

**Społeczeństwo – kultura – język**  
**W stronę interakcyjnej architektury komunikacji**



Scripta de Communicatione Posnaniensi  
Seria: Prace Naukowe Katedry Ekokomunikacji UAM

**Tom I**

**Społeczeństwo – kultura – język**  
**W stronę interakcyjnej architektury komunikacji**

Redaktor:  
Stanisław Puppel  
Asystent redaktora:  
Elwira Wilczyńska

Poznań 2007

© Katedra Ekokomunikacji UAM, Poznań 2007

Projekt logo: Wojciech Puppel

ISBN 978-83-926289-0-3

Wydanie I. Nakład 200 egz. Ark. wyd. 12,50. Ark. druk. 10,25.

ZAKŁAD GRAFICZNY UAM  
POZNAŃ, UL. WIENIAWSKIEGO 1

## **Spis treści**

---

Wstęp .....	7
MARTA GRZEŠKOWIAK	
Why do people laugh? Communicative and cultural aspects of humour appreciation and production .....	9
MAJA HREHOROWICZ	
The concept of 'organizational culture' in communication studies .....	29
KINGA KOWALEWSKA	
The attitude towards and the reception of TV commercials – a cross-generational perspective: research results analysis .....	49
JOANNA PUPPEL	
Wpływ dystansu międzyosobowego na użycie zasobów językowych w komunikacji bezpośredniej: badanie wstępne .....	65
STANISŁAW PUPPEL	
Interlingwalizm czy translingwalizm? Interkomunikacja czy transkomunikacja? Uwagi w kontekście współistnienia języków naturalnych w ramach globalnej wspólnoty kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej .....	79
ANNA SZCZEPANIĄK-KOZAK	
Próba sprofilowania kultury polskiej na podstawie badania opartego na metodzie wolnych skojarzeń .....	95
EMILIA WĄSIKIEWICZ-FIRLEJ	
The concept of 'culture' in communication studies .....	115
MARTA ZAWACKA-NAJGĘBURSKA	
Imitation and communication: a developmental perspective .....	147



## **Wstęp**

---

Studia nad komunikacją, w tym nad komunikacją międzyludzką, stanowią dzisiaj niezbywalny i bardzo ważny odcinek działalności naukowej prowadzonej w obrębie antropologii i szeroko rozumianego jazykoznawstwa stosowanego. Można także powiedzieć, że badania obejmujące różne aspekty komunikacji międzyludzkiej odpowiadają rosnącej roli komunikacji jako złożonego i zróżnicowanego procesu oddziaływanego ludzi na siebie za pomocą dwóch głównych modalności – modalności słuchowo-wokalnej i modalności wzrokowo-dotykowej – oraz wszelkich środków, w tym także o charakterze technologicznym, szeroko dostępnych i wypracowanych przez człowieka w ich obrębie. Zatem studia nad komunikacją, coraz pełniej i coraz wnikliwiej poddając analizie całą gamę środków ekspresji modalnej i międzymodalnej, od monologu i dialogu do różnorakich form ekspresji graficzno-wizualnej, tak mocno obecnej w dzisiejszym środowisku komunikacyjnym człowieka, w skali zarówno poszczególnych (mniejszych lub większych) wspólnot kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnych jak i w skali całego globu, rysują coraz wyraźniej komunikacyjny ekosystem człowieka. Czy tego chcemy czy nie, jesteśmy wszyscy niejako skazani – zarówno w sensie pozytywnym jak i negatywnym – na nieustanne przebywanie w tym ekosystemie, zatem także na nieustanną komunikację, czy to poprzez własny udział w różnorakich wydarzeniach komunikacyjnych po stronie nadawców i odbiorców komunikatów w naturalnych diadach komunikacyjnych, czy też głównie w charakterze odbiorców zróżnicowanych strukturalnie i zasobowo komunikatów wysyłanych do nas przez nie mniej zróżnicowane środowisko zewnętrzne jako część nieustannie zmieniającego się kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnego ekosystemu człowieka.

Przedstawiany uwadze Czytelnika tom studiów omawia różne zagadnienia związane z tak zarysowanym pojęciem komunikacji, zawierającym się w takich głównych działach jak 'język i środowisko', 'komunikacja nieverbalna', 'język - komunikacja - kultura', 'język - komunikacja - media', 'komunikacja zawodowa', czy wreszcie 'ontogeneza w rozwoju języka i komunikacji'. Przedstawiane tutaj prace stanowią elementy badań prowadzo-

nnych przez pracowników i doktorantów Katedry Ekokomunikacji UAM, jednostki naukowo-dydaktycznej, której celem jest prowadzenie badań nad wszelkimi przejawami komunikacji zarówno w szeroko rozumianym kontekście środowiska ludzkiego jak i w węższym kontekście środowiska komunikacyjnego. Kontekst ten niesie z sobą określone napięcia ekologiczne w codziennej praktyce komunikacyjnej, bowiem wytworzone przez człowieka w długim toku jego komunikacyjnego trwania podstawowe nisze komunikacyjne, a więc takie jak: nisza komunikacji codziennej i kultury ogólnej, nisza komunikacji zawodowej i nisza obywatelska, w sposób całkiem zrozumiałym o nieproporcjonalnych względem siebie zasięgach populacyjnych i zasobach językowo-komunikacyjnych, wnoszą – każda z osobna – swój istotny wkład do ogólnego stanu wewnętrznej tężyzny każdego języka naturalnego jak też i współdefiniującą kompetencję kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjną każdego z ludzi jako aktywnych komunikatorów.

Z pewnością wieloczynnikowe zagadnienie siły danego języka naturalnego zajmuje ważne (jeśli nie wręcz centralne) miejsce w nasilającym się coraz bardziej procesie kontaktów kulturowo-językowych, a więc wzajemnym oddziaływaniu na siebie różnych wspólnot kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnych, przenikaniu się kultur i języków, dużych i małych, silnych i słabych. W konsekwencji jesteśmy świadkami i uczestnikami zarazem procesu narastania globalnej świadomości odnośnie tworzenia się ogólnoswiatowego ‘rankingu’ zachowanych przy życiu języków naturalnych w obrębie nadzędnej kategorii ekologicznej ‘przeżywalności’ tychże języków, a także w odniesieniu do zagadnienia przeżywalności określonych wspólnot kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnych z jednaczesnym ustalaniem się preferowanych przez ludzkość sposobów porozumiewania się (np. za pomocą hybrydowych systemów komunikacyjnych słuchowo-wokalno-dotykowo-wzrokowych) w różnych zmiennych układach komunikacyjnych.

Publikacja obejmuje prace przedstawione przez ich autorów na posiedzeniach naukowych Katedry Ekokomunikacji UAM w ramach stałego cyklu posiedzeń, *Colloquia Communii Studiorum*, i jest tomem przygotowanym z okazji pięciolecia istnienia Katedry.

*Communicamus ergo sumus!*

*Stanisław Puppel*

# **Why do people laugh? Communicative and cultural aspects of humour appreciation and production**

---

MARTA GRZEŚKOWIAK

## **1. Introduction**

The phenomenon of humour has been facing unchangeable interest among scholars. This intense attention given to the phenomenon has indicated the need to focus on a variety of aspects related to this issue. Humour is an important part of people's life, as it serves important communicative functions. Being an integral part of social interactions, humour has been studied from various perspectives ranging from a clearly structural point of view through cognitive to communicative aspects. All the approaches have made their significant contributions to the proper analysis of the phenomenon and are the source of new conclusions. Cognitive issues related to humour have been undergoing continuous study, as they are the most difficult to describe and explain. However, just as they are important, crucial are also the communicative functions of humour. They can be approached from various perspectives. In the present paper, cross-cultural communication and the specificity of group interactions are in focus.

Discussions of humour are often presented on the basis of experimental research. This allows one to verify existing theories and find new areas of study. Therefore, the present debate also in part refers to the experiment whose purpose was an examination of the differences in the demonstration of the sense of humour between the Poles and the English. It was conducted for the needs of the Master's thesis (see Grześkowiak 2005).

Humour never appears in isolation, that is, for the phenomenon to take place, there should be a sender, a receiver, and some communication environment. The latter ought to be given special attention, since with regard to changeable environment, humour appreciation and production (i.e. application) can also undergo changes.

## 2. Communication environment: the context of humour

Humour appears in various communication environments, from small one-to-one encounters between human communicating agents to large communities. Puppel (2004) has introduced the term "Communicative Competence Management", which is a crucial element of communication and can be helpful in the discussion of the role of humour. Communicative Competence can be referred to as a combination of "linguistic communicative competence", "non-linguistic communicative competence" and a set of three conditions: "Con1", "Con2" and "Con3". Puppel (2004: 7-8) describes the three conditions in the following way, "Con1" refers to "the communicative propensities of the linguistic communities to which" a person belongs; "Con2" refers to "the current context" in which a person happens to be; "Con3" refers to "individual characteristics". Communicative Competence Management occurs on different levels related to communication environment, and in relation to them the shape of person's communicative performance can change. The following levels are crucial for humour and communication interrelation: "the general social-cultural commitment level", "the social role (career) level" and "the technical level" (Puppel 2004). The above mentioned levels are essential to understanding the characteristic features of and the possible differences in humour production and perception among people from different ethnic-cultural communities, on international, national, and local levels. This can, for instance, include differences between Polish and English sense of humour, specificity of group joking or workplace humour.

### 2.1. SOCIAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT AND HUMOUR PERCEPTION

Humour analysis should be preceded by the establishment of the communicative environment in which the phenomenon appears. The general social-cultural commitment level of Communicative Competence Management allows to study humour in a variety of contexts, with relation to general cultural and linguistic background. In the case of differences in humour appreciation between two nations, related to the conducted experiment, participants belonged to two contexts: Polish and English. This limits the present discussion to two linguistic and cultural communities. Such an approach leads to the consideration of specificity of Polish and English humour and an appropriate recognition of the possible differences in the perception of humour by the two nations (ethno-linguistic communities). It also emphasizes the importance of the awareness of the differences and changes that may appear with an alteration in a context. Humour can also be analysed in other

settings, such as workplace or group interactions, that is, without focus on nationality. This can lead to very interesting observations, some of which will be discussed below.

In the case of the differences in the very nature of Polish and English sense of humour, general social-cultural commitment level can also touch upon the issues of socialization, stereotypes and prejudice which shape a given communicator's attitude towards environment in which s/he communicates and also form the content of humour. People often state that different nations (ethnic groups) possess different sense of humour. This assumption is very common in relation to the perception of English humour, which is said to be very peculiar. All above mentioned issues influence the context in which the participants of communicative process happen to be, their mutual attitude and understanding, hence their ability to achieve communicative goals. For the discussion of nation-specific sense of humour the notions of socialization, stereotypes and prejudices will be briefly mentioned here.

The way the concepts are formed and how people respond to them is highly influenced by the environment they live in. "Socialization", described by Brislin (1998: 112) as "the experiences in which children participate so that they eventually will become productive and responsible adults", shapes people's view of the world. Brislin (1998: 195) also mentions such important notions as stereotypes and prejudices that appear in every culture and which influence one's view of the world. They are a part of one's socialization and belong to the widely defined notion of the environment. The notions of stereotypes and prejudices are present in humour. They do not, however, have to have negative meaning. Humour makes advantage of stereotypes in order to point to some negative aspects of culture or a group. It emphasises features that are irritating, funny and peculiar to people. They are, of course, exaggerated. Simply, one needs to know that humour is based on stereotypes, if one wants to understand it. The misleading feature of stereotypes can also appear in the discussion on the differences between Polish and English sense of humour. The research conducted for the purpose of the present author's Master's thesis included jokes which were supposed to be typical. Therefore, Poles should find "typical" Polish jokes funny, whereas the English were supposed to consider "typical" English jokes funny. However, the results revealed that what was supposed to be typical, should rather be perceived as stereotypical, that is in many cases exaggerated. The fact that the Polish and English informants perceived the same jokes as funny, not funny or difficult to understand, can point to the idea that in the case of jokes, which have fixed structure, contrary to, for instance, situational humour which is very dynamic and often hard to repeat, differences are

more difficult to show. Therefore, the question which arises is whether Poles or the English, who appear in the context in which stereotypical English or Polish humour is present, can be successful communicators.

Not only is cultural background important for communication but also language. Language is especially crucial in the inter-cultural study of humour because one comes across jokes from various linguistic communities within the same national (ethnic) language. Obviously, being aware of belonging to such a community allows one to communicate successfully. Humour focuses on the aspects of language and meaning and the degree to which "meaning can be transferred from one language to another" and "to what extent meaning is language-independent" (Wierzbicka 1992: 7). It is impossible to express the same thoughts in the same way in two languages. There are differences in lexicon which point to the fact that "not everything that can be said in one language can be said (without additions and subtractions) in another, and it is not just a matter of certain things' being *easier* to say in one language than in another" (Wierzbicka 1992: 20). Moreover, not all languages possess the same words. Wierzbicka (1992: 21), however, stresses that this fact does not provide any evidence that a word does not exist at all. In the case of the existing words, however, the appearance of a word in a language shows that there is a concept and, furthermore, that it is very important in a given culture. Languages also represent cultures and words help people to describe culture-specific ideas and thoughts.

Furthermore, Chiaro (1997: 10) has stated that if humour is culture-specific, it will not be adopted and appreciated in another culture. She emphasises the importance of shared knowledge between the source of a joke and the recipient. According to her, "British humour frequently intrigues non-native speakers of English and one of the reasons for their not appreciating it to full is precisely due to a mismatch not only in language but also in shared sociocultural knowledge" (Chiaro 1997: 11). Understanding of humour also requires comprehension of all kinds of additional information that is enclosed in a language, such as cultural and sociocultural notions. This knowledge ranges from simple to very complex cultural issues and experiences, and it also involves knowledge about the world, i.e. the most general type of knowledge.

Another crucial issue concerns one's ability to realize that linguistic rules can be broken. This is possible only if one's linguistic competence is sufficient. It is necessary to appreciate minor linguistic violations which are the source for humour. Linguistic limitations can be one of the reasons for misunderstanding of foreign humour. However, the results of the experiment reported in the present article have revealed that linguistic jokes, and also culture-specific ones, have received similar responses from both Polish and

English respondents. The choice of jokes have been limited to those considered by Brzozowska (2004) and Lipniacka (2004) as typical, and this could naturally influence the obtained results. Thus focusing on 'typical jokes' does not equal considering an individual approach to humour and is simply a generalization.

Humour is based on culture-specific ideas, that is stereotypes, ways of behaviour, specific language resources, traditions and customs. To apply humour to the communication process one should be aware of the features of the context, and therefore appropriate application of humour. In the case of Polish-English encounters as well as other international interactions, the above mentioned notions should be considered. Without proper cultural knowledge one may find it difficult to understand the sense of humour of a particular nation. This can evoke misunderstandings and a very common assumption that people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, have different sense of humour. Such an assumption is related to the English humour, which is often misunderstood and perceived as very specific and outstanding. Also language, as already mentioned, plays a significant role in humour appreciation, as it is a mean of expression of a culture-specific concepts. As Puppel (2004: 9) states, "Human Communicating Agents are generally aware of a 'social-cultural immersion criterion' in the process of communication, that is, they are aware of the linguistic community of which they are a part." Therefore, people are aware of their linguistic abilities and limitations.

## **2.2. SOCIAL ROLES AND HUMOUR**

Strong affiliation to a particular linguistic community does not always allow one to process humorous content of the message and perceive it as amusing. This can be explained through a closer inspection of another level of Communicative Competence Management suggested by Puppel (2004), that is, the social role (career) level. This approach narrows larger communicative environment, in which a person functions to a specific communicative community, which distinguishes this person from people of other linguistic communities. Everyone plays a particular role and therefore develops his/her own particular code of communication. Humour can be one of the elements of such a code, adjusted to the situation, people, their cultural, professional and linguistic competence. In this context, humour can become a shared code and also a tool of the maintenance and development of the group's identity. Such a group can be created by individuals representing various professions, for example, doctors, or on the basis of nationality, that is, for instance, a group

**Table 1.** Polish and English sense of humour according to the Poles

Polish sense of humour	English sense of humour
stupid jokes about everyone but themselves	laugh at Poles
jokes about blondes, Jews, Russians, German	black humour
jokes about policemen	puns
political jokes	word plays
family relations	non-sense jokes
Polish reality	the French
absurd jokes	the Royal Family
dirty filthy jokes	absurd (Monty Python)
other people's misfortune	stupid, simple things
silly and pathetic things	jokes about Irish, Scots
gay people	authority
comedies about socialists times	situational jokes
word plays	low-class people
mothers-in-law	non-standard accents
situational jokes	weather
language jokes	ancient social system
sexual jokes	celebrities
	sex
	fools
	losers
	at themselves
	posh people

**Table 2.** Polish and English sense of humour according to the English

Polish sense of humour	English sense of humour
other people's misfortunes	other people's and their own misfortunes
jokes that represent some illogicality	absurd situations (Monty Python)
slapstick humour	word plays
political jokes	puns
sex jokes	more intellectual, sophisticated
irony	irony
dark humour	slapstick
stereotypes of Poles	sexual innuendo
foreigners – Germans, Russians	strange situations
sarcastic things	social incompetence
Mr Bean	Poles
	themselves
	art films
	old people
	the mentally ill and infirm
	football teams
	democracy
	the EU
	sarcasm

of Poles or a group of English people. In the latter example, people may share ideas particular to their culture, traditions, and therefore strengthen affiliation within the group. The significance of social role (career) level could be noticeable in the research conducted for the purpose of the author's Master's thesis (2005). Participants, divided with regard to nationality, that is, Polish and English, could be further characterised. The Polish participants were students, English majors. Overall, they presented fluent knowledge of English language and culture. The English participants, on the other hand, have stayed in Poland for a number of years, therefore they knew Polish reality, traditions and customs. Both groups of participants have developed cultural competence, which presumably affected their humour appreciation. For this reason, there was a general agreement to such features as: funniness, unfunniness, stupidity or incomprehensibility of given jokes. However, although the results obtained in the experiment pointed to the fact that it is difficult to talk about large differences in the sense of humour between various nationalities, there have appeared other interesting observations. While, in the case of jokes perception, there were not too many discrepancies, there have appeared variations in the individual opinions of the native speakers of Polish on the Polish and English sense of humour (see Table 1) and opinions of the native speakers of English on Polish and English sense of humour (see Table 2). As presented in Table 3, the Poles and the English shared very few ideas. This observation can indicate that despite developed cultural competence, due to the educational background in the case of Poles, and living in the country in the case of the English, they still differ in the so-called shared socio-cultural knowledge. It can be assumed that opinions provided by the respondents have been based on the concepts developed throughout their lives, in the process of socialization, certainly a country-specific venture.

Social role (career) level concept can also be used to refer to the specificity of group interactions and the use of humour in this context. Humour can become a shared code of a particular group of people. Fine and de Soucey (2005: 1) have introduced the notion of "joking culture". They state that overtime a group "develops known humorous themes that are returned to

**Table 3.** Polish and English sense of humour – shared opinions

Polish sense of humour	English sense of humour
other people's misfortune	word plays
political jokes	puns
stereotypes of Poles	sex
foreigners – Germans, Russians	absurd situations (Monty Python)
sexual jokes	Poles

repeatedly throughout group interaction". This leads to the creation of the so-called "idioculture", that is "a system of knowledge, beliefs, behaviors, and customs shared by members of an interacting group to which members can refer that serve as the basis of further interaction. Members recognize that they share experiences, and these experiences can be referred to with the expectation that they will be understood by other members" (Fine 1987: 125, after Fine and de Soucey 2005: 1-2). Humour developed in a group can serve various functions and it creates specific communication environment. It also refers to crucial communicative aspects. As Fine and de Soucey (2005: 2-4) state, joking is "embedded", that is, it occurs among people who know each other, not between strangers. Joking is "interactive", that is, it is a part of communication process, which involves a sender and a receiver of a message. It also involves response. Joking is also "referential", because there appear references to shared knowledge; experience and these references are understood by participants of the interaction. Joking culture is developed over time and therefore all elements and concepts which appear in humour can be characterized by means of being: "known, usable, functional, appropriate in the light of the group's status hierarchy and triggered by some collectively experienced event" (Fine 1979; after Fine and de Soucey 2005: 5).

In-group joking significantly influences the relationship within a group. It can unite members of a group and strengthen the affiliation to it. Joking can result in: "smoothing interaction, creating an interactional focus; sharing a collective identity through cohesion; separating the group through from others by drawing boundaries, and securing appropriate action by means of informal social control" (Fine and de Soucey 2005: 8). In the case of smoothing, joking helps to maintain harmonious relationships. It diminishes possible misunderstandings. Sharing is related to shared experience and knowledge and in result amusing stories, situations. As already mentioned, humour can be a shared code of communication for members of a group. Fine and de Soucey (2005: 10) emphasise that "one is truly a member of a group when one is able to joke easily with other members and able to understand and share the jokes that these others tell." Therefore, a person, who is a new member needs time to understand humour of a group. In the beginning he/she may feel excluded. Sometimes joking can be an effective device of separating the outsiders. Joking can also have securing function. By means of humour it can be verified whether a person knows the norms and regulations of a group. Hence, inappropriate behaviour can be pointed to by means of laughter and it can be expected to change. Each linguistic community can be characterized by a specific sense of humour. Whether it is a multicultural group or a group of co-workers, appropriate application of humour can significantly shape the communication process.

### **2.3. THE ROLE OF A SENDER AND A RECEIVER IN HUMOUR**

Within a given linguistic community every member can perform two roles (role does not refer to career/profession). S/he can function either as a sender or a receiver of a message, in the context of humour, a sender or a receiver of a joke. This is the so-called technical level of Communicative Competence Management. The importance of this distinction becomes apparent in the context of multicultural environment, for example, Polish-English, in which humour appears and also in any other contexts in which humour is applied.

In the Polish-English environment, the source has a particularly challenging role, when it is supposed to create a humorous message. The source can be either a Pole or the English. The challenge stems from the fact that in either case the source (sender of a joke) needs to analyse the receiver's cultural knowledge and his/her ability to decode humorous message. Such an analysis, as discussed above, does not always have to be accurate. The role of a receiver is of no less importance, as his/her response (feedback) to humour is a signal to the sender whether his/her message is successful, and also an assessment of mutual understanding and the so-called sense of humour. As already pointed out, an analysis of receiver's cultural knowledge can be challenging. Focusing on Table 1, 2, 3, it is visible that such judgments can often be faulty. In the conducted experiment, the Poles and the English agreed only in five views on Polish and English sense of humour. Therefore, it can be presumed that misunderstandings are very likely to appear.

The examination of three levels of Communicative Competence Management with relation to humour can further lead to a discussion of Semantic Script Theory of Humour and its role in the studies on differences between Polish and English sense of humour.

### **3. Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH): scripts in inter-cultural communication**

Humour appreciation is related to one's personal experience and knowledge. These on the other hand largely depend on socialization, environment by which people are surrounded. This also contributes to the differences in the so-called shared knowledge. Raskin (1985) introduced Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH), which is supposed to explain native speaker's humour competence (Attardo 1994: 186). The key notion of the theory is 'script', that is, "an organized chunk of information about something. It is a cognitive structure internalized by the speaker which provides the speaker

with information on how things are done, organized, etc." (Attardo 1994: 198). Scripts contain information about actions, behaviours, which are typical and they do not stand separately. They have to be connected in order to form "semantic network" (Attardo 1994: 202), which contains all information about speaker's environment, customs, traditions. According to Raskin (1985, after Attardo 1994: 202), all scripts are combined according to certain rules, that is to carry meaning. They can form combinations with other scripts, which allow the text to be processed. The existence of scripts plays a crucial role in the discussion of humour and communication. Scripts (knowledge people possess about the world) are developed throughout people's life. Obviously many of them overlap, because people can live in the same communicative environment. In every communicative encounter, in which humour appears, it has to be noticed that participants of the communicative process can differ in the number of scripts they share and the way they are combined. For this reason, some people may not understand humorous message or may find it offensive. Everyone contributes to every communicative encounter and shares his/her experience and knowledge with other communicators. In the conducted research the English and the Poles were to assess the funniness of presented jokes. It was assumed that they would laugh from different texts (jokes were supposed to be country-specific). It seemed that as the jokes were related to specific national issues, they could be hard to understand by different nations. However, the study had revealed that the typical English jokes were appreciated by a similar number of participants from the two nations. The experiment also showed that some of the jokes which were said to be particular for a nation, turned out not to be highly amused. This again leads to the examination of how national sense of humour can be perceived by the members of a given nation and also how they can perceive the sense of humour of people from other countries, as presented in Tables 1, 2 and Table 3.

The important factor to be considered in this discussion is that the presented opinions have been formed not on the basis of a read jokes but on personal thoughts, Tables 1, 2 and Table 3. In every communicative encounter, the participants hold certain ideas about each other. In the discussed case, ideas concerned the sense of humour of Poles and the English. The Polish-English encounters in which humour is to be adopted, require reference to the knowledge about other participants. The presented results, however, show that very few ideas overlap. Therefore, communicators, the Poles or the English, are very likely to adopt humour which will not be appreciated or understood by other communicators. The experiment has, of course, been limited to a particular group but even within a small group communicative encounters occur. In the case of wrong assumptions it may

happen that a message sent by a person in a joke may not achieve its goal, and appear at best as unnecessary, at worse as inappropriate or offensive.

Communicative encounters, which take place in multinational environment, require from its communicators knowledge about other participants, their environmental reality. People who have participated in the experiment seemed to have had good knowledge of English and cultural awareness in the case of Poles, and cultural knowledge in the case of the English participants who have lived in Poland for a few years. It seems that both groups may be estimated as possessing efficient knowledge about each other's culture, traditions and customs. However, Table 3 indicates that in the case of humour their picture of Polish and English environment varies significantly. This may also indicate that even though the scripts may not differ individually, noticeable variations may occur on the level of their combination.

A multinational encounter requires 'communicative flexibility and awareness' from participating communicators. The success of this kind of encounter depends largely on the achievement of earlier set communicative goals.

#### **4. Communicative goals – some roles of humour**

Humour and jokes are a part of the communication process. One of the general aims of a joke is to evoke in other communicators a response, or more precisely, a positive response, that is, laughter or at least a smile. This is, however, only the surface of the process in which humour can play a very important role. One of the key elements of the communication process are communicative goals which a particular communicator sets when adopting humour to his/her message. It is useful to stress the role of humour in achieving these goals and signal possible obstacles that may occur.

The use of humour in a communicative encounter is a part of a communicator's Communicative Competence Management (Puppel 2004). As Puppel (2004) suggests, communicators' performance is determined by earlier mentioned three conditions Con1, Con2, Con3, of which the second, Con2, is to be mentioned here. Con2 (Puppel 2004) is referred to as "the current context of LU and nLU", then further described as "whether the inter-personal distance between agents involved in a given CE is a close one thus prompting the activation of a less formal communicative repertoire and use of a less formal behaviour, or a more distant one thus prompting the activation of a more formal communicative repertoire and use of a more formal behaviour".

Joke telling is highly influenced by Con2, both with regard to formality and also Gricean discourse principles, to which Puppel (2004) compares Con2. In the former case, humour should be adopted with care as, while in

informal encounters it is acceptable, on formal occasions it can badly influence the communication process if used improperly. Therefore, communicators are obliged to assess the level of formality of a communicative encounter before they decide to include humour to a given interaction.

Humour can play a crucial role in achieving earlier established or just set communicative goals. Norrick (1991: 1) states that, in general, humour is used to enrich the conversation in the following way, it should "help us break the ice, fill uncomfortable pauses, negotiate requests for favors, and build group solidarity". As Puppel (2004) suggested in Con2, a communicator has to adjust his/her communication resources in every communicative encounter to other participants and relationship between them. Humour, joking, allows one to control conversation because it is a comfortable way to learn about attitudes in communicative encounters, to strengthen relationship in a group and positively change the character of an interaction.

Hay (2000: 709) has suggested four strategies which use humour in order to achieve solidarity in a group, these are the following: sharing, highlighting similarities or capitalizing on shared experience, clarifying and maintaining boundaries, and finally teasing. In the first strategy (sharing), with the use of humour a speaker reveals personal information to the audience, which diminishes the distance and creates the feeling of trust, and therefore increases solidarity. The second tactic, known as highlighting similarities or capitalizing on shared experience, uses humour which refers to "shared ideas, shared interests" and shared experiences. This kind of humour focuses on similarities between the communicators and therefore everyone not familiar with the topics discussed and laughed at feels excluded. Humour can also help to clarify and maintain boundaries, especially of a group. Hay (2000, after Linstead 1985), states that in this case humour is used to ridicule someone, to make fun of a person who does not belong to a particular group and by this means exclude him/her from the group. These two tactics have already been mentioned in relation to "joking culture". The last strategy suggested by Hay (2000) is teasing. It does not have to have negative function. On the contrary, the use of humour "expresses rapport and reinforces solidarity". Within a group where teasing occurs, communicators "routinely tease and insult each other". There should, however, be a close and strong relationship among individuals who are members of such a group. In each of the above cases, the group develops a code, based on humour, and this code serves a specific function, that is, it is used to create solidarity and to communicate this solidarity to each other.

Therefore if one wants to implement humour successfully to his/her communication, s/he should remember about Con2 and also about the functions humour can play in interactions. This can help to achieve communicative goals and to control communicative encounters better.

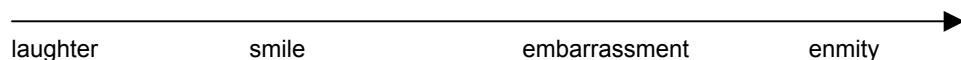
## 5. Feedback in humour appreciation

Humour (jokes) can be perceived as an element of the communication process. It can contribute to the effectiveness of transmitted messages and the achievement of the earlier set communicative goals. Humour can appear in every communicative encounter. It can be related both to linguistic and non-linguistic aspects. The former refer to the structure of a joke, the language in which it is said, while the latter can consider all the responses to humorous messages, also the knowledge and experience of the participating communicators. Responses, however, significantly influence the communication process, as they allow the sender of a message to adjust his/her message to the receiver and environment in which communication occurs.

The notion of humour brings into mind mainly positive associations. One should remember, however, that it can evoke both positive and negative responses, and that the kind of response is highly dependent on the type of humour, relationship between people who communicate, and the surrounding.

Ruch (1996: 378) has distinguished between the following negative reactions to humour: indignation and feeling that it is offensive. In this case, both the perceived humorous event and the perceiver's emotional state are highly influenced. Humour may evoke anger, disgust or contempt. Ruch (1996) also mentions that there may occur the feeling of boredom due to oversimplification or repetitiveness of humour stimuli. This state of emotions is related to intellectual satisfaction, as one may get bored if s/he is not intellectually involved in humorous situation.

People most often associate humour with laughter. It is not unwarranted opinion, for laughter is the most visible and audible behaviour. Some responses can be very subtle, almost unnoticeable, while others cannot pass without attention. Responses which accompany humour can range from positive to negative ones, as presented in Figure 1:



**Fig. 1.** Responses to humour

Only a brief characteristic of each of them will be given below, as they are not the main focus of this discussion.

Laughter and smile are the most common and visible responses to humour. However, the distinction between smile and laughter can be blurred. Smile seems to be a part of laughter, for it can be the beginning of it or it can

end the expression of laughing. Smile and laughter may, however, occur in different situations. In situations, to which people respond with a smile, laughter can be perceived as inappropriate. It does not have to take place in the opposite case.

Laughter cannot, however, serve as the only external indicator of funniness of the situation. People may appreciate humour but they do not have to laugh. Other factors (such as the internal ones), which may influence laughter, comprise the following: emotions, illness, sleepiness.

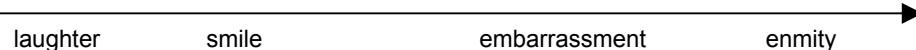
People usually think about 'laughter' and 'smile' when they are supposed to exemplify responses to humour. There are, however, also other reactions. Veatch (1998, p.c.) states that the feeling of embarrassment may negatively influence the perception of a funny situation. Embarrassment may accompany both the recipient and also the person who produces humorous situation. In the latter case, however, a person does not realize in the beginning that what he says or does is a violation from the norm – which causes funniness. Once a person realizes it, the feeling of embarrassment appears. S/he may feel confused because one does not really know whether what one does is wrong or not. Embarrassment may later change into laughter, which can diminish negative feeling.

Sometimes, despite greatest efforts, people may produce unsuccessful messages, which will not be perceived by others as funny. They can even be offensive. Veatch (1998, p.c.) states that the phrase "That's not funny!" can have two meanings – one can express "That's offensive!", while another "So, what's the point?". In the first case, one understands the joke. However, one gets annoyed because the ridiculed situation is considered as serious by him and is not a laughing matter to him. In the second case, one is not so much personally involved in the humorous situation. S/he may simply not get the joke or find it not amusing at all.

Humorous situations or jokes may also evoke the feeling of enmity when they ridicule a particular person. This person may feel offended and disrespected when others find his weaknesses, emotional states or behaviour funny. For those who laugh at others it may seem entirely acceptable because it does not touch them directly.

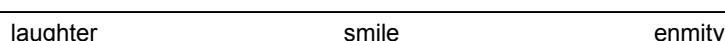
In the communication encounters in which humour appears, responses to the message are highly valued. Response or feedback "is an essential component of the communication process as it enables the sender to control the accuracy of an act of communication" (Puppel 2001: 57). Hence, laughter strengthens the affiliation, while embarrassment and enmity create boundaries and make the achievement of communicative goals more difficult. The presented responses can appear in both directions, from positive to negative and from negative to positive. In the first instance, presented in Figure 2, if,

for example, there appears a sudden change in mutual attitude, humour will be exaggerated or some additional unwelcome behaviour occurs, laughter may change into smile, and then gradually to embarrassment and even enmity.

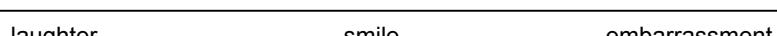


**Fig. 2.** Change in responses, from positive to negative

Responses can also gradually change from negative to positive, that is, from enmity, smile to laughter, as shown in Figure 3, or from embarrassment, gradually to smile and, finally, into laughter, as shown in Figure 4. Such situation can appear when a message, which initially evoked the feeling of enmity or embarrassment, turns out to be funny or when the feeling of confusion disappears.



**Fig. 3.** Change of responses, from negative to positive



**Fig. 4.** Change of responses, from negative to positive

## 6. Environmental factors

Human communication is constantly influenced by both external and internal factors. While the former are often visible, the latter become peculiar to each communicator. It is worth mentioning that every communicative encounter is affected by these factors. The very term 'factor' is very broad and involves a great number of issues. In the case of humour, it is related to the mood of the participants, their attitude towards each other and also, as mentioned before, to the peculiarity of the environment in which they happen to communicate. Communication factors influence responses to humour, evoking these very positive but also very negative ones, such as the feeling of enmity.

Humour appreciation is also closely related to one's physiological and psychological state of mind and body. Sometimes a funny event may not be perceived in this way because people are in bad mood or do not feel well.

According to LaFollette and Shanks (1993 p.c), there are people who are "immune to humor". They state further that "a dullard may lack the intelligence to understand humor; the unimaginative person may be incapable of appreciating humor. A dour person may be disinclined to see humor. And an individual blindly committed to his or her views may be unable to comprehend or acknowledge anything humorous about situations or events related to the focus of commitment."

Changing mood can also influence the perception and appreciation of humour. It may happen that the same beliefs may have different importance for people at different times. Mood changes one's perception of some notions. Thus, when people are in bad moods they focus predominantly on sad and unpleasant aspects of their lives. They are unlikely to change their way of thinking. Bad mood prevents people from getting the joke. It somehow limits their perception to mainly negative experiences. Humour can be influenced by mood, just as other cognitive processes, such as reading, listening, thinking or talking. Bad mood does not allow people to focus on their activities or fully participate in an event.

Application of humour in a communicative encounter is not an easy task. Sometimes it is incorporated unconsciously, on another occasion it is used on purpose. It is not, however, important because the actual response, the effect it has on the receiver or on the message, depends largely on the receiver's mood, emotions and held beliefs. Therefore, a humorous message is not always successful, does not always achieve communicative goals, sometimes because of the faults committed by the sender but also because of the occurrence of the various features which are integral to the receiver.

## 7. Conclusions

Humour is an inherent part of people's life. The study of humour encompasses a large number of domains and one can find it a fascinating field of linguistic and cultural research. This allows to describe humour from different angles and enrich one's knowledge about it. People often talk about the Polish sense of humour or the English sense of humour and their mutual misunderstanding. What to many seems to be a nation-specific sense of humour, in reality is embodied in differences in cultural, historical or even geographical background. People rarely wonder how it happens that some jokes are funny while others are totally incomprehensible. It is the role of the researchers who undertake efforts towards a description and analysis of the processes which are necessary for the understanding of humour in different cultures and across cultures. People from various national backgrounds do

not, however, differ so much in their sense of humour. In reality, they can agree to the funniness of jokes and if they disagree this is not to such an extent as one would suppose. Such a conclusion should be generally perceived as supporting the theories of communication, and the role of humour in communication in particular. Finally, it should be stated that the functions of humour can naturally differ depending on the following factors: the context in which it appears, the people who try to adopt it, the reasons for applying it, and the influence of various other environmental factors which future research may bring to the fore.

## Bibliography

- APTE, M.L. 1985. *Humor and laughter: an anthropological approach*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- ATTARDO S. AND V. RASKIN. 1991. "Script theory revis(it)ed: jokes similarity and joke representation model". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 4-3/4. 293-347.
- ATTARDO, S. 1994. *Linguistic theories of humor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- BERLYNE, D.E. 1972. "Humor and its kin". In: Goldstein J.F. and P.E. McGhee (eds). 43-60.
- BRANDRETH, G. AND J. ROGERS. 1995. *The bumper book of jokes*. London: Bounty Books.
- BRANDRETH, G. 1995. *1000 jokes: the greatest book ever known*. London: Carousel Books.
- BRISLIN, R. 1998. *Understanding culture's influence on behaviour*. Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers.
- BROWN, D.H. 1980. "Learning a second culture". [Reprinted in: Merrill, V.J. (ed.). 1990. *Culture bound: bridging the cultural gap in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 33-48].
- BRZOZOWSKA, D. 2000. "Jokes in Poland at the turn of the century". In: Gajda, S. and D. Brzozowska (eds). 117-127.
- BRZOZOWSKA, D. 2004. *O dowcipach polskich i angielskich*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.
- CHAPMAN, A.J. AND H.C. FOOT (eds). 1977. *It's a funny thing, humour: International Conference on Humour and Language*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- CHIARO, D. 1997. *The language of jokes: analysing verbal play*. London: Routledge.
- CHOMSKY, N. 1987. "Language in a psychological setting". *Sophia Linguistica* (Tokyo) 22. 1-73.
- DEWITTE S. AND T. VERGUTS. 2001. "Being funny: a selection account of humor production". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 14.1. 37-53.
- EASTHOPE, A. 2000. "The English sense of humor?". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 13.1. 39-55.
- EYSENCK, 1947, 1942. "The appreciation of humor: an experimental and theoretical study". *British Journal of Psychology* 32. 295-309.
- FINE, G.A. AND M. DE SOUCEY. 2005. "Joking cultures: humor themes as social regulation in group life". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 18.1. 1-22.
- FREUD, S. 1905. *Jokes and their relation to the unconscious*. New York: Norton.
- GAJDA, S. AND D. BRZOZOWSKA (eds). 2000. *Świat humoru*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

- GOLDSTEIN, J.F. AND P.E. MCGHEE (eds). 1972. *The psychology of humor: theoretical perspectives and empirical issues*. New York: Academic Press.
- GOLDSTEIN, J.H. 1977. "Cross-cultural research: humour here and there". In: Chapman, A.J. and H.C. Foot (eds). 167–174.
- GOLDSTEIN, J.H. AND P.E. MCGHEE (eds). 1983. *Handbook of humor research*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.
- GÖRLACH, M. 2004. *Trends in linguistics: text types and the history of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GREGORY, J.C. 1924. *The nature of laughter*. London: Kegan Paul.
- GREIG, J.Y.T. 1923. *The psychology of laughter and comedy*. New York: Dodd Mead.
- GROTJAHN, M. 1957. *Beyond laughter*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- GRZEŚKOWIAK, M. 2005. *Why do people laugh? The study of visual and verbal humour appreciation*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University.
- HAY, J. 2000. "Functions of humor in the conversations of men and women". *Journal of Pragmatics* 32. 709–742.
- HAYWORTH, D. 1928. "The social origin and function of laughter". *Psychological Review* 35. 367–385.
- KEITH-SPIEGEL, P. 1972. "Early conceptions of humor: varieties and issues". In: Goldstein, J.F. and P.E. McGhee (eds). 181–199.
- KENDERDINE, M. 1931. "Laughter in pre-school children". *Child Development* 2. 228.
- KING, J., R. RIDOUT AND D.K. SWAN. 1981/1996. *The book of British humour*. Harlow: Longman.
- KLINE, L. 1907. "The psychology of humor". *American Journal of Psychology* 18. 421–441.
- KNOTT, B. 1992. *Truly tasteless jokes VI*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- KNOX, I. 1951. "Towards a philosophy of humor". *Journal of Philosophy* 48. 541–548.
- LAFOLLETTE, H. AND N. SHANKS 1993. "Belief and the basis of humor". *American Philosophical Quarterly* 30.4. 329–39. Also available at the following address: <http://www.stpt.usf.edu/hhl/papers/belief.and.the.basis.of.humor.pdf>
- LEIBNIZ, G.W. 1903. *Opuscules et fragments inédits de Leibniz*. Hildesheim: Georg Olurs Buchhandlung.
- LEVINE, J., F.C. REDLICH AND T.A. SOHLER. 1951. "A Mirth Response Test: preliminary report on a psychodiagnostic technique utilizing dynamics of humor". *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* XXI.
- LEVINE, J. AND F.C. REDLICH. 1960. "Intellectual and emotional factors in the appreciation of humor". *Journal of General Psychology* 62. 25–35.
- LEW, R. 1996. "Exploitation of linguistic ambiguity in Polish and English jokes". *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 31. 127–133.
- LINSTEAD, S. 1985. "Jokers wild: the importance of humour in the maintenance of organizational culture". *Sociological Review* 33.4. 741–767.
- LIPNIACKA, E. 2004. *The xenophobe's guide to the Poles*. London: Oval Books.
- MAIER, N.R.F. 1932. "A Gestalt theory of humour". *British Journal of Psychology* 23. 69–74.
- MCARTHUR, T. (ed.). 1992. *The Oxford companion to the English language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MCDougall, W. 1903. "The theory of laughter". *Nature* 67. 318–319.
- MCDougall, W. 1922. "Why do we laugh?". *Scribners* 71. 359–363.
- MCDougall, W. 1923. *An outline of psychology*. London: Methuen.
- MCGHEE, P.E. 1979. *Humor: its origin and development*. San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman.
- MCCOMAS, H.C. 1923. "The origin of laughter". *Psychological Review* 30. 45–55.
- MENON, V.K. 1931. *The theory of laughter*. London: Allen and Unwin.

