamation Calling for Military Volunteers (April 23, 1898). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/april-23-1898-proclamation-calling-military-volunteers>
Woodrow Wilson, Proclamation 1364 (April 6, 1917). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/april-6-1917-proclamation-1364>

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Fireside Chat 19: On the War with Japan (December 9, 1941). Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-9-1941-fireside-chat-19-war-japan>

¹³ Carey, J. W. ([1983] Published online: July 1, 2009). Technology and Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph. *Prospects*, 8, 303–325. Retrieved December 28, 2016, from DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0361233300003793>

major metropolitan centres on the east coast. To reach the west coast the telegraph required another 17 years. Carey (1989, p. 210) remarks in his *Communication as Culture* that before the invention of the telegraph, information was limited to a human travelling on a horse. As the telegraph allowed communication to become separated from transportation, it revolutionized economy and society and, it may be concluded, affected readability of the scrutinized texts.

5.2. The Typology of Arguments in Wilson's Address

In order to identify the semantic content the whole presidential message was divided into 71 arguments. They do not match the original paragraphs of the text. Instead, they relate to a single and logical thought of the speaker. Each argument was matched with an appropriate marker or a number of markers. As a result, the following model of the development of arguments unfolded:

1. E_m/S (emotional attitude/situationality) 2. S/R_1 (situationality/recent history) 3. $E_m/S/R_1$ (emotional attitude/situationality/recent history) 4. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 5. $E_m/E_v/S/$ (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/situationality) 6. E_v/S (enemy as evil/ situationality) 7. $E_v/E_m/R_1/U$ (enemy as evil/emotional attitude/recent history/universal values) 8. E_m/R_1 (emotional attitude/recent history) 9. $E_m/E_v/U$ (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/universal values) 10. $E_m/S/R_1$ (emotional attitude /situationality/recent history) 11. E_m/J (emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements) 12. E_m (emotional attitude) 13. E_m/S (emotional attitude/situationality) 14. G (speaker's guidelines) 15. $G/E_m/U$ (speaker's guidelines /emotional attitude/universal values) 16. $R_1/E_m/U$ (recent history/emotional attitude/universal values) 17. $E_v/S/T_c/G$ (enemy as evil/situationality/technicality/speaker's guidelines) 18. $K/G/T/$ (general knowledge /speaker's guidelines/speaker's threats) 19. $E_m/S/K$ (emotional attitude /situationality /general knowledge) 20. E_m/S (emotional attitude/situationality) 21. G/S (speaker's guidelines/situationality) 22. $P/E_m/G$ (speaker's policy/emotional attitude /speaker's guidelines) 23. E_m (emotional attitude) 24. $E_m/P/S/R_1/G$ (emotional attitude/ speaker's policy/situationality/recent history/speaker's guidelines) 25. K/G (general knowledge /speaker's guidelines) 26. G (speaker's guidelines) 27. G (speaker's guidelines) 28. T_c/G (technicality/speaker's guidelines) 29. T_c/G (technicality/speaker's guidelines) 30. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 31. G/T_c (speaker's guidelines /technicality) 32. P (speaker's policy) 33. E_m (emotional attitude) 34. E_m (emotional attitude) 35. E_m/S (emotional attitude/situationality) 36. R_1/P (recent history/speaker's policy) 37. P/U (speaker's policy/universal values) 38. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values) 39. G (speaker's guidelines) 40. $E_m/S/R_1$ (emotional attitude/situationality/recent history) 41. $E_m/R_1/R_2$ (emotional attitude/recent history /remote history) 42. E_v/E_m (enemy as evil/emotional attitude) 43. E_v/J (enemy as evil/juxtaposed elements) 44. E_m (emotional attitude) 45. $E_m/J/G$ (emotional attitude/juxtaposed elements/speaker's guidelines) 46. E_m/J (emotional attitude/ juxtaposed elements) 47. E_m/S (emotional attitude/situationality) 48. E_m (emotional attitude) 49. S/J (situationality/juxtaposed

