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PERIPHERALITY, MARGINALITY AND GLOBAL CHANGE: DAUGAVPILS AND THE FUTURE OF PERIPHERAL CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Demographic changes, coupled with the effects of climate change and increasing deglobalization, are likely to lead to a world of declining economic growth, with negative effects for peripheral cities and regions, particularly in countries like Latvia experiencing demographic decline. Daugavpils, as a paradigmatic peripheral community, is well suited to explore both the effects of decline and possible strategies by which the city may be able to combat those trends. I describe how Daugavpils is losing population at a rapid pace, and its population is aging as its young people are leaving for greater opportunities elsewhere. It has become economically marginalized in a highly centralized country whose energy is concentrated in the capital city, while being stigmatized by virtue of its ethnic character and seeming geographic isolation. Barring drastic change, the coming decades are likely to see continued population loss and brain drain, along with the erosion of such vitality and energy as the city currently can claim. I ask whether this is inevitable, and argue in these pages that it is not. I suggest some of the features of an alternative future. The path to such a future, however, is a difficult one. Moreover, even if the people of Daugavpils can find the will to upend existing power and status relations in order to make possible a better future, they will still need support and resources from the Latvian government and the EU to make it a reality.

Keywords: peripheralization, marginalization, demographic change, aging, localism, participation

INTRODUCTION

The world is changing in ways that raise significant and difficult questions about the future of small, peripheral cities and regions. Demographic change, including the simultaneous shrinkage and aging of many nations' populations; economic change, particularly the decline of deglobalization and the rise of protectionism; and climate change, with its both predictable and unpredictable effects, all threaten the urban status quo, posing daunting challenges for those cities and regions outside the major regional and global centers of activity, growth and power.

The framing of these cities and regions as peripheral places, subject to the dynamic processes of peripheralization, is central to understanding the scope of the challenge. Being peripheral can be seen as a *condition*. It reflects the relationship between a place and what is defined as the center, which can exist at many different levels. It can reflect the relationship between a small country and those countries that are the centers of global power, or between a small city and the larger city or region that serves as the center of power within the same country. It is widely associated with poor demographic or economic performance, lack of investment, and negative migratory processes such as "brain drain".

Peripheralization is the sum of the *processes* by which centers and peripheries are defined; as K. Ehrlich et al. suggest, "Peripheries should be seen as the result of processes of peripheralization and not as structural conditions of space" (2012, 79). They add that "the emergence of peripheries is also a question of power, not so much individual power, but rather power in the overall societal discourse, within which peripheries are or become meaningless" (ibid.). This may be slightly overstated. There are likely to be at least *some* underlying spatial or geographic distinctions driving center–periphery dynamics, even though those distinctions may be spatially arbitrary, as are as many national borders, or were created by events that happened centuries earlier.[1] That said, the manner in which those distinctions are reinforced and reified, and the ways in which being peripheral comes to reflect not only spatial differentiation but also economic,

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[1] Central status may also arise from some chance historical event. It is hard to see any compelling spatial rationale for the primacy of Berlin in Germany and Central Europe, other than the decision of some long-gone Dukes of Brandenburg to make that city their seat. Similarly, it is far from obvious that Paris has more compelling locational assets than, for example, Lyons.

social, and political inequalities, are driven by the processes of peripheralization and the power imbalance underlying those processes. As such, they are closely related to the geographic concepts of marginality and marginalization, and "the perception from the center that peripheries are 'backward' or 'underdeveloped'" (Kuhn 2015).

While there is little doubt that the forces of global growth and globalization over the past few decades have reinforced the marginality of peripheral cities and regions, they have also allowed many such cities and regions to experience a modest level of prosperity by capturing small but not entirely negligible amounts of that growth (Mallach 2023). The probable future forces of de-growth and de-globalization, however, are likely to diminish the potency of their current global relationships and further reinforce their marginality. The first section of this paper describes those forces, and suggests why increased marginality and reduced prosperity are their most likely outcomes.

Within this context of global change, I focus on the small city of Daugavpils in southeastern Latvia as a paradigmatic shrinking peripheral city in which one can observe the effects of peripheralization in the present, and explore how global change may affect its condition in the future. In the second section of this paper, after a historical overview, I describe how peripheralization and marginality define Daugavpils's economic, demographic and social conditions today.

I do not believe, however, that Daugavpils and similarly situated cities across the world are no more than passive victims of inexorable external forces and trends. Although clearly constrained by those forces and trends, they have agency and can influence, if not perhaps fully control, their future. In the final section of this paper, after suggesting how those trends may potentially further marginalize Daugavpils in the coming decades, I suggest that there are ways a city and region may be able to subvert the forces driving it toward ever-increasing marginality, by building greater self-sufficiency and taking advantage of decentralized technologies to neutralize many of the disadvantages of their peripheral condition.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND THE FATE OF PERIPHERAL CITIES

The most plausible global scenarios for the next 20 to 40 years suggest that global economic growth will slow, potentially to the point where negative growth or recession will become the rule rather than the exception. That outcome is likely to result from the conjunction of three distinct trends currently underway. The most powerful one, which is all but certain, is demographic change. Its effects are likely to be exacerbated by two further factors: climate change, and deglobalization. I will briefly discuss each one, suggest how they will interact, and examine how they will, in turn, affect peripheral cities.[2]

From the 1960s for many decades, fueled by alarmist tracts such as *The Population Bomb* (Ehrlich 1968), global public policy was predicated on the assumption of rapid, almost exponential world population growth. In recent years, however, it has become apparent that the rapid population growth of the 1960s and 1970s was a transitional phenomenon, and that the long-term global population trajectory is one of gradually slowing growth, leading to likely world population decline before the end of the century. The reference projection of the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME 2022) predicts that the inflection point will occur in 2064, when world population will peak at 9.73 billion. The International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) projections are close to those of IHME, although peaking around 2070 at 9.4 billion (Lutz et al. 2014). The more conservative United Nations medium variant projection is for world population to peak at 10.43 billion in 2086 (United Nations 2023) before going into decline (Figure 1).[3]

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[2] For a more extended discussion of these issues, the reader is directed to the author's book *Smaller Cities in a Shrinking World: Learning to Thrive Without Growth* (2023).

[3] I consider the IHME and IIASA projections more plausible, since the United Nations projections have a long history of over-estimating population growth.

Figure 1. Alternative global population projections to 2100
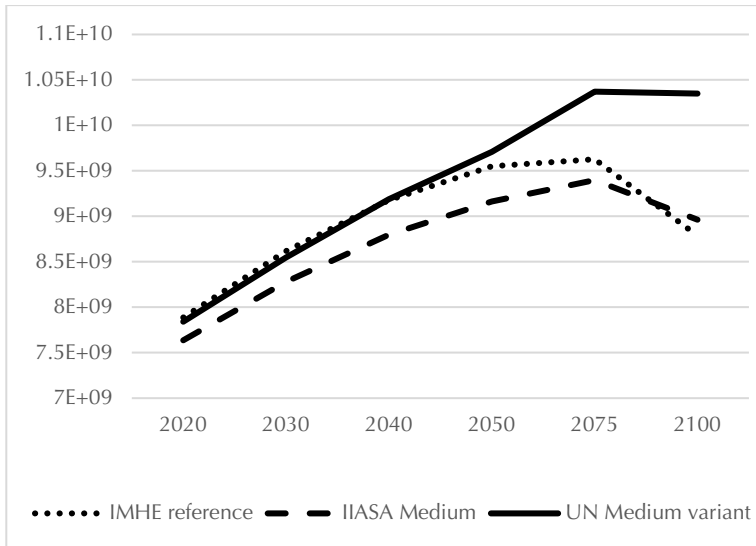
Population trends vary widely by region and country. Much of the world is already in negative population growth, most notably in Eastern and Southern Europe and in East Asia. Japan has been losing population since 2010, while China and South Korea have moved into negative territory more recently. Europe's population has peaked, and is projected to decline slowly over the coming decades (Eurostat 2022). Most other parts of the world are likely to start seeing population decline by mid-century; during the second half of the twenty-first century, the only parts of the world likely to see significant population growth are the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Latvia is one of the world's fastest-shrinking countries. Since regaining independence in 1991, Latvia's population has dropped from 2.679 million to 1.882 million or by nearly 30%. By 2050, the nation's population is projected to be between 1.466 million (Eurostat) and 1.253 million (IHME), while by 2100 it may be under one million. This decline reflects the excess of deaths over births, long-term net out-migration, and ongoing public health issues resulting in life expectancy being lower than in most other developed countries (Chmielewski 2024). With fewer children being born, fewer young people will enter the workforce, while the share of older adults will increase. While today 21% of Latvia's population is over 65 – already high by global standards – Eurostat projects that this figure will rise to 32% by 2100.

While the greatest economic impact of declining population comes from the reduction in the size of the population per se, the shifting age distribution will have a negative effect on both productivity and consumption. With fewer young people entering the workforce, productivity is likely to decline (Ozimek et al. 2018; Aiyar et al. 2016), while the increased older population share will both reduce overall consumption and put increasing stress on public finances (Lee and Mason 2017). While rising labor force participation by adults over 65 will partly make up for fewer young people entering the workforce, the growth in the number of "older old" people over 80 will have a contrary effect. Lower growth in productivity and consumption are also likely to depress capital investment.