- MIALL, A. AND D. MILSTED. 2004. *The xenophobe's guide to the English*. London: Oval Books.
- MONRO, D.H. 1963. *Argument of laughter*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- NASH, W. 1985. *The language of humor: style and technique in comic discourse*. London: Longman.
- PERLMUTTER, D.D. 2000. "Tracing the origin of humor". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 13.4. 457–469.
- PREROST, F.J. 1979. "Environmental conditions affecting the humour response: developmental trends". In: Chapman, A.J. and H.C. Foot (eds). 439–441.
- PUPPEL, S. 2001. *A concise guide to psycholinguistics*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- PUPPEL, S. 2004. "An outline of a domain-resource-agent-access-management (DRAAM) model of human communication: towards an ecology of human communication". *Electronic Journal Oikeios Logos* 1. 1–27.
- RASKIN, V. 1985. *Semantic mechanisms of humor*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- ROBINSON, G.L.N. 1985. *Crosscultural understanding*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- RUCH, W. 1996. "Measurement approaches to the sense of humour". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 9.3/4.
- SAPIR, E. 1949. *Selected writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture and personality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- SCHEU, D.J. AND S. SÁNCHEZ. 2002. "Asymmetrical cultural assumptions, the public self and the role of the native speaker: insights for the expansion of intercultural education in foreign language teaching". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 37. 256–278.
- SCHMIDT-HIDDING, W. 1963. *Humor und Witz*. München: Hueber.
- SHIBLES, W. 2004. *Humor reference guide: a comprehensive classification and analysis*. (<http://www.facstaff.wwu.edu/shiblesw/humorbook/index.htm#begin>) (date of access: 24 March 2004).
- SPENCER, H. 1860. "The physiology of laughter". *Macmillan's Magazine* 1. 395–402.
- 103 najlepsze dowcipy. 1997. vol. 7. Warszawa: Superpress.
- SULS, J.M. 1972. "A two-stage model for the appreciation of jokes and cartoons: an information-processing analysis". In: Goldstein, J.F. and P.E. McGhee (eds). 81–110.
- SWADESH, M. 1955. "Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatics dating". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21. 121–137.
- TORR, G.R. 1995. "Funny or farcial: English comedy in Polish translation". In: Gajda, S. and D. Brzozowska (eds). 581–589.
- TRIANDIS, H., L. KUROWSKI, A. TECKIEL AND D. CHAN. 1993. "Extracting the emics of cultural diversity". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 17. 217–234.
- VALDES, J.M. (ed.). 1990. *Culture bound: bridging the cultural gap in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- VEATCH, T.C. 1998. "The theory of humor". *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 11. 161–215.
- VEGA, G. 1989. "Humor competence: the fifth component". Unpublished Master's thesis. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University.
- WALLIS, W.D. 1922. "Why do we laugh?". *Scientific Monthly* 15. 343–347.
- WHITING, D.B. 1980. "Culture and social behavior: a model for the development of social behavior". *Ethos* 8. 95–116.
- WHORF, B. 1956. *Language, thought and reality. Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.
- WIERZBICKA, A. 1992. *Semantics, culture, and cognition: universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WINTERSTEIN, A. 1934. "Contributions to the problem of humor". *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* III. 303–316.



# **The concept of 'organizational culture' in communication studies**

---

MAJA HREHOROWICZ

## **1. Introduction**

The three main objectives of the present paper are the following: to define the notion 'organizational culture', to look at some of the problems of measuring it, and to identify its value and role within an organization. However, before analyzing the concept of 'organizational culture' it is necessary to define two other terms, namely 'culture' and 'organization'.

Although there exist a multitude of definitions of the term 'organization' (or 'institution'), in this paper 'organization' (or 'institution') is primarily understood and approached as a workplace and business company in particular.

## **1.2. CULTURE**

The word 'culture' derives from Latin. Its root *colo* means 'to cultivate' and refers to patterns of human activity and the symbolic structures which make such an activity significant. There is a wide range of definitions of 'culture', all of which establish different theoretical criteria for evaluating human activity.

In 1871 Sir Edward B. Tylor, British anthropologist, wrote: "culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Tylor, 1871 I: 1). In a document published in 2002 by the United Nations agency UNESCO, culture is defined as the "set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."

Most experts agree that culture consists of three elements: values, norms and artifacts. According to the Dictionary of Modern Sociology (1969), val-

ues comprise ideas about what in life seems important. Norms consist of expectations of how people should behave in different situations and each culture has different methods of enforcing its norms. Artifacts or material culture derive from the culture's values and norms. Culture may be described as socially acquired knowledge, the knowledge that a person possessed by virtue of being a member of a particular society.

Johann Gottfried von Herder, German poet, philosopher and theologian, and Wilhelm von Humboldt were among the first researchers to argue that language determines thought. This idea later became a crucial component of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

Whorf claimed that human beings engaged in the process of thinking are at the mercy of that particular language which has become the medium of expression of a given society, because people cannot but see, hear and otherwise experience in terms of the categories and the distinctions encoded in language. A simple example corroborating this theory is provided by McCarthy (1990: 21) and concerns the semantic notion of reference to proximity and distance to the speaker. English divides the semantic space according to whether the speaker considers an object as near and immediate or as distant and remote. The lexical realization of this division is manifested by demonstrative pronouns *this* and *these* on one hand, and *that*, *those* on the other. Spanish, however, divides the semantic space differently, distinguishing between objects that are near (*este*), remote (*ese*) and not so near but not so remote (*aquel*).

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis had been criticized by researchers (e.g. Noam Chomsky) who advocated theories which focused on the universality and the innateness of language. The follower of Chomskyan approach to the phenomenon of language is Steven Pinker who in his book, *The Language Instinct* (1994), argues that thought is independent of language. He even declares that "the more you examine Whorf's arguments, the less sense they make" (1994: 60). However, Pinker does not support this statement with any evidence. Even if one were to accept that language does not determine the way human beings think, it does influence the way people perceive and remember, and affects the ease with which they perform mental tasks.

Undoubtedly, communication shapes, alters, creates and expresses cultural life. But the relationship is reciprocal, for culture has a significant impact on the way people communicate. Various cultures may perceive certain patterns of communication differently. For instance, in Western cultures maintaining eye contact indicates interest and respect of interlocutors, whereas in many Eastern cultures it is perceived as rude and disrespectful.

The inseparable connection of culture and communication has inspired a number of communication theories one of which is "organizational culture theory."

### **1.3. ORGANIZATION**

An organization can be defined as a formal group of people sharing common goals. The word itself derives from the Greek word ὄργανον (organon), meaning 'tool'. Usually organizations are studied by researchers from such disciplines as sociology, economy, political science, psychology and management, but also from communication studies. From a sociological perspective "organization" is viewed as the planned, coordinated and purposeful action of human beings who are to construct or compile a common tangible or intangible product or service. Usually, this action is constrained by formal membership and institutional rules. Since sociology analyses organizations primarily from an institutional perspective, an organization is perceived as a permanent arrangement of elements whose actions are determined by rules ensuring that a particular task is fulfilled through a system of coordinated division of labor and functions within a social context.

The structure and the internal processes of an organization constitute two main factors determining its functioning in reference to the internal and external environment. An organization is also influenced by its culture, that is, the set of values and norms determining behavior. A diversity of theories concerning organizations and the ways they function exist, several of which are briefly discussed below.

#### **1.3.1. Organization theories**

##### **1.3.1.1. Scientific management**

This classical school of management was represented by Taylor (1911), Fayol (1916) and Urwick (1947), who advocated control, order and formality as features of an organization. According to this approach, organizations should minimize the risk of maintaining unsuccessful informal relations which are impossible to control and instead allow only formal relations.

##### **1.3.1.2 Bureaucracy model**

As described by Perrow (1980), this theory is based on the assumption that organizations function like machines and thus certain concepts advocated by the classical school are applicable. That model expands upon the works by Max Weber (1964) who coined the term "bureaucracy" which referred to formal organizational pattern in which impersonality and rationality have

reached the highest level. Weber believed that bureaucracy is the most effective form of organization as it is ruled by pure logic instead of emotions and does not take into account people's problems.

#### 1.3.1.3. Human Relations Studies

The classical and bureaucratic models were questioned by Barnard (1938) who pointed to the significant role of informal organization understood as a network of informal roles and relations which influence the way formal structures function. Also Child (1977) pointed to the fact that the clear-cut division to formal and informal organizations is erroneous, as both formal and informal relations and approaches may coexist within one organization.

#### 1.3.1.4. Behavioral theory

In the 1960s, the focus of the research in organizational studies shifted towards the study of the behavior of people within organizations. Behavioral scholars, such as Argyris (1957), Herzberg (1957), McGregor (1960) and Likert (1961), adopted a humanistic point of view and investigated people's contribution to organizational life and the optimal methods of aligning the goals of the individual with those of the organization.

Thus, Argyris (1957) believed that individuals should be assured that they are in control of both setting their own goals and finding the most suitable ways of achieving them.

Herzberg (1957) suggested that improvements in designing organization should focus on position, which constitutes a source of motivation. He believed that workers would try to live up to high demands placed on them.

In turn, McGregor (1960) postulated a theory according to which it was essential to recognize the needs of both, an organization and individuals. Thus, McGregor emphasized the evaluation of those conditions which enabled reconciliation of those needs so that members of an organization could work jointly for company's success and share rewards.

Likert (1961) claimed that successful organizations function thanks to supporting relations which, if nurtured, create the sense of high self-esteem and importance.

#### 1.3.1.5. Situational approach

This theory was developed by Burns and Stalker (1961), Woodward (1965) and Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) who, after analyzing a number of organizations, argued that the structures and methods of operating stem from the

circumstances in which organizations function. They argued that there is no single optimal way of designing organizations and claimed that the simplified division into formal and informal or bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic organizations is erroneous.

### **1.3.2. Modern attempts to understand the rules of functioning of organizations**

Kotter (1995) has created a general model on the basis of which one may conduct research within organizations. His model includes:

- **key organizational processes** – such as collecting essential information, **communication**, decision making, employees' actions and machine production;
- **external environment** – subjects, such as suppliers, markets and competing companies, but also economic and political systems or legal regulations;
- **employees and property**
- **formal organizational demands** – systems designed to regulate employees' actions (and machines);
- **social system** – culture (values and norms) and relations between employees considered in terms of power, membership and trust;
- **technology** – techniques utilized by individuals in organizational processes and equipment used in organization;
- **dominant coalition** – goals, strategies, features of character of persons supervising an organization and controlling its policy.

The present research focuses on communication as well as social system.

Pascale (1990), on the other hand, believed that the new paradigm of an organization functions as follows:

- from the idea that depicts an organization as a machine placing emphasis on a particular strategy, structure and systems to the idea that presents an organization as an organism stressing style, personnel and common values;
- from hierarchical model postulating solving problems step-by-step to network model with intelligence centers dealing with problems until they are eliminated;
- from the idea that managers think and workers do what they are told to treating managers as "helpers" who delegate tasks in order to initiate changes and improvements;
- from placing emphasis on "vertical tasks" within functional units to emphasizing "horizontal tasks" and cooperation between units;

- from focusing on utilizing particular tools and techniques to concentrating on a process and holistic synthesis of techniques;
- from military model to a model based on personal engagement.

#### 1.4. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE THEORY

The 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the rise of interest in the idea of **corporate culture** distinct within the context of an employing organization or a workplace. Observing and analyzing corporate culture is a complex task. Organizational culture theory focuses on the specific settings of the workplace. It describes the role of communication in creating and sustaining customs, understanding and beliefs shared by members of organizational and institutional life (Wood, 2004). Originally, studying professions, companies and channels of communication and authority aimed at increasing productivity and making companies work more effectively. In recent years, however, another field of interest has arisen, namely, to understand how organizational life is constituted through communication (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983).

Clifford Geertz (1973), an anthropologist studying Moroccan and Indonesian cultures, exerted a great influence upon the study of organizational culture. Thanks to his works organizations started to be perceived as cultures. He believed that culture is a system of shared or common meanings. Geertz also "realized that cultures are not homogenous but honeycombed with different social groups. He claimed that cultures are ways of life that are sustained through stories, rituals, and other symbolic activities that continuously vitalize and uphold shared meanings among members." (Wood, 2004: 227).

Communication in organizations is a significant and growing research subject matter in the field of communication studies. Communication scholars have identified verbal and nonverbal skills that have a substantial impact on professional success. They have identified the influence of a number of communicational behaviors on morale, productivity and commitment in organizations (Wood, 2004). Yet it would be difficult to study communication in organizations without paying attention to organizational culture and personal relationships in professional settings. The notion 'organizational culture' refers to understandings about identity and codes of thought and action that are shared by members of a given organization (Conrad and Poole, 2002). Many communication scholars have also focused their attention on how interactions define members of organizations and construct common practices and values. They have defined a number of symbolic activities that create organizational life, such as vocabulary, stories, and rites and rituals (Anderson, 1988; Van Maanen and Barley, 1985).

### 1.4.1. Vocabulary

*Vocabulary* is defined as “language used by members of a culture, social group, or institution. The languages of particular groups reflect their experiences, values, norms, and ideology” (Wood, 2004: 336). An example can be military communication which continuously acknowledges rank (“Yes, sir,” “salute”), thus signifies that status, respect and privilege are connected with official rank (Wood, 2004).

### 1.4.2. Stories

It has been assumed by organizational theorists that human beings are storytellers and that the created stories are coherent and meaningful narratives. Michael Pacanowsky and Nick O'Donnell-Trujillo (1983) identified the following types of stories:

- **Corporate stories**, which convey the values, style and history of an organization. They reflect the collective vision of organization's members and are to socialize new employees into the culture of an organization. They also strengthen feelings of ties among members and reinforce organizational ideology.
- **Personal stories**, which are told by members of organizations and announce how they see themselves and how they want to be perceived by others.
- **Collegial stories**, which are either positive or negative and which constitute an informal network designed to teach new employees how to get along with other members of an organization.

### 1.4.3. Rites and rituals

*Rites* are dramatic, planned sets of activities that bring together aspects of cultural ideology into a single event. Harrison Trice and Janice Beyer (1984) distinguished six types of organizational rites:

- **Rites of passage** mark entry into different levels of organization and acknowledge changes in members' identities and lives.
- **Rites of integration** affirm and enhance the sense of community.
- **Rites of degradation** proclaim the organization's disapproval of particular activities or behaviors and are used in order to punish its members.
- **Rites of enhancement** are used to praise and award employees who represent the organization's self-image.

- **Renewal rites** are supposed to revitalize organizations and allow them to revise their self-image.
- **Conflict resolution rites** constitute standardized methods of solving problems and managing conflicts between members.

*Rituals* are regularly-occurring communication performances that express particular values and are perceived by an organization's members as familiar and routine elements of organizational life (Wood, 2004). Social, task and personal rituals have been distinguished within organizations. Social rituals constitute performances that affirm relationships among members of organizations. Repeated activities and procedures to follow which are supposed to help employees perform their jobs are task rituals whereas personal rituals are performances in which individuals engage in order to define themselves.

Studies of organizational culture also include personal relationships among coworkers (Zorn, 1995). As the number of hours spent at work increases, it seems natural that personal relationships between coworkers develop. It also leads to the unfolding of romantic and sexual relations between people working together. This, in consequence, makes professional life more interesting and more complicated at the same time.

Another significant issue studied by communication scholars is the problem of 'women - men' interactions in the workplace. As there occur a number of differences as to the ways men and women communicate, it is important they understand each other and do not misinterpret the received information. For instance, it has been shown that women tend to be more active as far as 'conversational maintenance' is concerned (Beck, 1988; Tannen, 1990) and that women make more 'listening noises' such as "um", "uh huh", etc. which may be interpreted by men as signs of agreement instead of indicators of interest. On the other hand, however, women tend to misinterpret lack of such noises on the men's part as not paying attention to what they say (Wood, 2004).

## 1.5. CLASSIFYING ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Summing up various definitions of corporate culture, Furnham and Gunter (1993) pointed to several features common to all definitions and approaches, namely:

- it is difficult to define and the attempts to define it are often unsuccessful;
- it is a multidimensional notion with many components on different levels;
- it is not particularly dynamic and changeable;
- a long time is needed for creating or changing corporate culture.

### **1.5.1. Geert Hofstede**

Geert Hofstede, a leading expert on the interactions between national cultures and organizational cultures, argued in his major work (1980) that an individual's culture may have several levels: (1) national; (2) regional, ethnic, religious, linguistic; (3) gender; (4) generation; (5) social class; (6) organizational. He claimed that there exist national and regional cultural groupings which influence the behavior of organizations. Hofstede conducted a comprehensive research of how values in the workplace are influenced by culture. He analyzed a large database of employee values collected in the years 1967-1973 by IBM company in over 70 countries. On the basis of his initial studies and subsequent research validating the earlier results, Hofstede identified four primary dimensions to assist in differentiating cultures: Power distance (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS) and Uncertainty avoidance (UAI). After conducting an additional study in cooperation with Chinese employees and managers, he added a fifth Dimension. That is Long-term orientation, a dimension based on Confucianism and applied to 23 countries. These dimensions are briefly characterized below.

- Power distance (PDI) - focuses on the degree of equality, or inequality, between people in the country's society. A high score suggests that there is an expectation that some individuals wield larger amounts of power and wealth than others. Such societies are more likely to follow a caste system which does not allow the upward mobility of their citizens. A low ranking indicates the belief that all people within the society should have equal rights.
- Uncertainty avoidance (UAI) - focuses on the level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity within the society. A high Uncertainty avoidance ranking suggests that a country has a low tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. Such societies tend to construct laws, rules and regulations in order to reduce the amount of uncertainty. A low score indicates the country is less concerned with ambiguity and has more tolerance for a variety of opinions and as such is less rule-oriented, more willingly accepts changes and takes greater risks.
- Individualism vs. collectivism (IDV) - focuses on the degree the society reinforces individual or collective achievement and interpersonal relationships. A high Individualism ranking indicates that individuality is paramount within the society marked by a high acceptance of looser relationships. A low Individualism index suggests that there is a desire of close bonds between individuals and high appreciation of family values.

- Masculinity vs. femininity (MAS) – focuses on the degree the society reinforces, or does not reinforce, the traditional masculine work role model of male achievement, control, and power. Male values for example include competitiveness, assertiveness, ambition, and the accumulation of wealth and material possessions. In countries with a high Masculinity index there is a high gender differentiation with male domination over women. A low Masculinity ranking indicates the country has a low level of gender discrimination where women and men have equal rights in all aspects of the society.
- Long vs. short-term orientation (LTO) – explains the extent to which a society exhibits a pragmatic future-oriented perspective rather than a conventional traditional or short-term point of view. A high Long-term orientation score indicates that a country ascribes importance to the values of long-term commitments and shows respect for tradition. That indicates a strong work ethic and expecting long-term rewards whereas a low Long-term orientation index indicates the country is not very attached to tradition and change can occur more rapidly.

Power distance in the workplace.

**Table 1.1.** Key differences between small- and large-power distance (after Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005: 59)

Small Power Distance	Large Power Distance
Hierarchy in organizations means an inequality of roles, established for convenience.	Hierarchy in organizations reflects existential inequality between higher and lower levels.
Decentralization is popular.	Centralization is popular.
There is fewer supervisory personnel.	There is more supervisory personnel.
There is a narrow salary range between the top and bottom of the organization.	There is a wide salary range between the top and bottom of the organization.
Managers rely on their own experience and on subordinates.	Managers rely on superiors and on formal rules.
Subordinates expect to be consulted.	Subordinates expect to be told what to do.
The ideal boss is a resourceful democrat.	The ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat, or “good father”.
Subordinate-superior relations are pragmatic.	Subordinate-superior relations are emotional.
Privileges and status symbols are frowned upon.	Privileges and status symbols are normal and popular.
Manual work has the same status as office work.	White-collar jobs are valued more than blue-collar jobs.

**Table 1.2.** Key differences between collectivist and individualist societies in the workplace  
(after Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005: 104)

Collectivist	Individualist
Occupational mobility is lower.	Occupational mobility is higher.
Employees are members of in-groups who will pursue their in-group's interest.	Employees are "economic men" who will pursue the employer's interest if it coincides with their self-interest.
Hiring and promotion decisions take an employee's in-group into account.	Hiring and promotion decisions are supposed to be based on skills and rules only.
The employer-employee relationship is basically moral, like a family link.	The employer-employee relationship is a contract between parties on a labor market.
Management is management of groups.	Management is management of individuals.
Direct appraisal of subordinates spoils harmony.	Management training teaches the honest sharing of feelings.
In-group customers get better treatment ( <i>particularism</i> ).	Every customer should get the same treatment ( <i>universalism</i> ).

**Table 1.3.** Key differences between feminine and masculine societies: the workplace (after Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005: 147)

Feminine	Masculine
Management: intuition and consensus.	Management: decisive and aggressive.
Resolution of conflicts by compromise and negotiation.	Resolution of conflicts by letting the strongest win.
Rewards are based on equality.	Rewards are based on equity.
Preference for smaller organizations.	Preference for larger organizations.
People work in order to live.	People live in order to work.
More leisure time is preferred over more money.	More money is preferred over more leisure time.
Careers are optional for both genders.	Careers are compulsory for men, optional for women.
There is a higher share of working women in professional jobs.	There is a lower share of working women in professional jobs.
Humanization of work by contact and cooperation.	Humanization of work by job content enrichment.
Competitive agriculture and service industries.	Competitive manufacturing and bulk chemistry.

**Table 1.4.** Key differences between weak and strong uncertainty avoidance societies: the workplace, organization and motivation (after Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005: 189)

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance
More changes of employer, shorter service.	Fewer changes of employer, longer service.
There should be no more rules than strictly necessary.	There is an emotional need for rules, even if these will not work.
Hard-working only when needed.	There is an emotional need to be busy and an inner urge to work hard.
Time is a framework for orientation.	Time is money.
There is tolerance for ambiguity and chaos.	There is a need for precision and formalization.
Belief in generalists and common sense.	Belief in experts and technical solutions.
Top managers are concerned with strategy.	Top managers are concerned with daily operations.
More new trademarks.	Fewer new trademarks.
Focus on decision process.	Focus on decision content.
Intrapreneurs are relatively free from rules.	Intrapreneurs are constrained by existing rules.
There are fewer self-employed people.	There are more self-employed people.
Better at invention, worse at implementation.	Worse at invention, better at implementation.
Motivation by achievement and esteem or belonging.	Motivation by security and esteem or belonging.

**Table 1.5.** Key differences between short- and long-term orientation in the field of business and economics (after Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005: 225)

Short-Term Orientation	Long-Term Orientation
Main work values include freedom, rights, achievement and thinking for oneself.	Main work values include learning, honesty, adaptiveness, accountability and self-discipline.
Leisure time is important.	Leisure time is not important.
Focus is on bottom line.	Focus is on market position.
Importance of this year's profits.	Importance of profits 10 years from now.
Managers and workers are psychologically in two camps.	Owner-managers and workers share the same aspirations.
Meritocracy, reward by abilities.	Wide social and economic differences are undesirable.
Personal loyalties vary with business needs.	Investment in lifelong personal networks.
There was slow or no economic growth between 1970 and 2000.	There was fast economic growth between 1970 and 2000.
Small savings quote, little money for investment.	Large savings quote, funds available for investment.
Investment in mutual funds.	Investment in real estate.

Hofstede has also noticed that organizations are defined by nationality. He prepared a list of paradigms he observed in particular countries, which constituted ultimate goals of operating companies depending on a country. Thus, corporate culture is bound to national culture. "After God had created men, men made organizations - but what did they have in mind when making them?" In the United States - the market, in France - power, in Germany - order, in Poland and Russia - efficiency, in the Netherlands - consensus, in Nordic countries - equality, in Britain - systems, in China - the family, in Japan - Japan (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005: 277-278).

### **1.5.2. Deal and Kennedy**

According to Deal and Kennedy (1982: 4), organizational culture is "the way things get done around here". Deal and Kennedy discerned five elements - business environment; values; heroes; rites and rituals; cultural network - of which business environment is the most important in shaping a corporate culture. They also distinguished a set of nine ways to read a culture, namely:

- 1) study the physical setting;
- 2) read what the company says about its culture;
- 3) test how the company greets strangers;
- 4) interview company people;
- 5) observe how people spend their time;
- 6) understand the career path progression of employees;
- 7) determine how long do people stay in their jobs;
- 8) look at the content of what is being discussed or written about;
- 9) pay particular attention to the anecdotes and stories that pass through the cultural network.

They argued that culture is the most important factor accounting for success and failure in organizations. They also measured organizations in respect of:

- Feedback - if the response to the work results is immediate or short-term, it may correct inappropriate behavior and, as a result, lead to a consistent culture. If feedback arrives later, mistakes can be left uncorrected.
- Risk - it constitutes the degree of uncertainty in the organization. Although some people hate it and others thrive on risk, it is undoubtedly a motivating force within a company.

On the basis of these parameters they also suggested four classifications of organizational culture, namely:

**Work-hard, play-hard culture** – has rapid feedback/reward and low risk, which may lead to stress coming from quantity of work rather than uncertainty (restaurants, software companies).

**Tough-guy macho culture** – has rapid feedback/reward and high risk, which may result in stress coming from high risk and potential loss/gain of reward and may induce to focusing on the present rather than the longer-term future (police, surgeons, sports).

**Process culture** – has slow feedback/reward and low risk, which leads to low stress, the sense of comfort and security. Stress may be the result of internal politics and imperfections of the system. Development of bureaucracies and other ways of maintaining the status quo. Focus on security of the past and of the future (banks, insurance companies).

**Bet-the-company culture** – has slow feedback/reward and high risk, which is characterized by stress coming from high risk and delay before knowing if actions have paid off. The long view is taken, but then much work is put into making sure things happen as planned (aircraft manufacturers, oil companies).

### 1.5.3. Charles Handy

Charles Handy (1985) distinguished four different types of culture:

- **Person Culture** exists where all individuals believe themselves superior to the organization. Survival can become difficult for such organizations, since the concept of an organization suggests that a group of like-minded individuals pursue the organizational goals. Some professional partnerships can operate as person cultures, because each partner brings a peculiar expertise and clientele to the firm.
- **Role Culture** is highly formalized, bound with regulations and paperwork. Power derives from a person's position leaving little space for expert power. Authority and hierarchy dominate interpersonal relations.
- **Task Culture** is the opposite of the Role Culture. There is a strong sense of an organization's mission and teamwork is the basis of designing jobs. Power derives from expert's knowledge.
- **Power Culture** has a single power source with the control of rewards constituting its main source. There are few rules and little bureaucracy.

Handy has also noticed that these types of cultures are most often connected with a particular structure and design of organization, namely, a role culture has a typical pyramid structure; a task culture has a flexible matrix structure, whereas a power culture has web-like communication structure.

#### **1.5.4. Edgar Schein**

Edgar Schein, an MIT Sloan School of Management professor, proposed the following definition of culture: "a pattern of basic assumptions – invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (Schein, 1985: 9). His organizational model depicts culture from the standpoint of the observer described by three cognitive levels of organizational culture.

Thus, at the basic level of Schein's model are the organizational attributes that can be seen, felt and heard, such as the facilities, offices, furnishings, visible awards and recognition, the way that its members dress, and how each person visibly interacts with each other and with organizational outsiders.

The next level deals with the professed culture of the organizational participants themselves. At this level, company slogans and mission statements are often expressed and it is possible to study organizational behavior by interviewing the organization's members and using questionnaires to gather attitudes of organizational membership.

At the third and deepest level, the organization's tacit assumptions can be found. These are the elements of culture that are unseen and not cognitively identified in everyday interactions between organizational members. There are also the elements of culture which are often taboo to discuss within the organization. A number of these 'unspoken rules' exist without the conscious knowledge of the members. Surveys and casual interviews with employees cannot draw out these attributes, rather much more in-depth means must be used to first identify then understand organizational culture at this level. Thanks to Schein's model, understanding paradoxical organizational behaviors becomes more apparent.

### **1.6. THE COMPONENTS OF CULTURE**

As has already been mentioned, corporate culture can be described in terms of values, norms and artifacts.

#### **1.6.1. Values**

*Values* are connected with beliefs concerning actions which are the most beneficial for an organization and strategy which should be implemented. Organizational values can be held either at the highest level of an organiza-

tion only, or held by the whole company. The stronger the values, the greater influence they exert on the organization.

These are the most characteristic areas of organizational reality in which values may be expressed:

- effects;
- competence;
- competitiveness;
- innovation;
- quality;
- customer service;
- teamwork;
- concern for employees.

Values may be expressed by norms and artifacts or by means of language such as organizational jargon, rituals, stories and myths.

### 1.6.2. Norms

*Norms* are unwritten rules constituting informal codes of behavior. They tell people what to do, how to behave, what and how to say, what to believe in and how they should dress. They are transmitted orally or through behavior. If violated, they may be imposed as the result of people's actions.

Norms apply to the following aspects of behavior:

- **style of management** – the way managers treat members of their team and the way the members refer to their managers;
- **professional ethics** – for instance “come early, leave late”;
- **status** – its significance, overt symbols of status;
- **ambition** – it is expected to be overtly expressed or it should be expressed in a more subtle way;
- **effects** – good results are expected and the highest form of appreciation is gaining the reputation as professional;
- **power** – whether it is concentrated within the highest level of the organization or shared on different levels within different units of the organization.
- **politics** – according to Kakabadse (1983), politics is the process of influencing individuals and groups and convincing them to adopt one's stance if one cannot resort to power; whether it is common and widely accepted behavior or not accepted in its overt form;
- **loyalty** – it is expected and treated as an obvious requirement, or it is not taken into consideration at all, since the emphasis is placed on the results in the short-term perspective;

- **anger** – it is expressed overtly or it is expressed covertly and differently, perhaps through political moves;
- **approachability** – are managers approachable and “visible”, or if all decisions are made “behind closed door”;
- **formality** – are relations between employees formal or informal: do they refer to each other using their first names or different forms of address, are there strict rules concerning the dress code.

### 1.6.3. Artifacts

*Artifacts* constitute overt and tangible aspects of corporate culture such as language used in e-mails, letters or memos, the way employees address each other during meetings or over the telephone, greeting guests or the lack of greeting and the way telemarketers conduct conversations with individuals from outside the company (Armstrong, 2000: 152–153).

## 1.7. CONCLUSIONS

A significant number of definitions of culture have been proposed to date. To formulate a fully satisfactory definition of culture is a highly complex task. Researchers tend to use those definitions and approaches to the subject of culture which best reflect and suit their fields of study. In this sense, the notion of 'corporate culture' is no exception and as a multidimensional phenomenon which comprises a number of elements operating on different levels it requires a multi-faceted analysis. However, researchers seem to agree that corporate culture is a process that is neither highly dynamic nor changeable – it is characterized by stability within relatively short time spans. In order to create or change corporate culture a significant period of time is needed.

Undoubtedly, one of the most valuable conclusions stemming from the above discussion is the inseparable connection between culture and communication. This connection has inspired a number of communication theories, among others, organizational culture theory. Communication not only shapes, alters and expresses cultural life, but it also constitutes organizational reality.

## References

- ANDERSON, J.P. (ed.). 1988. *Communication yearbook 11*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.  
310–405.
- ARGYRIS, C. 1957. *Personality and organization*. New York: Harper and Row.

- ARMSTRONG, M. 2000. *A Handbook of human resource management practice*. London: Kogan Page Publishers (Polskie wydanie: *Zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi*. Kraków: Oficyna Ekonomiczna).
- BARNARD, C. 1938. *The function of an executive*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- BECK, A. 1988. *Love is never enough*. New York: Harper and Row.
- BURNS, T. AND G. STALKER. 1961. *The management of innovation*. London: Tavistock.
- CHILD, J. 1977. *Organization: a guide to problems and practice*. New York: Harper and Row.
- CONRAD, C. AND M. POOLE. 2002. *Strategic organizational communication*. New York: Harcourt.
- DEAL, T.E. AND A.A. KENNEDY. 1982. *Corporate cultures: the rites and rituals of corporate life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- FAYOL, H. 1916. *Administration industrielle et générale*. (English translation by C. Storrs. 1949. *General and industrial management*. London: Pitman).
- FROST, P.J., L. MOORE, M. LOUIS, C. LUNDBERG AND J. MARTIN. (eds.). 1985. *Organizational culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- FROST, P.J., L. MOORE, M. LOUIS, C. LUNDBERG AND J. MARTIN. (eds.). 1991. *Reframing organizational culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- FURNHAM, A. AND B. GUNTER. 1993. *Corporate assessment*. London: Routledge.
- GEERTZ, C. 1973. *Thick description: towards the interpretative theory of culture. Interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- HANDY, C.B. 1985. *Understanding organizations*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- HERZBERG, F.W., MAUSNER, B. AND B. SNYDERMAN. 1957. *The motivation to work*. New York: Wiley.
- HOFSTEDE, G. 1980. *Culture's consequences: international differences in work related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- HOFSTEDE, G. AND G.J. HOFSTEDE. 2005. *Cultures and organizations. Software of the mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- KAKABATSE, A. 1983. *The politics of management*. Aldershot: Gower.
- KOTTER, J.J. 1990. *A 20% solution: using rapid re-design to build tomorrow's organization today*. New York: Wiley.
- LAWRENCE, P.R. AND J. LORSCH. 1967. *Developing organizations*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- LIKERT, R. 1961. *New patterns of management*. New York: Harper and Row.
- MCCARTHY, M. 1990. *Vocabulary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MCGREGOR, D. 1960. *The human side of enterprise*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- MILES, R.H. (ed.). 1980. *Resource book in macro-organizational behavior*. Santa Monica, CA: Good-year Publishing.
- PACANOWSKY, M. AND N. O'DONNELL-TRUJILLO. 1982. "Communication and organizational cultures." *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 46, 115-130.
- PACANOWSKY, M. AND N. O'DONNELL-TRUJILLO. 1983. "Organizational communication as cultural performance." *Communication Monographs* 30, 126-147.
- PASCALE, R. 1990. *Managing on the edge*. London: Viking.
- PERROW, C. 1973. "The short and glorious history of organizational theory." *Organizational Dynamics* (Summer 1973). 2-16. Also reprinted in Miles, R.H. (ed.).
- PINKER, S. 1994. *The language instinct*. New York: William Morrow.
- SCHEIN, E.H. 1985. *Organisational culture and leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- TANNEN, D. 1990. *You just don't understand: women and men in conversation*. New York: William Morrow.
- TAYLOR, F.W. 1911. *The principles of scientific management*. New York: Harper Bros.

- TRICE, M.H. AND J.M. BEYER. 1984 "Studying organizational cultures through rites and ceremonials". *Academy of Management Review*. 4.4. 653–669.
- TYLOR, E.B. 1924. [orig. 1871] *Primitive culture*. 2 vols. New York: Brentano's.
- UNESCO. 2002. "UNESCO universal declaration on cultural diversity".
- URWICK, L.F. 1947. *Dynamic administration*. London: Pitman.
- VAN MAANEN, J. AND S. BARLEY. 1985. "Cultural organization: fragments of a theory." In: Frost, P.J. et al. (eds.). 31–54.
- WEBER, M., H.H. GEERTH AND C.W. MILLS. 1964. *From Max Weber: essays in sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- WOOD, J.T. 2004. *Communication theories in action. An introduction*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- WOOD, J.T. AND S.W. DUCK. (eds.). 1995. *Understanding relationship processes, 6: understudied relationships: off the beaten track*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- WOODWARD, J. 1965. *Industrial organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ZORN, T. 1995. "Bosses and buddies: constructing and performing simultaneously hierarchical and close friendship relationships." In: Wood, J.T. and S.W. Duck. (eds.). 122–147.



# **The attitude towards and the reception of TV commercials – across-generational perspective: research results analysis**

---

KINGA KOWALEWSKA

## **1. Introduction – advertising background**

Along with the invention of television and broadcasting, advertising has become a wide spread phenomenon the whole world over. Owing to its complexity, advertising can be examined from many different scientific perspectives. One of them is the perspective of advertising as discourse. Advertising as discourse must be first recognised as paid, non-personal communication forms used by identified sources through various media with a persuasive intent. Advertisements are most commonly associated with the mass media taking the classic form of newspapers, magazines, cinema, television, and radio; although they frequently flourish in other more recent forms such as billboards, posters, and direct mail as well. Advertisements are overwhelmingly used with persuasive intent as they strive to alter behaviour or the level of awareness, knowledge, and attitude.

TV advertising makes use of both verbal and nonverbal communication in order to influence the receiver through all the communication channels viable, i.e. visual and auditory. It is assumed that verbal and nonverbal messages contained in TV commercials are perceived differently according to the age of receivers. This being so may be attributed to the fact that it stems from the difference in the receivers' interest focus, needs, and reception abilities. Being aware of this fact, advertisements producers adjust commercials in order to meet a particular target group's needs, expectations, and desires. Thus, verbal messages enhanced properly by nonverbal factors create a powerful tool, by the means of which the mind of a receiver can be successfully persuaded. Taking into consideration linguistic properties of TV commercials, the notions

of persuasion and verbal manipulation cannot be neglected. Moreover, psychological as well as sociological approaches to advertising may help in solving the puzzle of commercial success in particular age groups.

## **2. Mental needs and expectations among different age groups**

A child in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is surrounded by different forms of commercials which constitute a significant part of their linguistic environment; street billboards, advertisements in buses, trams, commercials on the radio and TV. In Polish conditions, TV commercials are the factors which create and strongly influence the inner world of the child: his/her imagination, values, and feelings. The forms of TV advertising developed and practiced in Poland are relatively new. Nevertheless, they have already managed to find the way to appeal to the youngest receivers.

In the 1970s in the USA, the first commercials were directed at children and teenagers as it was revealed that children and youth between the ages of 6 and 17 belong to a group of very frequent purchasers. The fact that producers and advertising agencies have decided to address young consumers thus appears to be justified, at least on economic grounds. On the one hand, the world presented in TV commercials clearly penetrates children's subculture and, subsequently, children tend to repeat slogans or sing songs from the commercials they have seen. On the other hand, advertising derives from the culture created by children themselves while employing nursery rhymes, sayings, and poems or being brief as a form of response to the children's relatively shorter memory span.

Children adjust and apply the texts of commercials according to their needs and circumstances, and thus prolong the existence of a commercial even if it is no longer broadcast. They tend to believe in commercials and take the contents literally. In addition, the youngest ones may have difficulties in distinguishing the world of the commercials from reality. Psychologists estimated that a child encounters 20 000 TV commercials per year. This gives approximately 3 hours per week. According to Wilson and Weiss (Wilson and Weiss, 1992), 60% of children from 5 to 7 years old are unable to distinguish between a commercial and any other TV programme. Without comments or explanation on the part of adults, children's perception of commercials is not selective as a child has not enough linguistic-communicative competence to receive and understand commercials in a balanced way, or to grasp the whole context of advertising as such. There-

fore, children watch all the commercials including those specifically directed to adults and, paradoxically, they seem to enjoy them most. Although with passing time, children learn how to approach commercials and not to trust them, at an early stage of their encounters with commercials they should be assisted by adults while watching TV and, in turn, parents should explain how to approach advertising. Moreover, the structure of the brain changes as children grow. Children derive more from the right hemisphere and they tend to replace thinking and words with pictures. For that reason they may be regarded as being more prone to TV commercials; they remember them very quickly, know them by heart, and they are strongly stimulated to possess immediately what they see – to follow commercial suggestions.

As has been suggested by Piaget, every single age has its own vision of the world, of reality, own goals and values, or ways of behaviour, including the use of language. In commercials directed at young people such devices as ridiculing the adults' values, promoting more personal freedom, or being at ease are employed. They provoke and tease. Parents are no longer authority for teenagers. Adolescents prefer to respect their peers, and therefore it would seem that commercials with their peers are the most convincing to them. At the same time, teenagers experience a very strong need to affiliate, to belong to a group, to be socially accepted. Advertisers consciously build upon this need and threaten the prospective receivers with alienation, discrimination against, and rejection. In turn, adults and elderly people rely more on rational arguments. Owing to their education and upbringing, they use the left hemisphere more often. For that reason they trust words and numbers more than emotions and illusions. Therefore, commercials directed to adult receivers focus more on technical data and verbal messages than on appeal and teasing.

However, even when all the principles of successful advertising are obeyed, still quite a large number of receivers remain indifferent to commercial persuasion. This situation may stem from the fact that TV viewers are subject to informational overload, and thus the active interest in TV commercials is low. One of the most successful ways of being noticed and remembered is repetition of information. However, there is a risk that in the case of an excessive exposure to repetition the receiver may simply grow indifferent to the message or may even experience aversion. Excessive repetition is actually the greatest flaw as far as TV commercials are concerned. On public channels, commercial blocks are broadcast only between programmes. However, private stations display commercials during programmes or films, which, apart from being annoying, makes viewers approach TV advertising with disgust and reluctance. The above factors may serve as an explanation of little influence of commercials on receivers.

### **3. Aim of the study**

The aim of the research was to uncover the significant factors which influence the perception of TV commercials with regard to the age of the viewers.

#### **3.1. TOOLS AND METHODS USED WHILE CARRYING OUT THE SURVEY**

The tool was a survey, which consisted of 16 closed questions in Polish (translated into English for the purpose of the present paper) referring to TV commercials. The respondents were asked about their habits related to TV watching, e.g. hours per day spent on watching TV. The survey was designed to help in answering the following questions: "which components of a TV commercial are the most important and most convincing for certain age groups", and "how the sensitivity and susceptibility to commercials changes with respect to age".

The participants of this survey were children from primary school aged 7–9, teenagers from grammar school aged 13–15, students aged 19–24, and adults aged above 24. Each of these four age groups consisted of 30 respondents and all the surveys and answers contributed to the research findings. Thus the total obtained was 120 respondents (100%). Children and teenagers were chosen from primary and secondary school in Kielce, and students from Akademia Świętokrzyska in Kielce. The respondents in all age groups were given identical surveys and asked the same questions. The tables presented below show answers to these questions in all four age groups. At the same time, they have served to facilitate a comparison. Data collection procedure took place over 2 months from February to March 2003. Survey administration was conducted in the respondent's schools or place of work. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, the participants' names were not recorded on surveys and neither teachers nor parents were present during survey administration. The same person administered all the surveys. As a final stage, the data obtained due to the analysis of the answers of all the respondents were compared.

### **4. Results**

Table 1 provides the information on the number of respondents who have a TV set in their bedrooms. The answer is important for the present research as it shows TV commercials availability to the respondents. Approximately every second respondent has a TV set in their bedroom, which

means that they have an easy access to TV commercials. Although the results were similar among different age groups, the patterns obtained suggest that the older respondents are, the more likely they are to have a TV set in their bedroom. The greatest discrepancy is evident between children, among whom 46.7% have a TV set in their bedroom, while the result for the adults equals 60.0%.

**Table 1.** TV set in the bedroom

Age group	Is there a TV set in your bedroom?			
	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
7-9	14	46.7%	16	53.3%
13-15	15	50.0%	15	50.0%
19-24	17	56.7%	13	43.3%
Above 25	18	60.0%	12	40.0%
Total	64	53.3%	56	46.7%

**Table 2.** Hours per day spent watching TV

Age group	How many hours per day do you spend watching TV?							
	1 and less		2-3		4-5		6 and more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	10	33.3%	17	56.7%	2	6.7%	1	3.3%
13-15	5	16.7%	12	40.0%	9	30.0%	4	13.3%
19-24	6	20.0%	18	60.0%	2	6.7%	4	13.3%
Above 25	8	26.7%	18	60.0%	3	10.0%	1	3.3%
Total	29	24.2%	65	54.2%	16	13.3%	10	8.3%

Table 2 shows that the majority in all age groups watch TV 2 to 3 hours per day. This period of time is sufficient to watch a film or a programme along with at least two blocks of several commercials on public television and substantially more on private ones. Exactly 30.0% of young teenagers are more likely to spend 4 to 5 hours in front of TV, which increases the chance of their coming across a commercial block. Due to this fact, which is also well known to advertisement makers, there are still more and more commercials targeted directly at them.

**Table 3.** The company of others while watching TV

Age group	With who do you watch TV most frequently?									
	Alone		Siblings		Friends		Parents		Grandparents	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	9	30.0%	17	56.7%	1	3.3%	23	76.7%	5	16.7%
13-15	19	63.3%	10	33.3%	2	6.7%	5	16.7%	0	0.0%
19-24	17	56.7%	8	26.7%	6	20.0%	8	26.7%	0	0.0%
Above 25	18	60.0%	8	26.7%	3	10.0%	3	10.0%	0	0.0%
Total	63	52.5%	43	35.8%	12	10.0%	39	32.5%	5	4.2%

Respondents where asked: "who watches TV with them most frequently". They were allowed to give more than one answer; therefore the total is not 100%. The results are interesting as it can be observed that the respondents usually watch television with a company - 82,5%.