elements) 50. $E_v/E_m/S$ (enemy as evil/ emotional attitude/situationality) 51. $E_v/K/S$ (enemy as evil/general knowledge/situationality) 52. E_v/J (enemy as evil/juxtaposed elements) 53. $K/S/R_1$ (general knowledge/situationality /recent history) 54. E_m (emotional attitude) 55. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 56. $K/E_m/U$ (general knowledge/emotional attitude/universal values) 57. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values) 58. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values) 59. $E_m/U/G$ (emotional attitude/universal values/speaker's guidelines) 60. E_m/P (emotional attitude/ speaker's policy) 61. S (situationality) 62. $S/T_c/P$ (situationality/technicality/speaker's policy) 63. S/U (situationality/universal values) 64. $E_m/E_v/J/G$ (emotional attitude/enemy as evil/ juxtaposed elements/speaker's guidelines) 65. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 66. G/J (speaker's guidelines/juxtaposed elements) 67. E_m/G (emotional attitude/speaker's guidelines) 68. P (speaker's policy) 69. $E_m/P/G$ (emotional attitude /speaker's policy/ speaker's guidelines) 70. $E_m/P/G$ (emotional attitude/speaker's policy /speaker's guidelines) 71. E_m/U (emotional attitude/universal values)

The data obtained from the model of the development of arguments allows to establish a clear layout of arguments in relation to the number of elements (*Table 3.*).

| Type of argument | Number of arguments applied in the address |
|------------------------|--|
| One-element argument | 14 |
| Two-element argument | 33 |
| Three-element argument | 20 |
| Four-element argument | 3 |
| Five-element argument | 1 |

Table 3. The number of arguments applied in the presidential address

As can be observed, two-element arguments are most frequently applied in the speech and form a significant part of the body of the text. There are 33 of those out of the total number of 71 arguments in the presidential address. The second most frequently used is a three-element argument. Being more complex than two-element argument, it is however not as complicated as arguments with higher number of elements which, as can be seen, were clearly avoided by the President. One-element argument was applied fourteen times, which resulted in the text being not too difficult to understand for an educated member of Congress. Four-element argument was applied only three times while only one five-element argument was used throughout the speech. *Figure 1.* offers a visual presentation of the structure of the presidential address in relation to the number of elements within individual arguments.

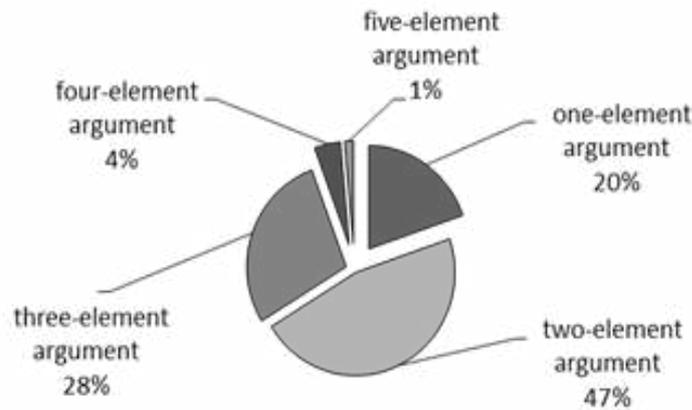


Figure 1. Visual presentation of the structure of the presidential address

A large section of the presidential address, written using two-element arguments, allowed the speech to be clear and, as the results of the Gunning Fog Index suggest, appropriately understood by the educated congressmen. The marginal use of four-element arguments and the single use of a five-element argument clearly indicates the speaker's will to avoid complex utterances which could be regarded as complicated and could lead the recipients to misunderstanding and improper interpretation of the speaker's message. The issue, which was a matter whether the country would go to war or not, was too serious to allow any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the address. Having based his war message on two-element argument, three-element argument and one-element argument structure, the President produced a speech that was adequately received by the Congress. Wilson's choice of arguments and their structure allowed him to present the issue in such a manner that it was clear to the listeners and allowed the president to achieve his goal.