While the effects of technology are highly unpredictable, it is worth noting that past predictions of dramatic effects of technology on productivity and growth have largely been unrealized (Qureshi 2020). Recent developments in artificial intelligence might compensate for some of these effects, but given the magnitude of change over coming decades, it is unlikely that even under the most optimistic scenarios they will mitigate more than part of the effects of projected declines.

The negative economic effects of demographic change are likely to be exacerbated over the coming decades by the effects of climate change and deglobalization. While there is disagreement about the magnitude of the effect of climate change on global GDP, which is not surprising in light of the difficulty of modeling second-order effects in a complex and uncertain environment, there is broad consensus that – whatever the precise number – the overall effects will be powerfully negative (Newell et al. 2021, Roson and Van der Mensbrugghe 2012, among others). The effect of climate change on GDP reflects many different elements, including the costs of increasingly severe natural disasters, the losses associated with sea level rise and desertification, and the effects of excess heat on productivity.

Similarly, the recent and growing pullback from the relatively unfettered global economy of the past few decades and the rise of protectionism (World Bank 2023), should recent trends continue, are likely to further depress economic growth, particularly in highly export-dependent nations, a category which includes most European economies and the EU as a whole. Latvia's economic growth in recent decades despite its declining and aging population is largely attributable to its integration into the larger

export-oriented EU economy. Should that economy falter in the coming years, the effects on Latvia are likely to be severe.

The direct effects of each of these factors will be exacerbated by the interaction between them, which will create negative feedback loops leading to at best reduced, and at worst negative economic growth in the form of net decline in national, regional, or global GDP and other economic metrics. That decline is likely to lead in turn to a series of second-order local effects, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Potential effects associated with projected global changes
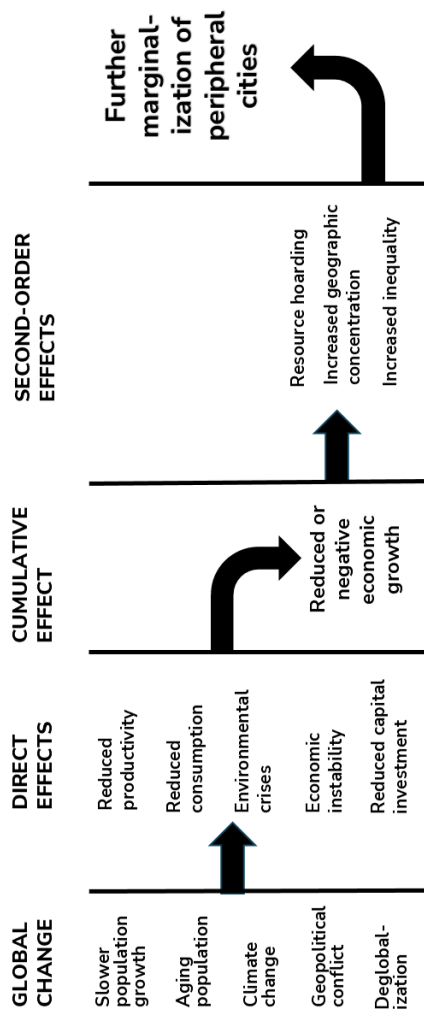
Source: Graphic by author

Reduced growth is likely to prompt three second-order effects, all of which will increase the marginalization of peripheral cities. They are *resource hoarding*, where those in the strongest economic or political positions both hold onto a disproportionate share of currently available resources and take a disproportionate share of those available in the future; greater *geographic concentration* of resources, with resources concentrating in "winner" cities and regions (Moretti 2012); and *increased inequality* in the distribution of resources. As Friedman (2010) has shown, net economic growth is an all but necessary condition of economic redistribution.

While all three of these effects are also present in today's neoliberal global economy, in an environment of strong overall economic growth, as noted earlier, many peripheral cities and regions can capture *some* growth, even though they may simultaneously be falling behind stronger, more central, regions. In a national or regional environment of economic decline, fewer crumbs will fall for them from the table, as central regions will retain or expand their already-large share of the shrinking pie. In conclusion, the future does not look promising for small peripheral cities, particularly in countries which are already losing population or are likely to start doing so in the near future.

Clearly, not all peripheral cities face the same challenges. The current and future status of any individual city and its region will depend on its distinctive assets and constraints, be they locational, historic, economic, or cultural. Reese and Yi (2011) concluded that far more of a city's prosperity was attributable to what they termed "place luck" rather than intentional economic development strategies. Two key forms of place luck are being close enough to a strong central region to benefit from proximity effects, and the presence of a stable strong, export-oriented industry or institution to anchor the local economy, as Yale University and its affiliated medical center do for New Haven, Connecticut in the United States (Mallach 2022). As a result, some peripheral cities have continued to grow, even in countries losing population. Daugavpils, however, has not been one of those fortunate few.

DAUGAVPILS AS A PERIPHERAL CITY

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Daugavpils, Latvia's second largest city, is located at the southeastern corner of modern Latvia, in the nation's Latgale region. The site of a 1577 castle, it received a charter as a town under the name of Dünaburg in 1582.[4] As a small but strategically located village, over the next 200 years it was fought over and changed hands frequently in the many wars that afflicted the Baltic region. At the end of the eighteenth century, its population was still under 2,000. Dünaburg became a substantial city during the nineteenth century, however, growing to over 110,000 residents by the eve of World War I (Figure 3) making it, according to the city's website, "the largest industrial and cultural center of the northwest part of Russia" ("Daugavpils History").

Dünaburg's growth as a transportation and mercantile center was made possible by its strategic location at the heart of the network of railroads constructed in the 1860s linking it to Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Riga and other cities in the northwestern part of the Tsarist empire. Late nineteenth-century Dünaburg was a multiethnic city. Nearly half of the population was Jewish (47%), while most of the rest were Russian (30%) and Polish (16%) (Zemaitis 2024). Indeed, it is doubtful whether Dünaburg (or Dvinsk as it was renamed in 1893) at that time should be thought of as a *Latvian* city. Under the Tsars, Latgale was also administratively separate from the rest of what became the Latvian nation after World War I, being part of the Vitebsk *guberniya* or governorate, most of which is in today's Belarus.

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[4] Sources routinely refer to the city having been founded in 1275, when a castle of the same name was constructed 20 km upriver from the location of the present city. The fact that the castle, Dünaburg (castle on the Düna [river]), and the new castle and town three hundred years later were given the same name hardly seems a basis for claiming that the two widely separated places were actually the same place.

Figure 3. Daugavpils population trajectory 1770–2010
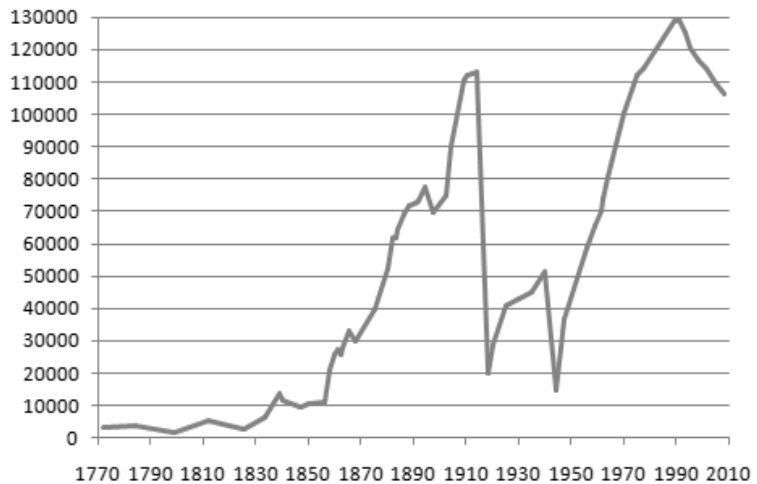
Daugavpils's status at the time was much less peripheral than it would become later. Its location and its central position in the empire's rail network made it an important regional center. This illustrates how much peripheralization is a relative rather than absolute phenomenon. The redrawing of national borders after World War I, again after World War II, and yet again after the end of the Soviet Union in 1991, played an important role in "peripheralizing" Daugavpils, rather than that outcome being solely the result of the city's endogenous features.

The combined effects of damage from World War I and instability in the war's aftermath led to the city's population dropping to 20,000 by 1920. Daugavpils had only just begun to recover before undergoing the even greater devastation of World War II. Although much of the Jewish population – which had played a major role in the city's growth as both an industrial and trading center during the nineteenth century – left during the early years of the twentieth century,[5] nearly all those who remained were killed by the German invaders and their Latvian collaborators between August 1941 and May 1942. By the end of the war, much of the prewar city was in ruins and its population was under 15,000.

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[5] Including the author's mother's family, which had lived in Daugavpils at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century if not earlier.

During the Soviet occupation from 1945 to 1991, two features of Soviet policy in Latvia had a significant impact on Daugavpils. The first was the aggressive policy of industrialization, in which Daugavpils was a major focal point; the second was Russification. From a pre-war population of 168,000, Latvia's ethnic Russian[6] population grew to 906,000 by 1989, with the greatest increase taking place between 1945 and 1969 (Heleniak 2006). At the same time between 100,000 and 200,000 Latvians were killed or exiled by the Soviet authorities. The ethnic Russian share of Latvia's population went from 9% to 34%. The Russian influx, which was actively fostered by the Soviet government, served the double purpose of expanding the labor force needed to meet its industrialization goals while colonizing and diluting the ethnic Latvian character of the country (Zembergs 1980).[7] From 1940 to 1989, the ethnic Latvian population share dropped from 77% to 52%.