Children aged 7-9, who are usually assisted by family members, have pointed at the company of parents, siblings, or grandparents. Respondent choose friends as a company for TV watching comparatively seldom, which may stem from the fact that in the Polish culture watching television in the presence of guests and non-family members is considered rude or at least impolite.

**Table 4.** An attitude to TV commercials

Age group	Do you like watching TV commercials?			
	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
7-9	10	33.3%	20	66.7%
13-15	7	23.3%	23	76.7%
19-24	8	26.7%	22	73.3%
Above 25	3	10.0%	27	90.0%
Total	28	23.3%	92	76.7%

Table 4 shows the respondents' attitude toward TV commercials. Respondents were asked whether they like watching TV commercials. Answers to this question are crucial for the final conclusions. Surprisingly, it is evident that the vast majority have admitted they do not enjoy watching TV advertisements. The greatest discrepancy is observed among children, out of whom

over 30.0% have admitted that they like watching TV commercials, and among adults, out of whom 90.0% claim that they do not like watching them.

Table 5 reveals how often respondents watch TV commercials. It follows from the results that children watch TV commercials the most frequently from all the age groups. In fact 10.0% claim to watch them whenever they come across them on TV. More than 80.0% of adults watch TV commercials sometimes seldom or never. Taking into consideration the fact that 86.7% of adults watch TV for up to 3 hours per day it clearly indicates that they must consciously make an attempt to avoid watching commercials, which would confirm that 90.0% of the respondents do not like watching TV commercials (see Table 4 above).

This question was aimed at establishing the effectiveness of TV commercials. The respondents were asked how often they buy goods after having seen their commercials on TV. None of them have stated that they buy advertised goods on every occasion. The vast majority of children and teenagers buy advertised goods sometimes or seldom which means that they remain uninfluenced by commercials. As far as students are concerned, there

**Table 5.** Frequency of watching TV commercials

Age group	How often do you watch TV commercials?									
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Seldom		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	3	10.0%	7	23.3%	8	26.7%	12	40.0%	0	0.0%
13-15	0	0.0%	3	10.0%	15	50.0%	11	36.7%	1	3.3%
19-24	2	6.6%	8	26.7%	7	23.3%	13	43.3%	0	0.0%
Above 25	0	0.0%	2	6.7%	12	40.0%	13	43.3%	3	10.0%
Total	5	4.2%	20	16.7%	42	35.0%	49	40.8%	4	3.3%

**Table 6.** Frequency of purchase of advertised goods

Age group	How often do you buy goods advertised on TV?									
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Seldom		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	0	0.0%	3	10.0%	18	60.0%	7	23.3%	2	6.7%
13-15	0	0.0%	2	6.7%	15	50.0%	8	26.7%	5	16.7%
19-24	0	0.0%	6	20.0%	7	23.3%	17	56.7%	0	0.0%
Above 25	0	0.0%	2	6.7%	12	40.0%	13	43.3%	3	10.0%
Total	0	0.0%	13	10.8%	52	43.3%	45	37.5%	10	8.3%

is a visible discrepancy because 20.0% say they often buy those goods, 23.3% sometimes and 56.7% seldom. As far as the answer 'never' is concerned, one may have certain reservations as it is hardly possible to avoid buying advertised goods due to the fact that it is getting more and more difficult to find a product which is not advertised.

**Table 7.** Preference between advertised and non-advertised goods

Age group	From among goods of the same type how often do you choose an advertised one?									
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Seldom		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	0	0.0%	4	13.3%	12	40.0%	9	30.0%	5	16.7%
13-15	2	6.7%	6	20.0%	7	23.3%	9	30.0%	6	20.0%
19-24	0	0.0%	8	26.7%	14	46.7%	8	26.7%	0	0.0%
Above 25	0	0.0%	1	3.3%	12	40.0%	15	50.0%	2	6.7%
Total	2	1.7%	19	15.8%	45	37.5%	41	34.2%	13	10.8%

Table 7 shows how often respondents choose the advertised goods from among goods of the same type. The choice between two similar products can be made on the basis of numerous factors such as price, attractiveness, usefulness, etc. Yet, advertising aims at presenting superiority of one product over another, thus making the choice easy and obvious. Judging by the answers obtained, TV commercials are not successful enough as only 15,8% of all the respondents often choose advertised goods and still 10,8% claim they never do it. The interesting result refers to the students, where 26.7% often choose an advertised product. Most probably, the selection of advertised goods has the purpose of indicating social status and personal affluence.

**Table 8.** Favourable types of goods advertised on TV

Age group	Commercials of what type of goods do you prefer to watch?						
	Food	Electronic products	Cleaning agents	Cosmetics	Cars	Toys	Other
		N	N	N	N	N	N
7-9	12	5	0	7	3	12	1
13-15	3	15	1	10	9	0	0
19-24	6	7	2	16	8	0	0
Above 25	5	6	1	4	16	0	1
Total	26	33	4	37	36	12	2

Table 8 shows commercials referring to the types of goods the respondents prefer to watch. The respondents marked more than one type of products; therefore, there is no percentage rate included. Nevertheless, the findings of the study suggest that teenagers and students are mostly interested in commercials of electronic products such as computers, mobile phones, as well as cosmetics. Children pay attention mostly to commercials advertising food products and toys, whereas adults show main interest in cars, which corresponds to the natural interest determined by that age group. The interesting fact is that the commercials of cleaning means are very unpopular among the respondents, although they all use them. It may be the result of poor quality and low diversity among the commercials focusing on washing powders, toothpastes, or dishwashing liquids.

From among numerous categories of advertised goods, food products are bought most frequently in all age groups (47.5%). The findings are generally similar in all groups and Table 9 shows that cosmetics are the second category among the most frequently purchased goods: 25.8% of all respondents. It is worth mentioning that according to the research results, commercials of cleaning means were quite unpopular. However, the actual purchase of those goods is much more frequent than one could expect: overall 15.0% of the respondents admitted they purchased them.

**Table 9.** Frequency of purchase of certain types of advertised goods

Age group	Which advertised goods do you buy most frequently?											
	Food		Electronic products		Cleaning agents		Cosmetics		Toys		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	20	66.7%	2	6.7%	3	10.0%	1	3.3%	3	10.0%	1	3.3%
13-15	14	46.7%	3	10.0%	3	10.0%	11	36.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
19-24	13	43.3%	1	3.3%	4	13.3%	12	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Above 25	10	30.0%	4	13.3%	8	26.7%	7	23.3%	0	0.0%	1	3.3%
Total	57	47.5%	10	8.3%	18	15.0%	31	25.8%	3	2.5%	2	1.7%

Table 10 shows the influence of a nonverbal factor such as the age of a commercial participant (actor) on the appeal that the commercial makes to the respondent. The respondents, with the exception of the adult group, pointed that participants who are older than they are the most convincing. This pattern may stem from the fact that usually elderly people represent wisdom and experience, and therefore they are respected for views and

**Table 10.** The age of participants of commercials

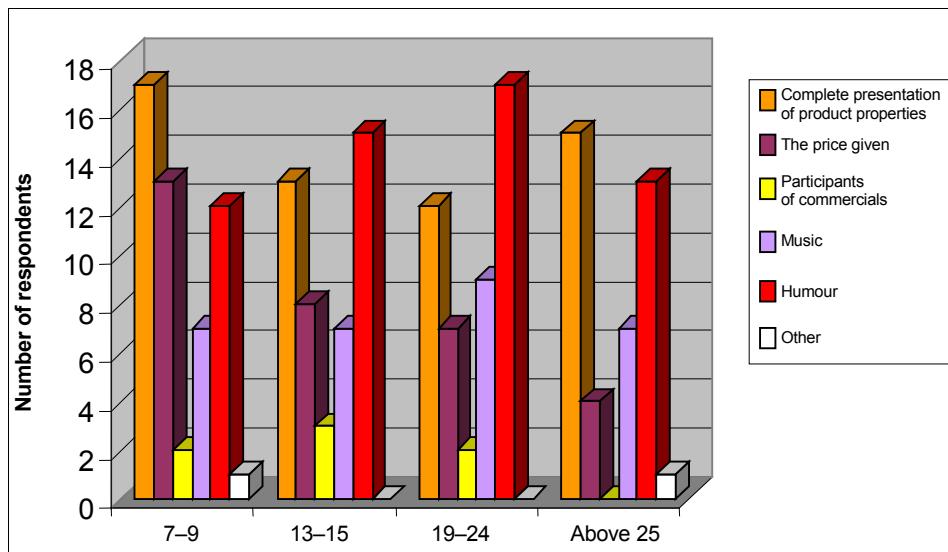
Age group	Who of the participants of commercials are the most convincing to you?					
	Older than you		Younger than you		Your age	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	16	53.3%	4	13.3%	10	33.3%
13-15	15	50.0%	4	13.3%	11	36.7%
19-24	17	56.7%	4	13.3%	9	30.0%
Above 25	8	26.7%	4	13.3%	18	60.0%
Total	56	46.6%	16	13.3%	48	40.0%

**Table 11.** Social status of participants of commercials

Age group	Who of the participants of commercials are the most convincing to you?					
	Celebrities (actors, sportsmen, singers)		Ordinary users		Specialists (doctors, dentists, hairdressers)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	14	46.7%	6	20.0%	10	33.3%
13-15	13	43.3%	10	33.3%	7	23.3%
19-24	11	36.7%	9	30.0%	10	33.3%
Above 25	7	23.3%	11	36.7%	12	40.0%
Total	45	37.5%	36	30.0%	39	32.5%

opinions. Adults, on the other hand, are more likely to trust the participants who are of their age (60.0%).

Table 11 presents another aspect of nonverbal message sent by the participants of commercials. The social status of an actor can exert a strong influence upon viewers and become the crucial factor in the process of persuasion. The table shows that children (46.7%), teenagers (43.3%), and students (36.7%) chose mainly celebrities as the most convincing and appealing commercial participants. Adults, on the other hand, do not follow this pattern as they are the most likely to be convinced by specialists (40.0%) and ordinary users (36.7%). Most probably, their life experiences and rationality make them believe more in common sense and casual wisdom.



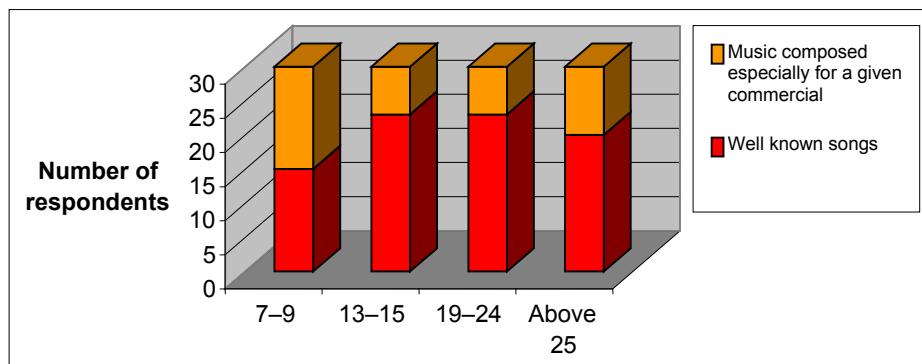
**Fig. 1.** The most important components of TV commercials by age groups

**Table 12.** Importance of the presence of music in commercials

Age group	Do you pay attention to the music present in TV commercials?									
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Seldom		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	3	10.0%	8	26.7%	9	30.0%	8	26.7%	2	6.7%
13-15	6	20.0%	11	36.7%	9	30.0%	4	13.3%	0	0.0%
19-24	10	33.3%	12	40.0%	8	26.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Above 25	9	30.0%	9	30.0%	9	30.0%	3	10.0%	0	0.0%
Total	28	23.3%	40	33.3%	35	29.2%	15	12.5%	2	1.7%

Respondents were asked to indicate which components of TV commercials play the most important role for them. Fig. 1 shows that sense of humor and complete presentation of product properties are the two categories which turned out to be of crucial importance. What is interesting, apart from the adult group, the importance of humour increases significantly with age. On the contrary, the interest in price, which is surprisingly low, drops regularly with age. The importance of music in TV commercials is nearly the same in all four age groups and participants of TV commercials according to the respondents were the least important component. The category 'other' was expanded by respondents to factors such as proper light or aesthetic values of commercials.

Respondents were asked a separate question about the presence of music in TV commercials because music constitutes a very important nonverbal tool in evoking emotions, which is crucial in commercial persuasion. It was observed that every third student and adult always pays attention to music, while every third child and teenager does it sometimes. Overall, 85.8 % of all respondents take interest in music which is used in TV commercials.



**Fig. 2.** Preferred type of music in TV commercials

**Table 13.** Imitation of nonverbal behaviour of commercial participants

Age group	Do you follow the behaviour of the participants of TV commercials?									
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Seldom		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7-9	1	3.3%	4	13.3%	6	20.0%	9	30.0%	10	33.3%
13-15	2	6.7%	2	6.7%	4	13.3%	10	33.3%	12	40.0%
19-24	0	0.0%	2	6.7%	4	13.3%	13	43.3%	11	36.7%
Above 25	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	26.7%	10	33.3%	12	40.0%
Total	3	2.5%	8	6.7%	22	18.3%	42	35.0%	45	37.5%

Following the path of the meaning of music as a nonverbal component, the respondents were asked to indicate which type of music they prefer; music composed especially for a given commercial or well known pieces of music. Exactly 50.0% of children said that they would rather hear music they know, while the other 50.0% had the opposite preferences. Teenagers and students clearly prefer music which is familiar to them – 23 respondents in both groups. As far as adults are concerned, 20 out of 30 respondents also prefer to hear music they are familiar with. The results in children group

may be due to the fact that 7- or even 9- year- old children may simply be not familiar with such a large number of music pieces as adults.

Commercials of certain goods introduce new patterns of behaviour which is characteristic of the use of these goods. The respondents were asked whether they follow those patterns. There were not many statistically relevant differences in the answers. Only children have shown to be the most prone to behavioral suggestions as 20.0% of them follow these patterns sometimes and 16.3% – always or often. No adults imitate the nonverbal behaviour of commercial participants always or often. One may therefore state that the more mature the respondent is, the less they are likely to follow the behaviour presented in a commercial.

**Table 14.** Imitation of verbal behaviour of commercial participants

Age group	Do you use some TV commercial slogans in everyday conversations?									
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Seldom		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
7–9	5	16.7%	7	23.3%	5	16.7%	7	23.3%	6	20.0%
13–15	5	16.7%	9	30.0%	11	36.7%	2	6.7%	3	10.0%
19–24	0	0.0%	7	23.3%	14	46.7%	8	26.7%	1	3.3%
Above 25	0	0.0%	2	6.7%	10	33.3%	10	33.3%	8	26.7%
Total	10	8.3%	25	20.8%	40	33.3%	27	22.5%	18	15.0%

Similarly, the respondents were asked whether they imitate verbal behaviour of commercial participants in everyday conversations. Table 14 shows that, apart from adults, among whom 37.5% claim that they do it seldom or never, the respondents use commercial slogans quite frequently. Overall, 62.4% of all respondents use them at least sometimes. 16.7% of children as well as teenagers use commercial slogans in every conversation, and 23.3% of children and 30.0% of teenagers use them often. These results may be regarded as revealing the significant impact that verbal messages make upon the viewers.

## 5. Discussion of the experiment

Advertising penetrates all areas of human life in all dimensions. The social environment (i.e. the public sphere) is characterised by everyday presence of commercials. Therefore, it was assumed that advertising as a social and eco-

nomical phenomenon not only permeates such social areas as economy, language, and family life, but also, even more importantly, it determines individual perception and shapes behaviours. Apart from apparent economic effects, psychological, social, and linguistic responses to advertising were considered.

It is surprising to learn that the majority of children, teenagers, students as well as adults claim to watch commercials seldom despite their high availability; the majority of respondents have a TV set in their bedrooms and they have admitted watching TV for 2 to 3 hours per day (see Table 1 and Table 2, respectively). It is evident that watching TV is perceived as a social activity performed in the presence of friends or family members (see Table 3), which increases the number of commercial viewers. Teenagers, students, and adults do not enjoy watching commercials; however, in the age group 7–9 years, the respondents, in accordance with literature, like watching them (see Table 4). One interpretation which may be offered is that they are unable to distinguish between a commercial and a film for children as both of them are short, colourful, very often amusing, with music in the background. The frequency of watching commercials is closely related to the attitude towards them, i.e. over half of the adult respondents claim to watch them seldom or never, which indicates that they consciously avoid them (see Table 5). The respondents are seldom encouraged to purchase goods advertised on TV and when they are given a choice, only sometimes do they choose the advertised goods from among other goods of the same type (82.5% of all respondents do it sometimes, seldom, or never) (see Table 6 and Table 7). The interest a particular age group takes in a type of advertised goods corresponds to the financial capabilities of the group; children are primarily interested in watching commercials of sweets and toys – relatively cheap and easily available, teenagers and students – in cosmetics as well as electronic devices, and adults – in electronic products and cars – the most expensive products (see Table 8 and Table 9, respectively). As clearly shown in the empirical findings, the predominance of nonverbal factors and components in TV commercials would prove the assumption that the prevailing of information is delivered via nonverbal communication which in the case of advertising consists in the proper choice of music, humor, or participants of commercials (see Figure 1). It can be observed that sociologically speaking, general assumptions about social status, respect, and attractiveness of certain groups of people are confirmed by respondents (see Table 10 and Table 11). It is evident that a person who is older than the respondents is the most likely to convince them in comparison with a person at their age or younger, who is the least likely to exert any influence on the respondents' commercial behaviour. Additionally, according to the findings of the survey,

the respondents would rather be convinced by celebrities and specialists rather than by ordinary users. Additionally, as far as nonverbal communication is concerned, it is worth noticing that more than 50% of all respondents pay attention to music always or often and the vast majority of teenagers and students prefer to hear songs which are familiar to them (see Table 12 and Figure 2). These findings may indicate taking deep interest in music which is so characteristic of the age. The results also show that the respondents are more likely to follow the linguistic behaviour of commercial participants by quoting or using commercial slogans in everyday conversations than by mere imitation of nonverbal behaviours (see Table 13 and Table 14). Certain slogans are modified, and thus with a changed or expanded semantic scope they may be applied in numerous contexts in everyday conversations.

## 6. Conclusions

The following conclusions may be offered:

1. Empirical findings generally confirm the theoretical assumption concerning the impact of nonverbal aspects of commercials such as music or humour upon viewers.
2. Although respondents claim they do not like watching TV commercials, they do not remain indifferent to the verbal messages transmitted in commercials in the form of slogans.
3. The social status and age of the commercial participant appears to determine the successfulness of the commercial.
4. Type of favourite advertised goods corresponds with interests and financial capability particular of a certain age.
5. Only multidisciplinary work involving psychologists, sociologists, economists, and linguists could offer a plausible explanation for a comprehensive understanding of the true dimension of advertising and its influence on behavioral patterns.
6. Children, on one hand, present the most rational approach pointing at price and complete presentation of the product properties. On the other hand, however, they are the most likely to mimic the commercial participants' behaviour. They tend to trust both the celebrities and the ordinary users.
7. Teenagers give confidence to celebrities and specialists, paying special attention to the presence of music in commercials. They apply verbal messages (i.e. slogans) in everyday speeches the most frequently.
8. Students are the most likely to choose the advertised goods and be convinced by older participants. From among nonverbal factors, humor and

music are of prior importance to them, and celebrities as well as specialist appear to be the most trustworthy.

9. Adults do not like and thus avoid watching TV commercials. Consequently, they choose the advertised products the least frequently. This does not preclude that they may be convinced by specialists or their peers and similarly as with children, that the complete presentation of a product's properties is the most important to them.

10. Apart from children, all the age groups prefer the presence of well-known songs in commercials, and children as well as teenagers seek for authority among elderly people and celebrities.

## References

- COOK, G. 1994. *The discourse of advertising*. London: Routledge.
- KOSSOWSKI, P. 1999. *Dziecko i reklama telewizyjna*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Źak.
- LASZCZAK, M. 1998. *Psychologia przekazu reklamowego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Profesjonalnej Szkoły Biznesu.
- PIAGET, J. 1923/1968. *The language and thought of the child*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- PIAGET, J. 1929. *The child's conception of the world*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- PIAGET, J. 1953. *The construction of reality in the child*. New York: Basic Books.
- PUPPEL, S. 2001. *A concise guide to psycholinguistic*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- WILSON B.J. AND A.J. WEISS. 1992. "Developmental differences in children's reaction to a toy advertisement linked to a toy-based cartoon". *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 36. 371–394.
- ZAWADZKA, K. 2003. *The reception of verbal and nonverbal communication in TV commercials – a cross-generation perspective*. Unpublished MA thesis. Poznań: UAM.

# **Wpływ dystansu międzyosobowego na użycie zasobów językowych w komunikacji bezpośredniej: badanie wstępne**

---

JOANNA PUPPEL

Niniejszy artykuł skupia się na problemie wpływu dystansu międzyosobowego (ang. *interpersonal distance*) na wybór użycia odpowiedniego typu języka przez komunikatorów w komunikacji bezpośrednią, czyli tzw. komunikacji ‘twarzą-w-twarz’. Zagadnieniu temu poświęcone zostało badanie wstępne, które zakłada, iż zróżnicowanie typu użycia językowego zależy od użytego dystansu międzyosobniczego przez sprawcę aktu komunikacyjnego. Zanim jednak zostanie omówione badanie, które pozwala na wyciągnięcie wstępnych ogólnych wniosków na temat wpływu dystansu międzyosobowego, warto odnieść się w obrębie tego problemu do ogólnego zagadnienia proksemiki, zaproponowanego przez Hall'a (1966) i streścić je pokrótko. Ponadto nastąpi zdefiniowanie typów użycia językowego, które tutaj nazwane są ‘zasobami językowymi’ (ang. *language resources*, zob. Puppel, 2004a, 2004b).

## **1. Dystans międzyosobowy: organizacja przestrzenna pomiędzy komunikatorami**

Dystans międzyosobowy jest tutaj rozumiany jako postrzeganie, organizowanie i wykorzystywanie przestrzeni dla celów komunikacyjnych. Jest on niewidoczną, ruchomą granicą, która reguluje sposób, w jaki nadawca i odbiorca organizują sobie przestrzeń w sytuacjach komunikacyjnych. Jest on także fundamentalnym elementem takich sytuacji i odgrywa ważną rolę w ich strukturyzowaniu. Do wskazania różnych funkcji dystansu osobniczego można zastosować wiele perspektyw teoretycznych (zob. Altman,

1975; Evans i Howard, 1973; Scott, 1993). Jednak dwiema podstawowymi funkcjami dystansu między komunikatorami są: funkcja ochronna i funkcja komunikacyjna. Ta pierwsza rozpatrywana jest zazwyczaj w perspektywie psychologicznej i rozumiana jest jako zabezpieczenie komunikatora przed ewentualnym zagrożeniem o charakterze emocjonalnym bądź fizycznym (np. zbyt niski lub zbyt wysoki poziom prywatności, atak fizyczny). Druga natomiast jest obecna w szeroko pojętych badaniach nad komunikowaniem się, bowiem wybierając dystans międzyosobowy, komunikator przesyła informacje o charakterze danej relacji międzyosobowej. Należy przy tym dodać, że koncepcja dystansu nie przynależy tylko i wyłącznie do psychologii (Katz, 1937), jest również obecna w biologii (Hediger, 1961; 1964; 1968; Carpenter 1958), architekturze (Sommer, 1969), antropologii (Hall 1959; 1963; 1964a, 1964b; 1976; 1984), i socjologii (Goffman 1963, 1971; Garfinkel 1964). Ale to Hall zapoczątkował badania nad znaczeniem komunikacyjnym relacji przestrzennych i właśnie do nich odniósł termin ‘proksemika’ (ang. *proxemics*). Wskazał, że badania te powinny skupić się nie tylko na organizacji przestrzennej uczestników interakcji ale również na strukturze przestrzennej, w obrębie której odbywa się wymiana informacji. Tak więc proksemika Hall'a zdefiniowana jest bardzo szeroko i obejmuje „studia nad tym jak człowiek podświadomie strukturyzuje mikroprzestrzeń, czyli odległość pomiędzy ludźmi w wykonywaniu codziennych czynności, organizację przestrzeni w jego domach i budynkach, a także ostatecznie zarys jego miast” (1963: 1003)<sup>1</sup>.

Hall, rozwijając swoją koncepcję proksemiki, zwrócił również uwagę na odmienne sposoby organizacji przestrzennej w interakcji międzyludzkiej kształtowane pod wpływem różnic kulturowych. Wykonanie wielu obserwacji przez Hall'a, pomogło badaczom pójść jego śladami i stąd bogata liczba badań łącząca kulturę z zachowaniami proksemicznymi (por. także Watson i Graves 1966; Little, 1968; Sommer, 1968; Watson 1970; Shuter 1976, 1977; Mazur 1977; Noesjirwan, 1978; Keating i Keating 1980; Albas 1991; Remland, Jones i Brinkman 1995).

Najważniejszym osiągnięciem Hall'a (1976) w badaniach proksemicznych było zaproponowanie systemu czterech różnych międzyosobowych dystansów osobistych, tj.:

- (1) dystansu intymnego (ang. *intimate distance*),
- (2) dystansu osobistego (ang. *personal distance*),

---

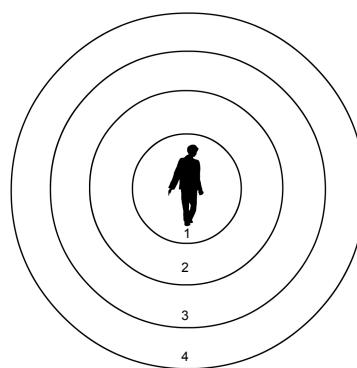
<sup>1</sup> Gdzie fragment ten w oryginale brzmi: “the study of how man unconsciously structures the microspace – the distance between men in conduct of daily transactions, the organization of space in his houses and buildings, and ultimately the layout of his towns” (tłumaczenie moje – J.P.).

- (3) dystansu społecznego (ang. *social distance*), oraz  
(4) dystansu publicznego (ang. *public distance*).

Obserwowanie dystansu pomiędzy ludźmi pomogło mu w ustaleniu wniosków dotyczących wzajemnych relacji międzyludzkich podczas konwersacji. Były one oparte na badaniach prowadzonych wśród mieszkańców północno-wschodnich stanów USA, reprezentujących klasę średnią. Omówione przez Hall'a dystanse międzyosobowe różnią się zasadniczo od siebie i tym samym wykorzystywane są w różnych kontaktach międzyludzkich. Poniżej scharakteryzowano pokrótkce dystanse (1–4):

- (1) **dystans intymny** (od 0 do 45 cm): wykorzystywany jest przez ludzi, których łączą bardzo osobiste więzy. Sygnalizuje on silne bezpośrednie zaangażowanie emocjonalne;
- (2) **dystans osobisty** (od 45 cm do 1,2 m): stosowany jest w sytuacjach osobistych, np. w rozmowie z przyjaciółmi. Dystans ten sygnalizuje bezpośredni zaangażowanie komunikujących się stron;
- (3) **dystans społeczny** (od 1,2 m do 3,6 m): stosowany jest w sytuacjach, gdzie relacje międzyludzkie mają charakter towarzysko-służbowy. Sygnalizuje odpowiednio słabnące bezpośrednie zaangażowanie;
- (4) **dystans publiczny** (od 3,6 m do granicy widzenia i słyszenia): charakteryzuje relacje zachodzące w obrębie większych przestrzeni komunikacyjnych (np. w salach wykładowych między wykładowcą a studentami). Jest to dystans wykorzystywany podczas spotkań formalnych, zawodowych. Uważa się, że nie zawiera bezpośredniego emocjonalnego zaangażowania komunikujących się stron.

Poniżej opisane dystanse można przedstawić za pomocą następującego schematu:



Schemat 1

Dystans międzyosobowy ma wyraźny wymiar psychologiczny. W sytuacji, gdy dany dystans komunikacyjny zostanie mniej lub bardziej naruszony, mamy do czynienia z uruchomieniem różnych reakcji psychicznych, np. unikania, wycofywania się, pojedyńczenia, a czasem nawet aktywnej fizycznej obrony lub agresji. Ogólnie przyznać trzeba, że w relacjach międzyludzkich, w których stopień bezpośredniego zaangażowania jest silniejszy, ludzie są przestrzennie bliżej siebie i wtedy nawet status społeczny nie odgrywa większej roli. Typologia dystansu Hall'a ma duże znaczenie dla badań nad efektywnością komunikacji międzyosobowej w powiązaniu z przestrzenią okołosobniczą, dlatego jej aktualność nie została przez badaczy podważona. Ma ona również znaczenie dla podjętego tutaj badania nad użyciem zasobów językowych w komunikacji bezpośrednią.

Kierując się ekolingwistycznym modelem komunikacji Puppla (2004a, 2004b, 2007), a dokładniej zaproponowanym przez niego pojęciem 'niszy komunikacyjnej', która determinuje użycie typu zasobów językowo-komunikacyjnych, stworzenie nowej terminologii w odniesieniu do badań nad dystansem międzyosobowym jest tutaj niezbędne. I tak, tylko dystans intymny pozostałby niezmieniony, natomiast Hall'a dystans osobisty nazwałbym 'towarzyskim', dystans społeczny nazwałbym 'towarzysko-zawodowym', a dystans publiczny nazwałbym 'zawodowym'.

## **2. Typy języka: kody językowe i zasoby językowe**

Język to nic innego jak kod, a kod odnosi się do zbioru zasad obecnych w języku komunikatorów w obrębie danej grupy społecznej (Littlejohn 2002). Niemniej, aby dokonać typologizacji zasobów językowych, należy przywołać tutaj najpierw koncepcję wybitnego brytyjskiego socjologa XX wieku, Basila Bernsteina. Stwierdził on, iż w różnych klasach społecznych funkcjonują odmienne typy kodów językowych. Wyróżnił on dwa podstawowe kody: kod ograniczony (ang. *restricted code*, np. stosowany przez klasę robotniczą) i kod rozwinięty (ang. *elaborated code*, np. stosowany przez klasę średnią). Scharakteryzuje je tu pokrótce odwołując się do słów Bernsteina (1971): „W płaszczyźnie językowej określa je prawdopodobieństwo odgadnięcia, jakie elementy składniowe wykorzysta mówiący dla organizacji znaczenia w reprezentatywnej próbce mowy. Użytkownik kodu rozwiniętego uwzględnia stosunkowo obszerny zakres alternatyw, stąd też możliwość odgadnięcia jakie elementy wybierze dla organizacji znaczenia, podlega znacznej redukcji. Użytkownik kodu ograniczonego wybiera najczęściej spośród bardzo niewielu alternatyw, wobec czego znacznie wzrasta prawdopodobieństwo odgadnięcia jakie elementy znajdą zastosowanie

w jego wypowiedzi. W płaszczyźnie socjo-psychologicznej omawiane kody wyróżnia to, że jeden z nich (rozwinięty) pobudza, a drugi (ograniczony) hamuje tendencję do werbalnie eksplikytnego formułowania intencji. Każdy typ kodu wytwarza własne matryce zachowań, zachowania te zaś kształtują odmienne systemy samosterowania, a więc i różne formy orientacji. Same te kody są funkcjami poszczególnych form relacji społecznej lub – mówiąc bardziej ogólnie – jakości struktur społecznych" (patrz Głowiński 1980: 95–96).

Tak więc kod ograniczony charakteryzuje się krótkimi, prostymi zdaniami z ubogą konstrukcją składniową i wieloma powtarzającymi się spójnikami. Zdania takie uniemożliwiają poniekąd użycie złożonych i skomplikowanych ciągów zdaniowych nastawionych na precyzyjniesze oddanie związków logicznych. Ubogie i ograniczone użycie przymiotników i przysłówków wiąże się z prostym, konkretnym i niezbyt rozwlekłym opisywaniem zjawisk. Następuje tu używanie krótkich rozkazów, częste posługiwianie się konstrukcjami oznajmującymi-pytającymi (w języku angielskim '*question tags*', w języku polskim kończenie zdania wyrazami „nieprawdaż”, czy „prawda”). Środki te mają na celu podkreślenie wspólnoty doświadczeń, podtrzymanie i wzmacnienie spójności grupy, a także wyeliminowanie sytuacji pogłębiania wypowiedzi. Ma także miejsce używanie zaimków osobowych opisujących doświadczenie konkretnych podmiotów, przy jednoczesnym nieużywaniu zaimków niesosobowych i innych form opisujących bardziej abstrakcyjny poziom rozumowania. Ponadto użycie owe jest na niskim poziomie ogólności, gdzie używa się raczej symboli konkretnych, rzec by można namacalnych, niż określeń zależności logicznych. Obecna w komunikacji ocena indywidualna nadawcy jest także ukryta, gdyż cały czas nadawca maksymalizuje swoją solidarność z grupą kosztem logicznej struktury komunikacji i zindywidualizowania doznań. Co więcej, kod ograniczony sprawdza się doskonale w obrębie stałych 'grup pierwotnych' (Cooley, 1902, ang. *primary group*), czyli takich, których członkowie mają bliskie, osobiste i trwałe związki i z których jego użytkownik się wywodzi. Najlepszym przykładem grypy pierwotnej jest rodzina. Użycie kodu ograniczonego zawodzi jednak, gdy próbuje taka osoba funkcjonować w nowym, nieznanym lub po prostu odmiennym środowisku społecznym. Użycie kodu ograniczonego ma związek z wytwarzaniem przez grupę pierwotną zamkniętych i charakterystycznych tylko dla siebie kategorii znaczeń, które wewnętrz społeczności bardziej nastawionej na wspólnotę nie muszą być uzgadniane explicite, a są zawarte implicite jako oczywiste i wszystkim znane.

Kod rozwinięty, z kolei, wykazuje cechy dokładnie przeciwstawne, czyli ścisły porządek składniowy, bogactwo i różnorodność określeń, używanie skomplikowanych konstrukcji gramatycznych i konstruowanie długich logicznych ciągów zdań, a także chętne posługiwianie się przez komunikato-

rów formami bezosobowymi, ogólnymi i abstrakcyjnymi. Istnieje więc możliwość przekazywania indywidualnych znaczeń przypisywanych przez jednostkę świata zewnętrznemu. Znaczenia są więc wyrażane explicite. Emocje zaś i odczucia przekazywane są za pomocą subtelnych wyrażeń nadających także różne odcienie całości przekazu. Kod rozwinięty nie ogranicza kompetencji jego użytkownika w komunikacji z osobami spoza grup, z których się wywodzi. W związku z tym, że znaczenia są wyrażane explicite, nie istnieją bariery uniemożliwiające ich zrozumienie – istnieją zatem wystarczająco bogate środki do zrozumienia i zinterpretowania w szerokim kontekście niemal każdej sytuacji komunikacyjnej.

Rzeczywistość językowo-komunikacyjna jednak nie ogranicza się do użycia kodu ograniczonego bądź kodu rozwiniętego, dokonuje się bowiem swoiste mieszanie kodów w danym obszarze języka lokalnego (narodowego lub etnicznego). Jedno z pytań badawczych postawionych w niniejszej pracy dotyczy właśnie mieszania się kodów językowych. Pytanie brzmi: „w którym z dystansów międzyosobowych dokonuje się owo mieszanie?”

Przyjmując typologię kodów językowych zaproponowaną przez Bernsteina i biorąc również pod uwagę ekolingwistyczny model Puppla (2004a, 2004b, 2007) można pokusić się o modyfikację owej typologii. I tak kod ograniczony zdefiniować można jako określający ‘niskie zasoby językowe’ a kod rozwinięty, z kolei, jako określający ‘wysokie zasoby językowe’ komunikatorów.

### **3. Metodologia badania wstępne: opis badania**

W badaniu wstępny wzięło udział ogółem 46 studentów Instytutu Filozofii, Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, w przedziale wiekowym 20–25 lat. Osoby te poproszono o wypełnienie kwestionariusza, który składał się z jednego pytania dotyczącego użycia typu języka w komunikacji w różnych parach komunikacyjnych. W ankiecie wytypowano dziesięć par komunikacyjnych (tzw. diad komunikacyjnych) (patrz Załącznik nr 1).

### **4. Założenia badania wstępne**

W badaniu wstępny przyjęto następujące założenia:

1. Dystans komunikacyjny dzielimy na ‘nacechowany’ i na ‘nienacechowany’.
2. Dystans nienacechowany jest dystansem optymalnym; w tym dystansie międzyosobowym następuje mieszanie się zasobów językowych (tj. kodu rozwiniętego z kodem ograniczonym).

3. Dystans ‘nacechowany’ to taki typ dystansu, gdzie w użyciu następuje wyraźnie dominacja zasobów wysokich albo niskich zasobów językowych.

4. Dystans ‘nienacechowany’ charakteryzuje się optymalnym zmieszaniem zasobów językowych danego komunikatora.

## 5. Analiza danych w ramach badania wstępniego

W obecnym opracowaniu pojawia się konieczność użycia terminów dotyczących typu środków verbalnych o charakterze ‘języka potocznego’ i ‘języka formalnego’. Zatem, aby uczynić niniejszą analizę bardziej czytelną, należy zdefiniować zastosowane w badaniu zmienne, jakimi są oba typy używanych przez komunikatorów środków:

1. Przez ‘język potoczny’ rozumiem materiał verbalny użyty przez komunikatora bez szczególnej troski o poprawność, w którym wypowiedzi są formowane pospiesznie. Co więcej sprawca komunikacyjny zarządza wyrazami potocznymi, okazjonalnymi i ekspresyjnymi, jak również składnią zdania pojedynczego lub prostych zdań współrzędnych będącymi w obrębie tzw. niszy codziennej.

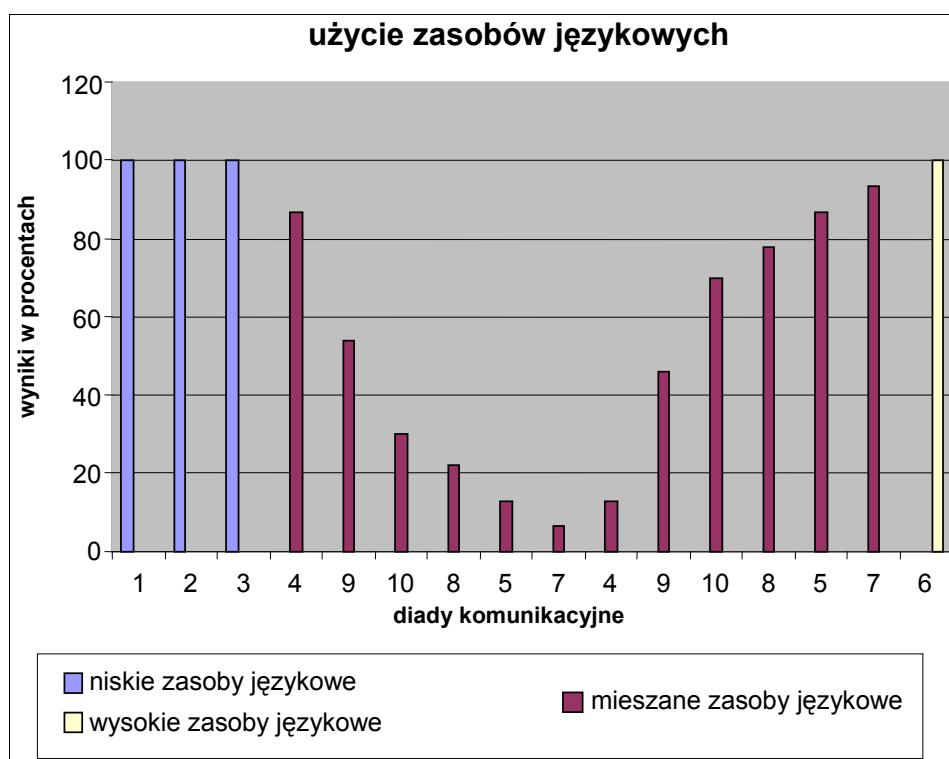
2. Przez ‘język formalny’ rozumiem materiał verbalny użyty przez komunikatora z wyraźną troską o poprawność, w którym środki wypowiedzi (np. bogaty zasób leksykalny) są użyte precyzyjnie i wybrane spoza tzw. ‘niszy codziennej’. Występuje tu rozmaitość środków składniowych i duży udział zdań złożonych podzielone oraz różnorodność stylistyczna.

Tabela nr 1

Diada komunikacyjna	Preferowany typ języka	
	język potoczny	język formalny
	odpowiedzi w procentach	odpowiedzi w procentach
1. ja-mąż/żona	100%	0%
2. ja-sympatia	100%	0%
3. ja-przyjaciółka/przyjaciel	100%	0%
4. ja-koleżanka/kolega z pracy	87%	13%
5. ja-przedstawiciel handlowy	13%	87%
6. ja-profesor/wykladowca	0%	100%
7. ja-pracodawca	6,5%	93,5%
8. ja-policjant	22%	78%
9. ja-sprzedawca	54%	46%
10. ja-osoba duchowna	30%	70%

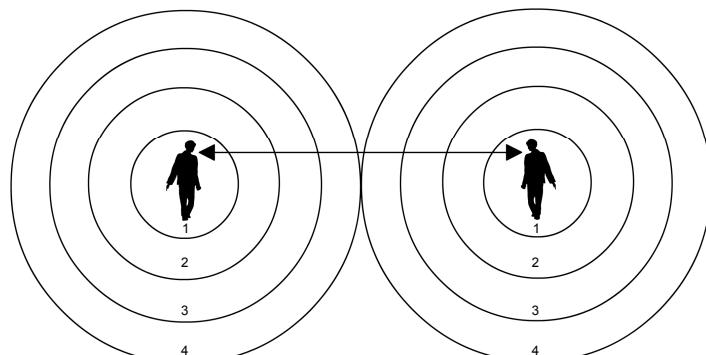
W badaniu wstępny zaproponowano respondentom dziesięć diad komunikacyjnych, które określono względem użycia ‘języka potocznego’ i ‘języka formalnego’. Wyniki badania przedstawia Tabela nr 1.