5.3. The Quantitative Structure of Arguments

The numbers of applied markers have been calculated and presented in *Figure 2*. The emotional attitude marker outnumbers all the other markers. Its number of 45 equalizes with the sum of the second and the third most frequently used markers which are the speaker's guidelines marker and situationality marker respectively. These three arguments constitute the main body of the text comprising 91 elements out of the total number of 157 elements. The 91 elements constitute 58% of the total number of arguments. Universal values (U), remote history (R₁) and enemy as evil (Ev) markers provide 23% of the arguments in the speech.

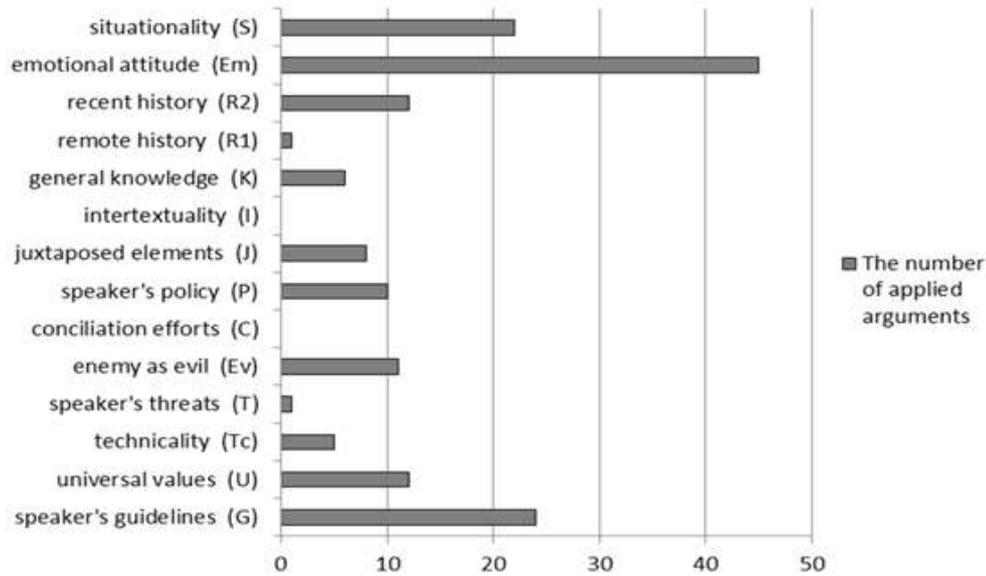


Figure 2. The numbers of applied markers

Surprisingly, the intertextuality marker and the conciliation efforts marker are non-existent in the presidential address. In contrast with Wilson's war message, Roosevelt expressed American conciliation efforts very explicitly in his Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War, which he delivered on December 8, 1941:

The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. [...] the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

President Wilson chose a different approach. Although he had highlighted the American will to remain neutral in what had been regarded as mainly an overseas European conflict, he did not build his speech on conciliation efforts arguments. No efforts of the American government to prevent the participation in the conflict are mentioned. The exact numbers of individual elements establishing the model of argument development are shown in *Table 4*.

| Marker | Number of elements |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| emotional attitude (Em) | 45 |
| speaker's guidelines (G) | 24 |
| situationality (S) | 22 |
| universal values (U) | 12 |
| recent history (R1) | 12 |
| enemy as evil (Ev) | 11 |
| speaker's policy (P) | 10 |
| juxtaposed elements (J) | 8 |
| general knowledge (K) | 6 |
| technicality (Tc) | 5 |
| speaker's threats (T) | 1 |
| remote history (R2) | 1 |
| conciliation efforts (C) | 0 |
| intertextuality (I) | 0 |

Table 4. The model of argument development

The layout of the number of individual markers clearly illustrates the structure of the presidential war message. As can be seen, the text is based on the following model of the development of arguments: $E_m/G/S/U/R_1/E_v/P/J/K/T_c/T/R_2$ (emotional attitude /guidelines /situationality/universal values/recent history/enemy as evil/speaker's policy/juxtaposed elements/general knowledge/technicality/speaker's threats/remote history). *Figure 3.* provides a visual presentation of the model of argument development of Woodrow Wilson's address:

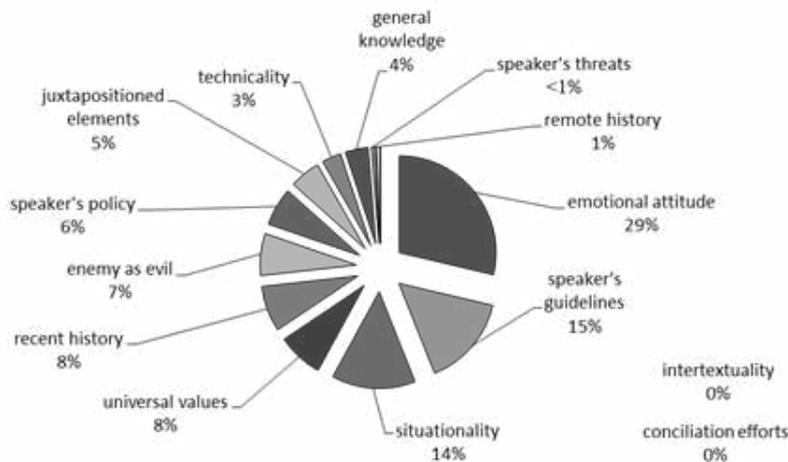


Figure 3. Visual presentation of the model of argument development

As can be noticed, the emotional attitude marker (E_m) is the dominant one – it shows that almost 30% of all the arguments used in the presidential speech related to emotions. President Wilson chose arguments according to the situation. Aristotle's persuasive audience appeals which are *logos*, *pathos*, *ethos* and *kairos*, were appropriately employed throughout the speech. *Logos*, which represents an appeal to the emotions of the recipients of the message, and elicits feelings of the recipients served as the base for the argument structure. The speaker's appeal to the feelings of the listeners was meant to be effective. Without doubt the President did not allow himself to rely on emotions exclusively. Building the desired emotional attitude of the audience was strengthened by the use of two other relevant types of arguments. The speaker's guidelines marker (G) illustrates the frequency with which President Wilson gave advice or expressed his stance as president, regarding the development of the forthcoming war events. The arguments made up 15% of the whole number of arguments in the speech. The situationality marker (S) illustrates the number of references to geopolitical situation – in particular the activities of the German marine forces, which in Wilson's view, inevitably led the US towards the war. The argument makes up 14% of the total number of arguments and is one of the three main components of the speech. Wilson's reliance on emotions allowed the President to build the atmosphere that would lead the recipients of the message to the expected decisions. References to the situation, which in Wilson's view drew America into war, whether willingly or unwillingly, and his strong statements related to the predicted development of events allowed him to build the picture of a strong politician and leader knowing what political measures to undertake in order to secure the victory over the enemy.

5.4. Discursive and Sociocultural Aspects of the Address

When delivering a speech the speaker establishes his identity and relation towards the recipients. It is performed with the use of a number of tools such as wording, metaphors or grammar structures. The use of emphasis allows the speaker to highlight some aspects of the speech, and to hide some other, unwanted elements. At the discursive level, or dimension as Fairclough names it, researchers look at discourse as discursive practice. At this stage of analysis power relations are taken under scrutiny. At the sociocultural level, discourse is seen as social practice. This is where ideology and hegemony are established. Using the power of his post, Wilson, as one of the great actors on the scene of pre-war events, could shape and did shape social relations. The arguments that he used in his address were strong and would not leave room for hesitation:

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

What Wilson required was arguments that showed the head of state as a strong, confident and determined politician. Using appropriate rhetorical devices Wilson pictured himself as a firm leader, the one who was in control of the situation, the one whom the American people could and should trust, and the one who was bound to lead the country to victory once the US entered the warfare:

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

The manner in which the President outlined the forthcoming events did not leave room for speculating or expressing any doubts. The recipients received a very clear message of what was to be expected and how it would be dealt with:

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action [...]. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war [...]. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, [...], and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed [...]. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government [...].