Daugavpils, by virtue of its rapid industrialization and its proximity to the Russian and Byelorussian SSRs, became home to a large number of Russian migrants, leading the city's population to swell to nearly 130,000 under Soviet rule. While, as Table 1 shows, the Latvian population had grown between the wars to the extent that Latvians had become the city's largest ethnic group, that trend was reversed under Russification. By 1989, 70% of Daugavpils's population was from Russia, Ukraine or Byelorussia, the latter two being largely Russian-speaking people from areas that were then within the Soviet Union. This was the greatest Russified population share of any Latvian city (1989 All-Union Census, 1990).

Daugavpils is a paradigmatic shrinking city. From a population of 126,680 in 1989, its population dropped to an estimated 77,799 at the beginning of 2024, a decline of nearly 40%. Since 2012 Latvia's population has declined by 8%, while that of Daugavpils by 16%. While all of Latvia's regions except for

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[6] While the in-migrants are routinely described as ethnically "Russian", it should be noted that they included many people from the Byelorussian and Ukrainian SSRs, as well as a small number of Russian Jews, all of whom spoke Russian as their lingua franca.

[7] The relationship between industrialization and Russification, and how the Russian in-migration was organized, remains not entirely clear. Zembergs suggests that industrialization was pretextual – that is, it was a vehicle to create jobs for ethnic Russians who were being (at a minimum) encouraged to migrate – and had little or no economic rationale. He rejects, however, assertions that ethnic Russians were coerced to move to Latvia.

Pieriga, the suburban ring around the capital city of Riga, showed at least some population decline since 1989, the greatest regional decline was in Latgale, Daugavpils's region, which shares the city's peripheral status.

Table 1. Ethnic distribution of Daugavpils's population 1897 to 2023

ETHNICITY	1897	1935	1989	2023
Latvian	2%	34%	13%	21%
Russian	30%	18%	58%	47%
Polish	16%	18%	13%	13%
Byelorussian	NA	3%	9%	7%
Jewish	47%	25%	1%	<1%
Ukrainian	NA	NA	3%	3%
Other	5%	3%	3%	9%

Sources: (1) 1897 Zemaitis (2024) (2) 1935 Wikipedia (3) 1989 Soviet All-Union Census (Latvian Statistical Office) (4) 2023 Latvia Statistics Portal

PROFILE OF A PERIPHERAL CITY: DAUGAVPILS TODAY

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

The overall decline in population, however, has not been evenly distributed by age group. As Figure 4 shows, while Daugavpils's population over 65 has grown and the proportion under 20 has declined modestly, the number of people of working age, particularly those in their 20s and 30s, has dropped more sharply. Since 2012, the working-age population (20 to 64 years) has dropped by more than a quarter, while the number of people aged 20 to 29 has dropped by 50%.

This is less the product of demographic change as it is the result of brain drain, which plays a significant role in the changing age profile of Daugavpils and other peripheral cities and regions in Eastern Europe and elsewhere (Maleszyck 2021, Smetkowski 2013, among others).

Figure 4. Population change by age group 2012 to 2024
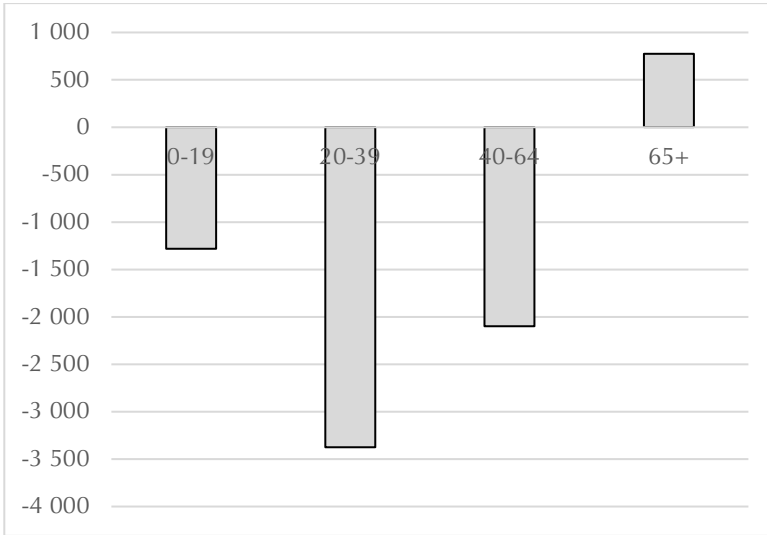
Source: Latvia Statistics Portal, graphic by author

While there is little gender gap with respect to brain drain for people in their 20s, the gap widens considerably later. Between 2012 and 2024, Daugavpils lost 10% of the city's men in their 30s, but 20% of its women.

ECONOMIC MARGINALITY

Many different measures can be used to document Daugavpils's economic condition and its marginality in the Latvian (and EU) economy. I have selected three to illustrate the situation: job change, economic activity (both overall and in knowledge economy sectors), and housing production.

Figure 5 compares the change in the number of jobs between 2006 and 2020 for Latvia as a whole, Riga, Pieriga, and Latgale. The figure shows the bubble from 2005 to 2008 and the economic crisis that followed, during which Latvian GDP dropped by 21%. It also shows the slow return of the national economy to pre-bubble levels, and the greater growth in the Pieriga region. The Latgale region, however, has lagged significantly behind the rest of the country. As the national economy has recovered, Latgale has not, reflecting the extent to which it has become marginal to the Latvian economy.

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Figure 5. Change in number of jobs (occupied posts)
2006 to 2020
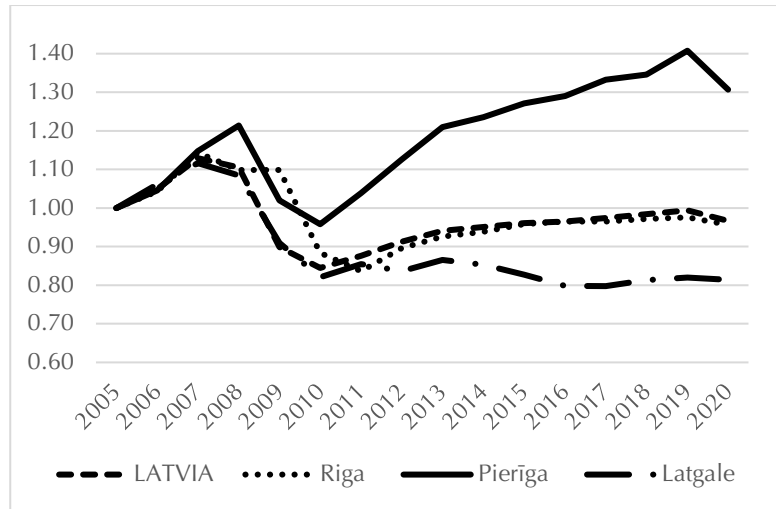
Note: Data is shown relative to 2005 = 1.
Source: Latvia Statistics Portal, graphic by author

While data on total jobs is unavailable for Daugavpils, a dataset containing slightly more than half of the total jobs (excluding jobs in firms with under 50 employees) is available from 2009 onward, shown in Figure 6.[8]

On this narrower measure, the disparity between Latgale and Daugavpils on the one hand, and the rest of Latvia on the other, is even more stark. Since Latvia's economy bottomed out in 2010, Daugavpils has continued to shed jobs even as the rest of the country has recovered. Since 2013, Daugavpils has even fallen behind the rest of Latgale.

Turning to a broader measure of Daugavpils economic marginality, I look at the city's share of Latvia's economic activity in general, and high-tech, high-impact economic activity in particular, on the basis of a cluster of indicators tracked by Statistics Latvia. I then compare that with similar data for the city of Riga. Tables 2A and 2B show the share of national economic activity for the two cities for all enterprises, and for the two sectors which include most knowledge or high-tech industries,

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[8] It is unclear why only this dataset and not the total figures are provided by the statistics portal at the city level. It is possible that the data limitation may skew the data against Daugavpils.

information and communications, and professional, scientific and technical activities. For purposes of comparison, Daugavpils contains slightly over 4% of Latvia's population, while Riga contains 32%.