Z powyższej tabeli wynika, że w następujących trzech diadach komunikacyjnych, tj.: ‘ja-mąż/zona’, ‘ja-sympatia’, ‘ja-przyjaciółka/przyjaciel’, wszyscy respondenci badania (100%) wskazali na użycie języka potocznego. Tak więc według przyjętych założeń badania użyli oni niskich zasobów językowych. Natomiast w parze komunikacyjnej, tj.: ‘ja-profesor/wykładowca’ respondenci w 100% wskazali na użycie języka formalnego, czyli wysokich zasobów językowych w tej konkretnej diadzie komunikacyjnej. Z przeprowadzonego badania wstępnie wynika, iż nacechowanym dystansem komunikacyjnym jest dystans intymny oraz towarzyski, który charakteryzuje się wyraźną tendencją do użycia niskich zasobów językowych. Z kolei do dystansu nacechowanego wysokimi zasobami językowymi należy wyraźnie dystans zawodowy. Natomiast w dystansie towarzysko-zawodowym następuje zdecydowane mieszanie się niskich i wysokich zasobów językowych. Ilustruje to poniższy schemat:

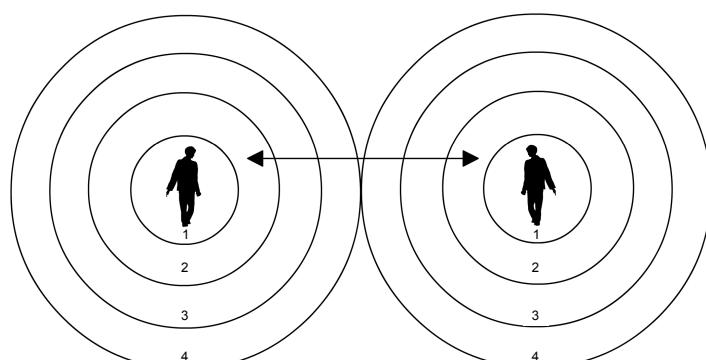


Schemat 2

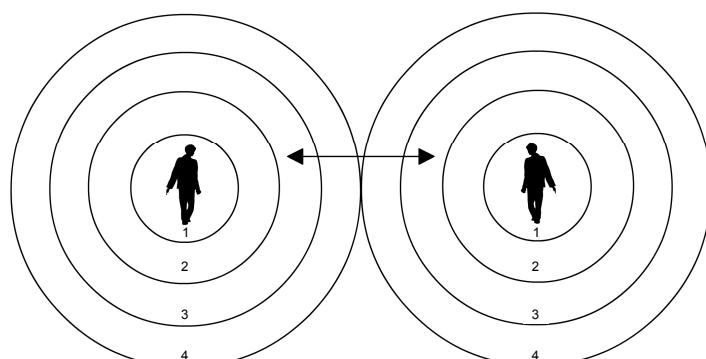
Natomiast poszczególne typy dystansów ilustrują poniższe schematy:



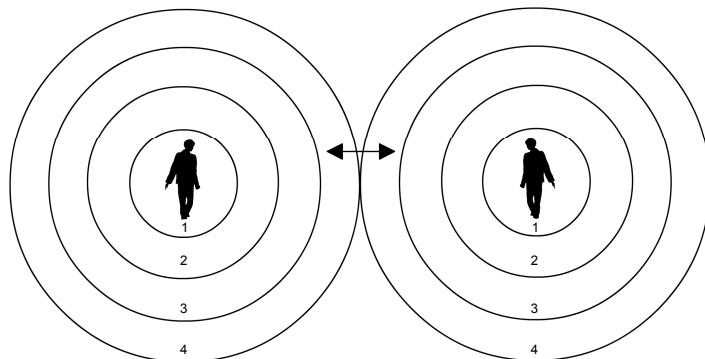
Schemat 3. Dystans intymny



Schemat 4. Dystans towarzyski



Schemat 5. Dystans towarzysko-zawodowy



Schemat 6. Dystans zawodowy

## 6. Wnioski ogólne

Na podstawie przeprowadzonej powyżej dyskusji można zaproponować następujące wnioski:

1. W dystansie towarzysko-zawodowym występuje maksymalne mieszanie się zasobów.
2. Im mniejszy dystans międzyosobowy między komunikatorami podczas komunikacji w komunikacji bezpośredniej tym więcej użycia modalności wizualno-dotykowej. Zatem im większy dystans międzyosobowy tym bardziej zwiększa się użycie modalności audio-wokalnej.
3. W zakresie pary pojęć 'nacechowany' i 'nienacechowany' można ustalić następujące współzależności:
  - (a) dystans intymny - nacechowany (kod ograniczony → niskie zasoby językowe);
  - (b) dystans towarzyski - nacechowany (kod ograniczony → niskie zasoby językowe);
  - (c) dystans towarzysko-zawodowy - nienacechowany (kod mieszany → mieszane zasoby językowe);
  - (d) dystans zawodowy - nacechowany (kod rozwinięty → wysokie zasoby językowe).
4. Dystans towarzysko-zawodowy wydaje się być dystansem najbardziej optymalnym dla użycia zróżnicowanych zasobów językowych.

## Bibliografia

- ALBAS, C. 1991. "Proxemic behavior: a study of extrusion". *The Journal of Social Psychology* 131. 697-702.  
 ALTMAN, I. 1975. *The environment and social behavior*. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.

- BAILENSEN, J.N., J. BLASCOVICH, A.C. BEALL I J.M. LOOMIS. 2003. "Interpersonal distance in immersive virtual environments". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29. 1–15.
- BERNSTEIN, B. 1971. *Class, codes and control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BERNSTEIN, B. 1980. "Socjolingwistyka a społeczne problemy kształcenia". W zbiorze: Głowiński, M. (red.). 83–119.
- CARPENTER, C.R. 1958. "Territoriality: a review of concepts and problems". W zbiorze: Roe, A. i G.G. Simpson (red.). *Behavior and Evolution*, New Haven: Yale University Press. 224–250.
- COOLEY, CH.H. 1902. *Human nature and social order*. New York: Scribners.
- EVANS, G. I R. HOWARD. 1973. "Personal space". *Psychological Bulletin* 80. 334–344.
- GARFINKEL, M. 1964. "Studies in the routine grounds of everyday activities". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 10. 26–30.
- GŁOWIŃSKI, M. (red.). 1980. *Język i społeczeństwo*. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1963. *Behavior in public places*. New York: Free Press.
- GOFFMAN, E. 1971. *Relations in public*. New York: Harper and Row.
- HALL, E.T. 1959. *The silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- HALL, E.T. 1963. "A system for the notation of proxemic behavior". *American Anthropologist* 65. 1003–1026.
- HALL, E.T. 1964a. *Silent assumptions in social communication*. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company.
- HALL, E.T. 1964b. "Adumbration in intercultural communication". *American Anthropologist* 66. 154–163.
- HALL, E.T. 1966. *The hidden dimension*. New York: Doubleday.
- HALL, E.T. 1968. "Proxemics". *Current Anthropology* 9. 83–108.
- HALL, E.T. 1974. *Handbook for proxemic research*. Washington, D.C.: Social Anthropology of Visual Communication.
- HALL, E.T. 1976. *Beyond Culture*. New York: Doubleday.
- HEDIGER, H.P. 1961. "The evolution of territorial behavior". W zbiorze: Washburn, S.L. (red.).
- HEDIGER, H.P. 1964. *Wild animals in captivity*. New York: Dover.
- HEDIGER, H.P. 1968. *Studies of the psychology and behavior of captive animals in zoos and circuses*. New York: Dover.
- HOROWITZ, J.J., D.F. DUFF I L.O. STRATTON. 1964. "Body buffer zone: explanation of personal space". *Archives of General Psychiatry* 11. 651–656.
- JANDA-DĘBEK, B. 2003. *Daleko czy blisko: dystans interakcyjny w wybranych sytuacjach społecznych*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- KATZ, P. 1937. *Animals and men*. London: Longman, Green.
- KEATING, C.F. I E.G. KEATING. 1980. "Distances between pairs of acquaintances and strangers on public benches in Nairobi, Kenya". *The Journal of Social Psychology* 110. 285–286.
- KNAPP, M.L. I J.A. HALL. 1997. *Nonverbal communication in human interaction*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- LITTLE, K.B. 1968. "Cultural variations in social schemata". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 10. 1–7.
- LITTLEJOHN, S. 2002. *Theories of human communication*. Albuquerque: Wadsworth.
- MAZUR, A. 1977. "Interpersonal spacing on public benches in contact vs. noncontact cultures". *The Journal of Social Psychology* 101. 53–58.
- NOESJIRWAN, J. 1978. "A laboratory study of proxemic patterns of Indonesians and Australians". *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 17. 333–334.
- PUPPEL, S. 2004a. "An outline of a domain-resource-agent-access-management (DRAAM) model of human communication: towards an ecology of human communication". Poznań:

- Adam Mickiewicz University, Department of Ecocommunication. Electronic Journal *Oikeios Logos* 1. 1-26.
- PUPPEL, S. 2004b. "Rozwój i utrzymanie zasobów językowych w głównych niszach komunikacyjnych człowieka". Niepublikowany referat wygłoszony w Katedrze Ekokomunikacji UAM.
- PUPPEL, S. 2007. "TęŜyzna języków naturalnych". W zbiorze: Chałacińska-Wiertelak, H. (red.). W druku.
- REMLAND, M.S., JONES, T.S. i H. BRINKMAN. 1995. "Interpersonal distance, body orientation, and touch: effects of culture, gender, and age". *The Journal of Social Psychology* 135. 281 -297.
- SCOTT, A.L. 1993. "A beginning theory of personal space boundaries". *Perspectives in Psychiatric Care*. 29. 12-21.
- SOMMER, R. 1968. "Intimacy ratings in five countries". *International Journal of Psychology* 3. 109 -114.
- SOMMER, R. 1969. *Personal space: the behavioral basis of design*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- SHUTER, R. 1976. "Proxemics and tactility in Latin America". *Journal of Communication* 26. 46-52.
- SHUTER, R. 1977. "A field study of nonverbal communication in Germany, Italy, and the United States". *Communication Monographs* 44. 298-305.
- SZOPSKI, M. 2005. *Komunikowanie międzykulturowe*. Warszawa: WSIP.
- WASHBURN, S.L. (red.). 1961. *Social life of early man*. New York: Wennergren Foundation.
- WATSON, O.M. 1970. *Proxemic behavior: a cross-cultural study*. The Hague: Mouton.
- WATSON, O.M. i T.D. GRAVES. 1966. "Quantitative research in proxemic behavior". *American Anthropologist* 68. 971-985.

### Załącznik nr 1: ANKIETA

Jakiego języka (**potocznego czy formalnego**) używa Pan/Pani w następujących sytuacjach komunikacyjnych? Proszę zaznaczyć odpowiednią odpowiedź:

1. ja-mąż/żona	potoczny	formalny
2. ja-sympatia	potoczny	formalny
3. ja- przyjaciółka/przyjaciel	potoczny	formalny
4. ja-koleżanka /kolega z pracy	potoczny	formalny
5. ja-przedstawiciel handlowy	potoczny	formalny
6. ja-profesor/wykładowca	potoczny	formalny
7. ja-pracodawca	potoczny	formalny
8. ja-policjant	potoczny	formalny
9. ja-sprzedawca	potoczny	formalny
10. ja-osoba duchowna	potoczny	formalny

### S u m m a r y

In the present paper an attempt has been made to analyze the use of language resources as determined by the four basic personal distances proposed by Hall (1966), intimate distance; personal distance; social distance, and public distance. The paper investigates the problem on the basis of a preliminary experimental study in which the results of a questionnaire have been examined. The study shows that in each category of personal distance different uses of language resources may be found. In addition, it has been found out that the so-called 'mixing' of language resources takes place in the 'social-professional' distance. This particular type of distance has been termed the 'optimal communicative distance'. Finally, it is believed that research of this kind may be helpful in shedding light on the use of language resources in different communication distances in which they may occur. This process relates to the ecological problem of language resource maintenance and conservation.



# **Interlingwalizm czy translingwalizm? Interkomunikacja czy transkomunikacja? Uwagi w kontekście współistnienia języków naturalnych w ramach globalnej wspólnoty kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej**

---

STANISŁAW PUPPEL

"The primary threat to nature and people today comes from centralising and monopolising power and control. Not until diversity is made the logic of production will there be a chance for sustainability, justice and peace. Cultivating and conserving diversity is no luxury in our times: it is a survival imperative".

(*Vandana Shiva, fizyk i działaczka ruchu ekologicznego*)

"Each ecology has its own psyche, and the local people bind their imaginations to the psyche of the place by letting the land dream its tales through them".

(*David Abram, ekolog kultury*)

"The collapse of natural ecosystems brought about by environmental destruction and the rapid loss of biological diversity are sapping the vitality of the biological world, and the very existence of the human race as part of the natural world hangs in the balance. In the same way, it may be fair to say that the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity and the deterioration of the linguistic ecosystem sap human intellectual vitality and may lead to the deterioration of the human race as intellectual beings".

(*Osahito Miyaoka, ekojęzykoznawca*)

## **1. Wstęp**

Celem niniejszego opracowania jest przeprowadzenie wstępnej analizy kontaktu językowego rozumianego jako współistnienie różnych języków naturalnych oraz wskazanie optymalnego rozwiązania w tym zakresie w świetle starań różnych gremiów, zarówno międzynarodowych jak i lokalnych, o zachowanie jak największej liczby żywych języków narodowych i, co za tym idzie, jak największego zróżnicowania językowego.

Komunikacja jako zjawisko i proces zawiera w sobie niezbywalny element 'współnotowości' (łacińskie *communicare* – 'dzielić się z kimś'). Zatem

zakłada ona istnienie tzw. 'sfery publicznej', w obrębie której występuje naturalna diada ekonomii komunikacyjnej 'obdarowujący' – 'obdarowywany'. W ramach ogólnej teorii komunikacji mówimy dodatkowo o diadzie 'nadawca' – 'odbiorca', gdzie obie strony łączy możliwość wymiany ról oraz wspólna znajomość kodu służącego do redagowania, wysyłania i odbioru komunikatów. Kodem tym jest język. Obecność diady nadawca-odbiorca zakłada symetryczność użycia językowego przejawiającą się w stosowaniu podstawowej zasady komunikacji: zarówno nadawca jak i odbiorca posiadają możliwość użycia języka w różnych wydarzeniach komunikacyjnych. Zakłada się, że parametr symetryczności stanowi jeden z podstawowych parametrów społecznego istnienia każdego języka naturalnego. Ponadto diadę nadawca-odbiorca, którym może być zarówno cała wspólnota kulturo-językowo-komunikacyjna (określana tutaj także jako językowo-komunikacyjna) bądź każdy indywidualny jej członek, można scharakteryzować z punktu widzenia ekonomii komunikacji, tj. określić wykonywanie operacji używania języka w procesach produkcji i percepции w odniesieniu do parametrów 'popytu' (ang. *demand*) i 'podaży' (ang. *supply*), której szczególnym przypadkiem jest podaż o charakterze 'hojności' (ang. *generosity*). Przyjmuje się, że parametry popytu i hojności stanowią dwa dalsze podstawowe parametry istnienia każdego języka naturalnego zarówno w kontekście kontaktów we wnętrzu danej wspólnoty językowo-komunikacyjnej jak i w wymiarze zewnętrznym, tj. między różnymi wspólnotami. Parametr symetryczności udziału nadawcy i odbiorcy w procesie kontaktów językowych (patrz poniżej) lub w procesie komunikacji rozumie się dwójako, a więc jako 'pełną symetryczność', tj. równy udział nadawcy i odbiorcy, lub jako 'niesymetryczność', tj. przewagę podaży (hojności) nadawcy nad popytem odbiorcy.

Język z kolei ma swój populacyjno-społeczno-kulturowy zasięg, który zwykło się określać jako co najmniej 'etniczny', a więc odnoszący się do określonej grupy (wspólnoty) etnicznej (greckie *ethnikos*), składającej się z grupy jednostek skupionej wokół swojego języka, lub jako 'narodowy' (łacińskie *natio*), a więc odnoszący się do określonej grupy etnicznej skupionej wokół swojego języka i dodatkowo wzmacnionej wytworzoną przez siebie przestrzenno-polityczną organizacją państwową (ang. *nation-state*). Język ma więc charakter przestrzenny. Tak jak w przypadku parametru symetryczności, parametr przestrzenności rozumie się tutaj jako jeden z podstawowych wymiarów istnienia każdego języka naturalnego. Podaż (hojność) w odniesieniu do przestrzenności języka naturalnego ze strony bądź to całej wspólnoty bądź też poszczególnych jej członków rozumie się dwójako, a więc jako 'rozproszoną', tj. skierowaną we wszystkich kierunkach jednocześnie (wielokierunkową), lub jako 'skupioną', a więc skierowaną wyłącznie do określonej wspólnoty lub poszczególnych jej członków.

Dla celów niniejszego opracowania przyjmujemy zatem, że oba pojęcia, 'język etniczny' i 'język narodowy', różnią się nieco swoimi zakresami, a więc węższym w odniesieniu do pierwszego i szerszym w odniesieniu do drugiego, i że różnice te wynikają głównie z faktu wytworzenia i utrzymywania przez daną wspólnotę etniczną organizmu państwowego lub też nie. Wszakże w kontekście pytań zawartych w tytule pracy zakładamy pełną wymienność obydwu terminów.

Ponadto przyjmujemy fakt istnienia globalnej multilingwalnej wspólnoty języków naturalnych, etnicznych i narodowych, do której należą wszystkie obecnie istniejące języki niezależnie od stopnia ich wewnętrznej 'tężyzny' (ang. *robustness*, zob. Puppel, 2007). Na bazie tej istnieje uznawane za odrębne zagadnienie badawcze zjawisko 'kontaktu językowego', a więc wzajemnego mniej lub bardziej intensywnego i długotrwałego kontaktowania się przedstawicieli różnych wspólnot etnicznych i narodowych. Ten ostatni fakt uznaje się powszechnie za źródło nieustanego procesu przenikania się języków jako wyniku swoistej podaży języków przez wspólnoty językowo-komunikacyjne i ich społecznej recepcji, inicjowania i przebiegu różnych zmian w obrębie poszczególnych języków, w tym także stymulowania różnorakich procesów innowacyjnych, do których należą m. in. procesy zmian leksykalnych w formie tzw. zapożyczeń, czy też procesy o charakterze degeneracyjnym, a więc wręcz osłabiania poszczególnych języków etnicznych i narodowych, a nawet ich całkowitego zaniku, bądź powstawania wszelakich hybryd w wyniku mniej lub bardziej głębokich intruzji ('inwazji') językowych. Przyjmuje się także, że poszczególne wspólnoty językowo-komunikacyjne, chcąc nie chcąc, wchodzą z sobą w układy 'konkurencyjne' lub 'kooperacyjne', co może mieć różnorakie konsekwencje dla utrzymania różnorodności językowej. Należy przy tym zauważać, że zjawisko powszechnego kontaktu językowego wyklucza ustalenie jakichkolwiek trwałych standardów tzw. stabilności językowej w przekroju etnicznym czy narodowym, bowiem nieustanne przenikanie się języków (także dialektów) powoduje, że są one w fazie niekończącego 'stawania się' (łac. *in statu nascendi*). Niemniej zakładamy, że języki etniczne i narodowe stanowią odrębne zjawiska, z jednej strony będące niejako na wyposażeniu różnych wspólnot językowo-komunikacyjnych i tym samym określające etniczną tożsamość poszczególnych członków tych wspólnot. Z drugiej zaś strony wspólnoty te wraz z procesami wynikającymi z kontaktu językowego są przedmiotem uwagi jazykoznawstwa, w tym w szczególności socjo-, etno- i ekolingwistyki.

Na koniec zakładamy, że dana wspólnota etniczno-językowo-komunikacyjna składa się z określonej grupy użytkowników danego języka, reprezentującej określoną strukturę wiekową, zawodową, majątkową, terytorialną (lub ponadterytorialną), a także świadomościową, których możemy określić

zbiorowym mianem ‘komunikatorów’ (ang. *communicators*). Pojęcie to wydaje się bardziej uzasadnione wobec raczej wąskiego zakresu tradycyjnego terminu ‘mówcy’ (ang. *speaker*, lub odpowiednio ‘rodzimego mówcy’, ang. *native speaker*), który to termin skutecznie usuwa z pola widzenia modalność dotykowo-wzrokową na rzecz tradycyjnego monopolu modalności słuchowo-wokalnej. Ponieważ jednak obie modalności przenikają się wzajemnie w statystycznie przeważających aktach komunikacji typu ‘bezpośredniego’ (ang. *face-to-face*), uzycie terminu ‘komunikator’ (lub odpowiednio ‘rodzimy komunikator’, ang. *native communicator*), czy ‘nierodzimy komunikator’ (ang. *non-native communicator*), wydaje się być bardziej uzasadnione. Tych też pojęć używać będziemy w niniejszym opracowaniu w odniesieniu do pojedynczego człowieka jako uczestnika szeroko pojętego procesu komunikacji rozumianego jako proces popytu-podaży i wymiany.

## 2. Sposoby istnienia języka naturalnego

Istnienie danego gatunku (lub odpowiednio organizmu) w przyrodzie związane jest z posiadaniem przez niego cechy wyróżniającej go od innych gatunków (i odpowiednio organizmów). Cecha ta, zwana umiejętnością wykonania ‘parady/pokazu’ (ang. *display*), jest, jak wiemy, odpowiednio zróżnicowana. Każdy język naturalny można uznać za podlegający tej samej umiejętności w wykonaniu określonej wspólnoty kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej wszakże dodatkowo związanej z parametrem jego terytorialnym. Terytorialne te warunkują wytworzone w dłuższym okresie czasu sposoby ‘zasilania’ (ang. *feeding*) danego języka naturalnego, które determinują jego ogólny sposób istnienia. Wymienione we wstępnie parametry popytu i podaży uważa się za współuczestniczące w procesie zasilania każdego języka naturalnego. Ponadto zasilanie uważa się za warunek konieczny do zaistnienia każdego języka naturalnego. Powyżej sformułowane uwagi wstępne pozwalają na przedstawienie głównych sposobów istnienia języka naturalnego. Możemy zatem przyjąć, co następuje:

- (a) wyróżniamy dwa sposoby istnienia języka naturalnego w odniesieniu do parametru symetryczności pomiędzy nadawcą i odbiorcą, gdzie nadawcę i odbiorcę stanowią dwie różne wspólnoty językowo-komunikacyjne (L2 i L1) pozostające z sobą w warunkach kontaktu językowego. Są to:
  - sposób symetryczny (zrównoważony): podaż języka naturalnego (np. L2) względem innego języka (np. L1) stanowi naturalny element współistnienia dwóch wspólnot językowo-komunikacyjnych zamieszkujących ten sam habitat językowy. W ramach tego sposobu

komunikatorzy są często dwujęzyczni w naturalnym środowisku wspólnie zamieszkiwanego habitatu. Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_2 s = s L_1$ , gdzie ' $s = s$ ' oznacza utrzymanie zrównoważonej podaży języka w ograniczonym obrębie jego naturalnego habitatu

- sposób niesymetryczny (hojny): podaż danego języka naturalnego ( $L_1$  lub  $L_2$ ) mniej lub bardziej zdecydowanie przeważa nad popytem ze strony innego języka naturalnego ( $L_1$  lub  $L_2$ ). Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_1 > L_2$  lub  $L_2 > L_1$ , gdzie ' $>$ ' oznacza hojną podaż języka

(b) wyróżniamy dwa sposoby jego istnienia w odniesieniu do parametru przestrzenności: Są to:

- sposób rozproszony (nieprzestrzenny): podaż danego języka naturalnego (np.  $L_1$ ) odbywa się we wszystkich kierunkach jednocześnie i ku wszystkim bez wyjątku wspólnotom językowo-komunikacyjnym. Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_1 > L_n$ , gdzie ' $>$ ' oznacza podaż danego języka ( $L_1$ ) w sposób przekraczający jego ograniczoną przestrzeń, a ' $L_n$ ' oznacza dowolny język naturalny

- sposób skupiony (przestrzenny): podaż języka naturalnego (np.  $L_1$ ) odbywa się w ramach danego terytorium, na którym występuje dany język naturalny ( $L_1$ ) (np. w obrębie terytorialnego rdzenia habitatu językowego następuje spodziewany tam i naturalny proces akwizycji języka pierwszego ( $L_1$ ); zob. Puppel i Puppel, 2005), gdzie podaż  $L_1$  równoważy popyt na ten język. W ramach tego sposobu komunikatorzy są głównie monolingwali. Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_1 p = p L_1$ , gdzie ' $p = p$ ' oznacza utrzymanie zrównoważonej podaży języka w obrębie ograniczonego jego habitatem parametru przestrzenności.

Ponadto w obu tych sposobach występują sposoby mieszane.

Obydwie główne kategorie sposobów istnienia języków naturalnych przedstawić można za pomocą następującej tabeli zbiorczej (Tabela nr 1).

**Tabela nr 1**

Lp.	Kategoria: Symetryczność	Kategoria: Przestrzeń
1.	Sposób symetryczny (zrównoważony) zasilania języka: $L_2 s = s L_1$	Sposób skupiony (przestrzenny) zasilania języka: $L_1 p = p L_1$
2.	Sposób niesymetryczny (hojny) zasilania języka: $L_1 > L_2$ lub $L_2 > L_1$	Sposób rozproszony (nieprzestrzenny) zasilania języka: $L_1 > L_n$

Połączenie obydwu parametrów, symetryczności i przestrzenności, pozwala na wyróżnienie następujących czterech sposobów istnienia języków naturalnych w dwóch kategoriach symetryczności i przestrzenności i w warunkach zjawiska powszechnego kontaktu językowego:

(i) symetryczny-skupiony (S-S):

sposób ten charakteryzuje podaż języka naturalnego (np. L2): (a) w warunkach naturalnego współistnienia dwóch różnych języków (bilingużu) występującego w rdzeniu habitułu głównego języka (L1) (np. podaż języka francuskiego i niemieckiego w Szwajcarii). Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_2 = L_1$ , lub (b) podaż języka naturalnego w procesie akwizycji języka pierwszego (L1) w rdzeniu habitułu językowego (np. podaż języka polskiego jako pierwszego na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej). Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_1 = L_1$ ;

(ii) symetryczny-rozproszony (S-R):

sposób ten charakteryzuje podaż języka naturalnego (np. L2): (a) w warunkach występowania tegoż języka w rozproszeniu przestrzennym (terytorialnym), tj. w mniejszościowej diasporze (peryferii), a więc w obrębie rdzenia habitułu innego języka naturalnego (L1) (np. podaż języka polskiego jako mniejszościowego na terenie ośrodków polonijnych w USA lub (b) podaż tegoż języka (L2) z rdzenia w stronę peryferyi, np. za pomocą TV Polonia). Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_2 = L_1$ ;

(iii) niesymetryczny-rozproszony (N-R):

sposób ten charakteryzuje hojną podaż danego języka naturalnego (np. L1) skierowaną we wszystkich kierunkach (wielokierunkową) i ku wszystkim bez wyjątku wspólnotom językowo-komunikacyjnym i bez uwzględniania jakiegokolwiek nań popytu (np. podaż języka angielskiego w skali globu po zakończeniu II Wojny Światowej adresowana dynamicznie do całej populacji ludzkiej za pomocą połączonych modalności słuchowo-wokalnej (radio, film oraz wszelkie inne nośniki audialne) i dotykowo-wzrokowej (wszelkie materiały drukowane)). Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_1 > L_n$ ;

(iv) niesymetryczny-skupiony (N-S):

sposób ten charakteryzuje hojną podaż danego języka naturalnego (np. L1) następującą nie tylko we wszystkich kierunkach i ku wszystkim bez wyjątku wspólnotom językowo-komunikacyjnym lecz także z uwzględnieniem ustalanego stopniowo i stopniowo coraz bardziej wyspecjalizowanego nań popytu (np. podaż języka angielskiego w skali całego globu po zakończeniu II Wojny Światowej adresowana do coraz bardziej wyspecjalizowanych grup odbiorców, takich jak międzynarodowa społeczność nauczycieli języka angielskiego, społeczności uczonych, artystów, wojskowych, dyplomatów, ekonomistów, inżynierów, etc.). Sposób ten wyraża równanie:  $L_1 > L_n$ .

Z powyższego zestawienia wynika, że następujące sposoby: 'symetryczny-skupiony' i 'niesymetryczny-rozproszony' są sposobami podstawowymi istniejącymi na zasadzie dwubiegunowości, natomiast sposoby: 'symetryczny-rozproszony' i 'niesymetryczny-skupiony' są sposobami mieszanymi istnienia języków naturalnych. Jako takie mogą być uważane za pochodne odpowiednio sposobów (i) i (iii), które – jak już zaznaczono powyżej – możemy uważać za bardziej podstawowe w ramach obydwu kategorii.

Powyższą dyskusję przedstawić można za pomocą następującej tabeli (Tabela nr 2):

**Tabela nr 2**

Lp.	Ogólny typ podaży języka (na osi symetryczność-przestrzeńność)	Opis ogólnego typu podaży języka (na osi symetryczność-przestrzeńność)
1.	Symetryczny-skupiony S-S	<u>Sposób podstawowy</u> : podaż języka zrównoważona popytem, przestrzenne skupienie podaży
2.	Symetryczny-rozproszony S-R	<u>Sposób mieszany</u> : podaż języka częściowo zrównoważona popytem, przestrzenne rozproszenie podaży
3.	Niesymetryczny-rozproszony N-R	<u>Sposób podstawowy</u> : podaż typu hojnego i niezrównoważona popytem, przestrzenne rozproszenie podaży (wielokierunkowość)
4.	Niesymetryczny-skupiony N-S	<u>Sposób mieszany</u> : podaż typu hojnego i częściowo zrównoważona wyspecjalizowanym popytem, częściowe przestrzenne skupienie podaży

### 3. Kontakt językowy: inter- czy trans-?

Podaż języka typu zrównoważonego popytem ogólnie charakteryzuje lokalność i niezbędność, jest ona bowiem absolutnie konieczna dla zachowania ciągłości istnienia danego języka etnicznego czy narodowego. Dlatego też typy podaży S-S i S-R ogólnie nie naruszają jednolitego charakteru danego języka w kontakcie z innymi językami. Zupełnie inaczej wygląda to w przypadku typów podaży określonych jako N-R i N-S. W wyniku bowiem podaży danego języka naturalnego typu hojnego, a więc niezdeterminowanej popytem, czy to wielokierunkowej (przestrzennie rozproszonej) czy też częściowo przestrzennie skupionej, zwłaszcza utrzymującej się przez dłuższy okres czasu, pewna część populacji światowej przyswaja sobie taki język (bądź języki). Powstaje w takim przypadku zjawisko wygenerowania mniej lub bardziej licznej populacji komunikatorów, o których można z pewnością powiedzieć, iż nie są komunikatorami rodzimymi w zakresie L2. Komuni-

katorów tych możemy śmiało określić mianem 'quasi-populacji' komunikatorów nierodzimych (na wzór 'quasi-gatunku' (ang. *quasispecies*) zaproponowanego przez Eigena i Eigena-Schustera w biologii). Liczebność tej populacji komunikatorów zależy od stopnia hojności podaży i jej długotrwałości wyrażonej według prostej zależności: im dłuższy jest okres i im większy stopień hojności rozproszonej podaży danego języka naturalnego, tym większa staje się owa quasi-populacja komunikatorów nierodzimych.

Proces powyższy generuje zjawiska uboczne. Jednym z produktów ubocznych jest na ogół inercyjnie linearne ustawianie języka rodzimego (L1) *vis-a-vis* języka drugiego (L2). To linearne ustawienie dwóch języków określić możemy mianem 'typu INTER-', a więc takim, w ramach którego możliwe jest pojawienie się konkurencji (ang. *competition*) pomiędzy językiem rodzimym (L1) i językiem drugim (L2). Często konkurencja ta z wielu względów wypada niekorzystnie dla L1 i skutkuje nadaniem temu ostatniemu świadomościowemu statusu języka substratowego przez rodzimych komunikatorów (zob. Puppel i Puppel, 2005), podczas gdy język drugi (L2) osiąga status języka superstratowego. Proces ten ma miejsce zwłaszcza wtedy, gdy język rodzimy (L1) różni się od języka drugiego (L2) mniejszym stopniem tężyzny. Innym produktem ubocznym zjawiska powstania quasi-populacji komunikatorów nierodzimych (określanych tutaj również jako 'quasi-komunikatorzy') jest wywieranie mniej lub bardziej długotrwałej i często wysoce zorganizowanej presji na system kultury określonej wspólnoty językowo-komunikacyjnej (np. na system edukacyjny tejże wspólnoty) celem przyznania tej quasi-populacji szczególnego statusu. Możemy wtedy mówić o jednostronnym zasilaniu danego języka naturalnego w kontakcie z innym(i) językiem (językami), który to typ zasilania możemy określić mianem mniej lub bardziej intensywnej 'lingwopresji' o charakterze zewnętrznym (zwanej tutaj 'lingwopresją zewnętrzną' w odróżnieniu od 'lingwopresji wewnętrznej' istniejącej w obrębie języka rodzimego) wywieranej na daną populację komunikatorów rodzimych ze strony języka drugiego (L2). Na ogół lingwopresja zewnętrzna przynosi w dłuższym przedziale czasowym spodziewane wyniki i grupa quasi-komunikatorów w obrębie języka rodzimego (L1), zwłaszcza zorganizowana w zintegrowaną grupę zawodową skupioną wokół danego języka superstratowego (grupa wyspecjalizowanych quasi-komunikatorów) i działająca jak pośrednicy w podaży danego języka superstratowego, podejmuje działania o charakterze 'wzajemności' (ang. *reciprocity*) względem zjawiska hojnej podaży tegoż języka superstratowego ze strony różnych centrów podaży L2. Zatem tworzy ona z czasem wystarczające warunki do dalszego trwania oraz dalszej zinstytucjonalizowanej replikacji populacji quasi-komunikatorów zarówno w obrębie populacji rodzimych komunikatorów

danego języka etnicznego lub narodowego jak i w skali globalnej wspólnoty kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej.

Oczywiście dzieje się to ogólnie ze szkodą dla języka rodzimego (L1), który często, wskutek utrzymującej się lingwopresji zewnętrznej, na poziomie świadomości komunikatorów rodzimych, zarówno indywidualnej jak i zbiorowej, spychany jest przez nich mniej lub bardziej nieświadomie do typu narzędzia komunikacyjnego o statusie podrzędnym względem dokonującego ‘inwazji’ języka drugiego. Zaznaczyć przy tym należy, że perspektywa współistnienia języków naturalnych typu INTER- może być ze względu na swój niejako inercyjny charakter uważana za bardziej ‘nienacechowaną’ (dodatkowo określona jako ‘inercyjnie dyktatorsko-hegemonistyczna’), a więc opartą bardziej na rozmytych wielkościach wyznaczonych przez podstawowy dla każdego języka naturalnego parametr ‘tężyzny’ występujący w takim przypadku w stopniu najwyższym (zob. Puppel, 2007) jak i dodatkowe jednokierunkowe zasilanie języka rodzimego (L1) ze strony populacji wyspecjalizowanych quasi-komunikatorów. Zgodnie z powyższym założeniem przyjąć możemy, że w kontakcie dwóch języków naturalnych, ten o większym stopniu tężyzny na ogół przyjmuje status języka nadrzędnego (superstratowego). Wygrywa zatem konkurencję i w konsekwencji zajmuje pozycję dominującą wobec języka słabszego. Prostym następstwem tego procesu jest w dłuższym przedziale czasu osłabienie konkurenta, a w skrajnych przypadkach jego unicestwienie (‘śmierć języka’, ang. *language death*), co prowadzi do oczywistego zubożenia różnorodności w obrębie globalnej wspólnoty językowo-komunikacyjnej w ogólnym układzie ‘zwycięzcy-przegrani’, który charakteryzuje tzw. ‘swobodną ekonomię kontaktu językowego’.

Negatywnym skutkiem perspektywy typu INTER- może z pewnością przeciwdziałać perspektywa typu TRANS-, która pozwala na przebieg kontaktu językowego o charakterze bardziej ‘nacechowanym’, a więc taka, która uwzględnia udział w tymże kontakcie mniej lub bardziej rozwiniętej świadomości kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej u komunikatorów rodzimych. Świadomość ta powinna przede wszystkim obejmować pozytywne nastawienie do własnego języka i własnej wspólnoty kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej. Należy podkreślić, że istnienia jej nie można z góry założyć, lecz trzeba ją niejako celowo wygenerować *vis-a-vis* języka drugiego (L2) w wymienionych powyżej procesach symetrycznej i skupionej podaży języka rodzimego tak, by umożliwiała ona uruchomienie i utrzymanie przy najmniej minimalnego programu użycia języka rodzimego (tzw. ‘lojalnościowego’ użycia języka rodzimego; ang. *language loyalty*) w warunkach kontaktu językowego.

Tak rozumiane przygotowanie danej wspólnoty kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej do mającego nastąpić, dzisiaj raczej już nieunknionego, lub trwającego kontaktu językowego, może stanowić właściwą podstawę do stworzenia ogólnoszczególnego układu kontaktu językowego o charakterze przede wszystkim kooperacyjnym, w ramach którego wszystkie istniejące języki naturalne kontaktują się z sobą nie w ramach układu nierównościowego (typu INTER- i na osi 'substratowość-superstratowość') lecz w ramach globalnego układu równościowego (adstratowego i 'ekokratycznego'), zakładającego równorzędność wszystkich języków naturalnych, niezależnie od posiadanej przez nie stopnia tężyzny. Przyjmuje się, że układ równościowy, wymagający udziału rozwiniętej świadomości u komunikatorów rodzimych odnośnie własnego języka, nie pozwoli temu językowi (L1) – zarówno w wymiarze indywidualnym jak i zbiorowym – na 'spłynięcie' w stronę niższego (substratowego) statusu w kontakcie z jakimkolwiek językiem drugim (L2), zwłaszcza o wysokim stopniu tężyzny. W konsekwencji nie poniesie uszczerbku globalna różnorodność językowa w bardziej ekologicznym ogólnym układzie 'zwycięzcy-nieprzegrani'. Układ taki charakteryzuje tzw. 'kontrolowana ekonomia kontaktu językowego'. Stanowisko sprzyjające utrzymaniu takiego właśnie układu wypracowało językoznawstwo we współpracy z antropologią, socjologią, ekologią i etnologią względem kształtu globalnej polityki językowej i planowania językowego (zob. Wybrana literatura). Zgodnie z tym stanowiskiem zasilenie kontaktujących się z sobą języków powinno mieć charakter zdecydowanie dwukierunkowy (a więc na zasadzie wzajemności) i tym samym powinno przeciwdziałać powstawaniu zagrożeń związanych ze spychaniem (lub

Tabela nr 3

Perspektywa INTER- (swobodna ekonomia kontaktu językowego)	Perspektywa TRANS- (kontrolowana ekonomia kontaktu językowego)
Kontakt językowy w układzie nierównościowym istnienia języka, tj. na osi 'substratowość-superstratowość' (typ nienacechowany i inercyjnie dyktatorsko-hegemonistyczny) ↓ konkurencja języków naturalnych jako wynik jednokierunkowego zasilenia, czyli lingwopresji zewnętrznej w układzie 'zwycięzcy-przegrani'	Kontakt językowy w układzie równościowym istnienia języka, tj. 'adstratowym' (typ nacechowany i ekokratyczny) ↓ kooperacja języków naturalnych jako wynik dwukierunkowego zasilenia, czyli językowej ekokracji w układzie 'zwycięzcy-nieprzegrani'

gdzie '↓' oznacza ogólny wynik określonego typu kontaktu językowego.

spływanie) języków do statusu języków świadomościowo podrzędnych (substratowych).

Obydwie powyżej zarysowane perspektywy istnienia języków naturalnych można przedstawić za pomocą następującej tabeli (Tabela nr 3).

#### **4. Komunikacja w warunkach kontaktu językowego: inter- czy trans-?**

Wobec tak zarysowanego problemu istnienia i utrzymywania różnorodności językowej w warunkach kontaktu językowego powstaje do rozstrzygnięcia zagadnienie wyboru najbardziej optymalnego typu komunikacji. Czy będzie nią ‘interkomunikacja’ czy też raczej ‘transkomunikacja’? Odpowiedź na to podstawowe pytanie zależy w dużej mierze od przyjętej perspektywy. Należy podkreślić, że perspektywa INTER- kładzie zrozumiałą nacisk na sprawności językowo-komunikacyjne w zakresie języka dominującego (superstratowego). Jednocześnie zezwala ona na świadomościową marginalizację języka rodzimego (L1) ze strony samych komunikatorów rodzimych poddanych lingwopresji zewnętrznej. W konsekwencji uważa się, że perspektywa powyższa nie służy dobrze staraniom o utrzymywanie różnorodności językowej.

Natomiast perspektywa TRANS- nie tylko nie przeszkadza komunikatorom rodzimym w uzyskiwaniu najwyższego stopnia kompetencji kulturo-językowo-komunikacyjnej jak i w obrębie stosownych sprawności językowo-komunikacyjnej w zakresie L2, ale też niejako programowo wymaga od tychże komunikatorów rodzimych jednoczesnego podnoszenia kompetencji kulturo-językowo-komunikacyjnej i sprawności językowo-komunikacyjnej w zakresie L1. W ten sposób system równościowy (adstratowy i eko-kratyczny) daje optymalną kooperacyjną i symetryczną konfigurację (L1 = L2). Zdaje się też lepiej spełniać wymóg zachowania różnorodności językowej już na poziomie pojedynczych komunikatorów charakteryzujących się bardziej rozwiniętą kompetencją bilingwalną (lub multilingwalną) w oparciu o mniej lub bardziej rozwiniętą kompetencję kulturową obowiązkowo obejmującą również kulturę własnej wspólnoty. Zatem system równościowy, oparty na rozwiniętej świadomości komunikatorów – członków różnych wspólnot kulturo-językowo-komunikacyjnych – odnośnie konieczności zachowania parytetu pomiędzy kontaktującymi się językami naturalnymi, wydaje się być systemem lepiej odpowiadającym globalnemu scenariuszowi ekologicznemu zachowania jak największej liczby języków naturalnych jako istotnych części składowych globalnej wspólnoty kulturo-językowo-komunikacyjnej.

Ustalenia powyższe mogą okazać się istotne dla teorii i praktyki nauczania języków obcych (nierodzimych) bowiem obydwie perspektywy niejako generują odmienne typy komunikatorów w obrębie nieustannie tworzonej quasi-populacji komunikatorów nierodzimych. Tak więc perspektywa typu INTER- nieustannie generuje komunikatorów wykształconych w obrębie swobodnej ekonomii kontaktu językowego, a więc nastawionych na prowadzenie dalszej lingwopresji typu zewnętrznego w obrębie określonych języków rodzimych (L1). Natomiast perspektywa typu TRANS-, zakładająca społecznie kontrolowaną ekonomicę kontaktu językowego, pozwala na kształtowanie zarówno odpowiedniej świadomości kulturowo-językowo-komunikacyjnej jak i praktyki językowo-komunikacyjnej o charakterze równościowym (adstratowym i ekokratycznym). Opisany powyżej stan kontaktu językowego i towarzyszące mu konsekwencje mogą zatem stanowić podstawę do dalszych przemyśleń w obrębie szeroko pojętej teorii i praktyki nauczania języków obcych, a więc kształtowania odpowiedniej podaży i odpowiedniego popytu na różne kooperacyjnie i równościowo traktowane języki naturalne w obrębie populacji komunikatorów rodzimych.