By the use of anaphora, Wilson achieved the desired result, establishing his hegemony over the recipients of the message. Having repeated the “It will involve” phrase, the President created an impression of being a firm, decisive politician in control of the situation. He understood the problem he was addressing, and the American people could trust him entirely. He also knew what would happen as a result of the acceptance of the Presidential address by the Congress. He had coined a plan and, above all, as the head of state, he had already made decisions that required only formal acceptance.

Considering the dynamics of Wilson’s speech and the relation between the language used and social aspects of life, it may be observed that the presidential address confirms the position of the President as the strongest player on the arena of American politics. However, he needed to bear in mind American society’s resentment towards war that prevailed in the country in the early years of the European conflict. By the appropriate use of linguistic devices, the use of emotions, Wilson confirmed his hegemony addressing the problem of possible quandaries of American citizens of German descent and their reluctant attitude towards the possible involvement of the US in the

European conflict. In the speech the President demonstrates his power: “If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.” The choice of lexis establishes the President’s position as the most powerful person in the country. Disloyalty, opposing view, criticism are not expected by Wilson. The warning clearly specifies what opponents of the Presidential undertaking must expect. Introducing the country to war required a strong leadership. The linguistic content of the speech delivers the picture of a strong, determined Chief Executive of the state. The speech does not allow for a dispute and confirms the power and hegemony of the President, leaving the citizens of the country with very little to comment on.

6. Conclusions

The results of the research demonstrate that Wilson’s speech was very emotional with many situational and instructional references. The president used appropriate rhetorical tools to deliver what the audience required: the description of the geopolitical situation which, as pictured by Wilson, made war unavoidable; the rise of emotions, which was necessary for convincing the recipients to make the history changing decision of declaring war; the very clear reference to Wilson’s future actions, which allowed the audience to remain confident that the Presidential undertakings would lead America to victory. President Wilson’s discourse aimed at creating a picture of a strong, determined and visionary leader of the nation. The speech itself once again proved the importance of rhetoric in political discourse as President Woodrow Wilson is regarded by historians as one of the presidents who left a significant imprint in American history. Being criticized by many for drawing America into the distant European conflict (Jones, 1983, pp. 429–431), by others he is seen as a Peacemaker with his concept and, finally, realization of the League of Nations:

America is the only nation since the Crusades to fight other peoples' battles at her own gigantic loss. We may be proud of that Crusade even if it did fail to bring peace to mankind. Woodrow Wilson, however, did spread lasting ideals over the world. (Hoover, 1958, pp. viii–ix)

The analyzed speech clearly demonstrates that President Woodrow Wilson was a powerful speaker possessing adequate rhetorical skills. He was undeniably one of those politicians who shaped the modern “rhetorical” presidency in the USA.

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Appendix: Woodrow Wilson's address divided into arguments

Gentlemen of the Congress:

1. I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.
2. On the 3rd of February last, I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German government that on and after the 1st day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean.
3. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats.
4. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.
5. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents.
6. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.
7. I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world.
8. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.
9. This minimum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.
10. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate.
11. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be.
12. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations.

13. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of; but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind.

14. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation.

15. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

16. When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last, I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence.

17. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea.

18. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

19. The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend.

20. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be.

21. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

22. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated.

23. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

24. With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps, not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

25. What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs.

26. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.
27. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.
28. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.
29. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed.
30. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.
31. In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished, we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty-for it will be a very practical duty-of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.
32. I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned.
33. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.
34. While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are.
35. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them.
36. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22nd of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3rd of February and on the 26th of February.
37. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles.
38. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people.
39. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual

citizens of civilized states.

40. We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

41. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools.

42. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions.

43. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

44. A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations.

45. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart.

46. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

47. Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia?

48. Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life.

49. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

50. One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce.

51. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial government accredited to the government of the United States.

52. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them, we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were) but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing.

53. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

54. We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world.

55. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power.

56. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

57. The world must be made safe for democracy.

58. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.

59. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

60. Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

61. I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor.

62. The Austro-Hungarian government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna.

63. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

64. It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

65. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us-however

hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts.

66. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship-exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test.

67. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose.

68. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

69. It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us.

70. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

71. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

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