Figure 6. Change in number of jobs in firms with 50 or more employees
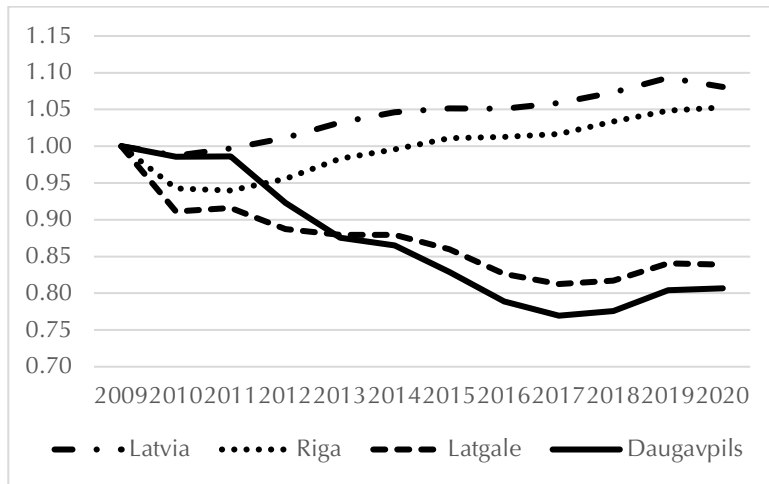
Note: Data is shown relative to 2009 = 1.
Source: Latvia Statistics Portal, graphic by author

Table 2A. Share of national economic activity in Daugavpils

	All enterprises	Information and communications	Professional, scientific and technical activities
Number of enterprises	3.0%	1.9%	2.0%
Turnover	1.3%	0.7%	0.5%
Production value	1.7%	0.7%	0.6%
Value added at factor cost	1.5%	0.7%	0.7%
Total purchase of goods and services	1.3%	0.7%	0.4%
Personnel costs	1.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Gross investment in tangible goods	1.5%	0.2%	1.2%
Number of persons employed	2.7%	1.4%	1.5%

The contrast is stark. While Daugavpils has many business enterprises – although still less than proportional to the city's population – they are mostly small, roughly half the size of the national average. Overall, with respect to measures such as value of products created, value added, or investment, Daugavpils generates only one third of its expected level of economic activity based on population share. In the knowledge industry sectors, the picture is far worse; Daugavpils generates only 10% to 15% of the activity expected on the basis of its population. Put differently, Daugavpils accounts for only about 0.6% of Latvia's total knowledge industry activity.

Table 2B. Share of national economic activity in Riga

	All enterprises	Information and communi- cations	Professional, scientific and technical activities
Number of enterprises	47%	61%	54%
Turnover	64%	91%	78%
Production value	57%	90%	76%
Value added at factor cost	64%	90%	79%
Total purchase of goods and services	64%	93%	78%
Personnel costs	62%	91%	81%
Gross investment in tangible goods	56%	95%	68%
Number of persons employed	55%	86%	67%

Source: Latvia Statistics Portal

By contrast, Riga, with not quite one-third of Latvia's population, accounts for over 60% of Latvia's productive economy overall, 75% of all activity in the professional, scientific and technical sector, and 90% of all activity in the information and communications sector. Marginalization in the Latvian economy is not a problem only for Daugavpils but is the product of a hyper-centralized economy in which the entire country outside the Riga region can be seen as being marginalized to varying degrees. This extreme pattern of uneven development poses a major challenge for the nation's future (Chmielewski 2023).

Table 3. New dwelling units constructed since 2001

	LATVIA		DAUGAVPILS			RIGA		
	Number of dwellings	% of all dwellings	Number of dwellings	% of all dwellings	% of national total	Number of dwellings	% of all dwellings	% of national total
2001-2010	53685	5.0%	557	1.2%	1.0%	21045	6.2%	39.2%
2011-2015	13087	1.2%	68	0.1%	0.5%	5368	1.6%	41.0%
2015-2020	13610	1.3%	44	0.1%	0.3%	5799	1.7%	42.6%
TOTAL	80382	7.6%	669	1.4%	0.8%	32212	9.4%	40.1%
All Dwellings	1063939	100%	46723	100%	4.4%	341882	100%	32.1%

Source: Latvia Statistics Portal

One effect of the weak local economy is the lack of new housing production in Daugavpils. Table 3 shows the number of new dwelling units built in Latvia, Riga, and Daugavpils since 2001. Even though Latvia's population is declining, housing demand is generated by growth in the number of households as the average size of households declines, replacement of units demolished or otherwise lost, and demand for different and higher quality housing by upwardly mobile households.

Housing production in Riga between 2001 and 2020 was 40% of the national total, significantly exceeding its share of the national housing stock. The opposite was true in Daugavpils. Although the city contains over 4% of Latvia's housing stock, new construction was less than 1% of the national total. Moreover, as the table shows, Daugavpils's share of new construction dropped significantly from 2001–2010 to 2011–2020, paralleling the increased economic marginalization discussed earlier.

The lack of job growth, coupled with low wages and out-migration of young adults, all typical of marginal cities, has led to a weak housing market. Flats offered for sale in Daugavpils on mm.lv are typically priced between €15,000 and €30,000, varying by size and location.[9] This is far below their replacement cost, and far too low to motivate owners to upgrade their apartments or developers to build new ones. As a result, few high-quality dwellings, either new or upgraded, are available, which in turn acts as an impediment to attracting in-migrants, particularly people with strong skills and educational qualifications.

SOCIAL MARGINALITY

The metaphorical elephant in the room in any discussion of social marginality in Latvia is the dual question of ethnicity and language. In contrast to economic questions, where quantitative data allows for fairly clear findings and conclusions, any discussion of these questions is inherently more speculative, reflecting various sources of information, including interviews, public documents, and both traditional and social media. It is a matter, therefore, of posing a question and speculating on its implications while attempting to navigate potential political and cultural minefields, rather than drawing conclusions.

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[9] See: <https://mm.lv/dzivokli> (last accessed November 2024).

The question itself is straightforward. To what extent does Daugavpils's distinctive character as a predominately Russian (or Russian-speaking)[10] city exacerbate its marginalization within the economic and social framework of the Latvian nation?

Since Latvian independence, in the wake of 45 years of Soviet occupation and Russification, the fault line between ethnic Latvians and ethnic Russians has been a central tension in Latvian society and politics. Understandably in light of the nation's history, the goal of sustaining a distinctive Latvian identity, in which the Latvian language as the nation's sole official language plays an essential part, has been a key element of public policy. It is summarized in the *Guidelines on National Identity, Civil Society and Integration Policy* adopted by the government in 2012:

> In Latvia, just as in other European States, there is a constituent nation determining the national and cultural-historical identity of the State, as well as national minorities and immigrants. The national and cultural-historical identity of a constituent nation determines the national and cultural-historical identity of the State, and is based on a common language, culture and social memory.
>
> The Latvian constituent nation and national minorities form the Latvian people. Latvian identity – the Latvian language, culture and social memory – unifies the Latvian people. It is the common foundation connecting all the people of Latvia, making it a democratic participatory community. Therefore, it is in the interests of the State of Latvia and its people not only to strengthen Latvian identity, which consolidates the community, making it stronger in the current circumstances of globalization, but also to broaden it so that national minorities and immigrants can also be embraced within it. (Republic of Latvia 2012)

The *Guidelines* reflect Latvia's determination to sustain a small, distinctive language and culture in a largely alien and partly hostile world, an effort any reasonable person can understand. It also reflects the continued weight of historical oppression from the

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[10] As noted earlier, a large part of Daugavpils' population is made up of people, including Jews, Belarussians, Ukrainians and Poles, who while not ethnic Russian are generally Russian-speaking in daily life (see Republic of Latvia 2012).

years of Soviet occupation, summed up in a comment about the Russians by a Latvian friend who grew up under the occupation:

> We were glad to see them[11] go. They had all the good jobs. We lived in communal apartments, they had all the good apartments. They told us not to speak Latvian. They called it a dog's language.

History and memory retain their salience in national cultures far longer than the mere 33 years that have passed since the end of the Soviet occupation. History's salience vividly manifests itself in conflicts over defining the nature of Latvia under Soviet rule, and in the controversy over the demolition of Soviet era monuments. Mihelj (2014) is correct in insisting on "the tight link between the beliefs and interests of the present and the representations of the past."

The proposition that Soviet rule was an occupation imposed by force on the Latvian people is fundamental both to Latvian identity and to the principle, enshrined in the Latvian Constitution, of continuity between today's Latvian republic and the pre-World War II Latvian state. In sharp contrast to that perspective, many ethnic Russians continue to maintain that Latvia during those same years was *a part of* the Soviet Union – as distinct from a colony – and that the Red Army *liberated* – as distinct from occupied – Latvia in 1944 (Zepa 2006; Grootjans 2016).

This is the context for the *Guidelines,* which define Latvia as simultaneously a people, a nation and a state, defined by a shared language, culture and social memory. The nation is permeable, in the sense that anyone can become Latvian, but culture is not negotiable. As the *Guidelines* read, "one can be not only born a Latvian but also consciously become one" (p. 12). Minority populations are expected to integrate, at which point "Each person's choice determines whether *alongside his or her Latvian identity*, which is the common one, he or she wishes to maintain also his or her national uniqueness and minority's identity" (ibid.) (emphasis added).