### Wybrana literatura (z zakresu kontaktu językowego, planowania językowego, polityki językowej i kultury):

- AGER, D. 2001. *Motivation in language planning and language policy*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- AHRENS, R. (red.). 2003. *Europäische Sprachenpolitik*. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag.
- AMMON, U. (red.). 2001. *The dominance of English as a language of science: effects on other languages and language communities*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- ARGENTER, J.A. I R. MCKENNA (red.). 2004. *On the margins of nations: endangered languages and linguistic rights*. Bath: Foundation for Endangered Languages.
- AXELROD, R.M. 1984. *The evolution of cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.
- BAKER, C. I S. PRYS-JONES (red.). 1998. *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- BARON, D.E. 1990. *The English-only question*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- BECKER, G. 1976. *The economic approach to human behavior*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- BERNARD, H.R. 1992. "Preserving language diversity". *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (Fall). 15–18.
- BOYD, R. I P.J. RICHERSON. 1985. *Culture and the evolutionary process*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- BRADLEY, D. I M. BRADLEY (red.). 2002. *Language endangerment and language maintenance: introduction*. London/New York: Routledge Curzon.
- BRENZINGER, M. (red.). 2001. *Language diversity endangered*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- BRETON, R.J.L. 1991. *Geolinguistics: language dynamics and ethnolinguistic geography*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

- BYRAM, M. I K. RISAGER. 1999. *Language teachers, politics and cultures*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- CARSON, L. (red.). 2003/2005. *Multilingualism in Europe*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.
- CASLER, S. 1992. *Introduction to economics*. New York: Harper Collins.
- CLYNE, M. 2003. *Dynamics of language contact: English and immigrant languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COHEN, R. 1997. *Global diasporas: an introduction*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- COMBS, A. 1992. *Cooperation: beyond the age of competition*. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach.
- COMRIE, B., S. MATTHEWS I M. POLINSKY. 1996. *The atlas of languages*. New York: Chackmark Books.
- COOPER, R.L. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COULMAS, F. 1992. *Language and economy*. London: Routledge.
- CRAWHALL, N.T. (red.). 1992.  *Democratically speaking: international perspectives on language planning*. Cape Town: National Language Project.
- CRYSTAL, D. 1997. *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CRYSTAL, D. 2000. *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DE SWAAN, A. 1991. "Notes on the emerging global language system: regional, national and supranational". *Media, Culture and Society* 13. 309–323.
- DE SWAAN, A. 1993. "The emergent world language system: an introduction". *International Political Science Review* 14. 219–226.
- DE SWAAN, A. 2001. *Words of the world: the global language system*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- DEUTSCH, M. 1949. "An experimental study of effect of cooperation and competition upon group process". *Human Relations* 2. 199–231.
- DIXON, R.M.W. 1997. *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DUCHENE, A. I M. HELLER (red.). 2007. *Discourses of endangerment: ideology and interest in the defense of languages*. London: Continuum.
- EIGEN, M. 1971. "Self-organization of matter and the evolution of biological macromolecules". *Naturwissenschaften* 58. 465–523.
- EIGEN, M. 1993. "Viral quasispecies". *Scientific American* 269. 42–49.
- EIGEN, M. I P. SCHUSTER. 1977. "The hypercycle: a principle of natural self-organization. Part A: emergence of the hypercycle". *Naturwissenschaften* 64. 541–565.
- ELLIOT, E. I L.D. KIEL. 2002. "Exploring cooperation and competition using agent-based modeling". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA* 99. 7193–7194.
- FEATHERSTONE, M. (red.). 1990. *Global culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- FISHMAN, J.A. (red.). 1966. *Language loyalty in the United States: the maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups*. The Hague: Mouton.
- FISHMAN, J.A. 1997. *In praise of the beloved language: a comparative view of positive ethnolinguistic consciousness*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- FISHMAN, J.A. 1998. "The new linguistic order". *Foreign Policy* 113. 26–39.
- FISHMAN, J.A. (red.). 1999. *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FISHMAN, J.A. (red.). 2001. *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: a 21<sup>st</sup> century perspective*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- FRIEDMAN, J. 1994. *Cultural identity and global process*. London: Sage Publications.
- GARCIA, O., R. PELETZ I H. SCHIFFMAN (red.). 2006. *Language loyalty, continuity and change: Joshua A. Fishman's contributions to international sociolinguistics*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- GRIN, F. 1990. "The economic approach to minority languages". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 11. 153–173.
- GRIN, F. 1996a. "Economic approaches to language and language planning: an introduction". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 121. 1–16.
- GRIN, F. 1996b. "The economics of language: survey, assessment and prospects". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 121. 17–44.
- GRIN, F. 1999. "Economics". W zbiorze: Fishman, J.A. (red.). 9–24.
- GUPTA, A. i J. FERGUSON. 1992. "Beyond 'culture': space, identity, and the politics of difference". *Cultural Anthropology* 7. 6–23.
- HANNERZ, U. 1992. *Cultural complexity*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- HANNERZ, U. 1996. *Transnational connections: cultures, peoples, places*. London: Routledge.
- HANNERZ, U. i O. LÖFGREN. 1994. "The nation in the global village". *Cultural Studies* 8. 198–207.
- HARMON, D. 2002. *In light of our differences: how diversity in nature and culture makes us human*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- HAUGEN, E. 1972. *The ecology of language*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- HAUGEN, E. 1987. *Blessings of Babel: bilingualism and language planning. Problems and pleasures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- HORNBERGER, N.H. 2002. "Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: an ecological approach". *Language Policy* 1. 27–51.
- HORNBERGER, N.H. i M. PÜTZ (red.). 2006. *Language loyalty, language planning, and language revitalization: recent writings and reflections from Joshua A. Fishman*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- HUSS, L., A. CAMILLERI i K.A. KING (red.). 2003. *Transcending monolingualism: linguistic revitalization in education*. Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger.
- JAROSZEWSKA, A. 2007. "Zalożenia edukacji wielo- oraz międzykulturowej w zarysie". *Studia Niemcoznawcze* XXXIV. 511–520.
- JESSNER, U. 2006. *Linguistic awareness in multilinguals: English as a third language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- JOHNSON, D.W. i R.T. JOHNSON. 1989. *Cooperation and competition: theory and research*. Ednia, MN: Interaction Books Inc.
- JOSEPH, J.E. 2004. *Language and identity: national, ethnic, religious*. New York: Macmillan.
- JOSEPH, J.E. 2006. *Language and politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- KACHRUS, B.B. 1986. "The power and politics of English". *World Englishes* 5.2–3. 121–140.
- KAGEL, J.H. i A.E. ROTH. 1995. *Handbook of experimental economics*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- KING, A.D. (red.). 1997. *Culture, globalization and the world system*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- KRAUSS, M. 1992. "The world's languages in crisis". *Language* 68.1. 1–42.
- KROSKRITY, P.V. (red.). 2000. *Regimes of language: ideologies, polities, and identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- MACKAY, W.F. 2003. "Forecasting the fate of languages". W zbiorze: Maurais, J. i M.A. Morris. (red.). 64–81.
- MAFFI, L. 2000. "Language preservation vs. language maintenance and revitalization: assessing concepts, approaches, and implications for language sciences". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 142. 175–190.
- MAFFI, L. (red.). 2001. *On biocultural diversity: linking language, knowledge and the environment*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- MAURAS, J. i M.A. MORRIS (red.). 2003. *Languages in a globalising world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- MAZUR, J. (red.). 1999. *Polska polityka językowa*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
- MELCHERS, G. i P. SHAW. 2003. *World Englishes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MIYAOKA, O. "Endangered languages: the crumbling of the linguistic ecosystem". <http://www.elpr.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/essay/miyaoka01.htm>
- MÜLHÄUSLER, P. 1996. *Linguistic ecology: language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. London: Routledge.
- MÜLHÄUSLER, P. i D.T. TRYON. 1996. *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*. 3 tomy. Trends in Linguistics. Documentation 13. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- NETTLE, D. i S. ROMAINE. 2000. *Vanishing voices: the extinction of the world's languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- NICHOLS, J. 1992. *Linguistic diversity in space and time*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- OHMAE, K. 1990. *The borderless world*. New York: Harper Business.
- PAVLENKO, A. i A. BLACKLEDGE. (red.). 2003. *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- PHILLIPSON, R. 1992. *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PHILLIPSON, R. (red.). 2000. *Rights to language: equity, power, and education*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- PHILLIPSON, R. i T. SKUTNABB-KANGAS. 1996. "English only worldwide or language ecology?". *TESOL Quarterly* 30.3. 429–452.
- PORTEZ, A. 1999. "Conclusion: towards a new world – the origins and effects of transnational activities". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22.2. 463–477.
- PORTEZ, A. i L. HAO. 1998. "E pluribus unum: bilingualism and language loss in the second generation". *Sociology of Education* 71. 269–294.
- PUPPEL, S. 2007. „Tęzyzna języków naturalnych”. W zbiorze: Chałacińska-Wiertelak, H. (red.). *Wielokulturowość wobec uniwersaliów kultury*. Poznań. W druku.
- PUPPEL, S. i J. PUPPEL. 2005. „Zagadnienie percepcji języka naturalnego w triadzie: język ojczysty – język globalny – język sąsiadni na przykładzie triady: język polski – język angielski – język niemiecki w ujęciu ekolingwistycznym: próba typologii”. *Scripta Neophilologica Posnaniensia* VII. 55–95.
- RAFFINI, J.P. 1993. *Winners without losers: structures and strategies for increasing student motivation to learn*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- RICENTO, T. 2000. "Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4.2. 196–213.
- RIEGER, J. (red.). 2002. *Język mniejszości w otoczeniu obcym*. Warszawa: Semper.
- ROBERTSON, R. 1992. *Globalization: social theory and global culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- ROT, S. 1991. *Language contact*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.
- RUMBAUT, R.G. 1994. "The crucible within: ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants". *International Migration Review* 28. 748–798.
- SCHIFFMAN, H.F. 1996. *Linguistic culture and language policy*. London: Routledge.
- SCHILLER, H.I. 1976. *Communication and cultural domination*. White Plains, N.Y.: Sharpe.
- SKUTNABB-KANGAS, T. 2000. *Linguistic genocide in education – or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- SKUTNABB-KANGAS, T. i R. PHILLIPSON (red.). 1994. *Linguistic human rights: overcoming linguistic discrimination*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SPOLSKY, B. 2004. *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- STAUFFER, D. i C. SCHULTZE. 2005. "Microscopic and macroscopic simulation of competition between languages". *Physics of Life Reviews* 2.2. 89–116.
- SWALES, J.M. 1997. "English as 'Tyrannosaurus Rex' ". *World Englishes* 16.3. 373–382.
- The concise Oxford dictionary of sociology*. 1994. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- THOMASON, S.G. 2001. *Language contact*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- TOLLEFSON, J.W. (red.). 2002. *Language policies in education: critical issues*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- VERHULST, S. 1999. "Diasporic and transnational communication: technologies, policies and regulation". *The Public* 6.1. 29–36.
- VERRIPS, J. (red.). 1994. *Transactions*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- WEINREICH, U. 1953. *Languages in contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- WERNICK, A. 1991. *Promotional culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- WILLIAMS, G. 2005. *Sustaining language diversity in Europe: evidence from the Euromosaic Project*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- WOOLARD, K.A. i B.B. SCHIEFFELIN. 1994. "Language ideology". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23. 55–82.
- WRIGHT, S. 2000. *Community and communication: the role of language in nation state building and European integration*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- WRIGHT, S. 2004. *Language policy and language planning: from nationalism to globalization*. Houndsill, Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- YINGER, J.M. 1994. *Ethnicity: source of strength? Source of conflict?* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

## Summary

In the present article, an attempt has been made to distinguish and define two different approaches to multilingualism and language contact. Natural languages have been referred to as conforming to the INTER- approach and the TRANS- approach, respectively. Within the former approach, 'interlingualism' has been continually inducing the type of language contact that has clearly resulted in natural language competition (rivalry) thus changing languages into dominant (superstratal) languages and non-dominant and submissive (substratal) languages within an approach defined as contained within 'free language economy', that is, as dictatorial and preferring 'language hegemony'. A contrary view has been expressed within the TRANS- approach, the 'controlled language economy' approach, where the contacting natural languages tend to cooperate with each other thus entering a mutually protective (adstralal and ecocratic) type of relationship that may be termed 'translingualism'. It has also been assumed that the two basic approaches may lead to entirely different consequences in terms of natural language protection and maintenance. Namely, the superstratal-substratal paradigm may, in its extreme degree, result in language weakening and language loss, while the adstralal paradigm may generally lead to the preservation of the contacting languages. In addition, the approach expressed in the article combines the status of a given natural language *vis-a-vis* other languages with the economic processes of supply and demand whereby the supply of a given natural language towards another contacting language may assume the form of 'external linguopressure' generated by two major sources: the invading language community itself and a more or less well-organized quasi-population of 'second language experts' acting as intermediaries between the contacting languages.

# **Próba sprofilowania kultury polskiej na podstawie badania opartego na metodzie wolnych skojarzeń**

---

ANNA SZCZEPANIĄK-KOZAK

## **1. Wstęp**

Głównym celem niniejszego artykułu jest dokonanie wstępnej analizy profilu kulturowego Polaków na podstawie wyników badania asocjacyjnego przeprowadzonego wśród polskiej młodzieży studiującej. Autorka przyjmuje przy tym następujące założenia:

- kultura jest zjawiskiem odrębnym od społeczeństwa, które jednakże stanowi warunek *sine qua non*, generujący kulturę jako system norm. System ten stanowi z kolei naturalne środowisko dla zjawiska komunikacji, która jest zawsze elementem zawartym w kulturze jednocześnie ją odzwierciedlając. Stąd wszystkie te trzy elementy, tj. społeczeństwo, kultura i komunikacja, nawzajem się uzupełniają tworząc spójną całość;
- pełna znajomość kultury danego języka lokalnego stanowi jeden z nieodłącznych warunków nabycia kompetencji komunikacyjnej.

## **2. Miejsce badania asocjacyjnego w komunikacji interkulturowej**

Metoda wolnych skojarzeń (ang. *free association method*) jako narzędzie wykorzystywane do analizowania komunikacji została po raz pierwszy zaproponowana przez pionierów psycholingwistyki, Osgood'a i Sebeok'a, którzy napisali "Words of high cultural frequency exercise more influence [on reactions to compound stimuli] than words of low cultural frequency" (pol. „Wydaje się, że wyrazy o większej częstotliwości występowania w danej kulturze wywierają większy wpływ [na nasze skojarzenia z wyrazami-bodźcami] niż wyrazy o małej częstotliwości”<sup>1</sup>) (Osgood, Sebeok, 1965: 117). Przy tym należy podkreślić, iż psy-

---

<sup>1</sup> Tłumaczenie własne autorki.

cholingwistyka jest bliska komunikacji interkulturowej, ponieważ bada te procesy, w wyniku których intencje mówiących są przekładane na znaki kodu, który byłby kulturowo akceptowany.

Nieco później Lambert (1972: 206), porównując wyniki badań z wykorzystaniem metody wolnych skojarzeń przeprowadzonych w różnych językach, stwierdził, iż czynnik kulturowy warunkuje stereotypy skojarzeniowe. Od lat pięćdziesiątych do siedemdziesiątych ubiegłego wieku zapanowała moda na testy oparte na wolnych skojarzeniach, ale ich wyniki analizowano pod względem czysto językowym. Dopiero Szalay (zob. Klopff, 1996: 127) próbował dochodzić do wniosków na temat kulturowo uwarunkowanych sposobów myślenia oraz komunikacji werbalnej na podstawie danych uzyskanych w takich testach. Eksperyment Szalay'a został przeprowadzony przy udziale studentów koreańskich, kolumbijskich i amerykańskich, i pozwolił mu na sformułowanie wniosku, iż istniejące dane mogą posłużyć na potwierdzenie istnienia różnic kulturowych.

Zastosowanie metody wolnych skojarzeń do badań nad kulturami narodowymi uzasadniałaby tzw. „zasada uczenia się w sąsiedztwie” (ang. *principle of contiguity*), która mówi, iż zjawiska, których doświadczamy w towarzystwie innych zjawisk, z reguły są powiązane w naszej wyobraźni. Stąd, kiedy myślimy o jednym z tych powiązanych zjawisk, to pozostałe z dużym prawdopodobieństwem przyjdą nam również na myśl (zob. Wettler, Rapp ŹI 2). Innymi słowy skojarzenie może nam podpowiedzieć, w jakim kontekście lub w otoczeniu jakich innych zjawisk badana osoba podświadomie umiejscowiła przedmiot, osobę czy też sytuację wywołaną wyrazem-bodźcem.

Innym argumentem przemawiającym za wykorzystaniem tej metody w badaniach interkulturowych mogą być wnioski z wieloletnich badań nad normami rządzącymi procesem kojarzenia przeprowadzonych przez zespół naukowców amerykańskich a opublikowanych w artykule Nelsona, McEvoy i Schreibera (2005). Mianowicie sugerują oni, iż nasza pamięć przechowuje wyrazy nie jako odrębne jednostki, ale jako elementy połączone ciągle zmieniającą się siatką powiązań z innymi wyrazami. Powiązania międzywyrazowe, które ujawniają się w testach opartych na skojarzeniach, bazują na matrycy, tworzącej się w wyniku przeszłych doświadczeń i co ważne procesu uczenia się (Nelson, McEvoy, Schreiber, 2005: 4). Połączenia międzywyrazowe nie są czymś, co dziedziczymy, ale są czymś, co nabywamy na drodze bezpośredniego doświadczenia i edukacji. Wskazanie procesu uczenia się jako jednego z elementów wspomagających kojarzenie jest wyjaśnieniem, dlaczego skojarzenia mogą posłużyć jako narzędzie badania kultur, w tym naszego stosunku do innych kultur. Zatem, ponieważ kultura, w ujęciu przedstawionym przez Hofstede (1997), jest czymś, co nabywamy w procesie uczenia się od naszych rodziców, otaczających nas innych ludzi

czy w środowisku szkolnym, to wyniki naszej akulturyzacji będą zapisane w owej matrycy ujawniającej się w skojarzeniach. Oczywiście, nastąpi to przy założeniu, iż wyrazy-bodźce będą odpowiednio dobrane. Jednocześnie testy wolnych skojarzeń pomagają w wykryciu stereotypowych poglądów rozpoznańowych wśród danej grupy stanowiącej wspólnotę komunikacyjną, a które mogą kształtować się pod wpływem kultury. Wreszcie przy odpowiednio dobranych bodźcach testy oparte na wolnych skojarzeniach mogą ukazywać różnice o podłożu socjokulturowym między grupami ludzi. Mogą na przykład prowadzić do wniosków, jak nasze otoczenie komunikacyjne, w tym takie zjawiska jak reklamy, mass media, kultura popularna, warunkują nasze poglądy na świat, obniżają nasze umiejętności krytycznego myślenia i przeciwstawiania się zakorzenionym stereotypom oraz wpływają na naszą siatkę skojarzeń. Po części zajmuje się tymi zagadnieniami również teoria mechanizmów perswazji i sposobów percepcji reklam (De Mooij 2005).

Chociaż wymienieni powyżej Amerykanie zajmowali się raczej zagadnieniem zapamiętywania i odtwarzania zapamiętanych zasobów, to pośrednio wskazali na użyteczność tego typu testów do badań różnych kultur. Mianowicie w swoim artykule "Association, Rhyme and Word Fragment Norms" piszą, iż na pewnym etapie swoich badań odkryli, że również Brytyjczycy, Kiss, Armstrong i Milroy, prowadzą podobne testy. Porównanie amerykańskich i brytyjskich wyników ukazało, iż nawet między kulturami stereotypowo uważanymi za bliskie istnieją znaczne różnice w podawanych skojarzeniach. Dla przykładu, typowym skojarzeniem do wyrazu *jabłko* w testach brytyjskich było *drzewo i szarlotka*, natomiast na Florydzie, gdzie jabłonie rosną rzadko jabłko wywoływało skojarzenia kolorów czerwonego i pomarańczowego (Nelson, McEvoy, Schreiber, 2005: 5–6). Chociaż wspomniani badacze tłumaczą te rozbieżności położeniem geograficznym, to można śmiało powiedzieć, iż nie wszystkie różnice da się w ten sposób wyjaśniać. Raczej należałoby skłaniać się ku stwierdzeniu, że w procesie akulturyzacji uczymy się wartości, obrzędów, sposobów postępowania, charakterystycznych zjawisk dla naszego otoczenia, a różnice w naszym poznaniu rzadko da się wyjaśnić samym położeniem geograficznym.

### 3. Przeprowadzone badanie

Metoda wolnych skojarzeń nie była do tej pory wykorzystywana do wyznaczania cech charakterystycznych dla kultury polskiej. Istnieją jednakże badania, wykorzystujące skojarzenia do analizy relacji leksykalnych zachodzących między wyrazem-bodźcem a reakcją, zgodności bodźca z reakcją pod względem przynależności do kategorii gramatycznej czy określenia relacji międzywyrazowych uzależnionych od kontekstu, np. relacje paradygma-

tyczne i syntaktyczne. Wymienić należałoby tutaj pionierską i komentowaną w zbiorze Postmana i Keppela pracę Kurcz (1976), oraz nawiązujące do niej opracowanie Łobacz i Mikołajczak-Matyja (2002), które jest próbą analizy stałości skojarzeń Polaków w perspektywie trzydziestu lat. Należy jednak podkreślić, iż zarówno istniejące polskie badania jak i te przeprowadzone na Amerykanach, Niemcach, czy Francuzach ze zbioru Postmana i Keppela (1970) stanowią punkt wyjścia do wniosków na temat siły związku asocjacyjnego na podstawie list frekwencyjnych. Stąd wnioski te uporządkowują różnice między poszczególnymi językami w odniesieniu do nich jako leksykonów. Z reguły wnioski z tego typu badań bazowały na analizach gramatyczno-semantycznych. Dużą uwagę przykładały bowiem do określenia na przykład, czy skojarzenie jest synonimem, antonimem, wyrazem uzupełniającym czy definiującym wyraz-bodziec i czy reprezentuje tę samą bądź inną część mowy. Ponadto dużo miejsca w tak ukierunkowanych badaniach poświęcano wnioskom wynikającym z dalszej obróbki statystycznej wyników, na przykład mierzono siłę reakcji dominującej o randze 1 odlegością wyrażoną w procentach pomiędzy wartością odpowiedzi o randze 1 a wartością odpowiedzi o randze 2 dla każdego hasła.

Z drugiej jednak strony opublikowano wyniki badań przeprowadzonych na Amerykanach i Rosjanach (Gorodetskaya, 2002) oraz Amerykanach i Białorusinach (Korshuk, 2005), które wykorzystując dane ilościowe, odnoszą się do wiedzy o kulturze, historii, socjologii czy psychologii. Niniejsze badanie zdecydowanie wpisuje się w drugi ze wspomnianych tutaj nurtów. Mianowicie chociaż obecne badanie asocjacyjne opiera się na danych ilościowych, to jego dominującym celem jest analiza jakościowa. Z tego względu analiza skojarzeń opiera się wyłącznie na skojarzeniach dominujących, tj. o randze 1, i nie uwzględnia natomiast reakcji skojarzeniowych dalszych rang.

Celem poniżej omówionego badania jest sprawdzenie, czy 1) metoda wolnych skojarzeń może być wykorzystana do nakreślenia chociażby częściowego profilu kulturowego Polaków; 2) jaki obraz polskiej kultury wyłoni się z takiego badania. Ponieważ omawiane badanie asocjacyjne ma wiele cech badania pilotażowego, po przeanalizowaniu wyników ankiety należałoby się również zastanowić 3) jak można niniejszą metodologię badania udoskonalić w celu osiągnięcia bardziej precyzyjnych i poddających się dalszej interpretacji danych.

#### **4. Metodologia przeprowadzonego badania**

Testy oparte na zasadzie wolnych skojarzeń są niezwykle łatwe w przeprowadzaniu i oferują badaczowi niezwykle bogactwo materiału do analizy. Pomimo tych niewątpliwych zalet nie są one popularne w badaniach nad

komunikacją interkulturową prawdopodobnie ze względu na trudności w interpretowaniu odpowiedzi udzielonych w kwestionariuszach. Trudności nastarcza również ułożenie listy wyrazów-bodźców, które mogłyby uwypuklić cechy istotne dla danej kultury lub różnice między kulturami. Należy również wspomnieć, iż ponieważ różni badacze korzystają z różnych list wyrazów, mających wywołać skojarzenia, to niezmiernie trudno jest porównać wyniki poszczególnych badań. Dlatego dla celów niniejszego badania wykorzystano powszechnie znaną listę ułożoną przez Kenta i Rosanoffa (1910), w autorskim tłumaczeniu na język polski. Lista ta składa się ze 100 wyrazów o stosunkowo wysokiej częstotliwości występowania w języku angielskim. W 1910 roku po raz pierwszy zastosowano ją do badań nad skojarzeniami osób cierpiących na choroby psychiczne. Od tamtej pory jest często wykorzystywana w badaniach skojarzeń nie tylko osób władających językiem angielskim, ale po przetłumaczeniu również osób posługujących się innymi językami. Co ciekawe, w większości skojarzenia wywołane wyrazami z tej listy są dość powszechnie wśród dorosłych użytkowników danego języka, stąd istnieje możliwość porównania wyników badań dla różnych języków, np. badania ze zbioru Postmana i Keppela (1970), Korshuk (2005), a na gruncie polskim Kurcz (1976), oraz Łobacz i Mikołajczak-Matyja (2002).

Chociaż osoby, które uczestniczyły w badaniu, znają język angielski na poziomie zaawansowanym, przedstawiona im lista składała się z wyrazów w języku polskim. Z badań przeprowadzonych wcześniej wynika bowiem, iż ważne jest, aby język, w którym osoby udzielają skojarzeń był ich językiem rodzimym. Uczestnicy eksperymentu otrzymują listę oraz udzielają odpowiedzi w swoim języku ojczystym, aby uniknąć interferencji kulturowej i językowej oraz zapobieżeniu sytuacji, w której respondenci nie mogliby podać rzeczywistego pierwszego skojarzenia z powodu braku odpowiednich zasobów językowych. Wynika to z faktu, iż odpowiadając w języku obcym, uczestnicy badania zdani są mimo wszystko na ograniczony zasób słów, co może powodować, iż podane skojarzenie nie będzie tym pierwszym, które przyszło im na myśl a raczej tym, na które znaleźli odpowiednik w języku obcym. Potwierdza to fakt, iż z reguły testy przeprowadzone na osobach obcojęzycznych dawały wyniki mniej zróżnicowane niż porównywalna grupa osób, dla których język bodźców jest językiem ojczystym.

Badanie miało następujący przebieg. Każda z osób, biorących w nim udział otrzymała arkusz badania, który zawierał listę stu słów zestawionych przez Kenta i Rosanoffa oraz metryczkę ankiety, w której znalazło się tylko jedno pytanie, które dotyczyło płci osoby wypełniającej ankietę. Zadaniem osób biorących w badaniu było wpisanie pierwszego wyrazu, który przyszedł im na myśl zaraz po przeczytaniu danego wyrazu. Osoby miały 20 minut na wypełnienie ankiety. Takie ograniczenie wynikało z faktu, iż

poprzednie badania dowiodły, iż pod presją czasu osoby najczęściej podają najbardziej typowe odpowiedzi, natomiast, jeśli czasu na odpowiedź jest więcej, to pojawia się większa różnorodność i oryginalność skojarzeń. Większość uczestników badania skończyła zadanie przed czasem, co pozwala domniemać, iż rzeczywiście nie zastanawiali się długo nad poszczególnymi wyrazami i wpisywali pierwsze skojarzenie, które przyszło im na myśl. W poprzednio przeprowadzonych badaniach respondenci oddawali wypełnione arkusze odpowiedzi po ok. 15 minutach.

Badanie przeprowadzono w listopadzie 2006 roku na grupie 75 studentów filologii angielskiej trzeciego roku studiów dziennych. Z tego powodu w metryczce ankiety nie umieszczono pytania o wiek, gdyż różnice wiekowe wśród studentów dziennych są niewielkie, liczone raczej w miesiącach niż latach. Wybór studentów jako grupy, na której przeprowadzono badanie, został natomiast podyktowany tym, iż znaczną większość poprzednich badań asocjacyjnych również przeprowadzono na studentach, co umożliwia analizę kontrastywną wyników badań. Natomiast liczba respondentów wynikała z faktu, iż na podstawie poprzednio przeprowadzonych testów swobodnych skojarzeń wykazano, iż układy odpowiedzi stabilizują się przy grupie pięćdziesięciu i więcej badanych. Natomiast badania przeprowadzone na większych grupach nie dawały większych puli odpowiedzi (Meara, 1983: 29). Stąd grupa 75 osób stanowi wystarczająco dużą próbę. Wśród respondentów było 50 kobiet i 25 mężczyzn, co stanowi odpowiednio 66,6 i 33,4 procent.

## 5. Wyniki badań

Ponieważ testy oparte na wolnych skojarzeniach oferują niezwykłe bogactwo materiału do analizy, w niniejszym artykule autorka przedstawia interpretację danych zgromadzonych nie dla wszystkich wyrazów-bodźców, ale dla tych, które wskazują na: 1) dystans do władzy i instytucji ją reprezentujących (wyrazy-bodźce: *Sprawiedliwość, Złodziej, Król, Obywatel*); 2) stosunek do religii (wyrazy-bodźce: *Biblia, Religia, Ksiądz*); 3) indywidualizm wyrażony stosunkiem do rodziny, pracy i niektórych zawodów (wyrazy-bodźce: *Rodzina, Praca, Lekarz, Zdrowie, Żołnierz*); 4) stosunki międzyludzkie w tym relacje kobieta-mężczyzna (wyrazy-bodźce: *Mężczyzna, Kobieta, Dom, Dziecko, Niemowlę, Kłopot*); oraz 5) wpływ mediów na siatkę skojarzeń.

Ogółem respondenci udzielili 7490 odpowiedzi. Żadnej z odpowiedzi nie uznano za błędą natomiast odpowiedzi trudne w interpretowaniu uznano za mające podłożę w indywidualnych doświadczeniach respondentów. W sposób typowy dla testów wolnych skojarzeń znaczny procent

odpowiedzi do każdego wyrazu stanowiły synonimy, na przykład 39 procent reakcji na wyraz *obawa* stanowił wyraz *strach*, przy czym drugim wyrazem pod względem częstotliwości występowania był inny synonim *lęk* (16%). Należy również podkreślić, iż respondenci rzadko podawali skojarzenia oparte na podobieństwie brzmienia, np. *wygoda* – *odnoga*; *miasto* – *ciasto*; *mąsto* – *hasło*. W ten sposób potwierdziła się teza, iż tylko dzieci cechuje tendencja do podawania skojarzeń zbudowanych na podstawie podobieństw brzmienia raczej niż na bezpośrednim związku semantycznym, co sugerował na podstawie swoich wyników badań Meara (1983: 1).

## 5.1. DYSTANS DO WŁADZY I INSTYTUCJI<sup>2</sup>

Trudno na podstawie wyników badania wyciągnąć wnioski, co do tego, jak duży dystans do władzy charakteryzuje respondentów, natomiast jasno widać na przykładzie wyrazu *król*, iż raczej kojarzymy go z atrybutami, tj. *władza* (23), *korona* (10), *głowa* (1), *berło* (1), *tron* (1), niż z przedsięwziętymi działaniami, ponieważ jedynymi wyrazami wskazującymi na czynność były idiosynkratyczne przypadki występowania wyrazów *rządzenie* czy *manipulacja*. Taką interpretację wspierają wyniki analizy skojarzeń podanych do wyrazu *obywatel*. Mianowicie ten wyraz-bodziec wywołał skojarzenia, które można nazwać nieosobistymi. Obywatel to dla respondentów raczej wyraz ze zbioru państwoowość (wskazują na to poniżej przytoczone przykłady w punkcie a), niż wyraz określający postawę osobistą (przykłady z punktu b). Na taką interpretację wskazują frekwencje odpowiedzi umieszczone w nawiasach: **a)** *państwo* (10), *Polska* (4), *społeczeństwo* (2), *kraj* (2), *naród* (2), *polityka* (2), *ojczyzna* (1); **b)** *patriota* (6), *wybory*, *głosowanie* (3), *obowiązek* (1). Pośrednio skojarzenia do wyrazu *obywatel* wskazują na mimo wszystko duży dystans do władzy wśród młodych Polaków. Duży dystans do władzy objawia się niechęcią do instytucji, w tym państwowych, jak i wysokim poziomem oczekiwania co do tego, co otoczenie, a więc i państwo, winne jest jednostce. Stąd wśród odpowiedzi udzielonych do wyrazu *obywatel* tak mało jest odpowiedzi, wskazujących na osobiste zaangażowanie. Wyraz *obowiązek* pojawił się mianowicie raz a *wybory*, *głosowanie* trzy razy.

Stosunek polskiej młodzieży do instytucji można określić na podstawie odpowiedzi udzielonych do wyrazu *sprawiedliwość*. Wyniki badania jasno pokazują, iż wymierzanie sprawiedliwości powierzamy instytucjom, ponieważ wyraz *sąd* pojawił się 14 razy jako reakcja na bodziec *sprawiedliwość*.

<sup>2</sup> W nawiasach podano liczbę powtórzeń tego samego skojarzenia do danego bodźca w ramach całego badania.

Źródła sprawiedliwości nieliczni z respondentów upatrują w interwencji sił nadprzyrodzonych – wyraz *Bóg* pojawił się 2 razy a przymiotnik *boża* jeden raz. Studenci objęci badaniem raczej nie wierzą w skuteczność organów sądownictwa, ponieważ wyrazy *kara* i *więzienie* występują z bardzo niską częstotliwością: *kara* (3), *więzienie* (1). Jednocześnie stosunkowo duży odsetek stanowią odpowiedzi, wskazujące na negatywną opinię na temat sprawiedliwości i instytucji, które są za nią odpowiedzialne. Można tutaj przytoczyć następujące odpowiedzi: *ślepa* (3), *utopia* (2), *nie ma* (2), *hasto* (1), *konfabulacja* (1), *niesprawiedliwa* (1), *powiedzenie* (1), *nie zawsze* (1), *może kiedyś* (1), *nieprzeszczególniona* (1), *czasami* (1), *rewolwer* (1). To daje łącznie sześćnaście odpowiedzi, które można określić mianem negatywnie wartościujących.

Powyższa interpretacja nabiera większej wiarygodności, kiedy przyjrzymy się skojarzeniom dla wyrazu *złodziej*. Najczęściej respondenci podawały skojarzenia, odnoszące się albo do przestępstw, jakich złodziej dokonuje, tj. *kradzież* (6), *włam*, *włamanie* (4), *oszustwo* (1) – razem 11 odpowiedzi; co najczęściej jest przedmiotem kradzieży, tj. *pieniądze* (4), *kasa* (1), *auta* (1), *samochody* (2), *portfel* (2), *łup* (1) – ponownie 11 odpowiedzi. Wystąpiło również kilka pejoratywnych epitetów, np. *czarny* (2), *bydło* (1), *gnojek* (1), *gagatek* (1), *cwaniak* (1), *norma* (1), *tobuz* (1) – razem 8 odpowiedzi. Natomiast z danych wynika, że respondenci nie widzą związku przyczynowo-skutkowego między działaniami złodzieja a karą, ponieważ tylko siedem osób kojarzy wyraz *złodziej* z wyrazem *więzienie*, a sam wyraz *kara* pojawił się tylko raz.

## 5.2. STOSUNEK DO RELIGII I OSÓB Z NIĄ ZWIĄZANYCH

Z badania wynika sformalizowane podejście do religii wśród młodzieży studiującej. Jako pierwsze skojarzenie do wyrazu *religia* respondenci najczęściej podawały odpowiedź *wiara* (12), *kościół* (12), *ksiądz* (6), *Bóg* (5), *katecheza* (3), *lekcja* (1), *szkoła* (1), *papież* (1), *chrześcijaństwo* (1), *Katolicyzm* (1). Taką interpretację dodatkowo wzmacnia rzadkie występowanie skojarzeń sugerujących osobiste odniesienie do religii, np. *moralność* (2), *dusza* (1), *moja własna* (2), *wola* (1), *wolność* (1), *odniesienie* (1), *zagmatwanie* (1). Bardzo rzadko zdarzały się jednocześnie skojarzenia pejoratywne, np. *nuda* (2), *bzdura* (1), *opium* (1).

Instytucjonalne podejście do wiary widać również na podstawie siły skojarzenia między wyrazem *ksiądz* a *kościół* (14). Należy również wspomnieć, iż na tle odpowiedzi do wyrazu *religia* skojarzenia do wyrazu *ksiądz* jawią się jako bardzo pejoratywne. Dowodem na to mogą być następujące wyrazy: *fałsz* (3), *kłamca* (2), *kłamstwo* (1), *obluda* (2), *oszust* (2), *statysta* (1), *hipokryta* (1), *dureń* (1), *niedostępność* (1), *czarna postać* (1), *gej* (1), *grzech* (1).

Wyrazy pozytywnie nacechowane występują rzadziej i nie równoważą negatywnego podejścia młodzieży studiującej widocznego w ankietach, świadczą o tym idiosynkratyczne przypadki wystąpienia wyrazów: *sługa Boga* (1), *powałanie* (1), *wierny* (1), *uprzejmość* (1), *dobrodziej* (1). Drugą najczęściej pojawiającą się grupą skojarzeń do wyrazu *ksiądz* są wyrazy opisujące czynności przez niego wykonywane, np. *spowiedź*, *spowiednik* (4), *konfesjonał* (2), *msza* (2), *kolęda* (1), *kazanie* (1).

Z trzech wyrazów-bodźców odnoszących się do religijności Polaków trzeci, tj. *Biblia*, wysuwa się na czoło, jeśli chodzi o pozytywne wartościowanie widoczne w skojarzeniach. Na 23 podane wyrazy większość to wyrazy, wskazujące na osobisty, najczęściej pozytywny stosunek do Biblii, tj. *prawda* (2), *mądrość* (2), *elementarz* (1), *święta* (1), *świętość* (1), *droga* (1), *rozwaga* (1), *super* (1), *pomoc* (1), *niedopowiedzenie* (1); lub jej związek z wiarą, tj. *Bóg* (11), *religia* (9), *wiara* (4), *Chrystus* (3), *przykazania* (1), *reguły* (1), *prawo* (1), *modlitwa* (1). Ten pozytywny obraz Biblii wzmacnia dodatkowo duża liczba skojarzeń o neutralnym zabarwieniu, tj. *książka*, *księga* (12), *pismo* (1), oraz praktycznie brak wyrazów pejoratywnych. Wystąpił tylko jeden wyraz nacechowany negatywnie – *nuda* (1).

### **5.3. INDYWIDUALIZM WYRAŻONY STOSUNKIEM DO RODZINY, PRACY I NIEKTÓRYCH ZAWODÓW**

Wnioski wyciągnięte na podstawie odpowiedzi udzielonych do wyrazu *praca* są bardzo ciekawe. Po pierwsze najczęściej pojawiającą się odpowiedź do tego bodźca jest wyraz *pieniądze* (12), *płaca* (1), *pensja* (1), co może prowadzić do wniosku, iż praca jest dla studentów raczej źródłem dochodu niż dobrów niematerialnych, takich jak rozwój osobisty, kontakty z ludźmi. Jednocześnie jedynymi pozytywnymi skojarzeniami były: *przyjemność* (2), *satysfakcja* (2), *przyszłość* (1). W większości przypadków praca kojarzy się studentom negatywnie jako: *obowiązki* (8), *wysiłek* (5), *zmęczenie* (5), *ciężka* (4), *stres* (2), *koszmar* (1), *nudna* (1), *brak czasu* (1), *trudna* (1), *konieczność* (1). Taką interpretację dodatkowo popiera niska częstotliwość występowania skojarzeń o znaczeniu pozytywnym. Respondenci podali jedynie wyrazy: *łatwa* (1), *potrzebna* (1). Co ciekawe, rzadko występowały skojarzenia odnoszące się do miejsca wykonywania pracy, na przykład *drukarnia* (2), *biuro* (2), *kopalnia* (1), co może wskazywać na jeszcze małe doświadczenie zawodowe respondentów.

Należy również podkreślić, iż wyraźnie negatywny stosunek do pracy można wytlumaczyć na podstawie faktu, iż zarówno w powszechnym mniemaniu jak i badań Hofstede (ŽI 1) Polacy są narodem, który charakte-

ryzuje duży indywidualizm. Indywidualizm może natomiast objawiać się słabą identyfikacją z miejscem pracy, które jest zaliczane do wroga świata zewnętrznego. Co ciekawe, indywidualizm w ujęciu Hofstede to również troszczenie się o najbliższą rodzinę. Analiza podanych skojarzeń wykazała, iż rodzina jest niezmiernie ważna dla przebadanej grupy, sądząc po liczbie i różnorodności nazw wymienionych grup. Mianowicie respondenci wymienili tylko trzy grupy: *rodzina* (24), *dzieci* (3), *sąsiedzi* (1). *Rodzina* jako skojarzenie została podana 24 razy, przy czym następny według liczby przytoczeń wyraz *dzieci* pojawił się tylko trzy razy. Stąd wyraźnie widać, iż rodzina jest ważnym elementem życia młodych Polaków. Mikułowski-Pomorski (2006: 348) uważa, iż źródłem rodzinności Polaków można szukać chociażby w doświadczeniach komunizmu, przekazanych młodzieży przez rodziców, kiedy to życie rodzinne było jedyną ucieczką dla jednostek. Wreszcie wspomniane wcześniej negatywne podejście do sądu również może nam posłużyć jako dowód na to, iż Polacy to raczej naród indywidualistów. Indywidualizm charakteryzuje się bowiem nieufnym stosunkiem do instytucji i interpretowanie ich działań jako moralnie podejrzanych.

Badanie prowadzi również do ciekawych wniosków na temat opinii młodzieży na temat wybranych zawodów. Lista Kent'a i Rosanoff'a zawiera właściwie tylko dwie nazwy zawodów: *żołnierz* i *lekarz*, nie licząc wyrazu *książdz* omówionego wcześniej. Przede wszystkim należy podkreślić, iż oba zawody w badaniu wywołyły skojarzenia w zakresach od neutralnego do negatywnego. Skojarzenia pozytywne były rzadkością. W przypadku wyrazu *żołnierz* pojawiło się 6 skojarzeń pozytywnych, 40 neutralnych i 6 negatywnych. Zestawia je Tabela 1.

**Tabela 1.** Skojarzenia podane do wyrazu *żołnierz*

	<b>Podane skojarzenia</b>
O nacechowaniu pozytywnym	<i>oddanie</i> (1), <i>odwaga</i> (1), <i>odważny</i> (2), <i>zawodowiec</i> (1), <i>bohater</i> (1)
O nacechowaniu neutralnym	<i>armia</i> (5), <i>wojsko</i> (9), <i>wojna</i> (5), <i>walka</i> (1), <i>karabin</i> (6), <i>pistolet</i> (1), <i>broń</i> (3), <i>hełm</i> (1), <i>mundur</i> (4), <i>służba</i> (1), <i>obowiązek</i> (2), <i>dyscyplina</i> (2)
O nacechowaniu negatywnym	<i>śmierć</i> (3), <i>bezmyślność</i> (2), <i>bez sensu</i> (1), <i>morderca</i> (1)

Analizie poddano również skojarzenia podane do wyrazu *lekarz*. Tutaj największą grupę odpowiedzi stanowią wyrazy wskazujące na oczekiwania pokładane w osobach wykonujących ten zawód, tj. *pomoc* (6), *zwolnienie* (2), *recepta* (1), *leczenie* (1), *lek* (1), *badania* (1). Co ciekawe, lekarz dla badanych to raczej specjalista (odpowiedzi zebrane w punkcie a), niestety negatywnie

oceniany (odpowiedzi zebrane w punkcie b). Wskazują na to następujące skojarzenia: a) *specjalista* (1), *chirurg* (1), *dentysta* (2), *stomatolog* (1), *ginekolog* (2), *rodzinny* (1); b) *pieniądze* (2), *kolejka* (1), *niewiedza* (1), *krętacz* (1), *konował* (1), *śmierć* (1). Jednocześnie warto podkreślić, że podobnie jak w przypadku skojarzeń do wyrazu *praca*, wyraz *lekierz* wywołał mało odpowiedzi, które wskazywałyby na postrzeganie pracy lekarza przez pryzmat stosunków międzyludzkich. Lekierz to dla respondentów przede wszystkim działania, które podejmuje a nie relacje, które stwarza. Taką interpretację sugeruje znika koma liczba odpowiedzi wskazujących na stosunki międzyludzkie i ich jakość, np. *człowiek* (2), *zaufanie* (1), *spokój* (1), *pacjent* (1). Wreszcie należy podkreślić, iż lekierz prawie wcale nie kojarzy się respondentom ze zdrowiem a raczej z chorobą. Tylko dwie osoby podały *zdrowie* jako skojarzenie a dodatkowo jedna osoba podała wyraz *uzdrowienie*. Jednocześnie wyraz *choroba* znalazł się wśród odpowiedzi 10 razy. Przy tym należy podkreślić, iż na podstawie odpowiedzi udzielonych do wyrazu *zdrowie* można stwierdzić, iż jest to dla uczestników badania stan bardzo pożądany i doceniany, ale nie powiązany z osobą lekarza, gdyż tylko 6 osób podało takie skojarzenie w odniesieniu do wyrazu *zdrowie*. Osoby uczestniczące w badaniu wskazały przy tym na następujące atrybuty zdrowia: *uroda* (4), *ważne* (3), *życie* (3), *siła* (2), *radość* (2), *szerokość* (2), *najważniejsze* (2), *dar* (1), *dobro* (1), *wolność* (1), *komfort* (1), *cenne* (1), *potrzeba* (1), *potrzebne* (1), *uśmiech* (1), *istota* (1).