This is the context in which Latvian law mandates exclusive use of the Latvian language in public business and in public-facing signage, requires Latvian-language tests for citizenship, and has moved gradually toward a public education system in which all

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[11] My informant is referring to the large numbers of ethnic Russians, many of whom were associated with the Soviet government, military or KGB, who left Latvia immediately after independence in 1991.

instruction is in Latvian. Less officially, it is the context in which political parties dominated by Russian-speakers have never been accepted by other parties as potential governing coalition partners, even after the Russian-led Harmony party won the largest number of seats in the 2011 elections to the Saeima. This extends to relations between the national and local governments: as Chmielewski (2023) writes, "local governments in the east governed by the 'Harmony' Social Democratic Party are sometimes treated as a foreign body within the state."[12]

Figure 7. Distribution of population by ethnicity for Latvian cities
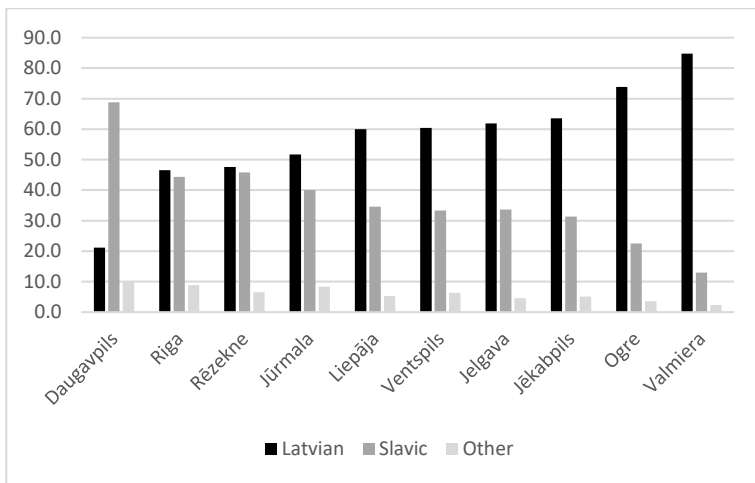
Source: Latvia Statistics Portal, graphic by author

The foregoing discussion provides the framework for addressing the question posed above. Daugavpils, of course, is widely known as the most "Russian" of Latvian cities, as shown in Figure 7, in which for clarity I have combined Russian, Polish, Belorussian and Ukrainian ethnicity into a single metric: Slavic. While many cities have large non-Latvian ethnic communities, Daugavpils stands out as the one in which the ethnic Latvian population is by far the smallest.

An even cursory review of print and social media makes clear that "Russian-ness" is seen as a defining feature of the city. As one

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[12] Strikingly, one informant noted that the major non-Russian Latvian political parties do not even maintain offices in Daugavpils, the nation's second largest city. Another informant noted that one party finally did so in the fall of 2024.

writer aptly puts it, "as Latvia's only majority-Russian city Daugavpils has an odd place in the national consciousness, treated with suspicion and sometimes fear, as a vision of what could have been" (Mawhood 2015). Similar but cruder sentiments appear frequently on the many subreddits on reddit.com devoted to Latvia in general, and Daugavpils in particular, the latter often initiated, it appears, by non-Latvians seeking to understand why the city seems to have a bad reputation elsewhere in Latvia. These are far from the only responses. Many people have positive views about Daugavpils and feel that its reputation is not deserved, but none challenge the starting premise that the city has a bad reputation. The great majority of the negative comments, a few of which I have copied here verbatim, explicitly refer to the "Russian" character of the city:

> It's the troubled place of the country, at least, that's what everyone not from there will tell you. Gopnik, Russian, vatnik overrun place.[13]

> Too much Putin loving Russians.

> Daugavpils is only barely 20% Latvian (I am a Latvian) and thus the dislike in the general population. It's also in the Latgale region, which is the most distant from Riga and the poorest, most neglected politically, financially.

> The biggest difference in my opinion is that in Daugavpils, Russians are Russian. They barely speak Latvian, they hate Latvia, Latvian culture, language etc. and in most cases they seem like actual *gopniks*.
> It's overwhelmingly Russian, to the point that you will fare much much better by knowing Russian language than Latvian […], and this fact is a reason for hatred of Daugavpils within most of us.

> They really need to be reminded that this is not their country, if they can't speak Latvian after being born here, they have no right to complain about English, none whatsoever.

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[13] In Russian slang, a *gopnik* is a hoodlum or thug, and a *vatnik* is a pejorative term for someone who promotes pro-Putin propaganda.

Because a lot of Russian or Russian speakers live there, and of course Latvians don't like this for historical reasons.

Would you live in a different country for 30+ years and still refuse to speak or even attempt to learn their language? while extending your temp residency permit instead of actually trying to get a citizenship? they are waiting for their czar to come.[14]

The reality is far more complex than these simplistic comments would suggest, and a majority of ethnic Latvians have more balanced or nuanced perspectives (Ekmanis 2020). The fact remains, however, that they do reflect widely-held perceptions of Daugavpils in Latvian society, and tend to foster a discourse in which Daugavpils is socially marginalized vis a vis the rest of the country. A perception that Daugavpils is treated unequally in Latvia also emerged in conversations with respondents in the city, who cited such features as unequal wage scales, poor medical services, and the slow, uncomfortable train service between the city and Riga.[15]

Social, cultural and political marginalization interact with and reinforce economic marginalization. Even without overt discrimination, pejorative perceptions of Daugavpils's difference and marginality in Latvian society can lead to negative decisions about mobility or investment, increasing brain drain and discouraging people from moving there or opening businesses, particularly in technology-based sectors that require employees with specialized skills. These processes can lead to what has been called urban stigmatization, "which focuses on the 'lack of qualities' of urban territories, their ugliness, their dirtiness, their deviation from 'the norm', and so forth, [and] adds to the processes of social and ethnic stigmatization to which these spaces and their inhabitants are already subjected" (Béal et al. 2017). Ultimately, these feedback systems create vicious cycles which become increasingly difficult to reverse.

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[14] All comments come from these subreddits, <https://www.reddit.com/r/latvia/comments/wg0z3r/daugavpils_is_bad/>; <https://www.reddit.com/r/BalticStates/comments/14bnbxn/could_someone_explain_the_concept_of_daugavpils/> <https://www.reddit.com/r/latvia/comments/e6opp2/could_you_please_share_your_opinions_about/> (last accessed between November 2024).
[15] Recently a first-class bus service has been initiated which, although no faster than the train, is considerably more comfortable.

THE FUTURE OF DAUGAVPILS: INCREASED MARGINALITY OR RESURGENCE?

Daugavpils's present condition can be characterized by both extreme marginalization and peripheralization, through its combination of pronounced demographic decline, severe economic weakness, and social marginalization reflecting its status as an "other" within the Latvian social and linguistic space. Daugavpils's status is further exacerbated by Latvia's uneven development, which led Chmielewski to conclude that "the major regional differences in Latvia have a strong impact on the economic indicators: the worse connected, poorer and ageing outskirts are characterized by poorer economic results and socio-economic backwardness as compared to the equivalent areas in neighboring countries" (2023).

In light of the trends outlined in the first section of this paper, and in the absence of any fundamental change in policy or practice at the local or national level, the future prospects for Daugavpils, and indeed, for much of Latvia outside Riga, are not promising. In the first part of this section, I will suggest what those prospects would appear to be under that premise, followed by my exploring what paths – based on a fundamental reconsideration of policies and strategies – might potentially change Daugavpils's future trajectory.

Those issues need to be seen in the context of the larger question of growth, since that is central to how one must think about future alternative ways of organizing economic activity. It is a truism that economics is basically all about growth: how to create it, how to maintain it, and how to restore it when it disappears. That has never been more so than during the past forty or so years of all but universal neoliberal market capitalism, or globalization. Indeed, the strongest, and arguably the only credible argument for globalization, in light of its downsides in terms of inequality and unbalanced resource allocation, is its ability to deliver growth. It has indeed done just that, fueled not only by sustained global population growth, but by the extraordinary growth of China and other East Asian economies.

Figure 8. Per Capita GDP in Latvia 1995–2023
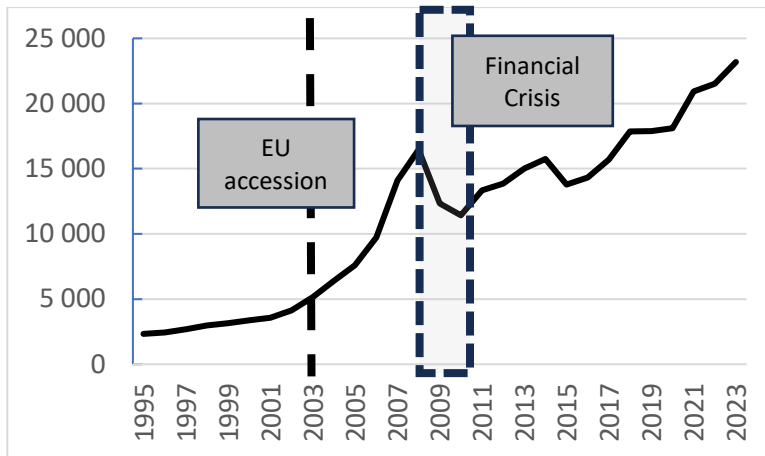
Source: World Bank, graphic by author

Latvia has benefited from this economic model, as reflected in its per capita GDP growth. From 1995 to 2023, the Latvian economy has grown even as its population has shrunk, and per capita GDP has increased by roughly 1,000%, going from $2,330 to $23,184 in current USD (Figure 8). Growth, however, has been spatially uneven. In 2021, per capita GDP in Riga was €28,949, while in Daugavpils it was €10,746 and in Latgale as a whole €8,833. Since 2013, Latvian GDP has grown by 47% (in current Euros), while that of Daugavpils by only 27%.[16]

THE STATUS QUO SCENARIO

While the neoliberal economic model has been shaken by the developments of the last two decades, beginning with the global financial crisis of 2008–2010, and continuing with the COVID-19 pandemic and the rising tides of deglobalization and protectionism, it still remains the prism through which thinkers and policymakers continue to view the world. As I discussed in the first part of this paper, there are compelling reasons to believe that the model of continued growth is going to be increasingly difficult if not impossible to sustain over the coming decades. If one accepts

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[16] Slight discrepancies between national and local data reflect the fact that data about Latvia shown in Figure 8 comes from the World Bank, while regional and local data comes from the Latvia Central Statistics Bureau. Data for Daugavpils is only available for 2013 and after.

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the premises for that conclusion – declining population growth, aging, climate change, and deglobalization – what would a continued focus on growth as the goal of economic activity without significant change in policy or strategy mean for the future of Latvia and Daugavpils?

To begin, in a slow or no-growth world, especially coupled with deglobalization, export demand will decline. That in itself is bad news for the EU in general, and Latvia in particular, because of the region's high export dependency and Latvia's integration into the region. Stable or declining and aging populations throughout the EU at that point mean that domestic demand is likely to be flat or shrinking. As Latvia's economic growth slows, the dominant role of Riga in the national economy dictates that the lion's share of whatever growth takes place will gravitate to Riga and Pieriga. Assuming the combined population of Riga and Pieriga declines by 10% between now and 2050 in keeping with recent trends, the rest of Latvia could see its population decline by 35% to 40%, with Latgale most probably hit hardest. Since Latvian policy and attitudes appear to be largely unsympathetic to immigration (LSM.lv 2019; Mierina 2020; Kaprāns et al. 2021), it is highly unlikely that this decline will be made up by immigration from elsewhere.

Daugavpils is likely to continue to lose population and economic share. To the extent that Daugavpils's existing export industries remain viable, deteriorating local economic conditions and declining labor force availability may prompt them to move their operations elsewhere, further depressing the local economy and feeding the vicious cycle mentioned earlier. A conservative projection of Daugavpils's population suggests that by 2035 it will be between 60,000 and 65,000, and by 2045 it will be between 45,000 and 49,000, with the range reflecting different possible but conservative net out-migration scenarios.[17] More rapid out-migration could lead to an even lower future population.

The effect of such a demographic scenario on Daugavpils's social and physical environment is likely to be severe. While in 2021 17% of Daugavpils's houses and flats were unoccupied or vacant, that number is likely to rise to over 25% by 2035 and to roughly 40% by 2045. At that point, many of the Soviet-era

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[17] Since I was unable to find an official population projection, I made one based on an increase in the excess of deaths over births from that 2012–2023, but at a slower trend line than the past decade; and low and high migration scenarios reflecting numbers roughly a third lower and a third higher than the 2012–2023 average.

apartment blocks in which most Daugavpils residents live will be half or more empty.[18] Demand for commercial space in and around the city center will decline, and vacancies will increase. By that point, over one-third of the city's population will be 65 or over, imposing heavy demands on overburdened health and social care sectors.

This is a harsh picture, but it is not, I believe, an inevitable one. In the next section, I will explore what might be needed in order for Daugavpils to avoid this scenario, and find a path to a more vital, sustainable future in the midst of the coming challenges.

AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE

On my most recent visit to Daugavpils, I went into the Rimi supermarket at the edge of downtown to buy some food to take back to my hotel room. What was striking was that everything seemed to come from somewhere else. Fruits and vegetables were from southern Europe, Africa and the Middle East, while most packaged goods were from elsewhere in Europe. In my admittedly cursory survey, Latvia was mainly represented by a variety of bagged snack foods such as potato chips.[19]

From a classic economic perspective, this is as it should be. Goods should be made in countries which have a competitive advantage with respect to that good, and once Latvians acquired a taste for oranges and avocados, it made far more economic sense to import them from the Middle East than grow them in greenhouses in Latvia.[20] This is the basic premise of globalization, and the Rimi supermarket in Daugavpils is as much part of that system as the London office tower of a global corporation.

But the plethora of products from around the world is also a sign of fragility. As the COVID-19 pandemic showed, many things can disrupt the equilibrium of the global system. While that

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[18] Seventy-six percent of all dwelling units in Daugavpils are buildings containing three or more dwelling units constructed between 1946 and 2000. Since there was little multifamily construction between 1990 and 2000, it is safe to say that nearly all of these dwellings are in Soviet-era apartment blocks.

[19] I do not want to imply that these were the *only* Latvian-sourced foods in the store. I was not doing a systematic survey. It is likely that some other foods, such as bread and meat, were locally-sourced.

[20] Conversely, since potatoes are grown locally, and transport costs of bagged potato chips are likely to be relatively high relative to the value of the shipment, it makes economic sense for Latvia to make potato chips.

disruption was short-term in nature, and has been largely corrected – although not without longer-term repercussions – a systemic decline in the global system, which is potentially likely for reasons discussed earlier, would have pervasive long-term consequences. Cities like Daugavpils, which are both integrated into the global economy yet marginal to it, will be most negatively affected, and have the least power to influence its path. Daugavpils, one might say, is caught in a marginality trap.

NETWORKED LOCALISM

The central question, therefore, is whether Daugavpils can escape that trap, and if so, how that might happen. Daugavpils cannot cut itself off from the rest of the world. Autarky has never been a sound basis to build a local economy. At the same time, there are many steps that Daugavpils can take to reduce its powerless dependency on the global economy and become a more economically stable, socially connected and environmentally sustainable city, by simultaneously building a localized economic and social fabric while increasing its integration into global technology networks. I have referred to this process as *networked localism*. It is outlined in graphic form in Figure 9.

As Figure 9 suggests, networked localism is a holistic model, that links economic development, enhancing the environment and quality of life, and building a stronger social fabric, in order to create a community where people will find what they need to live satisfying and productive lives. Such a community will not only retain more of its young people but will attract others to come and live there. It will become a thriving, sustainable community.

While clearly it is possible to initiate specific programs in any of the areas shown in the figure without creating a larger, comprehensive framework, such an approach – which can be said to be true of Daugavpils in some respects – misses my central thesis. For a city such as Daugavpils to escape marginalization and decline requires far more than a collection of unrelated projects, however worthy each individual project may be. It requires a *strategy*; that is, a simultaneous focus on building a stronger, more locally based economy; enhancing the physical environment and residents' quality of life; and building a stronger social fabric, engaging residents of all ages in the future of their neighborhoods and their city as a whole. It is only by integrating all of these elements that one can begin to create a thriving, sustainable city.

Figure 9. Contours of a sustainable localized economy
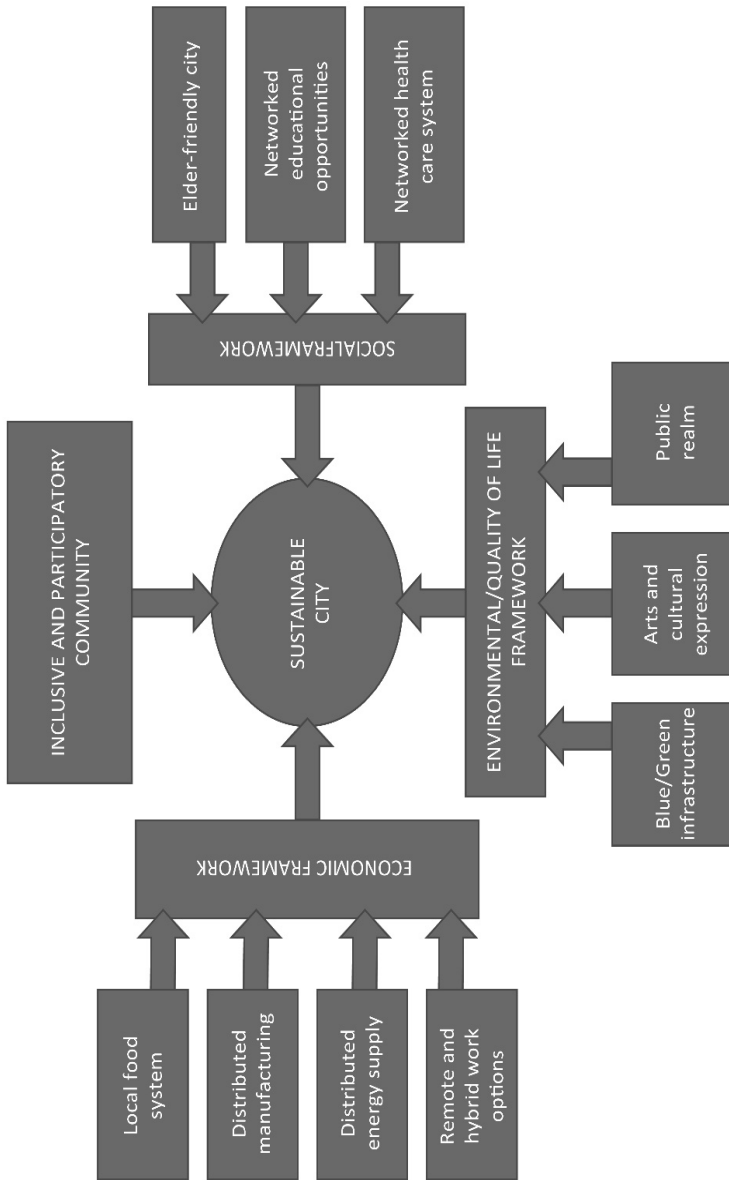
Source: Mallach (2023)

This is not a prescription for regrowth of Daugavpils's population. In light of Latvia's demographic realities and the trends I have described earlier, such an outcome would be unlikely in the extreme. Daugavpils needs to focus on building a vital, sustainable city without relying on population growth to drive its future vitality.