#### **5.4. STOSUNKI MIĘDZYLUDZKIE, W TYM RELACJE KOBIETA-MĘŻCZYZNA**

Celem niniejszego badania asocjacyjnego nie było porównanie odpowiedzi podanych przez kobiety z tymi podanymi przez mężczyzn i z reguły frekwencje skojarzeń nie różniły się ze względu na płeć. Takie podejście było podyktowane rezultatami poprzednio przeprowadzonych badań, które wskazały, iż w większości przypadków, tj. 75/100 wyrazów bodźców, pierwsze podane skojarzenie przez mężczyzn i kobiety było identyczne. Wskazują na to wnioski ze studiów porównawczych przeprowadzonych przez Rosenzweiga (1970: 104, 106), który konkluduje swoje rozważania, mówiąc, iż wyrazy z listy Kenta i Rosanoffa wywołują zbliżone skojarzenia u kobiet i mężczyzn.

W niniejszym badaniu większość wyrazów-bodźców również wywołała jednakowe skojarzenia wśród mężczyzn i kobiet, jednakże w niektórych przypadkach analiza wykazała różnice warte szerszego omówienia. Na przykład najczęstszym skojarzeniem, jakie podały kobiety biorące udział w tym badaniu do wyrazu *kobieta* był wyraz *mama, matka* (11), przy tylko jednej takiej odpowiedzi wśród mężczyzn. Wśród odpowiedzi udzielonych

przez kobiety zdecydowanie przeważały również przymiotniki, opisujące cechy pozytywne kobiet, takie jak *piękna* (9), *subtelna* (2), *zgrabna* (1), *szczupła* (1), *elegancka* (1), *wrażliwa* (1), *zadbana* (1), *cierpliwa* (1), *ciepła* (1), co dało razem 19 skojarzeń (38%). Ogólnie można postawić tezę, iż kobiety raczej koncentrują się na opisie osoby, ponieważ oprócz wyżej wymienionych skojarzeń pojawiły się również wyrazy: *dziecko* (3), *zmienna* (2), *piersi* (1), *cięta* (1), *torba* (1), *sukienka* (1). Dla porównania mężczyźni podali o wiele mniej wyrazów, opisujących kobiety, tj. *piękno*, *piękna* (6), *uroda* (1), *sztyk* (1), *uśmiech* (1), *delikatność* (1), *cięta* (1), *sukienka* (1). Dodatkowo przy stosunkowo małej różnorodności wyrazów dużą częstotliwość uzyskał wśród tych respondentów wyraz *seks* (6). Co ciekawe, jedynym wyrazem o negatywnym zabarwieniu w odniesieniu do wyrazu *kobieta*, który podali mężczyźni był wyraz *pijawka* (1).

Wśród skojarzeń do wyrazu *mężczyzna* podanych przez kobiety zdecydowanie przeważały wyrazy o pozytywnym nacechowaniu, np. *wysoki* (8), *przystojny* (3), *potrzebny* (1), *spokojny* (1), *siła* (1), *mięśnie* (1), *cierpliwość* (1), *bezpogotowianie* (1), *opieka* (1), *przyjaźń* (1), *sympatia* (1), *pomoc* (1), *przyjemność* (1), *dżentelmen* (1). Pojawiły się również określenia nacechowane negatywnie, takie jak *niewierność* (2), *tęgi* (1), *impotent* (1), *egoista* (1), *dominacja* (1). Natomiast mężczyźni podali o wiele mniej wyrazów opisujących i ich różnorodność była mniejsza: *przystojny* (1), *osiłek* (1), *siła* (3), *twardy* (1), *głupi* (1), *Pudzian* (1). Dodatkowo, podczas gdy kobiety aż 11 razy podały wyraz *mama* jako skojarzenie do wyrazu *kobieta*, to wśród mężczyzn wyraz ten podała tylko jedna osoba podobnie jak wyraz *ojciec* w odpowiedzi na bodziec *mężczyzna*.

Wreszcie należy podkreślić, iż obie grupy badanych stosunkowo mocno kojarzą wyraz *mężczyzna* z wyrazem *kobieta*. Zarówno mężczyźni jak i kobiety po 12 razy podali to właśnie skojarzenie. Natomiast skojarzenia do wyrazu *kobieta* były bardziej różnorodne i wyraz *mężczyzna* o wiele rzadziej był podawany jako pierwsze skojarzenie; odpowiednio cztery razy przez mężczyzn i siedem razy przez kobiety. Można więc zaryzykować stwierdzenie, iż wyraz *mężczyzna* wywołuje o wiele silniejsze i jednorodne skojarzenia niż wyraz *kobieta*. Innymi słowy para *mężczyzna-kobieta* wykazuje silniejszy związek asocjacyjny.

Skojarzenia kobiet odnośnie wyrazu *dziecko* były bardziej różnorodne niż te podane przez mężczyzn. Mianowicie kobiety podały 37 różnych odpowiedzi a mężczyźni 18. Skojarzenia podane przez obie grupy podzielono według szeroko zdefiniowanych grup tematycznych: synonimy, opis, atrybuty, wywołana reakcja (w tym uczucia, konieczność opieki), osoby w otoczeniu oraz pozostałe odpowiedzi trudne do zakwalifikowania do konkretnego pola zebrane pod nazwą varia. Tabela 2 zestawia wyniki dla obu płci.

**Tabela 2.** Liczba skojarzeń podanych do wyrazu dziecko

	Liczba udzielonych odpowiedzi (wartości procentowe)	
	kobiety	mężczyźni
Synonimy	7 (14%)	5 (20%)
Opis	16 (32%)	8 (32%)
Atrybuty	5 (10%)	3 (12%)
Wywołana reakcja	12 (24%)	4 (16%)
Osoby w otoczeniu	3 (6%)	2 (8%)
Varia	7 (14%)	3 (12%)

Z powyższego zestawienia wynika, iż pomimo tego, że mężczyźni udzielili mniej różnorodnych odpowiedzi, to po podzieleniu skojarzeń na grupy tematyczne, ich odpowiedzi procentowo tylko nieznacznie różnią się od odpowiedzi kobiet. Wynika to z faktu, iż kobiety udzielają więcej odpowiedzi idiosynkratycznych, np. w grupie 'opis' odpowiedzi idiosynkratyczne to 9 dla kobiet (*dobre, bezbronność, słodki, delikatne, najważniejsze, młodość, hałas, płacz, wrzask*), i 4 dla mężczyzn (*płacz, same, niewinność, nowonarodzony*). Należy również dodać, iż nawet w ramach pól tematycznych, które różniły się wynikiem procentowym, tj. 'synonimy' i 'wywołana reakcja', kobiety również podały więcej skojarzeń idiosynkratycznych niż mężczyźni. Fakt, iż kobiety podały więcej synonimów i nazw ich reakcji na dziecko, można wytlumaczyć kulturowymi uwarunkowaniami w Polsce, gdzie dziećmi, zwłaszcza niemowlętami, zajmują się w zdecydowanej większości kobiety, stąd mają one więcej przemyśleń i emocji do wyrażenia. Taką interpretację potwierdzają również dane zebrane dla wyrazu *niemowlę* w Tabeli 3. Należy jednak podkreślić, iż ponieważ wyniki dla obu płci różniły się w obu omawianych polach tematycznych nie więcej niż 10%, to można domniemać, iż w młodszym pokoleniu różnice te powoli się zacierają.

Tabela 3. Liczba skojarzeń podanych do wyrazu *niemowlę*

	Liczba udzielonych odpowiedzi (wartości procentowe)	
	kobiety	mężczyźni
Synonimy	6 (12%)	7 (28%)
Opis	19 (38%)	5 (20%)
Atrybuty	9 (18%)	5 (20%)
Wywołana reakcja	10 (20%)	3 (12%)
Osoby w otoczeniu	3 (6%)	2 (8%)
Varia	3 (6%)	3 (12%)

Skojarzenia do wyrazu *niemowlę* ukazały zdecydowanie większe doświadczenie kobiet w kontaktach z bardzo małym dzieckiem. Odpowiedzi kobiet były ponownie bardziej różnorodne od odpowiedzi mężczyzn; kobiety udzielili 30 różnych odpowiedzi a mężczyźni 17. Należy podkreślić, iż różnorodność skojarzeń zawsze wskazuje na istnienie większego doświadczenia w danym zakresie badanej populacji. Procentowo grupy różniły się odpowiedziami najbardziej w obrębie pól tematycznych 'opis' (różnica 18%) i 'synonimy' (różnica 16%). Co ciekawe, w obu tych polach kobiety podały więcej skojarzeń idiosynkratycznych, podobnie jak odnośnie wyrazu *dziecko*, co wskazuje na indywidualne spojrzenie na relację ja-niemowlę. Zestawienie odpowiedzi dla pola tematycznego 'opis' łatwo nam to ukazuje:

**Kobiety:** płacz, płaczące (9), kwilenie (1), ślina (1), śmiech (1), niewinność (3), słodkie (1), nieświadomość (1), pragnienie (1), przepiękne (1);

**Mężczyźni:** niewinność (3), małe (1), płacz (1).

Ogólnie można stwierdzić, iż skojarzenia kobiet i mężczyzn do wyrazów objętych listą Kenta i Rosanoffa różnią się nieznacznie. Jak już wspomniano wcześniej, kobiety podają więcej odpowiedzi idiosynkratycznych niż mężczyźni a subtelne różnice można wykryć dopiero po przeanalizowaniu skojarzeń posegregowanych na pola tematyczne. Dla przykładu skojarzenia udzielone do wyrazu *kłopot* dały następujące wyniki (Tabela 4). Tak jak w poprzednio przeprowadzonych badaniach najczęściej pojawiło się synonimów. Mianowicie w obu grupach wyraz *problem* stanowił 28 procent udzielonych odpowiedzi. Dające się zauważać różnice pojawiły się dopiero w obrębie pól tematycznych 'powód kłopotu' oraz w polu 'uczucia, reakcje wywołane przez kłopot'. Kobiety kolejny raz podały więcej skojarzeń ale były to też skojarzenia bardziej różnorodne. W obrębie pola 'powód kłopo-

**Tabela 4.** Skojarzenia podane do wyrazu *kłopot*

	<b>Kobiety</b>	<b>Mężczyźni</b>
Synonim	<i>problem</i> (14), trudności (1)	<i>problem</i> (7), zmartwienie (1)
Uczucia, reakcje wywołane przez kłopot	<i>smutek</i> (3), lęk (1), <i>chandra</i> (1), martwienie się (1), niepokój (2), płacz (1), <i>rozwązania</i> (6), złoto (1), ból głowy (1)	<i>rozterka</i> (1), stres (1), <i>troska</i> (1), zmęczenie (1)
Powód kłopotu	<i>mleko</i> (1), napój (1), <i>plama</i> (1), chmura (1), dziecko (1), zakręt (1)	<i>kobieta</i> (1), szkoła (1), kolega (1), praca (1), dwóra (1), rodzina (1), życie (1), wpadka (1), lenistwo (1), kac (1)
Opis kłopotu	<i>duży</i> (2), trudny (1), własny (1)	wielki (1), duży (3)
Varia	<i>chłopiec</i> (1), śliwka (1), pomoc (1), rozwiązywanie (1), do przejścia (1)	pomoc (1), złoto (1)

tu' można było zauważyc, iż kobiety podawały jako przykład powodu kłopotu raczej drobne przypadłości życia codziennego. Mężczyźni wyraźnie upatrywali powodu kłopotu albo w działaniach własnych: *dwója, wpadka, lenistwo, kac*; innych osób: *kobieta, kolega, rodzina*; lub instytucji: *szkoła, praca*.

### 5.5. WPŁYW MEDIÓW NA SIATKĘ SKOJARZEŃ

Badanie wskazuje również na istotną rolę, jaką odgrywają media w naszym życiu, zwłaszcza książka i film. Można wręcz postawić tezę, iż nasza pamięć generuje silnie skojarzenia z literaturą i filmem, zwłaszcza jeśli kojarzą się one z dzieciństwem. Wskazuje na to duża liczba skojarzeń udzielonych przez respondentów, które wywodzą się z twórczości literackiej dla dzieci. Najsilniejszym wyrazem pod względem generowania danego skojarzenia okazał się tutaj wyraz *chatka*, na który aż 32 respondentów zareagowało wyrazem *Puchatka*, co daje prawie 43% odpowiedzi. Należy przy tym wspomnieć, iż Spiteri (2002) proponuje, że jeśli 50% osób, biorących udział w teście poda do danego wyrazu to samo skojarzenie, to związek między wyrazem-bodźcem a wyrazem skojarzonym można uznać za mający charakter pary. Niewątpliwie omawiana para wyrazów do tego miana pretenduje.

Innym wyrazem, który wywołał podobnie silne skojarzenia, był wyraz *niebieski*, do którego 26 respondentów (35%) podało skojarzenie *niebo*. W obrębie analizy skojarzeń wywodzących się z twórczości literackiej dla dzieci, pozostałe skojarzenia nawiązujące do masowych nośników informacji to wraz z wyrazem-bodźcem to następujące skojarzenia:

*Czerwony - Kapturek* (4);  
*Chatka - Baba Jaga* (3), *Wiedźmin* (1), *Jaś i Małgosia* (1);  
*Król - Maciuś Pierwszy* (3);  
*Książyc - Jacek i Placek* (1);  
*Lampa - Aladyn* (1);  
*Dywany - Latający* (1);  
*Biały - Gandalf* (1);  
*Ulica - Sezamkowa* (2);  
*Czarny - Zorro* (1).

Oprócz skojarzeń, wskazujących na znaczenie twórczości literackiej dla dzieci wśród odpowiedzi udzielonych przez badaną grupę pojawiły się również wyrazy wskazujące na wydarzenia lub osoby znane z relacji w mediach, np. *Kwaśny - deszcz* (3), *Obywatel - Big Brother* (1); *Niebieski - Kieślowski* (1); *Owca - Dolly* (1), *Wielka Brytania* (1); *Lekarz - strajk* (1); *Ksiądz - Dyrektor* (1), *Rydzyk* (1). Dużą grupę skojarzeń stanowiły przy tym wyrazy, odwołujące się do współcześnie wyprodukowanych filmów, np. *Pamięć - Absolutna*

(4); *Czerwony – Październik* (3); *Król – Lew* (3), *Ogr* (1); *Piękny – umysł* (2); *Owca – milczenie* (2); *Sprawiedliwość – Dirty Harry* (1); *Góra – Dantego* (1); *Ręka – Jim Carrey* (1); *Zielony – Mila* (1); *Żołnierz – Uniwersalny* (1).

Należy przy tym odnotować, iż wyniki młodzieży akademickiej zaprezentowane powyżej, wyraźnie różnią się od wyników badań asocjacyjnych przeprowadzonych na młodzieży szkolnej w połowie lat 90-tych przez Łobacz i Mikołajczak-Matyję (2002). Mianowicie autorki tego opracowania wskazują na nieliczne odniesienia do kultury zawarte w skojarzeniach młodzieży szkolnej (2002: 25), co zdecydowanie odróżnia tę grupę od studentów objętych niniejszym badaniem. Wynika przy tym, że wpływ wykształcenia, a zwłaszcza oczytania, na kształtowanie się siatki skojarzeń jest bezsprzeczny. Jednakże, porównując wyniki badań Kurcz (1976) z danymi uzyskanymi w obecnym badaniu można postawić następujący wniosek. Młodzież akademicka objęta badaniem Kurcz z lat sześćdziesiątych częściej w skojarzeniach odnosiła się do kultury lub popkultury, przeważnie literatury. Natomiast studiujecka młodzież współczesna wskazuje jednakowo mocną pozycję kina i telewizji w procesie generowania skojarzeń. Oczywiście wynika to z faktu, iż współczesna młodzież ma dużo większy kontakt z kulturą ikoniczną.

Wreszcie można domniemać o istnieniu dużego wpływu mediów na procesy kojarzeniowe również na przykładzie reakcji na bodziec *sprawiedliwość*. Mianowicie, aż piętnaście osób podało wyraz *Prawo*, pisany z dużej litery, jako pierwszy, o którym pomyśleli. Można to wytlumaczyć faktem, iż ponieważ partia Prawo i Sprawiedliwość była niedawno w Polsce u władzy, to w telewizji często pojawiają się o niej relacje, co jednocześnie determinuje silę związku asocjacyjnego.

## 6. Podsumowanie

Na podstawie przytoczonej dyskusji można wyciągnąć następujące wnioski:

1. Skojarzenia są wyznacznikiem relacji nie tylko między poszczególnymi wyrazami ale również pośrednio pomiędzy pojęciami i doświadczeniem życiowym. Wywołane skojarzenie można uznać za dowód owej relacji na podstawie faktu, iż z reguły pojawia się ono ze stałą częstotliwością. Ponadto skojarzenie z reguły pozostaje w istotnym związku znaczeniowym z wyrazem-bodźcem i jego desygnatem. Wreszcie, ponieważ języki jednocześnie kształtują i odzwierciedlają kulturę, mówi się przecież, iż każdy język wyznacza specyficzną rzeczywistość pojęciową, stąd powiązania między wyrazami odzwierciedlającymi istniejące wzorce kulturowe. Niewątpliwie przez analizę słownictwa, przy użyciu metody wolnych skojarzeń, można

dojść do wniosków na temat językowego obrazu świata, w tym relacji kultura-język, istniejącego w danej wspólnocie. Niewątpliwie niniejsze badanie asocjacyjne pokazało, iż metoda wolnych skojarzeń może być wykorzystana do nakreślenia chociażby wstępniego profilu kulturowego Polaków.

2. Charakter kultury polskiej jest bardzo trudny do ocenienia, przede wszystkim z powodu ciągłej transformacji, jakiej ulega społeczeństwo polskie od upadku komunizmu w 1989 roku. Czasy realnego socjalizmu doprowadziły do spłaszczenia struktury społecznej w Polsce, która obecnie stopniowo zaczyna się różnicować. Wyraźny podział widać przede wszystkim między pokoleniem młodych osób, które nie pamiętają już czasów komunizmu w Polsce a osobami, które w tamtych czasach żyły jako osoby dorosłe. Ten podział ze względu na pamięć doświadczeń lub ich brak z czasów komunizmu w Polsce ma realne odzwierciedlenie chociażby w umiejętności dostosowania się do nowych, wolnorynkowych warunków, przejawianej przedsiębiorczości, poleganiu na pomocy państwa, kreatywności. Stąd niewątpliwie rację ma Mikułowski-Pomorski (2006: 345) pisząc, że „polski charakter narodowy jest niejednolity i kształtuje się pod wpływem kilku wzorców”.

3. Biorąc pod uwagę obraz kultury polskiej wyłaniający się z badania opartego na wolnych skojarzeniach, należy przede wszystkim stwierdzić, iż normy asocjacyjne dla języka polskiego znacznie odbiegają od tych odkrytych dla języka angielskiego, francuskiego czy niemieckiego. Jednym z powodów takiego stanu rzeczy jest fakt, iż Polacy charakteryzują się mniejszą powierzchownością skojarzeń, co stwierdziła już Kurcz (1976) w swoich badaniach z lat sześćdziesiątych. Ponadto omawiane wcześniej wnioski można podsumować następująco:

- a) polska młodzież studiuje przejawia nieosobisty, niezaangażowany oraz nacechowany niechęcią stosunek do władzy i instytucji publicznych, których pracę uważa za mało efektywną;
- b) studenci mają nieosobiste podejście do religii, kojarząc ją raczej z instytucją Kościoła; jednocześnie w odpowiedziach respondentów widać bardzo krytyczny stosunek do postępowania księży.
- c) młodzież studiuje najczęściej negatywne skojarzenia do wyrazu praca, którą kojarzą raczej ze źródłem utrzymania, niosącym tylko obowiązki i problemy.
- d) młodzi Polacy przejawiają silny indywidualizm, który jest widoczny nie tylko w ich krytycznym podejściu do pracy, słabej identyfikacji z miejscem pracy, ale również w przykładaniu dużej wagi do życia rodzinnego;
- e) skojarzenia polskich kobiet i mężczyzn różnią się nieznacznie; dające się zauważyc różnice to w niektórych przypadkach większa koncen-

tracja na opisie osoby i więcej odpowiedzi idiosynkratycznych w odniesieniu do skojarzeń podanych przez kobiety;

- f) media, zwłaszcza literatura, film i telewizja, silnie wpływają na siatkę skojarzeniową współczesnej młodzieży studiującej.

4. Celem niniejszego badania asocacyjnego było również przetestowanie zaproponowanej metodologii oraz jej udoskonalenie, tak aby uzyskać bardziej precyzyjne i poddające się interpretacji dane. Przede wszystkim należy podkreślić, iż badania asocacyjne zawsze nastręczają trudności interpretacyjne spowodowane częściowo niewyjaśnionymi do końca procesami umysłowymi towarzyszącymi skojarzeniom. Niemniej jednak wydaje się, iż w celu uzyskania danych, które pozwoliłyby na szerszą analizę kultury, należałoby zestawić na liście wyrazów-bodźców mniej pozycji niż na liście Kenta i Rosanoffa. Ponadto powinny to być bodźce dobrane bardziej pod kątem celu badania, np. jeśli celem badania jest analiza kultury polskiej pod względem typologii opracowanej przez Hofstede, to wyrazy-bodźce powinny wynikać z zaproponowanych przez niego wymiarów kultury. Dodatkowo analizę wyników takiego badania należałoby uzupełnić analizą skojarzeń paradygmatycznych, ponieważ są one łatwym środkiem do wyrażania stosunku do świata i związanych z tym emocji. Prawdopodobnie analiza rzeczownik-przymiotnik mogłaby przynieść ciekawe wyniki. Wreszcie tradycyjna w badaniach asocacyjnych analiza relacji leksykalnych, zachodzących między reakcją a bodźcem, zarówno relacja oceny, mogłaby pogłębić nasze zrozumienie kultury, w tym kultury polskiej.

## Bibliografia

- DE MOOIJ, M. 2005. *Global marketing and advertising. Understanding cultural paradoxes*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- GORODETSKAYA, L. 2002. "Association experiment in communication research". *Theory of Communication and Applied Communication* 1. 21–28.
- HOFSTEDE, G. 1997. *Cultures and organizations: software of the mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- HOWARTH, L., C. CRONIN & A. SLAWEK (red.). 2002. *Advancing knowledge: expanding horizons for information science. Proceedings of the 30<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for Information Science, 30 May–01 June 2002*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Faculty of Information Studies.
- KENT, G.H. & J.A. ROSANOFF. 1910. "A study of association in insanity". *American Journal of Insanity* 67. 37–96, 317–390.
- KLOPF, D.W. 1996. "Word meanings cross cultures". W zbiorze: Seelye, H.H. (red.). 123–129.
- KORSHUK, A. 2005. "Learning more about cultures through free word association data". *Journal of Intercultural Communication* 8. 1–12.
- KURCZ, P. 1976. *Psycholinguistyka*. Warszawa: PWN.
- LAMBERT, W.E. 1972. *Language, psychology and culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- ŁOBACZ, P. I N. MIKOŁAJCZAK-MATYJA. 2002. *Skojarzenia słowne w psycholektykologii i onomastyce psycholingwistycznej*. Poznań: Sorus.
- MIKUŁOWSKI-POMORSKI, J. 2006. *Jak narody porozumiewają się w komunikacji międzykulturowej i komunikowaniu medialnym*. Kraków: Universitas.
- MEARA, P. 1983. "Word association in a foreign language". *Nottingham Linguistics Circular* 11. 29–38.
- NELSON, D.L., C. McEVOY I T.A. SCHREIBER. 2005. "Association, rhyme and word fragment norms". *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments and Computers* 8. 402–407.
- OSGOOD, CH. I T.A. SEBEOK. 1965. *Psycholinguistics: A survey of theory and research problems*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- POSTMAN, L. I G. KEPPEL. (red.). 1970. *Norms of word association*. New York: Academic Press.
- ROSENZWEIG, M. 1970. "International Kent Rosanoff word association norms, emphasizing those of French male and female students and French workmen". W zbiorze: Postman, L. i G. Keppel. (red.). 95–106.
- SEELYE, H.N. (red.). 1996. *Experimental activities for intercultural learning*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.
- SPITERI, L.F. 2002. "Word association testing and thesaurus construction: defining inter-term relationships". W zbiorze: Howarth, L. et al. (red.).
- SPITERI, L.F. 2005. "Word association testing and thesaurus construction: a pilot study". *Cataloging and Classification Quarterly* 40.1. 55–78.

#### Źródła internetowe (ŽI)

- HOFSTEDE, G. "Poland's scores on dimensions". <http://www.geert-hofstede.com>.
- WETTLER, M. I R. RAPP. 1996. "Computation of word associations based on the co-occurrence of words in large corporations".  
[www.fask.uni-mainz.de/user/rapp/papers/wvlc93/latex2html/wvlc93.html](http://www.fask.uni-mainz.de/user/rapp/papers/wvlc93/latex2html/wvlc93.html)

#### Summary

In the present study an attempt has been made to throw some light on the question whether the free association method can be applied to draw inferences about the cultural profile of Poles. To meet this challenge, the author has proceeded on the basic assumption that society is one of essential conditions generating culture as a system of norms which constitute a natural milieu for communication. Hence, culture encompasses communication and communication reflects culture. Society, culture and communication complement one another thus forming a coherent whole. Additionally, gaining communicative competence by a particular communicator is always contingent on a good knowledge of the culture of a particular language.

As a result of an analysis of a questionnaire addressed to Polish students of English studies, it has been postulated that word associations reflect existing cultural patterns. The analysis conducted in the present study concentrates on the power distance and score on the individualism index in line with the dimensions of culture differentiated by Hofstede (1997). The examination of the collected data also takes into account the participating students' attitude to religion and human relations together with the impact of the contemporary mass media on their associative connections. A close investigation of data has shown that the character of Polish culture is hard to determine due to the fact that Poland is still in the transitory period

after the fall of communism in 1989 which has a considerable bearing on Poles' social, cultural and communicative patterns of behavior. However, the collected data clearly indicate that Polish students' attitude to the ruling party and public institutions is very impersonal and students are discontent with the effects of their work. A very similar conclusion can be drawn from the responses given to the stimuli having religious connotations. The students participating in the research have also shown a strong individualism which is visible in their critical approach to work and particular emphasis laid on family life. The results thus obtained may serve as a basis for further discussions on the relevance of the free association method to studies of communication and culture.

# The concept of ‘culture’ in communication studies

---

EMILIA WĄSIKIEWICZ-FIRLEJ

## Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the major concepts and theories of culture that find application in communication studies, with a special regard to interpretation of cultural differences in communication across cultures. The discussion starts with an attempt to provide a viable definition of culture, followed by a presentation of the concept of the layers of culture. Then the emic and etic approaches to the study of culture are introduced and their application in communication research discussed. A special emphasis is put on high- and low-context communication as perceived from a cross-cultural perspective and contrasted with Grice’s Conversational Maxims. Finally, the dimensions of cultural variability are specified within the frameworks of the most frequently cited models of culture proposed by Trompenaars and Hofstede. The models are also critically analysed.

### 1.1. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF ‘CULTURE’

The word *culture* is used in everyday discourse to refer to a whole range of distinct concepts. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) enumerate over 162 definitions of culture. However, up to the present a single, universally applicable definition of culture has not been provided. As Dahl observes (1998, 2000), the etymology of the word *culture* originates in the Latin word “*colere*”, which stands for “to build”, “to care for”, “to plant”, “to cultivate”. Thus, the meaning of the word *culture* indicates the presence of human derivation, action or intervention. The word is also used to refer to more sophisticated forms of human activity, i.e. “high culture”, contrasted with “low culture”, or presently “mass culture” (see Williams, 1966: 109–11).

Hall (1959: 169) postulates that “culture is communication and communication is culture”. Similarly, Smith (1966) perceives culture and communication as inextricable and argues that any changes in the elements of communication affect culture, and vice versa. However, Birdwhistell (1970: 318) argues that culture and communication cannot be equated, as communication focuses on process, whereas culture focuses on structure. Also LeVine (1984) emphasises the integrity of communication and culture. LeVine (1984: 68) perceives culture as a socially adopted system, essentially related to the significance of communication in “social life”, which enables the members of a given community to interpret the meaning of both verbal and nonverbal symbols. LeVine (1984: 81) further argues that these interpretive patterns applied by group members are based on “a collective value”. Following LeVine (1984), Haslett (1989: 21) argues that this shared “tacit knowledge” constitutes a cultural setting of communication which provides a ground for certain interpretative practices adopted by group members. Haslett (1989: 20) argues that “culture and communication are acquired simultaneously: Neither exists without the other”. On one hand, culture influences the acquisition of both the form and content of communication. On the other hand, culture is modified and transmitted through communicative processes (cf. Haslett. 1989: 20).

Keesing (1974) separates these two approaches to culture; namely: adaptive and ideational. According to the adaptive approach, culture bridges people to their ecological system and advances towards equilibrium (cf. Harris 1968), whereas the proponents of ideational theories perceive culture as a cognitive or symbolic system. Geertz (1966) is one of the main advocates of the school which views culture as a symbolic system. Geertz (1966: 66–67) compares culture to “the octopus, whose tentacles are in large part separately integrated, neurally quite poorly connected with one another and with what in the octopus passes for a brain, and yet who nonetheless manages to get around and to preserve himself [or herself], for a while anyway, as a viable if somewhat ungainly entity”. As Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1996) suggest, this metaphor implies that cultures are at the same time organized and disorganized.

However, Keesing (1974) asserts that both approaches have limitations. Viewing culture as an adaptive system may lead to cognitive reductionism, whereas viewing culture as a symbolic system may lead to a perception of the worlds of cultural symbols as falsely uniform. Thus, Keesing (1974: 89) defines culture “as a system of competence” which varies between individuals. Although the view of culture differs among individuals and awareness of the rules governing a particular culture is low, the members of a culture are somehow able to coordinate their behaviour and follow some hidden

rules. Keesing (1974: 89) further argues that "Culture (...) is ordered not simply as a collection of symbols fitted together by the analyst but as a system of knowledge, shaped and constrained by the way the human brain acquires, organizes, and processes information and creates internal models of reality". Keesing (1974) also postulates that culture cannot be studied in isolation from its social and ecological settings. As Rohner (1984: 132) asserts, "(...) an individual is a *member* of society... individuals *participate* in social systems... and *share cultures*". Others (Richards et. al. 1985: 70) define it as a "total set of beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviour, social habits". Kluckhohn (1951: 86) perceives culture as "patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values". Triandis (1972) further suggests that values are passed on from generation to generation.

Following cultural anthropologists, Lado (1957: 53) postulates that "(...) cultures are structured systems of patterned behaviour". According to Hoijer (1953: 554), "patterns of culture", which encompass both implicit and explicit elements regulating human behaviour in a given culture, are further organised into "a system or set of systems" that is dynamic and subject to modifications in time. This corresponds to Edward Sapir's statement that "all cultural behaviour is patterned" (Mandelbaum, 1949: 554).

Geertz (1973) claims that culture as a shared system is shared at two levels, namely the concrete level (e.g., artefacts), and the cognitive level (e.g., language symbols). Furthermore, LeVine (1984: 20) views culture as an "inherited system of ideas that structures the subjective experience of the individuals".

According to Williams (1981: 11), culture is the "whole way of life of a distinct people...". Redder and Rehbein (1987: 20) argue that Williams' (1966) definition of culture does not account for surface linguistic forms and they propose a pragmatic concept of culture - an "ensemble" of social experiences, thought structures, expectations, and practices of action, which are collectively referred to as a "mental apparatus". Hall (1983) also perceives culture as an invisible control mechanism, which is subconsciously operating, especially when in contact with a different culture. Hall (1983: 230) argues, that each member of a given society acts in accordance with a set of "culturally acceptable" rules: "Culture has always dictated where to draw the line separating one thing from another. These lines are arbitrary, but once learned and internalised they are treated as real". A similar, yet concise definition of culture is provided by Hofstede (1991: 4) who sees it as

"collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another". Thus, Hofstede (1991, 2001) positions culture between human nature and the individual, which explicates the diversity of personalities and the values system within one culture.

The concept of culture as a set of shared values is also provided by Spencer-Oatey (2000). However, the concept of culture is extended by including an interpretative element, which not only defines culture, but also the function it performs. "Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural norms, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the "meaning" of other people's behaviour" (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 4). Spencer-Oatey's observations find application in explaining behaviour in cross-cultural interaction as well as interpreting messages produced in various cultural contexts.

Summing up, the main common feature of the concepts presented above is the implication that culture encompasses multiple aspects that are shared by members of a given group and that may be treated as an interpretive frame of communicative behaviour.

## 1.2. LAYERS OF CULTURE

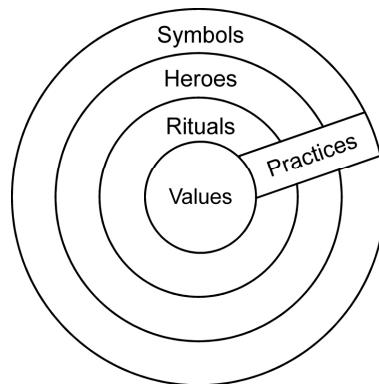
As postulated above, culture is composed of various levels. The most elementary levels of culture involve the invisible, subconscious level of values and their manifestation visible in behaviour or artefacts. However, this view of culture as a two-level system may come across as too simplistic. Based on the research of several cultures, anthropologists Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) have developed a system that distinguishes five dimensions of cultural assumptions: individuals' relation to environment, to each other, to activity, to time, and to nature. Each of these dimensions represents a continuum of possible relations people may assume. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) claim that in all cultures a range of different assumptions may be found, but generally there is a *preferred* position. According to these authors, this preference represents a *cultural value*. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 4) perceive values as "complex but definitely patterned... principles...which give order and direction to the everflowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human' problems". Rokeach (1968: 160) defines values as "internalized... standard(s) for guiding action an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence". Halliday (1978: 139) argues that: "In its most

general significance, a text is a sociological encounter through which the meanings that constitute the social system are exchanged". Following Kallmeyer and Meyer-Hermann (1980) and Clyne (1996), text is not used here as a notion contrasted with discourse.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, text stands for "a passage that forms a unified whole" (Clyne 1996: 2).

Hofstede (1980) puts forward a four level, onion-like model of culture, where culture is perceived as a system consisting of layers that may be peeled to reveal the core content. According to Hofstede (1991: 8), the core of culture encompasses values, which are defined as "broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others". Hofstede (2001) assumes that values perform a normative function and as such have a significant impact on behaviour. Apart from the values, Hofstede (2001: 10) enlists three more elements, which, together with values, complete the concept of culture: symbols, heroes and rituals. The four elements of Hofstede's concept of culture are presented in Figure 1.1.

**Symbols** are manifested in the external layer of culture and they encompass words, gestures, pictures and objects, which are meaningful only to members of the same culture. The life cycle of symbols is often short, as new symbols appear in place of old ones. (cf. Hofstede, 2001)

**Heroes** are defined by Hofstede (2001) as persons who are respected or admired in a culture and serve as a pattern of behaviour to follow. Heroes may be dead or living, imaginary or real. As Hofstede (2001) further notes, their selection has become particularly important in the era of the mass media, and especially so through the dominance of television.



**Figure 1.1.** The "Onion Diagram": manifestations of culture at different levels of depth  
(adapted from Hofstede, 2001: 11; see the text for the description)

<sup>3</sup> As Clyne (1996: 2) observes, text is often related to written discourse and as such conveyed solely through literary works or 'remembered through its form'.

**Rituals** stand for collective activities, such as religious or social ceremonies, forms of greeting and paying respect, and are regarded as vital to sustain social contacts and enable an individual to function within a group.

Symbols, heroes and rituals, collectively referred to as 'practices', are the most apparent manifestations of culture visible to an outsider. However, their precise interpretation may be accomplished only by the insiders who share the hidden, invisible core, i.e. the values. Hofstede (2001: 6) further indicates that the commonly held values form "value systems or hierarchies".

A similar, onion-like model of culture has been proposed by Trompenaars (1993). Trompenaars (1993) puts forward the concept of "basic assumptions" which, though similar to the "values" presented in Hofstede's model, are the absolute core, underlying the more visible values a layer above. Trompenaars (1993: 23–24) refers to them as "assumptions about existence", or simply the matter of "survival" which are directly related to nature, i.e. the environment or geographical location conditioning the way of living in the most rudimentary sense. In this sense, the meaning of the word "culture" derives from the verb "to cultivate"; i.e. to prepare and use land or deal with nature, and equates culture with nature (cf. Trompenaars, 1993: 24).

The middle layer of culture, in Trompenaars's (1993) view, contains norms and values. Norms regulate behaviour of individuals within a group, by determining the idea of "good and bad", whereas values provide the most preferred, pursued patterns of behaviour. The balance between norms and values guarantees social stability. In contrast, any dissonance between the norms and the values of a given group leads to disintegration, which was the case in Eastern Europe after the fall of communism.

The outer layer of the model consists of "explicit culture" that comprises "the language, food, buildings, houses, monuments, agriculture, shrines, fashions and art" which are external symbols of deeper levels (Trompenaars, 1993, 25–27).

Spencer-Oatey (2000), in turn, combines the concept of values and basic assumptions and proposes the most rudimentary level of "beliefs, attitudes and conventions" which constitute the core of culture. The inner core is encircled by the middle layer of "systems and institutions". In the external layer of culture Spencer-Oatey (2000) makes a distinction between "rituals and behaviour", which are behavioural manifestations of culture, and non-behavioural "artefacts and products". Thus, the model also accounts for the deep, invisible structure of culture that underlies its external, observable manifestations. In conclusion, culture may be defined as a shared system of values and basic assumptions that underlie norms, which are consecutively manifested in human behaviour.

### 1.3. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CULTURE

Berry (1980) has identified two basic approaches to the study of culture: the *emic approach* and the *etic approach*. The terms *etic* and *emic* were coined by the linguist-anthropologist Kenneth Pike (1954) on the basis of the parallel linguistic terms, *phonemic* and *phonetic*. Pike (1954) asserts that these two perspectives applied in the study of language may be also used in the study of culture. According to Pike (1954), the *emic* perspective concentrates on the aspects of culture that are intrinsic, unique and significant to members of a given society. Thus, the native members of a culture are the only ones to assess the validity of an *emic* classification, similarly to native speakers of a language who are capable of assessing the accuracy of a phonemic identification.

In contrast, as Pike (1954) defines it, the *etic* perspective focuses on the extrinsic concepts and categories which are meaningful to an objective observer, i.e. a scientist, who is not necessarily a member of the examined culture, analogically to linguists who assess the accuracy of a phonetic transcription.

In the words of Berry (1980), the *emic* approach studies a culture from the inside and focuses only on one culture, applying the criteria that are characteristic of a particular culture. The *etic* approach, in turn, analyses and compares a range of cultures from an external perspective, by means of universal criteria assumed by a researcher. However, Brislin (1983) asserts that currently the term *emic* is used in reference to culture-specific studies, whereas *etic* refers to universal, culture-general approaches. As Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1996) have observed, the majority of researchers in the fields of psychology and sociology take the *emic* approach, in contrast to anthropologists who take the *etic* approach. As regards communication research, both the *etic* and the *emic* approaches have been taken. In the field of intercultural communication, the *etic* and *emic* approaches are often referred to as "culture-general" and "culture-specific", respectively (Bennet, 1998: 9).

Despite the fact that the *emic* and *etic* approaches may be seen as opposites, Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1996) argue that a combination of the two is possible. Following Triandis (1972), who recommends the integration of *emic* and *etic* data in cross-cultural research, Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1996) also opt for the examination of the aspects which are both culture-specific and universal. In what follows, after a brief introduction of the *emic* and *etic* approaches, their application in communication research across cultures will be briefly discussed.

### **1.3.1. Anthropological research**

As Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1996) have pointed out, anthropological research on cross-cultural communication typically takes an emic approach to the study of culture. The available body of literature of anthropological research on cross-cultural communication is indeed vast and its overview is not the aim of this paper. However, a few illustrative examples will be provided here.

Basso's (1970) research on silence conducted in the Native American subcultures in the United States has provided a significant contribution to the study of communication. According to Basso's (1970) observations, the Apaches prefer silence to talking in the context of unclear and vague social relations. Thus, the Apaches refrain from verbalisation when the social position of the person they are communicating with is difficult to define.

Rosaldo's (1973, 1980) research focuses on the use of speech styles by the Ilongots. Her observations are of value in helping to understand cultural differences in communication in interpersonal relationships. For example, Rosaldo (1973, 1980) finds that in the Ilongot culture metaphors and elaborate forms of expression are used to maintain social harmony and relational balance. In contrast, austerity of speech style is reserved for the expression of power and dominance.

### **1.3.2. Sociolinguistic research: an emic approach**

Cross-cultural sociolinguistic research has focused on the use of language either within specific cultures or across cultures. An example of an emic cross-cultural sociolinguistic study is Albert's (1972) research on the cultural patterning of speech in Burundi. Based on her fieldwork, Albert (1972: 86) asserts that "social role and situational prescriptions determine the order of precedence of speakers, relevant conventions of politeness, appropriate formulas and style of speech, including extralinguistic signs and topics of discussion".

The crucial role of context in the use of language across cultures has also been emphasised by Ochs (1986). She points out that cross-cultural variances in the use of language are the effect of the following: "semantic-pragmatic content", "the number of interlocutors involved", "the social relationship of the interlocutors", "the setting", "the length of the imitative routines" and "the frequency of occurrence in the experience of young children" (Ochs, 1986: 10).

## 1.4. DIMENSIONS OF CULTURAL VARIABILITY: AN ETIC APPROACH

An etic approach to the study of culture is often based on the concept of dimensions of cultural variability as a predicament of behaviour and communication patterns across cultures. Dimensions of cultural variability are abstract concepts which are used to discuss differences and similarities in communication in different cultures. This approach is especially viable in cross-cultural comparative studies of communication in two or more cultures. Although some voices appear to suggest (e.g. Gudykunst and Nishida, 1994) that each dimension is manifested in a specific way within a particular culture, dimensions of cultural variability are still very useful starting points in the discussion and predictions of cultural similarities and differences. The discussion commences with the presentation of Hall's patterns of cultural variability. It will be then followed by an overview of the values-oriented approach to the study of culture and communication, with a special emphasis on the contributions made by Hofstede and Trompenaars.

### 1.4.1. Low-context and high-context communication

Based on his experience in the Foreign Service, Edward T. Hall published two seminal books: "The silent language" (1959) and "The hidden dimension" (1966), in which he categorised cultures as being either high- or low-context. The concept of high and low context is essentially concerned with culture dependent similarities and differences in communication and perception. According to Hall (1976), culture modifies the degree of reliance on the *context* of information or its wording, and thus defines which part of a message is ignored or focused on. Hall and Hall (1990: 6) define the very word context as "the information that surrounds an event; it is inextricably bound up with the meaning of the event". Furthermore, Hall and Hall (1990) argue that although all cultures contain certain qualities of both low and high variables, they may be, nevertheless, placed on a scale according to rank on this dimension. Cultures are presented on a two-pole scale, ranging from high context to low context.

"High context transactions feature pre-programmed information that is in the receiver and in the setting, with only minimal information in the transmitted message. Low-context transactions are the reverse. Most of information must be transmitted message in order to make up for what is missing in the context."

(Hall, 1976: 101)

Accordingly, Hall (1976) points out that high-context communication often appears ambiguous and irrelevant to low-context individuals, as high-context communicators assume that it is the interlocutor's responsibility to read the speaker's mind on the basis of seemingly insignificant messages provided by the speaker. Hall and Hall (1990) further observe, that in high context cultures (i.e. Japanese, Chinese, Korean) meaning is not necessarily subscribed to words. High context cultures, due to their homogeneity as regards tradition and history, are resistant to changes and thus their communication systems are relatively consistent. As a result, a great amount of information is implicit and conveyed through nonverbal communication, status and a network of social relations.