Describing the individual elements in this strategy is well beyond the scope of this paper, and is something that I have done elsewhere (Mallach 2023). The use of available technology – to support activities such as decentralized manufacturing using CNC technology, to enhance critical services such as educational programs and health care services, or simply to build connections between people within the city and between Daugavpils and elsewhere – is an essential feature of any strategy. It may seem ironic, but in the world of the twenty-first century, the process of building a stronger localized economy and social fabric demands that the city be even more closely tied to global information networks and systems. As I have written elsewhere,

> Networked localism multiplies the resources and capabilities of the people and institutions of any individual city or city-region by enabling the city to become a part of larger national or international networks ranging from distributed power generation to 3D printing and remote learning. The potential of such networks [...] is almost incalculably vast. [Such networks] exist in higher education, health care delivery, energy generation, food production, specialized and small-scale manufacturing, and in all likelihood, a host of areas that I cannot even imagine. (Mallach 2023, 171)

One example is that of decentralized manufacturing, which is a key to expanding and diversifying the local manufacturing sector. Using what are known as CNC (computer-numerical-control) machines, almost anything imaginable can be manufactured on an inexpensive desktop machine, coupled with access to raw materials and software. Such systems have extremely modest start-up costs, while being highly adaptable to small-batch production appropriate to meeting local needs. Using readily available open-source software, such machines are manufacturing everything from house kits to prosthetic arms.

Localized manufacturing will not *replace* the global system. Many products are not suitable for local manufacture, either because of their size and complexity, such as cars and trucks, or due to the raw materials needed, such as the rare earths used in

smartphones. But, as I have written elsewhere, "localized manufacturing can generate a wide variety of products for individual consumers such as processed foods, small appliances and household utensils, furniture, and textiles; and products for local institutions such as medical equipment and supplies, and office supplies and furnishings, to name just a few" (Mallach 2023, 224). Localized manufacturing can help build a stronger, more diverse local economy and retain more of the city's resources locally, but create more varied employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for young people, potentially reducing Daugavpils's current brain drain.

As I note above, engaging local residents, as well as businesses and institutions, is an essential element of the process. Transformational change cannot be dictated by a municipal government (or anyone else) from above to a passive, disconnected, or, worse, disaffected population. It must be simultaneously top-down and bottom-up. This is but one of the many challenges that must be addressed if Daugavpils is to escape the marginality trap, a path of inexorable decline.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

The process of getting to transformative change is difficult under the best of circumstances, and is likely to be particularly difficult under the conditions affecting Daugavpils. The process can be summed up as being comprised of two distinct elements: mobilizing the *will* to change, and mobilizing the *capacity* to change. A summary graphic description of the process is shown in Figure 10.

No significant change can happen in the absence of a broadly-shared will to change. The will to change, however, is far more than dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. It is only when dissatisfaction is coupled with a belief that change is possible, and a vision of what a better future might look like, that the will to change can become a reality. A different way of putting it, from the field of organizational psychology, is that people are imbued with a sense of *hope* (Snyder et al. 1991, Reichard et al. 2013).

Figure 10. Steps to Change
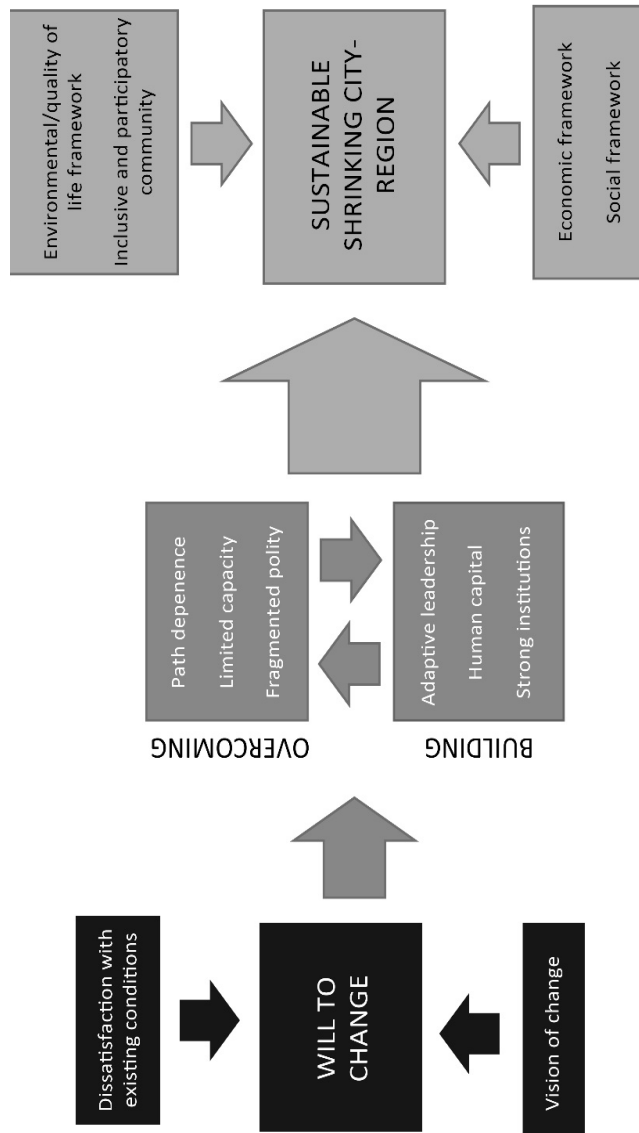
Source: Mallach (2023)

A critical part of this is that the sense of the future be *shared*. It is not enough that an individual has a vision of their own future, because without engagement in a shared future, their vision will probably drive them to emigrate. Hirschman's framing of the choice between exit, voice and loyalty (1970) is relevant. Exit and loyalty preserve the status quo. In an environment where

expressing voice in the form of a desire for change is seen as disloyal by authority, loyalty is expressed through passivity. It is telling that one informant observed that, in her experience, Daugavpils city government was comfortable dealing with individuals but not with groups. Individuals and their requests are not threatening; they perpetuate clientelism, in which the city can play the role of a benevolent power figure. Organized groups demand a share in the process of decision-making, and implicitly or explicitly challenge the distribution of power.[21] It is important to remember that even in a shrinking city – perhaps especially in a shrinking city – the rewards of power are still substantial, and are likely to be fiercely defended.

The central challenge, then, is to build a system of organized, shared decision-making capable of translating dissatisfaction into a hopeful vision of change. Where this has happened, albeit usually in partial or limited fashion, it has been grounded in the existence of strong community engagement led by institutions of civil society, in which local government as well as institutions such as universities or medical centers have become participants, often (at least initially) reluctantly (Mattessich 1997). In the final analysis, change requires not only that there be an organized citizenry, but that city government is willing to treat them as partners.

Civil society in Daugavpils, in the sense of organizations focusing on the city at large, is emerging but still embryonic. Notable is the Cita Daugavpils project, which has worked to build civic consciousness among city residents, particularly around increasing residents' awareness of and engagement with their neighborhoods, through meetings, graphics and videos. As informants noted, recent amendments to the Latvian Law on Local Governments require that beginning in 2025, Latvian cities must conduct a participatory budgeting process (Staffecka 2024). That process could help build organized citizen involvement in local decision-making in Daugavpils.

In parallel with building the will to change and framing the vision of change, a successful outcome requires the *capacity* to change. Systemic change, especially when it is based on advanced technologies, is complicated. It demands specialized expertise and, depending on individual projects, may require financial resources beyond the limited means of Daugavpils city

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[21] One could not unreasonably see some of this as an echo of the Soviet system, in which anything other than passivity on the part of the great majority of the population could lead to severe punishment.

government. These will have to come largely from Latvia's national government and from the European Union.

National government policy, which is reflected in the *National Development Plan* (Republic of Latvia 2020) and the associated *Regional Policy Guidelines* (Republic of Latvia, n.d.), appears – understandably – to be torn between two competing policy courses. While maximizing the economic impact of public investment argues for prioritizing investment in the Riga area, reducing the country's severe spatial-socio-economic disparities calls for a redistributional approach to public investment. The ambivalence is made clear in the *Guidelines*:

> The goal of regional policy is to create preconditions for development of economic potential of all regions and for reduction of socio-economic disparities by increasing internal and external competitiveness […]. At the same time, it is essential to ensure development of Riga metropolitan area by making the most of Riga metropolitan area's potential to strengthen competitiveness in the Baltic Sea region and development of the Latvian economy, moving towards a knowledge-based and productive economy.

At this point, it does not appear that the national government has a clear policy with respect to economic and social development in Latgale generally or Daugavpils specifically, other than its support for the Latgale Planning Region and for specific projects such as the Special Economic Zone, which offers tax and other advantages to businesses locating there.

CONCLUSION

While all of non-metropolitan Latvia suffers from some degree of inequality relative to Riga/Pieriga, Latgale and Daugavpils are a special case, in that that they are not only by a considerable margin the most disadvantaged region and major city in Latvia but are continuing to fall behind much of the rest of the country. As such, the national government should develop a targeted strategy of support for Latgale and Daugavpils, not merely in the sense of equalizing resources, but explicitly designed in partnership with local government, business and civil society to reduce the region's marginalization and build a more thriving, sustainable region and city. Since a significant share of the resources likely to be available

for this strategy will be coming from the EU, it should be actively involved as well. The strategy should incorporate the technical support necessary to build the local capacity for change. Daugavpils is fortunate to have a strong university in its midst, which can and should play a major institutional role in supporting the transformation of its community into a more self-sufficient, sustainable city.