On the contrary, low-context cultures (i.e. German, Swiss, Scandinavian, American) are usually more diverse than homogenous high-context cultures and, consequently, this lack of common experience requires that the speaker conveys most of the information verbally. As Samovar et al. (1998: 79) observe, high-context communication is *indirect* and *implicit*, whereas low-context communication may be defined as *direct* and *explicit*. They further notice that high-context communication does not rely exclusively on the verbal channel of communication as a lot of information is contained in the surroundings and there is no need to put everything explicitly. Moreover, Hall (1976) points out that an abundance of information provided by low-context communicators may even irritate or make high-context communicators impatient. On the other hand, members of low-context cultures, who expect detailed, clear-cut messages, feel uncomfortable when provided with a limited amount of information (cf. Samovar et al., 1998: 81).

The approach to silence as a means of communication also seems to differ between low-context and high-context cultures. As Gudykunst (2004) and Samovar et al. (1998) observe, contrary to low-context cultures, in high-context cultures silence seems to be a valued, effective means of expression and silent messages are often perceived as more credible than verbal ones. As Lebra (1987: 343) observes, in high-context cultures "silence is a communicative act rather than a mere void in communicational space". It may signify credibility, condemnation, discomfort and dissent. In contrast, in a low-context culture talk is more significant than nonverbal information and silence is rather avoided. People using low-context communication may feel discomfort with silence and in general try to fill silence with talk (cf. Mare, 1990). Moreover, the dimension of low and high-context influences the adopted degree of *formality* and *informality* (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1996). In low-context cultures, where informality and directness predominate, people use a personal style and avoid the use of formal codes of conduct, honourifics and ritualistic forms in human interactions. On the con-

trary, due to the fact that people in high-context cultures emphasise the status and social role, the degree of formality is significantly higher. As a result, communication is formal and ritualistic (cf. Okabe, 1983).

Clearly, the implications of the dimension of low- and high-context are far-ranging and encompass not only interpersonal communication but also mass communication. This concept is rudimentary both in intercultural and cross-cultural communication, and deals mainly with language, as a component of the external layer of the "culture onion". A range of studies has shown that the dimension of low and high-context plays a crucial role in the difficulties encountered in communication between members of various cultures. For example, there is a large body of research on the influence of low and high-context cultures on the adaptation of conflict resolution styles (ex. Morris et al. 1998; Ohbuchi et al. 1999; Oetzel and Ting-Toomey, 2003; Tinsley and Weldon, 2003). In the case of mass communication, as exemplified by advertising, a large body of research implies that the information content in advertising is lower in high-context cultures than in low-context cultures (e.g. Biswas, Olsen, et al., 1992; Lin, 1993; Mueller, 1987, Al-Olayan and Karande, 2000).

However, as Bond et al. (2000) have observed, although the concept of low and high context is easily comprehended, its application in empirical research is rather difficult, due to a lack of research supported by statistical data, which could locate particular countries on a scale according to the high-low context dimension. Moreover, linguistically, the concept is also very difficult to grasp, as the degree of directness seems too intricate to be defined.

#### **1.4.2. Conversational Maxims and high- and low-context communication**

Grice (1975) has proposed four maxims regarding social interaction, which represent a universal "logic of conversation". First, the amount of information provided by people should be neither abundant nor insufficient (maxim of quantity). Second, people should make only true statements supported by adequate evidence (maxim of quality). Third, individuals should solely give information that is relevant to the context of conversation (maxim of relation). Fourth, people should be clear, avoid ambiguity, excessive wording and organizational chaos (maxim of manner). In this context it should be remembered, however, that Wierzbicka (2003) argues that Grice's (1975, 1981) assumptions concerning the use of white American English speakers are not universally applicable, as they have been developed from an ethno-

centric perspective. As Gydykunst and Matsumoto (1996) observe, Grice's maxims are relevant only to low-context communication; thus, high-context communicators seem to violate them.

As indicated above, Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity, which recommends that individuals should be precise and provide no more or no less information than required, reflects the core characteristics of low-context communication. However, high-context cultures communicators are not expected to be precise. According to Gydykunst and Matsumoto (1996: 32), "high-context communication involves using understatement, or providing the least amount of information possible to allow listeners' to infer speakers' intentions, and using pauses and silences (...)" . Okabe (1983) also makes a point that high-context communication often involves transmitting messages through hesitation and allusion that violates Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity. Moreover, in high-context communication wordiness is negatively associated, especially in reference to credibility of the speaker. People who are economic in their verbal expression come across as more trustworthy (Lebra, 1987). Also the use of silence in high-context communication, discussed earlier in this paper, may be interpreted as a violation of Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity.

In low-context cultures individuals are expected to express their feelings sincerely and openly (Hall, 1976). This seems to be perfectly in line with Grice's (1975) quality maxim. However, the universalism of this maxim may appear dubious in high-context cultures that give priority to the maintenance of group harmony. Consequently, this may involve communicating information that does not correspond to the speaker's true feelings in order to avoid group dissonance or conflict (Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 1991). Since telling the truth involves revealing some personal information, in low-context cultures a certain level of communicators' openness is required to predict behaviour and maintain interaction (Norton, 1978; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1988). Thus, lack of secretiveness and truthfulness comes across as a characteristic of open communication (Norton, 1978). On the contrary, in high-context cultures personal information it is not used to predict behaviour and individuals avoid uncovering it, since high-context communicators rely on group-based information (Gudykunst and Nishida, 1986). According to Okabe (1983), a successful high-context communicator tends to be reserved that, in contrast to low-context cultures, is not perceived as a passive action in high-context cultures.

As Gudykunst and Matsumoto (1996) have observed, the use of indirect, implicit, ambiguous replies, which are often practiced by high-context communicators, may appear to violate Grice's (1975) maxim of relation. Thus, as Yum (1988) points out, high-context communication must involve a different

communicative competence than low-context-communication. In order to understand speakers correctly and uncover their intentions, listeners must be very sensitive to any nonverbal cues, which are significant aspects of indirect communication. High-context communicators must "hear one and understand ten" (Yum, 1988: 384).

Finally, indirect, high-context communication entails the transmission of verbal messages that mask speakers' true intentions (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1988). This seems to violate Grice's (1975) maxim of manner which recommends direct and clear expression.

#### **1.4.3. Time orientation**

Anthropologists have long perceived time as one of the crucial elements to the understanding of a particular culture. They have argued that cultures differ in time management and time orientation (Hall, 1959; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). Anthropologist Edward Hall (1959) even ascribes a more communicative function to time than to language:

"Time talks. It speaks more plainly than words. The message it conveys comes through loud and clear. Because it is manipulated less consciously, it is subject to less distortion than the spoken language".

(Hall, 1959: 1).

Hall (1983) has proposed a classification of cultures on the basis of their time organisation: either monochronic (M-time) or polychronic (P-time). The monochronic approach perceives time as linear, measurable, manageable and of real value. Such an approach to time characterises people from Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the USA. As Hall words it: "People of the Western world, particularly Americans, tend to think of time as something fixed in nature, something around us and from which we cannot escape; an ever-present part of the environment, just like the air we breathe" (Hall, 1959: 19). Therefore, in M-time cultures people have a very good sense of punctuality; meet appointments and schedules, and value time as a tangible good. As Samovar and his colleagues (1998: 169) observe, the tangibility of time is reflected in language when people refer to saving, losing or killing time.

In contrast to M-time cultures, in P-time cultures the concept of time is less concrete and less structured, hence at the behavioural level people are more spontaneous and less organised. As opposed to monochronic individuals who emphasise goals and objectives rather than people, polychronic individuals set people above schedules and manage many things at one

time.<sup>4</sup> Thus, as Hall (1983) argues, people from P-time cultures (Arabic, Asian or Latin American) engage in many activities at one time and treat interruptions as part and parcel of conversations, do one thing at a time, and hate to be interrupted. Hall and Hall (1990) present the fundamentals of both approaches in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1.** Comparison of monochromic and polychronic people (adapted from Edward T. Hall and Mildred Reed Hall, 1990: 15)

MONOCHRONIC PEOPLE	POLYCHRONIC PEOPLE
Do one thing at one time.	Do many things at once.
Concentrate on the job.	Are easily distracted and subject to interruptions.
Take time commitments (deadlines, schedules) seriously.	Consider time commitments an objective to be achieved, if possible.
Are low context and need information.	Are high context and already have information.
Are committed to the job.	Are committed to people and human relationships.
Adhere to plans.	Change plans often and easily.
Are concerned about not disturbing others; follow rules of privacy.	Are more concerned with people close to them (family, friends, close business associates) than with privacy.
Show great respect for private property; seldom borrow or lend.	Borrow and lend things often and easily.
Emphasise promptness.	Base promptness on the relationship.
Are accustomed to short-term relationships.	Have strong tendency to build lifetime relationships.

#### 1.4.4. Orientations to past, present and future

As regards time orientations, Kluckhohn and Stroedbeck (1961) recognised three types of cultures: present oriented, which ignores tradition and the future; past-oriented, focused on preservation of traditions in the present; future-oriented, concentrated on the visualisation of the future and pursuing it. The perception of time as a social construct that enables all members of

<sup>4</sup> Cultural differences in time management are also discussed by Richard D. Lewis (1999). However, in his book "When cultures collide", Lewis (1999: 57) introduces three approaches to time management: i.e. *linear* (corresponding to Hall's monochromic approach), as well as *multi-active* (corresponding to Hall's polychronic approach) and *cyclic* (which, according to Lewis, characterises some Eastern cultures).

a culture to synchronise their actions is also reflected in the work of Emile Durkheim, the French sociologist (1960). As Trompenaars (1993: 109) notices, Saint Augustine indicated in his "Declarations" that a subjective perception of time may differ from its abstract conception, since the past and the future remain undisclosed and only the present is real and modifies our perceptions of the past and the future. As Trompenaars (1993: 109) further argues, the approach to time orientation differs between individuals and cultures. Trompenaars's ideas concerning time orientation will be further discussed in subsection 1.7. of this paper devoted entirely to the discussion of Trompenaars's model of culture.

### **1.5. HOFSTEDE'S DIMENSIONS OF CULTURAL VARIABILITY**

Though the value approach to cultural analysis was initiated by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), who laid foundations to intercultural and cross-cultural research, the most frequently cited work on value analysis is Hofstede's (1980). As opposed to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) deductive analysis, Hofstede applied an inductive method of surveying a large number of people (116,000) from different countries about their value preferences and used the statistical technique of factor analysis. Then, he distinguished four dimensions that accounted for a large variety in the answers. His study has significantly contributed to many fields of human communication, with a particular reference to cross-cultural, intercultural and international communication, and has been verified by a large body of research on cultural differences in value systems.

Hofstede (1980, 1991) initially examined four areas related to value orientations: a) the relationship with authority; b) the relationship between the individual and the group; c) concepts of masculinity and femininity; d) ways of dealing with aggression. After statistical analysis of the obtained survey results, Hofstede postulated four dimensions of culture: power distance, individualism, masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance. Furthermore, in his later research Hofstede (1991) put forward another dimension- time orientation- as a result of cooperation with Michael Bond who associates this dimension with Confucianism.

#### **1.5.1. Power distance**

The concept of power distance, although initially scrutinised in the workplace, has far-reaching implications. Hofstede and Bond (1984: 419) define power distance as "the extent to which the less powerful members of insti-

tutions and organizations accept that power is distributed unequally". A high Power Distance Index (PDI) reflects the acceptance of inequality over a range of fields of social relations and is the source of conflict between the powerful and the powerless. On the contrary, a low Power Distance Index relates to the balance between the powerful and the powerless. Cultures differ in their emphasis on low or high degrees of power distance, which is reflected not only in the hierarchical structures of organizations, but also in communication between people of different statuses in a range of settings.

According to Hofstede (1980), in cultures with a high PDI parents value obedience and conformity in their children, similarly to teachers who expect these qualities from their students. In a workplace with a high PDI, subordinates avoid confrontations with their supervisors, show lack of trust towards their co-workers and undergo close supervision. Furthermore, Hofstede (1980, 1991) points out that in contrast to members of low power distance cultures who respect the individual, equality and freedom, members of cultures with a high PDI value tact, servitude and money. Hofstede (1981, 1994) argues that low and high power distance tendencies are manifested in all cultures, but one tendency predominates.

### **1.5.2. Power distance and communication**

As Gudykunst and Matsumoto (1996: 46) observe, the concept of power distance seems particularly useful in understanding cross-cultural differences in the communication of individuals of varying status. For example, in cultures with a high Power Distance Index subordinates do not question their supervisors' orders and are fearful of any disagreements. In contrast, in low power distance cultures subordinates do not blindly follow their supervisors' instructions, as they need more feedback and explanation concerning the reason and aim of the instructions. Therefore, when the representatives of low and high power distance cultures meet, communication clash seems inevitable.

Moreover, rules concerning cooperation with outgroup members are manifested as a function of power distance. In high power distance cultures power acts as a regulator of social relations and, consequently, communication. In any form of interaction people with less power are expected to submit to people with more power. Thus, the level of egalitarian cooperation appears low. Consequently, as the outgroup members generally have less power than ingroup members, Gudykunst (1995) suggests that in high power distance cultures communication requires less cooperation than in low power distance cultures.

The dimension of power distance also appears to have an impact on perceptions of emotions. As Matsumoto (1989: 101) observes, expression of negative emotions in high distance cultures is rather avoided since it threatens the group structure and solidarity. On the contrary, in low power distance cultures, especially those with a high level of individualism, expression of negative emotions is not perceived as threatening social groups or structures and thus more widely accepted. Matsumoto (1991) further relates the perception of emotions to the dimension of individualism-collectivism. Matsumoto (1991: 102) argues that the range of emotional means of expression seems to be limited in collectivistic cultures due to the fact that their members are not "tolerant of wide ranges of individual variation, and thus frown upon such variations". On the other hand, as members of individualistic cultures are not so concerned with maintaining group harmony and consent as members of collectivistic cultures, they demonstrate a wide variety of emotional expression.

### **1.5.3. Individualism and collectivism**

The third dimension put forward by Hofstede is individualism as opposed to collectivism. It is probably one of the most discussed, cited and researched concepts in the field of cross-cultural, intercultural and international communication. It is also the concept that has been most frequently studied by Hofstede. This fact is not surprising, as this dimension seems the most obvious and visible in intercultural contacts. Hofstede (1991: 51) defines the concept of individualism and collectivism as follows: "individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty".

#### **1.5.3.1. The influence of individualism and collectivism on communication**

Hofstede (2003), Gudykunst and his colleagues (1988) have argued that Edward Hall's (1976) distinction between low- and high-context communications may be regarded as compatible with individualism versus collectivism, respectively. As discussed above, high-context communication is characterized as being ambiguous, indirect and requires of the listener to identify the

speaker's intentions. On the other hand, low-context communication involves the speakers' openness, directness, precision, and consistency with their feelings. As indicated earlier, these communication patterns correspond to the concept of collectivism and individualism.

The above assumption has been addressed in a large body of research on cultural differences in communication. For example, Frymier, Klopf, and Ishi (1990) have ascertained that in individualistic cultures people are more affect oriented and more prone to talk than members of collectivistic cultures. Gudykunst, Gao, Nishida et al. (1992) have reported that members of collectivistic cultures put more emphasis on the social status of their interlocutors than their behaviour. Clarity plays a significant role in the effectiveness of communication for members of individualistic cultures as opposed to members of collectivistic cultures (Kim, 1994; Kim and Wilson, 1994). Moreover, in contrast to members of collectivistic cultures, members of individualistic cultures perceive direct requests as an effective communication strategy (Kim and Wilson, 1994).

Cultural systems high on collectivism emphasise group harmony and develop communication rules, which involve individuals' adaptation to the group, so that the group speaks with one voice (cf. Hofstede, 2001; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1996). In contrast, in cultures high on individualism (e.g.: USA, Australia, UK), individuals are expected to speak their mind even if it threatens the group harmony. These findings have been empirically confirmed by Argyle, Henderson, Bond, Izuka, and Contarelo (1986).

It should be noted here that the level of individualism and collectivism varies among members of a given culture (Triandis et. al, 1985). In other words, not all members of collectivistic cultures are collectivistic and not all members of individualistic cultures are individualistic. As Gudykunst and Matsumoto (1996: 33) argue: "individuals' communication styles are dependent upon the degree to which they have internalised the values of the culture in which they are socialized, and the way they see themselves, and the way their culture socializes people to see themselves (e.g., as independent, unique individuals or as individuals embedded in social groups)". Thus, individual differences in communication styles should be associated with individual levels of individualism and collectivism.

#### **1.5.4. Uncertainty avoidance**

Hofstede (2001) argues that each society develops different approaches to the future. The future is an unknown element and as such uncertain. Thus, this uncertainty evokes various levels of anxiety. Despite individual differ-

ences in levels of anxiety tolerance (see Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Stanford, 1950), Hofstede (2001) argues that the approach to uncertainty is, to a large extent, culture dependent. According to Hofstede (2001: 146), each society tackles the issue of uncertainty about the future by means of technology, law and religion. Technology assists in dealing with uncertainties caused by nature, law protects from uncertainties, which arise due to the actions of others, and religion helps in coping with uncertainties related to the matter of human existence. As Hofstede (2001) further argues, the ways of dealing with uncertainties are a part of cultural heritage and they are passed on by social institutions including "the family, the school and the state" and are reflected in values common for the members of a particular society (Hofstede, 2001: 146). These values and behaviours, though recognized and shared by members of a particular group, may be utterly incomprehensible to another group. Following psychological research on tolerance of ambiguity (Adorno et al., 1950; Allport 1954, 1979; Furnham and Ribchester, 1995), Hofstede (2001) proposes the dimension of uncertainty avoidance to discuss culturally dependent variances in tolerance/intolerance of ambiguity at a national level. Hofstede defines the dimension of uncertainty avoidance as: "The extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations" (Hofstede, 2001: 161). In spite of superficial similarity, Hofstede (2001: 148) does not equate uncertainty avoidance with risk avoidance. In fact, individuals from cultures high on uncertainty avoidance often engage in situations that involve risk in order to reduce uncertainty. On the contrary, a low level of uncertainty avoidance is expressed in a greater acceptance of risk, which refers to any domain of human activity, including communication.

#### 1.5.4.1. Implications of uncertainty avoidance for communication

According to Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1996), in cultures with high Uncertainty Avoidance Index, in order to avoid ambiguity individuals develop patterns of communication for almost any possible situation. This particularly refers to communication with strangers, which appears highly ritualistic and/or polite. The patterns of communication seem far more complex in high-context than in low-context cultures. However, the rules concerning a particular situation are not clearly specified and strangers may be simply ignored (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, 1996: 43).

Apart from interaction with strangers, the dimension of uncertainty avoidance also has a significant effect on affective reactions (Pettigrew, 1986). The findings of Bobad and Wallbot's (1986) cross-cultural research

encompassing eight cultures show that a higher level of fear is associated with interactions with strangers than ingroup members, and the expression of anger is restrained. According to Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey and Chua (1988), members of low-uncertainty avoidance cultures show less control of anger towards outgroup members and vocalize anger more than members of high-uncertainty avoidance cultures, who tend to suppress it more.

### **1.5.5. Masculinity-femininity**

The dimension of masculinity and femininity is related to the way a particular society perceives the natural duality of male and female. It does not address the biological differences between women and men, which are obviously universal, but the culture specific gender differences in the social context. Hofstede (2001) provides a one-line definition of the bi-polar aspects of this dimension of a national culture:

“Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life” (Hofstede, 2001: 297).

Although the dimension of masculinity and femininity seems understated in cross-cultural research, its influence on social life and institutions is enormous, as earlier observed by Chetwynd and Hartnett (1978: 3) who argued that: “The sex-role system is at the core of our cultural norms”.<sup>5</sup> According to Hofstede (1980), in cultural systems with a high masculinity index (MI) gender roles are distinct and people strive for personal achievements, especially work-related recognition and success. Thus, the acceptance of work interference in private life is widespread. Alternatively, people in cultural systems low on masculinity perceive roles ascribed to genders as more flexible, and value quality of life and interdependence more than independence and personal ambition.

The dimension of masculinity and femininity is applicable when accounting for differences and similarities in the communication styles of men and women. The issue of gender differences in female and male discourse as a consequence of gender disparities in value systems has been addressed and popularised by Deborah Tannen. (1990, 1993, 1994). Tannen (1994) ar-

---

<sup>5</sup> Following Geert Hofstede (2003) and the politically correct trend in the English language to make a distinction between *sex* and *gender*, the author of this article uses the term *sex* in reference to biological functions, and *gender* to social functions. However, it must be noted here that in previous research the term *sex* referred to both functions.

gues that the genders have distinct systems of thinking, feeling, and acting that are reflected in discourse. Thus, women use more "rapport talk" while men engage in "report talk" (Tannen, 1994). The dimension of masculinity and femininity and its implications for communication are thoroughly discussed in Hofstede's et al. (1998) monograph "Masculinity and Femininity: the taboo dimension of national cultures".

### 1.5.6. Long Term Orientation

The long-term orientation is the fifth dimension later introduced by Hofstede (1991) as a result of cooperation with Michael Bond. Despite different labelling, the dimension corresponds to Bond's *Confucian work dynamism*. According to Hofstede (2001: 359):

"Long Term Orientation stands for the fostering of virtues oriented towards future rewards, in particular, perseverance and thrift. Its opposite pole, Short Term Orientation, stands for the fostering of virtues related to the past and present, in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of 'face' and fulfilling of social obligations".

The study of Rebeca S. Merkin (2004) highlights the relationship between Long-Term Orientation (LTO), harmony and cooperation facework strategies. Respondents from an LTO culture (Hong Kong) were more likely to use harmonious and cooperative strategies, as opposed to respondents from a Short Term Orientation culture (the USA).

## 1.6. TROMPENAARS'S MODEL OF CULTURE

Another widely cited work on cultural value orientations is Trompenaars's book *Riding the waves of culture* (1993), revised in 1997 with the cooperation of Hampden-Turner. Similarly to Hofstede, Trompenaars worked on data obtained from questionnaires distributed in a business setting, among a large number of executives from various organisations. However, Hofstede's questionnaire is work values oriented, whereas Trompenaars's questionnaire focuses on preferred behavioural aspects of both work and leisure situations. Nevertheless, through asking the respondents questions about the elements of the outer layers of the "culture onion" both studies aimed at identifying the underlying values.

Trompenaars (1993) classifies cultures on the basis of seven behavioural and value patterns which encompass: universalism versus particularism,

collectivism versus individualism, neutral versus emotional, diffuse versus specific, achievement versus ascription, human-time relationship and human-nature relationship.

Two of the seven value dimensions proposed by Trompenaars correspond with the two dimensions isolated by Hofstede (2001). Namely, Trompenaars's (1993) dimension of collectivism/individualism appears identical with Hofstede's (2001) collectivism/individualism. The achievement/ascription orientation reflects some aspects of Hofstede's (2001) dimension of power distance. Similarly to Hofstede, Trompenaars (1993) argues that the acceptance of power distance is less reluctant if status is perceived as attained by nature rather than achievement. However, Trompenaars (1993) focuses solely on the way status is accorded and, in contrast to Hofstede (2001), does not discuss the acceptable levels of power distance acceptance within a given culture.

Trompenaars's universalism/particularism value orientation defines a preference for reliance on rules rather than particular forms of relating to other individuals. This dimension partly corresponds to Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance and collectivism/individualism dimension. Trompenaars (1993: 45) gives some practical implications concerning social interaction in the business context. He argues that universalists are more focused on rules rather than relationships, believe there is only one truth and value their words and trustworthiness. Moreover, they avoid revealing personal information and straying from the topic in public speeches. Their argumentation style could be described as "rational" and "professional" (Trompenaars, 1993: 46). They also strive for openness and fairness in personal contacts. On the contrary, particularists concentrate more on relationships rather than rules and their perception of the truth seems relative and depends on particular circumstances. In social contacts they engage in small talk to maintain interaction, often give personal information and, from the universalists' perspective, go off the topic. They also rely more on informal networks and private contacts and do not perceive fairness as a universal application of the same rules but rather as an application of special merits to a particular case.

The neutral versus emotional dimension deals with the expression of feelings and it thus concentrates more on a behavioural aspect rather than a value in itself. In cultures high on affectivity individuals are not constrained from showing their feelings either verbally or nonverbally. In contrast, members of neutral cultures control their feelings and curb the outlet of their emotions. However, Trompenaars (1993: 63) points out that "neutral cultures are not necessarily cold or unfeeling, nor they are emotionally constipated or repressed". Thus, in affective cultures individuals seek a *direct*

confirmation of their thoughts and feelings, whereas in neutral cultures a rather *indirect* response is expected. Trompenaars (1993: 67) links affectivity with the use of humour in a given culture. Namely, in neutral cultures (Japan, Germany, Indonesia) the use of humour is negatively perceived and not permitted in the professional setting, especially between unfamiliar persons. As regards intercultural encounters, Trompenaars (1993) indicates that members of neutral cultures come across as reserved, unemotional and their tone of voice appears monotonous to members of affective cultures. On the contrary, members of neutral cultures perceive members of affective cultures as over-expressive, too open, and too dramatic. Thus, an affective person is often perceived by a neutral person as "out of control and inconsistent" (Trompenaars, 1993: 70).

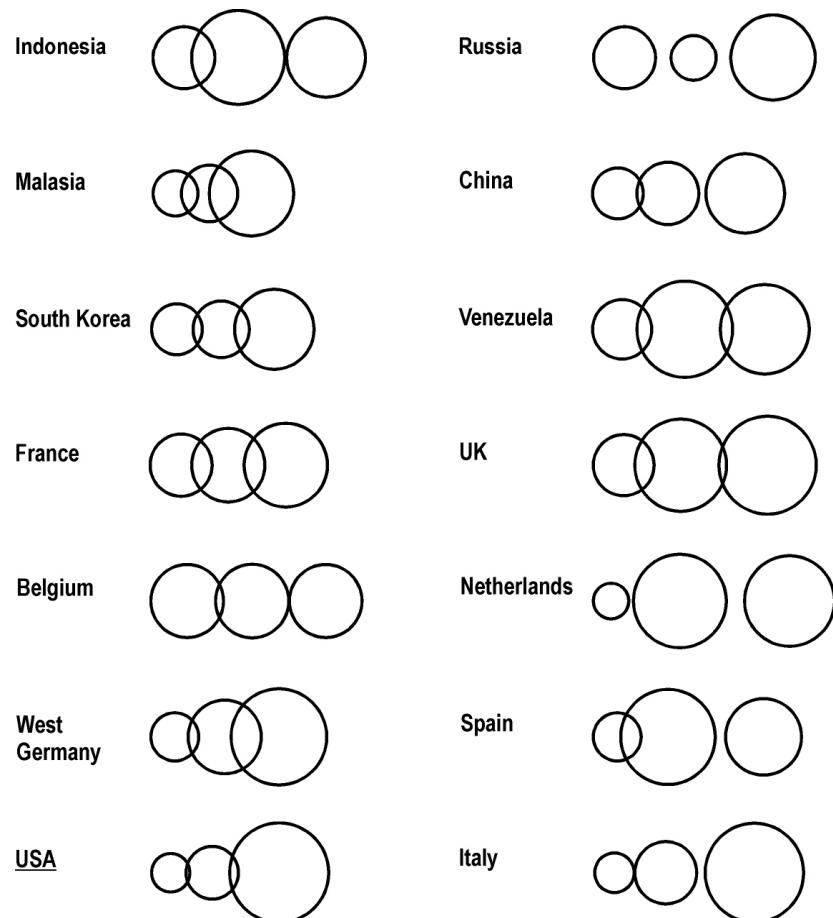
Diffuse versus specific value orientation seems to have no reference to any of the dimensions put forward by Hofstede (1980, 1991). It is closely related to the extent of emotional expressiveness, but the dimension focuses on the level of involvement of others in "(...) **specific** areas of life and single levels of personality, or **diffusely** in multiple areas of our lives at several levels of personality at the same time." (Trompenaars, 1993: 73). Trompenaars relates the specific versus diffuse dimension to the concept of face. He argues that in specific cultures the private and public zones overlap to a large extent, and there is a great freedom of directness, and low risk of losing face. However, the degree of indirectness is higher in diffuse cultures due to avoidance of direct confrontation and loss of face.

Specific and diffuse cultures correspond, respectively, to Hall's (1959) classification of low and high context cultures.

The human-time relationship appears to be a complete match with Hall's polychronic and monochromic time perceptions. However, Trompenaars (1993) labels time perceptions as sequential and synchronic, respectively. As far as cultural differences in relation to time are concerned, to measure time orientations Trompenaars (1993) uses the methodology named the "Circle Test", which was developed by Tom Cottle (1967). The method consists in asking the respondents to draw three circles that represent the past, present and future. Then, respondents are instructed to arrange the circles in any possible way to show how they perceive the connection between the past, present and future. The results of the test carried out by Trompenaars are presented in Figure 1.2.

According to the findings presented in Figure 1.2., the Russian approach to time orientation does not account for any relationship between the past, present and future which are presented as separate circles. On the contrary, Malaysians perceive the past, present and future as almost a unity, and the circles representing them are virtually overlapping.

As Trompenaars (1993: 122) observes, people from past-oriented cultures value tradition, history, and cultural heritage and often make references to the traditional or historical context. They also show respect for ancestors and the senile. On the other hand, members of present oriented cultures focus on current activities and are interested in present proceedings. They tend to view everything from a contemporary perspective. Finally, people from future-oriented cultures focus on plans, ambitions and future goals. Scheduling comes across as an activity of the utmost importance. Present and past are taken advantage of for the benefits of future objectives. As opposed to past-oriented cultures, youthfulness is emphasised and pursued (cf. Trompenaars, 1993: 122).



**Figure 1.2.** Past, present and future orientations in selected countries (adapted from Trompenaars, 1993: 114)

Finally, Trompenaars's human-nature relationship corresponds to the human-nature relationship in Stroedbeck and Kluckhohn's (1961) "Variations in value orientations". Fundamentally, Trompenaars (1993: 125) isolates two approaches to nature: *inner directed* and *outer-directed*. In order to classify national cultures according to their relation to nature, Trompenaars (1993: 126) used a scale developed by the American psychologist J.B. Rotter (1966) which measured whether the people surveyed had *internal locus of control*, characteristic of success-oriented American individuals, or *external locus of control*, typical of less successful individuals. Trompenaars (1993) applied the scale created by Rotter (1966) to question 15.000 managers from different countries.<sup>6</sup> After the analysis of the results, Trompenaars (1993) observed considerable differences between countries (for the detailed results of Trompenaars's study see Appendix 2.). Trompenaars (1993) further argues that a culture's orientation to nature has an important impact on cross-cultural communication. For example, people from internal-oriented cultures often show a dominating or even aggressive attitude towards their environment, as opposed to people from external-oriented cultures. Moreover, individuals from internal-oriented cultures have a positive attitude to conflict in contrast to individuals from external-oriented cultures who value harmony. Another difference between internal and external-oriented cultures is, respectively, focus on the self and focus on the others. Finally, individuals from external-oriented cultures show greater acceptance for the uncontrollability of the environment in comparison with individuals from internal-oriented cultures.

### **1.7. A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF HOFSTEDE'S AND TROMPENAARS'S MODELS**

The frameworks provided by Hofstede and Trompenaars have been extensively applied in cross-cultural and intercultural communication. Simultaneously, a large number of critical voices have been raised in reference to both frameworks.

As regards Trompenaars's work, the major criticism has come from Hofstede (2001: 221–223) who argues that Trompenaars's dimensions do not find support in statistical analyses. Furthermore, Hofstede (2001: 221–223) criticises Trompenaars for his categorisation of items related to individual-

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed interpretation of the results of the cross-cultural study see Smith, P.B., Trompenaars, F. and S. Dugan (1995).

ism into separate dimensions and for ignoring other aspects of culture. Since dimensions should be statistically independent, Hofstede (2001: 223) asserts that Trompenaars's *dimensions* should be labelled *categories*, as the Smith et al.'s (1996) studies have shown that "Trompenaars's extensive questionnaire measured only various intercorrelated flavours of individualism" (Hofstede, 2001: 223). Finally, Trompenaars's use of psychological instrument (Rotter's locus of control test) designed to test variability at an individual level in cross-cultural research at a societal level in cross-cultural studies may be considered as *ecological fallacy* as defined by Hofstede (2001: 16).

Geert Hofstede's "Culture consequences", first published in 1980, is considered a milestone, which has provided the foundations for a dynamic development of cross-cultural studies within a range of disciplines (cf. Smith 2002). Although Hofstede's findings have been applied as a referential or explicatory framework in a large body of cross-cultural research, his approach has also been widely criticised. For example, Brendan McSweeney (2002) challenges the methodology of data collection used by Hofstede, which has instigated a fierce debate on the feasibility of the model (Williamson, 2002; Hofstede, 2002). McSweeney (2002) argues, that the results obtained from the questionnaires distributed among IBM employees worldwide reflect solely the IBM organisational culture, which does not equal a national culture. However, Hofstede (1991: 252) asserts that the homogeneity of the IBM respondents "(...) shows national culture with unusual clarity". McSweeney (2002) even goes a step further and questions other models, which fall into the functionalist paradigm, i.e. Schwartz's (1992) and Trompenaars's (1993). However, Williamson (2002: 1375) points out that McSweeney's (2002) and Hofstede's (1980) paradigms, and thus premises, are not compatible, and therefore McSweeney's criticism is flawed. Moreover, Hofstede has emphasised on several occasions that national culture is not uniform and interpreting individual differences on the basis of national average results leads to ecological fallacy (Hofstede, 1980: 29; 1991: 112; 2001: 16).

There is also a considerable debate on the validity of the data collected by Hofstede. For example, Holden (2002) argues that one of the demerits of Hofstede's dimensions is the fact that they have been worked out on the basis of questionnaires distributed solely among respondents representing business fields. Holden (2002) also points out that the data collected by Hofstede over 30 years ago is now outdated. However, this criticism may be easily refuted. Firstly, empirical research suggests that values are stable and time does not significantly affect them (Schwartz, 1992). Secondly, it must be noted here that Hofstede initiated the process of data collection over 30 years ago but his database has been

continually updated and extended as data from different countries have been systematically added (see Hofstede, 2001).

Although a need for research of national culture from broader perspectives has been signalled (Bhimani, 1999; Harrison and McKinnon, 1999; Redding, 1994), Hofstede's model can be perceived as objective and its efficiency appeals to numerous academics from various fields of cross-cultural research (cf. Williamson, 2002). Therefore, Hofstede's model is still viable and finds application in cross-cultural research (Clyne, 1996; Lenartowicz and Roth, 1999).

### **1.8. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The above overview of selected concepts and definitions of culture has presented culture as a set of commonly shared values, norms, or assumptions that regulate behaviour as well as ways of thinking of individuals within a specific national culture. This approach has essential implications for communication as such since culture is perceived not only as a certain context for communication, but also as one of the key determinants of preferred patterns of communication, observable at the national level of culture. Thus, culture was declared to predispose certain communication conventions, and automating communication behaviours. Cultural variability was discussed within the frameworks of three models of culture. Firstly, the author over-viewed Hall's concept of high and low context as one of the most frequently cited dimensions of culture. However, despite its undeniable contributions to understanding the mutual relations between culture and communication, Hall's model was refuted as a framework for cross-cultural analysis due to its arbitrariness and imprecision. Further discussed alternative models of Hofstede and Trompenaars, that perceive values as the core, most salient elements of culture, and propose several dimensions of culture, were initially widely applied in social sciences and business practice. Despite certain criticism raised by numerous researchers, their citation index remains high. A special tribute should be paid here to Hofstede who has indeed revolutionised the perception of culture. His ideas have been echoed in numerous fields of studies, including, among others, sociology, cultural studies, economy, management, communication studies, and finally linguistics. Owing to its simplicity and clearness, supported by impressive statistics and methodological professionalism, Hofstede's model appears a good starting point to understand the complex and very broad concept of culture, bearing in mind that it is impossible to provide a one-line definition of the very term 'culture'.

## Bibliography

- ADORNO, T.W., FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK, E., LEVINSON, D.J., AND R.N. SANFORD. 1950. *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper and Row.
- ALBERT, E. 1972. "Cultural patterning of speech behaviours in Burungi". In: Gumperz, J. and D. Hymes. (eds.). 72-105.
- ALLPORT, G.W. 1954/1979. *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- AL-OLAYAN, F.S. AND K. KARANDE. 2000. "A content analysis of magazine advertisements from the United States and the Arab world". *Journal of Advertising* 29.3. 69-83.
- ALTHAUS, H.P., H. HENNE AND H.E. WIEGAND. (eds.). 1980. *Lexikon der germanistische Linguistik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- ARGYLE, M., HENDERSON, M., BOND, M., IIZUKA, Y. AND A. CONTARELO. 1986. "Cross-cultural variations in relationship rules". *International Journal of Psychology* 21. 287-315.
- BASSO, K. 1970. "To give up on words: silence in western Apache culture". *Southern Journal of Anthropology* 26. 213-230.
- BENNET, M.J. (ed.). 1998. *Basic concepts of intercultural communication: Selected readings*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, Inc.
- BERRY, J. 1980. "Introduction to methodology". In: Triandis, H.C. and J. Berry. (eds.).
- BHIMANI, A. 1999. "Mapping methodological frontiers in cross-national management control research". *Accounting, Organizations and Societies* 24. 413-40.
- BIRDWHISTELL, R. 1970. *Kinesics and context*. New York: Ballantine.
- BISWAS, A., OLSEN, J.E. AND V. CARLET. 1992. "A comparison of print advertisements from the United States and France". *Journal of Advertising* 21.4. 73-81.
- BOBAD, E. AND H. WALLBOTT. 1986. "The effects of social factors on emotional reactions". In: Scherer, K. et al. (eds.). 154-172.
- BOND, M.H., KWAN, V.S.Y. AND C. LI. 2000. "Decomposing a sense of superiority: the differential social impact of self-regard and regard-for-others". *Journal of Research in Personality* 34. 537-553.
- BRISLIN, R. 1983. "Cross-cultural research in psychology". *Annual Review of Psychology* 34. 363 -400.
- CHETWYND, J. AND O. HARTNETT. 1978. *The sex role system: psychological and sociological perspective*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- CLYNE, M. 1996. *Intercultural communication at work: cultural values in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COLE, P. (ed.). 1981. *Radical pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press.
- COTTE, T. 1967. "The circles test: an investigation of perception of temporal relatedness and dominance." *Journal of Projective Technique and Personality Assessments* 31. 58-71.
- COLE, P. AND J.L. MORGAN. (eds.). 1975. *Syntax and semantics: speech acts*. New York: Academic Press
- DAHL, S. 1998. *Intercultural skills for business*. London: ECE Publishing.
- DAHL, S. 2000. *Advertising appeals in beer commercials in the UK, the Netherlands and Germany*. Luton: Intercultural Discourse Group, University of London.
- DURKHEIM, E. 1960. *De la division de travail social*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- FRYMIER, A., KLOPF, D. AND S. ISHII. 1990. "Japanese and Americans compared on the affect orientation construct". *Psychological Reports* 66. 966-985.
- FURNHAM, A. AND T. RIBCHESTER. 1995. "Tolerance of ambiguity: a review of the concept, its measurement and applications". *Current Psychology* 14.3. 179-199.

- GAETZ, L., KLOPF, D. AND S. ISHII. 1990. "Predispositions toward verbal behavior of Japanese and Americans". Paper presented at the Communication Association of Japan Convention, Tokyo.
- GEERTZ, C. 1966. *Person, time, and conduct in Bali* (Cult. Rep., Ser. No. 14). New Haven, CT: Yale South Asia Program.
- GEERTZ, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- GRICE, H.P. 1975. "Logic and conversation". In: Cole, P. and J.L. Morgan. (eds.). 107–142.
- GRICE, H.P. 1981. "Presupposition and conversational implicature". In: Cole, P. (ed.). 183–198.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. (ed.). 1983. *Intercultural communication theory: Current perspectives*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. 1995. "Anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory: current status". In: Wiseman, R. (ed.). 8–57.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. 2004. *Bridging difference: effective intergroup communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. AND S. TING-TOOMEY. 1996. "Communication in personal relationships across cultures: an introduction". In: Gudykunst, W.B. et al. (eds.). 3–18.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. AND T. NISHIDA. 1986. "Attributional confidence in low- and high-context cultures". *Human Communication Research* 12. 525–549.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. AND T. NISHIDA. 1994. *Bridging Japanese/ North American differences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B. AND Y. MATSUMOTO. 1996. "Cross-cultural variability of communication in personal relationships". In Gudykunst, W.B. et al. (eds.). 19–56.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B., TING-TOOMEY, S. AND T. NISHIDA. (eds.). 1996. *Communication in personal relationships across cultures*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B., GAO, G., NISHIDA, T., NADAMITSU, Y. AND J. SAKAI. 1992. "Self-monitoring in Japan and the United States". In: Iwawaki, S. et al. (eds.). 1992. 185–194.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B., NISHIDA, T., CHUNG, L. AND S. SUDWEEKS. 1992. "The influence of strength of cultural identity and perceived typicality on individualistic and collectivistic values in Japan and the United States". Paper presented at the Asian Regional Congress of the International Association for Cross-cultural Psychology, Katmandu, Nepal.
- GUDYKUNST, W.B., TING-TOOMEY, S. AND E. CHUA. 1988. *Culture and interpersonal communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- GUMPERZ, J. AND D. HYMES. (eds.). 1972. *Directions in sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- HALL, E.T. 1959. *The silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- HALL, E.T. 1966. *The hidden dimension*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- HALL, E.T. 1976. *Beyond culture*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- HALL, E.T. 1983. *The dance of life: other dimensions of time*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- HALL, E.T. AND M.R. HALL. 1990. *Understanding cultural differences: Germans, French and Americans*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- HALLIDAY, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- HARRIS, M. 1968. *The rise of cultural theory*. New York: Crowell.
- HARRISON, G. AND J. MCKINNON. 1999. "Cross-cultural research in management control systems design: a review of the current state". *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 24. 483–506.
- HASLETT, B. 1989. "Communication and language acquisition within a cultural context". In: Ting-Toomey, S. and F. Korzenny. (eds.).

- HEWSTONE, M. AND R. BROWN. (eds.). 1986. *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- HOFSTEDE, G. 1980. *Culture consequences: international differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- HOFSTEDE, G. 1991. *Cultures and organizations: software of the mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- HOFSTEDE, G. (ed.). 1998. *Masculinity and femininity: the taboo dimensions of national culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- HOFSTEDE, G. 2001. *Culture's consequence: comparing values, behaviours, institutions and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- HOFSTEDE, G. 2002. "Dimensions do not exist: a reply to Brendan McSweeney". *Human Relations* 11. 1355–1361.
- HOFSTEDE, G. AND M. BOND. 1984. "Hofstede's culture dimensions". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. 15. 417–433.
- HOLDEN, N. 2002. *Cross-cultural management: a knowledge management perspective*. Harlow: Financial Times Prentice Hall.
- HOOIJER, H. 1953. "The relation of language to culture". In: Kroeber, L. (ed.). 554–73.
- KALLMEYER, W. AND R. MEYER-HERMANN. 1980. "Textlinguistik". In: Althaus, H.P. et al. (eds.). 242–58.
- IWAWAKI, S., KASHIMA, Y. AND K. LEUNG. (eds.). 1992. *Innovations in cross-cultural psychology*. Lisse: Swets.
- KEESING, R. 1974. "Theories of culture". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3. 73–97.
- KIM, M.S. 1994. "Cross-cultural comparisons of the perceived importance of conversational constraints". *Human Communication Research* 21. 128–151.
- KIM, M.S. AND S.R. WILSON. 1994. "A cross-cultural comparison of implicit theories of requesting". *Communication Monographs* 61. 210–235.
- KLUCKHOHN, C. 1951. "The study of culture". In: Learner, D. and H.D. Lasswell. (eds.).
- KLUCKHOHN, F.R. AND F.L. STRODTBECK. 1961. *Variations in value orientations*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- KROEBER, L. (ed.). 1953. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- KROEBER, L. AND C. KLUCKHOHN. 1952. *Culture: a critical review of concepts and definitions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum.
- LADO, R. 1957. *Linguistics across cultures*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- LEARNER, D. AND H.D. LASSWELL. (eds.). 1951. *The policy sciences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- LEBRA, T.S. 1987. "The cultural significance of silence in Japanese communication". *Multilingua* 6. 343–357.
- LENARTOWICZ, T. AND K.A. ROTH. 1999. "A framework for culture assessment". *Journal of International Business* 30.4. 781–798.
- LEVINE, R. 1984. "Properties of culture: an ethnographic view". In: Shweder, R. and R. LeVine. (eds.).
- LEWIS, R.D. 1999. *When cultures collide*. London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- LIN, C.A. 1993. "Cultural differences in message strategies: a comparison between American and Japanese TV commercials". *Journal of Advertising Research* (July/August). 40–48.
- MANDELBAUM, D. (ed.). 1949. *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture and reality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- MARE, L.D. 1990. "Ma and Japan". *The Southern Californian Journal* 55. 319–328.

- MATSUMOTO, D. 1989. "Cultural influences on perceptions of emotions". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 20. 91-104.
- MATSUMOTO, D. 1991. "Cultural influences on the facial expression of emotion". *Southern Communication Journal* 56. 128-137.
- MCSEENEY, B. 2002. "Hofstede's model of national cultural differences and their consequences: a triumph of faith - a failure of analysis". *Human Relations* 1. 89-118.
- MERKIN, R.S. 2004. "Cultural long-term orientation and facework strategies". *Atlantic Journal of Communication* 3.12. 163-176.
- MORRIS, M.W., WILLIAMS, K.Y., LEUNG, K., LARRICK, R., MENDOZA, M.T., BHATNAGAR, D., LI, J., KONDO, M., LUO, J. AND J. HU. 1998. "Conflict management style: accounting for cross-national differences". *Journal of International Business Studies* 29. 729-748.
- MUELLER, B. 1987. "Reflections of culture: an analysis of American and Japanese advertising appeals". *Journal of Advertising Research* 27.3. 51: 60.
- OCHS, E. 1986. "Introduction". In: Schieffelin, B. and E. Ochs. (eds.). 1-13.
- OETZEL, J.G. AND S. TING-TOOMEY. 2003. "Face concerns in interpersonal conflict: a cross-cultural empirical test of the Face Negotiation Theory". *Communication Research* 6. 599-624.
- OHBUCHI, K., FUKUSHIMA, O. AND J.T. TEDESCHI. 1999. "Cultural values in conflict management: goal orientation, goal attainment, and tactical decision". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1. 51-71.
- OKABE, R. 1983. "Cultural assumptions of East and West: Japan and the United States". In: Gudykunst, W.B. (ed.). 21-44.
- PETTIGREW, T. 1986. "The intergroup contact hypothesis revisited". In: Hewstone, M. and R. Brown. (eds.). 169-195.
- PIKE, K.L. 1954. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- REDDER, A. AND J. REHBEIN. (eds.). 1987. *Arbeiten zur interkulturellen Kommunikation*. (Osnabrücker Beiträge zur Sprachtheorie 38). Osnabrück.
- REDDING, S.G. 1994. "Comparative management theory: jungle, bed or fossil bed?". *Organization Studies* 15. 323-359.
- RICHARDS, J., PLATT, J. AND H. WEBER. 1985. *Longman's dictionary of applied linguistics*. London: Longman.
- ROHNER, R. 1984. "Toward a conception of culture for cross-cultural psychology". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 15. 111-138.
- ROKEACH, M. 1968. *Beliefs, attitudes, and values: a theory of organisational change*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.
- ROSALDO, M. 1973. "I have nothing to hide: the language of Ilongot oratory". *Language in Society* 11. 193-232.
- ROTTIER, J.B. 1966. "Generalised expectations of internal versus external control of reinforcement". *Psychological Monograph* 60.9. 1-28.
- SHWARTZ, S. 1992. "Universals in the content and structure of values: theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries". *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 25. 1-65.
- SHWEDER, R. AND R. LEVINE. (eds.). 1984. *Culture theory: essays on mind, self and emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SMITH, A.G. 1966. *Communication and culture: readings in the codes of human interaction*. New York: Rinehart and Winston.
- SMITH, P.B. 2002. "Cultures consequences: something old and something new". *Human Relations* 1. 119-135.

- SMITH, P.B., TROMPENAARS, F. AND S. DUGAN. 1995. "The Rotter locus of control scale in 43 countries: a test of cultural relativity". *International Journal of Psychology* 3.30. 377–401.
- SMITH, P.B., TROMPENAARS, F. AND S. DUGAN. 1996. "National culture and the values of organisational employees: a dimensional analysis across 43 nations". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 27. 231–264.
- SPENCER-OATEY, H. 2000. *Culturally speaking: managing rapport through talk across culture*. London: Prentice Hall Europe.
- TANNEN, D. 1990. *You just don't understand: women and men in conversation*. New York: William Morrow.
- TANNEN, D. 1993. *Gender and conversational interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TANNEN, D. 1994. *Gender and discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TING-TOOMEY, S. AND F. KORZENNY. (eds.). 1989. *Language, communication and culture: current directions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- TRIANDIS, H.C. 1972. *The analysis of subjective culture*. New York: John Wiley.
- TRIANDIS, H.C. AND J. BERRY. (eds.). 1980. *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- TRIANDIS, H.C., LEUNG, K., VILLAREAL, M. AND F. CLACK. 1985. "Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies". *Journal of Research in Personality* 19. 395–41.
- TROMPENAARS, F. 1993. *Riding the waves of culture: understanding cultural diversity in business*. London: Nicholas Breazley.
- TROMPENAARS, F. AND C. HAMPDEN-TURNER. 1997. *Riding the waves of culture: understanding cultural diversity in business*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Nicholas Breazley.
- WIERZBICKA, A. 1991/2003. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: the semantics of human interaction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- WILLIAMS, R. 1966/1986. *Communications*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- WILLIAMS, R. 1981. *Culture: Fontana new sociology series*. Glasgow: Collins.
- WILLIAMSON, D. 2002. "Forward from a critique of Hofstede's model of national culture". *Human Relations* 11. 1373–1395.
- WISEMAN, R. (ed.). 1995. *Intercultural communication theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

# **Imitation and communication: a developmental perspective**

---

MARTA ZAWACKA-NAJGEBURSKA

## **1. Introduction**

As Andrew Meltzoff, one of the leading researchers in the area of infant imitation, notes (2002b: 5): "imitation promises to be a hot research topic in the coming decade", uniting scientists from such diverse areas as cognitive science, evolutionary biology, neuroscience, robotics, philosophy and developmental science. Five years later, his prediction proves 100% accurate, as witnessed by the fast-growing number of publications on the subject, including collections of chapters by distinguished researchers in their fields, starting from Nadel and Butterworth's *Imitation in infancy* (1999), Meltzoff and Prinz' *The imitative mind* (2002), Dautenhahn and Nehaniv's *Imitation in animals and artifacts: cognitive and ethological perspectives* (2002) to Hurley and Chater's *Perspectives on imitation: from mirror neurons to memes* (2005), and Rogers and Justin's *Imitation and the social mind: autism and typical development* (2006).

As this rather cursory presentation of the milestone books in the field of imitation research demonstrates, the process of imitation has been analyzed from multifarious perspectives. One of the most fertile approaches focuses on investigating the relationship between imitation and communication. This article will provide a short presentation of the recent findings on the issue of the relationship between infant imitation and communication. Firstly, the importance of imitation or mimicry in adult-adult interactions will be presented in order to highlight the pervasiveness of imitative behaviours in everyday communicative encounters. The next section focuses on the neural mechanisms involved in imitation, with special reference to mirror neurons. This is followed by an account of the development of imitative abilities in the infancy and early childhood and the presentation of two most influential theories linking imitation and communicative development.

### **1.1. WHAT IS IMITATION?**

As with any process studied from many perspectives, a unified definition is rather unattainable. I will, however, adopt Poppel's (1996: 76–77) definition, who defines imitation as:

“(...) a reproduction of a witnessed act. The ability to imitate is a complex one and involves, among other things, the ability to extract a more or less faithful representation of the behavior of another individual. It also involves the ability to retrieve an established schema for a given behaviour from long-term memory, as well as the ability to correctly implement it.”

Thus, imitation is a complex behaviour involving many perceptual and cognitive mechanisms. Given this, it is hardly surprising, then, that the first reports of neonatal imitation of facial expressions, reported by Meltzoff and Moore (1977) were greeted with both surprise and disbelief.

## **2. Nonconscious mimicry in interaction**

Mimicry, understood as a tendency to adopt the behaviours, postures, or mannerisms of interaction partners, (Lakin et al. 2003) constitutes a considerable part of any communicative encounter. It occurs at both linguistic and non-linguistic levels. Communicators imitate one another's linguistic resources such as syntax (Levelt and Ketler 1982), accent (Giles and Powesland 1975), speech rate (Webb 1972) as well as speech rhythm (Capella and Panalp 1981). Some researchers explain linguistic mirroring in terms of the processing benefits: hearing a given structure might prime it in the hearer and consequently make it easier for him to produce it (Pickering and Garrod 2004). Others explain the tendency to mimic as a device used for signaling comprehension (Weiner and Labov 1983).

Mimicry, however, is not limited to linguistic resources. Facial expressions are imitated as well: neonates minutes old can imitate tongue protrusion and mouth opening (Meltzoff and Moore 1977) while nine-month-olds successfully mimic emotional expressions of joy, sadness and anger (Ternine and Izard 1988). Older children and adults can adjust their mood and tone to the mood of the interlocutor (Neumann and Strack 2000). Imitation also constitutes the basis for interpersonal coordination, including both interactional synchrony and behavior matching. The latter phenomenon, understood as “the tendency to mimic or mirror the behaviors of interaction partners” (Lakin et al. 2003), has been observed in a number of situations. Thus, students will assume the same posture as a teacher and other students

(Bernieri 1988), counselors mimic their clients (Maurer and Tindall 1983); similarly, if one communicator exhibits some mannerism such as foot shaking, the other will mimic (Chartrand and Bargh 1999). All these imitations are non-conscious and the subjects not only do not notice that they were imitating but also do not consciously register the behaviours which they imitate.

Lakin and her colleagues (Lakin et al. 2003) put forward a "social glue" theory of non-conscious mimicry, which explains it as an evolutionary adaptation. They claim that mimicry has significant adaptive value, which initially served to perceive and receive important information about the environment, such as the appearance of predators, potential prey or mates. Later, with the increasing significance of social bonds, mimicry served to gain and maintain acceptance within a group. Findings from a series of experiments seem to support their model. For instance, Chartrand and Bargh (1999) found that communicators who mimic more are perceived as more likeable and interaction with them as more harmonious and smooth. This is a bi-directional phenomenon since Jefferis, van Baaren and Chartrand (2003) showed that rapport and interpersonal closeness increase the degree of mimicry between participants. The "social group" theory receives further support from the fact that mimicry is employed more often when an individual has a desire to affiliate (Lakin and Chartrand 2003) regardless of the type of experimental situation (subliminal priming, previous failure to affiliate, or feeling too different from a group).

Overall, the findings supporting the "social glue" theory, seem to suggest that non-conscious mimicry is an evolutionary adaptation, whose ultimate aim was to enhance human bonding. Individuals with high mimicking abilities would have stronger position within a group and consequently better access to resources such as food. Following the "social glue" theory, it can be hypothesized that innate imitation abilities, appearing shortly after birth, would lead to an infant being perceived as more likeable thus giving him or her an evolutionary advantage.

### **3. Neural substrate of imitation**

The discovery of mirror neurons in the prefrontal cortex of monkeys (Gallese et al. 1996) has given momentum to the search for similar mechanisms in humans. Indeed, neuropsychological evidence accumulated over the past 15 years indicates the existence of similar mechanisms in humans. A series of experiments (Grafton et al. 1996, Rizzolatti et al. 1996, Iacobini et al. 1999, Fogassi et al. 1998) corroborated the existence of similar structure in humans,

located in the premotor cortex and Broca's area as well as the parietal cortex and the superior temporal sulcus. Other interesting experiments demonstrated common coding between perception and execution of actions as well as a common neural basis (Meltzoff and Decety 2003, Williams et al. 2001). For instance, patients with left frontal lobe lesions show imitative dyspraxia; despite having motor control over their limbs, they cannot imitate actions observed nor can they show these movements on a manikin (Goldenberg 1995). Fadiga's team (Fadiga et al. 1995) found increased activity in the motor system during the observation of actions. Similar results were obtained by Hari's groups (Hari et al. 1998) for object manipulation and by Cochin's team (Cochin et al. 1999) for execution and observation of finger movements. However, this common neural substrate does not entail a direct resonance between the observation and execution of actions. Otherwise, perception would lead to an automatic execution of the same act. The intentions do influence the processing of stimuli. Decety's group found that with subjects watching actions with the intention to imitate, the pattern of neural activation is more similar to that generated during action production than to that triggered when the task is to recognize actions only (Decety et al. 1997, Grezes et al. 1998, 1999).

What is the significance of mirror neurons for communication? Arbib (2005; Rizzolatti and Arbib 1998) put forward a challenging theory that the evolutionary changes within and outside the mirror system led to a language-ready brain. Arbib conceptualizes this progression as follows: simple neuron systems found in chimpanzees, which allow imitation of simple sequences after extensive training evolved into complex systems in humans, which guide fast imitation of complex actions. This created a substrate for the emergence of protosigns, which Arbib believes to have evolved into protospeech. Similar idea was proposed by Heiser's group (Heiser et al. 2003), who claim that some parts of Broca's area may have evolved from neurons which are activated during observation and execution of manual movements. Thus, in this view, mirror neuron systems resulted in the emergence of the most powerful communication tool: language.

Gallese and Goldman (1998) claim that mirror neurons may provide a basis for a theory of mind, the impairment of which leads to serious communication problems, as witnessed by cases of individuals with autistic spectrum disorders (Williams et al. 2001). A common neural basis for perception and action allows people to recreate an executive plan of the individual whose actions has been observed. This capacity enables people to place themselves in other's shoes. Williams et al. (2001) also suggest that mirror neuron systems may play a significant role in the achievement of joint attention, a prerequisite for theory of mind.

The last example of the possible significance of mirror neurons for imitation and communication is provided by some examples from the field of emotional contagion (Hatfield et al. 1994, Surakka et al. 1998). Surakka's studies have demonstrated that on a covert level communicators adopt facial muscle activity congruent with expressions witnessed. Williams et al. (2001) speculate that mirror neuron systems might also be involved in non-conscious imitation of facial expressions of others, which would lead to experiencing the same emotion.

#### **4. Infant imitation**

With today's enormous body of knowledge on the impressive abilities of infants in many domains, it is hard to believe that traditional views of infants presented them as unaware beings with hardly any connection to the environment (see Meltzoff 2002a). Freud, for example, compared infants to unhatched chickens, unable to interact socially (Freud 1911 quoted in Meltzoff 2002). In turn, Piaget (1952, 1954) regarded infants as solipsistic beings (until 18 months of age) with a few simple reflexes to act on the external world. Facial imitation, considered a cognitive milestone, was believed to appear only after the 1<sup>st</sup> birthday. Fifty years later infants keep surprising researchers with yet new sophisticated competencies in various domains: mathematics, linguistics, statistics, physical knowledge as well as imitation.

##### **4.1. FACIAL AND BODY IMITATION**

Although there existed earlier reports of the existence of imitation in infants (one of the first was made by Piaget's former student, Olga Maratos), Meltzoff and Moore's (1977) publication was the first scientific report and it can be safely assumed to have started the debate on infant imitation in earnest. Their study showed that infants between 12 and 21 days of age can imitate both facial (tongue protrusion, mouth opening, lip protrusion) as well as manual (sequential finger movement) gestures. To appreciate the achievement of the infants in the study, one has to realize that they have never seen their faces in the mirror. Thus, successful performance of the task involved "capacity to register equivalences between the body transformations they see performed by other people and the body transformations they only feel themselves make (Meltzoff 2002: 12–13). This led Meltzoff and Moore (1977) to postulate that observation and execution of acts are linked

through a common “supramodal” coding of human acts. As a short discussion of neuroscience findings in section 3 above demonstrates, their theory was confirmed 20 years later.

This imitative ability in infants and neonates has been so far confirmed in more than 25 different studies from 13 independent laboratories in diverse cultures ranging from the USA to rural Nepal. Despite attempts to construe neonatal imitation as either an effect of arousal or a sign-released response (e.g. Anisfeld 1999), extensive research invalidated these explanations. Table 1 (from Meltzoff 2002: 12) presents an elegant summary of this research.

**Table 1.** Evidence against imitation interpreted as an arousal or releaser phenomenon (from Meltzoff 2002: 12)

<b>Evidence that early imitation is not due to arousal</b>	
1. Infants imitate a range of acts, not just tongue protrusion	Field et al. 1986, 1983, 1982; Fontaine 1984, Heimann et al. 1989, Heimann and Schaller 1985, Maratos 1982, Meltzoff and Moore 1977, 1989, 1994, 1997, Vinter 1986
2. Nonmoving gestures can be imitated	Field et al. 1986, 1983, 1982, Meltzoff and Moore 1992
3. Perceptually absent stimuli are imitated	Fontaine 1984, Heimann et al. 1989, Heimann and Schaller 1985, Legerstee 1991, Meltzoff and Moore, 1989, 1992, 1994
<b>Evidence that early imitation is not an automatically triggered, released response</b>	
1. Novel and unfamiliar acts can be imitated	Fontaine 1984, Meltzoff and Moore 1994, 1997
2. Infants make errors on movements, but accurately recruit body part	Kugiumutzakis 1985, Meltzoff and Moore 1983, 1994, 1997
3. Infants correct their imitative efforts	Kugiumutzakis 1985, Meltzoff and Moore 1994, 1997, Maratos 1982
4. Infants imitate from memory in the absence of the trigger stimulus	Fontaine 1984, Heimann et al. 1989, Heimann and Schaller 1985, Legerstee 1991, Meltzoff and Moore, 1989, 1992, 1994

The above table does not even intend to include the whole body of research on imitation. What is important, besides demonstrating that the arousal and releaser-interpretations of early imitation have been refuted in a host of studies, it also provides a succinct overview of the most important features of imitation. Researchers in the field are still far from having reached a unified explanation of the function of imitation. However, two most influential proposals will be presented in the next section after a short discussion of the development of imitative abilities in infants.

## 4.2. DEVELOPMENT OF IMITATIVE ABILITIES

Even though the volume of research is impressive, most studies do not follow subjects longitudinally and very few studies exist on the development of imitative abilities. Nadel et al. (2004) systematized the existing evidence. The results are presented in Table 2 (from Nadel et al. 2004: 55–56).

**Table 2.** Developmental steps of imitation production and recognition (from Nadel et al. 2004)

Age	Imitation: developmental steps	Recognition of being imitated: developmental steps
<b>Birth</b>	Facial imitation (Meltzoff and Moore 1983, Kugiumutzakis 1999, Field et al. 1982)	Reacts by gazing (Nadel et al. 2004)
<b>1 month</b>	Imitates head movements (Nadel et al. 2004)	Reacts by smiling (Nadel et al. 2004)
<b>2 months</b>	Imitates facial expressins, head, arm, hand, neck, torso movement (Nadel and Poitier 2000)	Reacts by reciprocal imitation (Nadel and Poitier 2000)
<b>3 months</b>	Imitates goal-directed movement to body (Nadel et al. 2004)	
<b>4 months</b>	Imitates a sequence of bodily movements (Nadel et al. 2004)	
<b>5 months</b>		Reacts by loud and repeated laughs (Nadel et al. 2004)
<b>6 months</b>	Imitates simple goal-directed actions with objects (Barr et al. 1996, Dunst 1980, Meltzoff 1985)	Reacts by staring alternatively at the object and at the imitator, stops acting (Nadel et al. 2004)
<b>9–15 months</b>	Imitates the model's goal (Meltzoff 1995)	Reacts by controlling, testing the imitator (Meltzoff 1990)
<b>12 months</b>	Imitates a sequence of goal-directed actions (Barr et al. 1996, Dunst 1980)	
<b>18–21 months</b>	Imitates as an innovation to communicate (Nadel 2002)	Understands imitation as an intention to communicate (Nadel 2002)

Thus, imitation does evolve throughout the first months and years of life, becoming a more and more complex phenomenon. Some recent proposals (Nagy 2003, Nadel et al. 2004) have suggested that at different stages of development imitation may be subserved by different mechanisms and may play different functions.

### 4.3. FUNCTIONS OF IMITATION

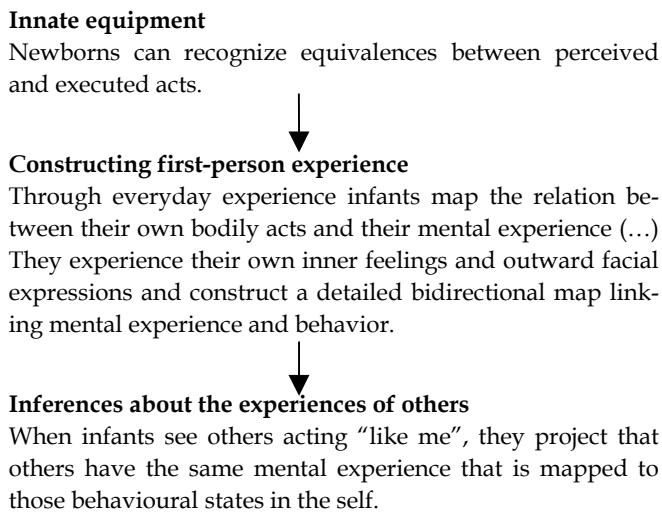
One of the most prominent functions of imitation is undoubtedly that of learning. As Puppel (1996: 76) observes: "The transmission of complex learned behavior from one generation to another by observation and imitation makes it unnecessary to learn solely from direct experience (...), which may sometimes turn out to be lethal for a young organism". Nonetheless, together with the growing body of knowledge about infant imitation, various theories explaining links between early imitation and communicative development have been put forward.

#### 4.3.1. Imitation as a mechanism of social cognition (Meltzoff 2002a)

Probably the most influential theory nowadays is the "like me" framework, put forward by the leading scholar in the area, Andrew Meltzoff (Meltzoff 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2005, Meltzoff and Decety 2003, Meltzoff and Gopnik 1993). The main assumption of that approach is that "infant imitation provides an innate foundation for social cognition" (Meltzoff 2002a: 22). In other words, imitative abilities facilitate the child's entry into the realm of communication. Imitation allows infants to make a crucial link between the visible actions of others and their own internal states. A corollary of this assumption is a new understanding of how infants parse the world: not in terms of "animate" versus "inanimate" distinction but rather in terms of "human acts" versus "other events". This, in turn, has cascading developmental effects. As Meltzoff (2002a: 22) explains:

"The crossmodal knowledge of what it feels like to do the act that was seen provides a privileged access to people not afforded by things. Newborns bring it to their first interactions with people, and it provides an interpretative framework for understanding the meaning that lies behind the perceived movements."

Meltzoff (2002a: 22-23) provides a telling example: when an infant wants something, he/she reaches out and grasps and simultaneously experiences her/his own internal states and accompanying body movements. This, in turn, gives her/him an enormous leverage for understanding the grasping behavior of others. Thus, Meltzoff sees infant imitation as a precursor to mentalizing, which leads from imitation, through developing first-person experience to making inferences about the experiences of others, as illustrated in Diagram 1.



**Diagram 1.** Innate imitation as the root of mentalizing (adapted from Meltzoff and Decety 2003: 497)

The diagram above elegantly demonstrates the infant's progression from neonatal imitation to appreciation that others have feelings, beliefs, opinions and goals, and as such lays the foundations for the development of a theory of mind, which is a *sine qua non* of successful communication development, as witnessed by individuals with Autistic Spectrum Disorder. Moreover, Meltzoff's findings throw new light on the origins of "self-other" distinction, which is believed to be crucial for adult social understanding (Meltzoff 2002a). Earlier theories perceived this distinction to be achieved at a later stage and possibly dependent on language. Meltzoff's theory sees it as a starting point for the social cognition. Meltzoff himself writes (2007: 39):

"Infants can use themselves as a framework for understanding the subjectivity of others and reciprocally learn about the possibilities inherent in their own actions by observing the actions of others. Through social interaction with other intentional agents who are viewed as "like me", infants develop a richer social cognition."

#### 4.3.2. Nadel: imitation as a semantic foundation for language development

Jacqueline Nadel shares with Meltzoff an interest in human development, especially in the origins of social cognition, but due to her research focus on psychopathology and epigenetic robotics, she holds a different perspective

on early imitation. A series of experiments involving imitation with more than 150 children of different ages (Nadel et al. 1999a, 1999b, 2000a, 2000b, Nadel and Fontaine 1989; for a summary see Nadel et al. 2002) led her to propose a theory of imitation as a language of preverbal children allowing them to initiate and develop communicative exchanges.

What Nadel's team observed was that after 18 months of age with a peak around 30 months, infants predominantly use imitation in social exchanges with peers in both dyadic and triadic contexts. In the observations each imitative episode was invariably preceded by one of two routines. In the first routine one infant offered or showed the other an object similar to the one that the second infant held. In most cases the partner took the object and imitated its use. When it did not happen, the first infant dropped the object and started to imitate the activity of his/her peer. The other routine involved straightforward imitation of partner's actions. When the imitator noticed that his/her activities were followed, he/she often changed activities to something else, while monitoring whether he/she is still being imitated. What is more, infants seem to really enjoy the imitative game. Nadel and Fontaine (1989) compared the behavior of children who played either with two sets of 10 identical objects or with a single set of 20 objects. Two-year-olds gazed more at each other, laughed more and engaged into interaction for longer in the two-set situation. Interestingly, there were no significant differences between the two situations for three-year-olds.

As Nadel observes (2002), these imitations are not random, rather they follow conventional rules, they are reciprocal and they involve referential use of objects. During these exchanges infants exhibit such basic communicative abilities as turn-taking, role-switching as well as topic sharing, which led Nadel to use the term "imitative language". According to Nadel et al. (1999), imitations serve as primary scripts: they express shared attention to the same topic through a similar use of similar objects as co-referents.

Similarly to Meltzoff, Nadel traces the origins of this capacity to the "like-me mechanism", but she asserts that the imitative language requires the presence of some more advanced cognitive and meta-cognitive abilities such as intention attribution, planning and inducing imitative behaviours, understanding incitation to imitate, or even negotiation of turn-taking and role-switching. All these abilities develop only after 18 months of age. Interestingly, Nadel found that this communicative function of imitation disappears when children master language. This kind of developmental curve may suggest, as Nadel (2002) notes, that imitative language somehow prepares the appearance of verbal language. She summarizes her idea as follows (Nadel 2002):

"Turn-taking, topic-sharing, understanding of other's intentions, negotiating shared goals through codes and routines, all these features of verbal language are prepared by the use of the imitative system. The imitative language can therefore be seen as a semantic foundation for verbal language (...) The imitative stage of communication adds a representational dimension to imitation. (...) It is a self-sufficient, sophisticated tool for thought without verbal language."

## 5. Conclusions

Meltzoff's theory of imitation as a mechanism of social cognition and Nadel's proposal of imitation as a semantic foundation of language development vividly illustrate the complexity of the relationship between imitation and communication. Apart from these two most influential theories, the issue has generated many other fascinating approaches and models. Rochat (2007) sees early imitative exchanges as a basis for the infant's differentiation and conjugation of first and third person perspective, which constitutes the basis for the emergence of more advanced forms of communication. Kaplan and Oudeyer (2006) interpret early imitative phenomena as a result of progress drive, which they define as "an intrinsic motivation system driving the infant into situations expected to result in maximal learning progress" (2006: 5). Nadel (2004) has put forward an extension of her theory, with imitation as a foundation for the emergence of a sense of agency.

This paper has focused on facial and body imitation, but the research on vocal imitation, which guides first language acquisition, is equally fascinating. Chen's group (Chen et al. 2004) has shown that newborns can correctly imitate lip movements involved in the production of "m" and "a" even when they had eyes closed during the modeling phase of the experiment. This is a significant discovery if one considers that infants younger than 7 days can perform auditory-oral matching. A very promising line of investigation is followed by Kokkinaki and Vasdekis (2003) who have studied early vocal imitation cross-culturally and who have so far discovered some significant differences not only among different nationalities but also among boys and girls as well as mothers and fathers.

It is hoped that this short description of recent trends and findings on infant imitation illustrates the whole complexity of the phenomenon. Almost a hundred years after Freud's "unhatched chicken" metaphor and fifty years after Piaget's solipsistic infant, developmental science points to a completely different picture of the infant. The infant who can not only imitate many gestures and sounds but who can use this ability to bootstrap his/her way into a mature community of communicators.

## Bibliography

- ARBIB, M. 2005. "From monkey-like action recognition to human language: An evolutionary framework for neurolinguistics." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 28.2. 105–124.
- BARON-COHEN, S., TAGER-FLUSBERG, H. AND D.J. COHEN. (eds.). 1993. *Understanding other minds: Perspectives from autism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BARR, R., DOWDEN, A. AND H. HAYNE. 1996. "Developmental changes in deferred imitation by 6- to 24-month-old infants". *Infant Behavior and Development* 19. 159–171.
- BERNIERI, F.J. 1988. "Coordinated movement and rapport in teacher-student interactions." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 12. 12–138.
- BERTHOUZE, L., KOZIMA, H., PRINCE, C.G., SANDINI, G., STOJANOV, G., METTA, G. AND C. BALKENIUS. (eds.). 2004. *Proceedings of the Fourth International Workshop on Epigenetic Robotics*. Lund: Lund University Cognitive Studies.
- CAPELLA, J.N. AND S. PANALP. 1981. "Talk and silence sequences in informal conversations: III. Interspeaker influence. *Human Communication Research* 7. 117–132.
- CHARTRAND, T.L. AND J.A. BARGH. 1999. "The chameleon effect: The perception-behavior link and social interaction." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 76. 893–910.
- CHEN, X., STRIANO, T. AND H. RAKOCZY. 2004. "Auditory-oral matching behavior in newborns". *Developmental Science* 7.1. 42–47.
- CICCHETTI, D. AND M. BEEGHLY. (eds.). 1990. *The self in transition: infancy to childhood*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- COCHIN, S., BARTHELEMY, C., ROUX, S. AND J. MARTINEAU. 1999. "Observation and execution of movement: similarities demonstrated by quantified electroencephalography". *European Journal of Neuroscience* 11. 1839–1842.
- DAUTENHAHN, K. AND L. NEHANIV. 2002. *Imitation in animals and artifacts: cognitive and ethological perspectives*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- DAUTENHAHN, K. AND C. NEHANIV. (eds.). 2006. *Models and mechanisms of imitation and social learning: behavioural, social and communication dimensions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DECETY, J., GREZES, J., COSTES, N., PERANI, D., JEANNEROD, M., PROCYK, E., GRASSI, F. AND F. FAZIO. 1997. "Brain activity during observation of actions: influence of action content and subject's strategy". *Brain* 120. 1763–1777.
- DUNST, C.J. 1980. *A clinical and educational manual for use with the Uzgiris and Hunt Scales of Infant Psychological Development*. Baltimore: University Park Press.
- FADIGA, L., FOGASSI, L., PAVESI, G. AND G. RIZZOLATTI. 1995. "Motor facilitation during action observation: a magnetic stimulation study." *Journal of Neurophysiology*. 73. 2608–2611.
- FIELD, T.M., GOLDSTEIN, S., VAGA-LAHR, N. AND K. PORTER. 1986. "Changes in imitative behavior during early infancy." *Infant Behavior and Development* 9. 415–421.
- FIELD, T.M., WOODSON, R., COHEN, D., GREENBERG, R., GARCIA, R. AND E. COLLINS. 1983. "Discrimination and imitation of facial expressions by term and preterm neonates." *Infant Behavior and Development* 6. 485–489.
- FIELD, T.M., WOODSON, R., GREENBERG, R. AND D. COHEN. 1982. "Discrimination and imitation of facial expressions by neonates." *Science* 218. 179–181.
- FOGASSI, L., GALLESE, V., FADIGA, L. AND G. RIZZOLATTI. 1998. "Neurons responding to the sight of goal-directed hand/arm actions in the parietal area PF (7b) of the macaque monkey." *Society for Neuroscience Abstracts* 257.5. 654.
- FONTAINE, R. 1984. "Imitative skills between birth and six months." *Infant Behavior and Development* 7. 323–333.

- FREUD, S. 1911. "Formulation on the two principles of mental functioning." In: Strachey, J. (ed.). Vol. 12. London: Hogarth Press. 215–226.
- GALLESE, V., FADIGA, L., FOGASSI, L. AND G. RIZZOLATTI. 1996. "Action recognition in the premotor cortex." *Brain* 119. 593–609.
- GALLESE, V. AND A. GOLDMAN. 1998. "Mirror neurons and the simulation theory of mind-reading." *Trends in Cognitive Science* 2. 493–501.
- GILES, H. AND P.F. POWESLAND. 1975. *Speech style and social evaluation*. New York: Academic Press.
- GOLDENBERG, G. 1995. "Imitating gestures and manipulating a manikin – the representation of the human body in ideomotor apraxia." *Neuropsychologia* 33. 63–72.
- GOSWAMI, U. (ed.). 2002. *Blackwell handbook of childhood cognitive development*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- GRAFTON, S.T., ARBIB, M.A., FADIGA, L. AND G. RIZZOLATTI. 1996. "Localization of grasp representation in humans by positron emission tomography-2: observation compared with imagination." *Experimental Brain Research* 112. 103–111.
- GREZES, J., COSTES, N. AND J. DECETY. 1998. "Top-down effect of strategy on the perception of human biological motion: a PET investigation." *Cognitive Neuropsychology* 15. 553–582.
- GREZES, J., COSTES, N. AND J. DECETY. 1999. "The effects of learning and intention on the neural network involved in the perception of meaningless actions." *Brain* 122. 1875–1887.
- HARI, R., FORSS, N., AVIKAINEN, S., KIRVESKARI, E., SALENIUS, S. AND G. RIZZOLATTI. 1998. "Activation of human primary motor cortex during action observation: a neuromagnetic study." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA* 95. 15061–15065.
- HATFIELD, E., CACIPOP, J.T. AND R.L. RAPSON. 1994. *Emotional contagion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HEIMANN, M. 1989. "Neonatal imitation, gaze aversion, and mother-infant interaction." *Infant Behavior and Development* 12. 495–505.
- HEIMANN, M., AND J. SCHALLER. 1985. "Imitative reactions among 14-to-21 day old infants." *Infant Mental Health Journal* 6. 31–39.
- HEISER, M., IACOBINI, M., FUMIKO, M., MARCUS, J. AND J.C. MAZZIOTTA. 2003. "The essential role of Broca's area in imitation." *European Journal of Neuroscience* 17.5. 1123–1128.
- HURLEY, S. AND N. CHATER. (eds.). 2005. *Perspectives on imitation: from neuroscience to social science*. Vol. 1: *Mechanisms of imitation and imitation in animals*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- HURLEY, S. AND N. CHATER. (eds.). 2005. *Perspectives on imitation: from neuroscience to social science*. Vol. 2: *Imitation, human development, and culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- IACOBINI, M., WOODS, R.P., BRASS, M., BEKKERING, H., MAZZIOTTA, J.C. AND G. RIZZOLATTI. 1999. "Cortical mechanisms of human imitation." *Science* 286. 2526–2528.
- KAPLAN, F. AND P.-Y. OUDEYER. 2006. "The progress-drive hypothesis: an interpretation of early imitation". In: Dautenhahn, K. and C. Nehaniv. (eds.), 3–20.
- KOKKINAKI, T. AND V.G.S. VASDEKIS. 2003. "A cross-cultural study on early vocal imitative phenomena in different relationships." *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology* 21.2. 85–101.
- KUGIUMUTZAKIS, G. 1985. "Development of imitation during the first six months of life." *Uppsala Psychological Reports* No 377. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- KUGIUMUTZAKIS, G. 1999. "Genesis and development of early infant mimesis to facial and vocal models." In: Nadel, J. and G. Butterworth. (eds.). 36–59.
- LAKIN, J.L. AND T.L. CHARTRAND. 2003. "Using non-conscious behavioral mimicry to create affiliation and rapport." *Psychological Science* 14. 334–339.

- LAKIN, J.L., JEFFERIS, V.E., CHENG, C.M. AND T.L. CHARTRAND. 2003. "The Chameleon Effect as social glue: evidence for the evolutionary significance of nonconscious mimicry." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 27.3.145–162
- LEGERSTEE, M. 1991. "The role of person and object in eliciting early imitation." *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 51. 423–433.
- LEVELT, W.J.M. AND S. KETLER. 1982. "Surface form and memory in question answering". *Cognitive Psychology* 14. 78–106.
- MAURER, R.E. AND J.H. TINDALL. 1983. "Effect of postural congruence on client's perception of counselor's empathy." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 30. 158–163.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 1985. "Immediate and deferred imitation in fourteen- and twenty-four-month-old infants". *Child Development* 56. 62–72.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 1990. "Foundations for developing a concept of self: the role of imitation in relating self to other and the value of social mirroring, social modeling, and self practice in infancy". In: Cicchetti, D. and M. Beeghly. (eds.). 139–164.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 1995. "Understanding the intentions of others: reenactment of intended acts by 18-month-old children". *Developmental Psychology* 31. 838–850.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 1999. "Origins of theory of mind, cognition, and communication". *Journal of Communication Disorders* 32. 251–269.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 2002a. "Imitation as a mechanism of social cognition: origins of empathy, theory of mind, and the representation of action". In: Goswami, U. (ed.). 6–25.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 2002b. "Elements of a developmental theory of imitation." In: Meltzoff, A.N. and W. Prinz. (eds.). 19–41.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 2005. "Imitation and other minds: The "Like Me" hypothesis". In: Hurley, S. and N. Chater. (eds.). 55–77.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. 2007. "The 'like me' framework for recognizing and becoming an intentional agent." *Acta Psychologica* 124. 26–43.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND J. DECETY. 2003. "What imitation tells us about social cognition: A rapprochement between developmental psychology and cognitive neuroscience". *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*. 358. 491–500.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND A. GOPNIK 1993. "The role of imitation in understanding persons and developing a theory of mind". In: Baron-Cohen, S. et al. (eds.). 335–366.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND M.K. MOORE. 1977. "Imitation of facial and manual gestures by human neonates". *Science* 198. 75–78.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND M.K. MOORE. 1983. "Newborn infants imitate adult facial gestures". *Child Development* 54. 702–709.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND M.K. MOORE. 1989. "Imitation in newborn infants: exploring the range of gestures imitated and the underlying mechanisms". *Developmental Psychology* 25. 954–962.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND M.K. MOORE. 1992. "Early imitation within a functional framework: the importance of person identity, movement, and development". *Infant Behavior and Development* 15. 479–505.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND M.K. MOORE. 1994. "Imitation, memory, and the representation of persons." *Infant Behavior and Development* 17. 83–99.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND M.K. MOORE. 1997. "Explaining facial imitation: a theoretical model." *Early Development and Parenting* 6. 179–192.
- MELTZOFF, A.N. AND W. PRINZ. (eds.) 2002. *The imitative mind: development, evolution, and brain bases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NADEL, J. 2002. "Imitation and imitation recognition: functional use in preverbal infants and nonverbal children with autism." In: Meltzoff, A.N. and W. Prinz. (eds.). 42–63.

- NADEL, J. 2004. "Early imitation and the emergence of a sense of agency". In: Berthouze, L. et al. (eds.). 117: 15–16.
- NADEL, J. AND G. BUTTERWORTH. (eds.). 1999. *Imitation in infancy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NADEL, J. AND A.M. FONTAINE. 1989. "Communicating by imitation: a developmental and comparative approach to transitory social competence." In: Schneider, B.H. et al. (eds.). 131–144.
- NADEL, J., CARCHON, I., KERVELLA, C., MARCELLI, D. AND D. RÉSERBAT-PLANTEY. 1999a. "Expectancies for social contingency in 2-month-olds". *Developmental Science* 2. 164–173.
- NADEL, J., GUÉRINI, C., PEZÉ, A. AND C. RIVET. 1999b. "The evolving nature of imitation as a format for communication". In: Nadel, J. and G. Butterworth. (eds.). 209–234.
- NADEL, J., FIELD, T. AND C. POTIER. 2000a. "Imitation recognition as a communicative skill in low-functioning children with autism". Unpublished paper presented at the ICIS 2000, Brighton, England.
- NADEL, J., CROUE, S., MATTLINGER, M.-J., CANET, P., HUDELOT, C., LECUYER, C. AND M. MARTINI. 2000b. "Do autistic children have expectancies about the social behaviour of unfamiliar people?: a pilot study with the still face paradigm." *Autism* 2. 133–145.
- NADEL, J. AND N. POTIER. 2000c. "Imitez, imitez, il en restera toujours quelque chose: le statut développemental de l'imitation dans le cas d'autisme." *L'enfant Autiste: un Enfant en Développement* 24.1.
- NADEL, J., REVEL, A., ANDRY, P. AND P. GAUSSIER. 2004. "Towards communication: first imitations in infants, children with autism and robots". *Interaction Studies* 1. 45–75.
- NAGY, E. 2003. "From imitation to conversation: the first dialogues with human neonate". *Infant and Child Development* 15. 223–232.
- NEUMANN, R. AND F. STRACK. 2000. "Mood contagion": the automatic transfer of mood between persons." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79. 211–223.
- PIAGET, J. 1952. *The origins of intelligence in children*. New York: International University Press.
- PIAGET, J. 1954. *The construction of reality in the child*. New York: Basic Books.
- PICKERING, M.J. AND S.C. GARROD. 2004. "Toward a mechanistic psychology of dialogue." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 27. 169–226.
- POPE, B. AND A.W. SIEGMAN. (eds.). 1972. *Studies in dyadic interaction*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- PUPPEL, S. 1996. *A concise guide to psycholinguistics*. Poznań: BENE NATI.
- RIZZOLATTI, G AND M.A. ARBIB. 1998. "Language within our grasp". *Trends in Neuroscience* 21.5. 188–194.
- RIZZOLATTI, G., FADIGA, L., GALLESE, V. AND L. FOGASSI. 1996. "Premotor cortex and the recognition of motor actions." *Cognitive Brain Research* 3. 131–141.
- ROCHAT, P. 2007. "Intentional action arises from early reciprocal exchanges". *Acta Psychologica* 124. 8–25.
- ROGERS, S. AND J. WILLIAMS. 2006. *Imitation and the social mind: autism and typical development*. New York: Guilford Press.
- SCHNEIDER, B.H., G. ATTILI, J. NADEL, J. AND R.P. WEISSBERG. (eds.). 1989. *Social competence in developmental perspective*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- STRACHEY, J. (ed.). 1953–1974. *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. 12. London: Hogarth Press.
- SURAKKA, V. AND J.K. HIETANEN. 1998. "Facial and emotional reactions to Duchenne and non-Duchenne smiles." *International Journal of Psychophysiology* 29. 23–33.
- TERMINE, N.T. AND C.E. IZARD. 1988. "Infants' response to their mothers' expressions of joy and sadness." *Developmental Psychology* 24. 223–229.

- VINTER, A. 1986. "The role of movement in eliciting early imitations." *Child Development* 57. 66–71.
- WEBB, J.T. 1972. "Interview synchrony: an investigation of two speech rate measures in an automated standardized interview." In: Pope, B. and A.W. Siegman. (eds.). 115–133.
- WEINER, E.J. AND W. LABOV. 1983. "Constraints on agentless passive." *Journal of Linguistics* 19. 29–58.
- WILLIAMS, J.H.G., WHITEN, A., SUDDENDORF, T. AND D.I. PERRET. 2001. "Imitation, mirror neurons and autism." *Neuroscience and Behavioral Reviews* 25. 287–289.