I do not want to minimize the difficulty of the steps described above. They call not only for new programs and initiatives, but for a fundamental change in public thinking about the future of Daugavpils, and new roles for everyone from the mayor to individual citizens in shaping that future. Yet it is hard to imagine that anything short of such an effort will lead to meaningful change in the city's current downward trajectory.

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THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL EVENTS ON HEIS' INTERNATIONALIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF A WELL-BEING PROGRAMME FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AT PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY OLOMOUC

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the impact of global events on international student enrolment and well-being at higher education institutions (HEIs) in the Czech Republic, with a particular focus on Palacký University Olomouc. Employing a qualitative case study approach, the research investigates how external crises, including the COVID-19 pandemic, geopolitical tensions, and advancements in artificial intelligence (AI), shape student experiences and institutional responses. The study's two-phase design includes a detailed analysis of enrolment trends, and a pilot programme of well-being workshops aimed at supporting students' mental health and resilience. Findings from the first phase reveal patterns in enrolment shifts correlating with global disruptions, while the second phase offers insights into the efficacy of workshops designed to foster social integration, effective study practices, and emotional well-being. This research underscores the importance of adaptive, supportive policies for international students as HEIs navigate an increasingly complex global landscape, offering actionable insights for fostering academic success and well-being within diverse student communities.

Keywords: higher education, student mobility, mental health, inclusion, support programmes, psychological workshops, prevention

INTRODUCTION

The rise of international student mobility over the past decade has reshaped higher education policies globally. This trend has been driven by globalization, technological innovation, and the demands of a competitive knowledge economy (Altbach and Knight 2007). In many countries, including the Czech Republic, this shift has led to a sustained increase in international enrolments. Higher education institutions have responded by adapting academic offerings, expanding English-language programmes, and aligning institutional standards with global benchmarks to attract a diverse student population that enriches the cultural and intellectual environment of academic institutions (Gokpinar-Shelton and Pike 2022). However, recent disruptions, particularly the COVID-19 pandemic (de Wit and Altbach 2022), intensifying geopolitical conflicts, and the rapid advancement of artificial intelligence (Khadse et al. 2023), have challenged higher education institutions to rethink their support mechanisms for international students. The well-being, expectations and academic experiences of these students are increasingly affected by these global pressures.

This study addresses a critical gap in the literature by investigating how higher education institutions in the Czech Republic, with a focus on Palacký University Olomouc, respond to these emerging global challenges. Specifically, this research explores the effects of external disruptions on international student enrolment patterns and well-being. It evaluates how these institutions adapt their support structures to mitigate adverse impacts. By using a qualitative case study approach, this article provides an empirical examination of enrolment trends and an evaluation of a pilot well-being programme designed to foster resilience and integration among international students. By analysing the effectiveness of targeted well-being workshops, this study offers a framework for understanding how higher education institutions can operationalize holistic support for international students. The research thus advances adaptive internationalization practices that prioritize mental health and social inclusion in response to an evolving global landscape.

By integrating insights into both the quantitative shifts in student mobility and the qualitative dimensions of student support, the study makes a distinct contribution to the field. It offers actionable strategies for institutions facing similar challenges worldwide. This approach underscores the importance of adaptive

strategies and establishes a model for institutional resilience that aligns with the evolving needs of international student communities in an era marked by complex global interdependencies.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

The research team employed a case study methodology, a qualitative approach traditionally utilized in psychology and sociology (Merriam 1988), allowing for an in-depth examination of complex phenomena within defined contextual boundaries (Švaříček and Šeďová 2007). This methodology was chosen for its capacity to capture the intricate social and psychological factors affecting international student enrolment and well-being in response to global events. By focusing on Palacký University Olomouc as the primary research site while considering broader national trends, this case study design enabled a multi-level analysis that addressed both institutional and international dimensions.

Building on the work of key researchers who outline diverse methodological approaches in case study research (Creswell 2007; Hendl 2012; Stanoev 2013), the study was structured using a qualitative framework defined by specific temporal and spatial boundaries. This two-phase framework facilitated a focused investigation of the pilot programme, integrating both theoretical insights and practical applications to yield a comprehensive understanding of how global events impact international student enrolment in studies, thereby offering valuable insights at both micro (institutional) and macro (national) levels.

The study's design was structured into two phases to address the following central research questions: (1) Are significant global events influencing a decrease in international student enrolment at higher education institutions, particularly at Palacký University Olomouc? (2) What global events contribute to enduring impacts on the mental well-being of international students? The first phase employed document analysis to explore institutional and national data, investigating potential correlations between global disruptions and shifts in enrolment patterns. This analysis was contextualized through a comprehensive review of current literature to understand how societal distress manifests in

enrolment trends under globally impactful conditions, particularly focusing on the repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The second phase of the study implemented a pilot programme of workshops at Palacký University Olomouc during the latter half of the 2023/2024 academic year, building upon insights gained in the initial phase. These workshops were structured to incorporate both European and non-European perspectives on well-being, thus addressing the diverse backgrounds of both domestic and international students. Workshop content focused on daily well-being practices, stress management, time management, and study techniques, creating an environment conducive to social integration and academic support. The workshops were designed with the following specific aims: to equip participants with practical well-being strategies, to enhance understanding of physical and psychological processes, to present current research on study techniques, and to promote an inclusive atmosphere for sharing and social connection.

The workshops were facilitated by qualified professionals selected for their expertise and cultural diversity, ensuring an inclusive setting that resonated with participants' varied backgrounds. To foster engagement and comfort, workshop rooms were equipped with projectors, sound systems, and, where necessary, carpeted floors for physical activities such as mindfulness and breathing exercises. This arrangement aimed to create an environment where students felt at ease to engage fully with the workshop material.

Ethical considerations were rigorously adhered to, particularly given the sensitive focus on mental health and well-being. All participants provided informed consent, with assurances of confidentiality and anonymity in data reporting. To ensure a non-judgmental atmosphere, the research team prioritized the creation of a safe space that allowed participants to share openly and reflect without reservation, while protecting their privacy and well-being.

Through this methodological approach, grounded in established case study practices, the study aims to advance understanding of how global events influence international student experiences and to contribute actionable insights for institutional policy and support initiatives.

THE INCREASING PRESENCE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN CZECH UNIVERSITIES

HEIs' expansion and development has always been omnipresent, as these institutions react to the modernization of the world by tailoring their strategies and goals to societal demands. Although HEIs are often seen as centres of knowledge and wisdom, they face several internal and external challenges (Klyachko and Mau 2021). One significant challenge is the concept of internationalization, which involves integrating international values into academic objectives (Klyachko and Mau 2021; Knight 2015). This is often achieved by offering study programmes in English, thereby increasing the number of international students (Altbach and Knight 2007).

The question of the trend of increasing numbers of international students in the Czech Republic arose in December 2019, when the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19) spread from China to the rest of the world (Pastor 2020). This event was later classified as a global challenge of international concern by the World Health Organization (Li et al. 2020). The European Union's educational systems underwent several strategic transfers to support internationalization (Shenderova 2018), significantly impacting most HEIs in the Czech Republic in terms of established goals and strategies (MŠMT 2021; European Commission 2022).

It is crucial to analyse whether these global events have impacted the rate of increase in international students at Czech HEIs, or whether both international and national bodies have adapted to the changes. The table below presents changes in the number of international students in the Czech Republic from 2018 to 2023 across the seven universities with the highest number of international students (MŠMT 2023).

For the majority of selected universities in the Czech Republic, there was a clear increase in the number of international students from 2018 to 2023. Considering the timing of the onset of COVID-19, the expected decrease in international students due to the pandemic would likely be observed in 2021 or 2022. Despite potential variables, overall quantitative measurements do not indicate a significant decrease.

Table 1. Number of International Students in Selected Czech
Universities from 2018 to 2023

	2018	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**	**2022**	**2023**
Brno University of Technology	3,942	4,009	4,403	4,421	4,504	4,389
Charles University	8,580	9,008	10,179	10,722	11,175	11,193
Czech Technical University in Prague	3,042	3,096	3,232	3,146	3,241	3,414
Czech University of Life Sciences Prague	2,944	3,470	4,722	5,479	5,745	5,254
Masaryk University	6,663	6,763	7,396	7,472	7,923	8,184
Palacký University Olomouc	2,000	2,106	2,310	2,473	2,638	2,663
Prague University of Economics and Business	3,174	3,395	3,659	3,855	3,924	3,697

Source: Adapted from MŠMT (2023)

It is also necessary to consider isolated cases of substantial increases or marginal decreases from 2018 to 2023. The greatest increase in the number of international students occurred at Charles University, with an increase of 2,613 students between 2018 and 2023. The second largest increase was at the Czech University of Life Sciences Prague, which saw an increase of 2,310 international students over the same period.

Conversely, some universities experienced a decrease in the number of international students. For instance, Brno University of Technology saw a decrease of 115 international students in 2023 compared to 2022, and the Czech University of Life Sciences Prague experienced a loss of 491 international students in the same period. Additionally, the Prague University of Economics and Business lost 43 international students in 2023 compared to the

previous year. Furthermore, the Czech Technical University in Prague saw a decrease of 86 international students in 2021 compared to the previous year.

Although some numbers deviate from the general increase, the overall trend remains positive. To support this statement, the overall summary of the number of international students in both state and private sectors of HEIs in the Czech Republic is included below.

Table 2. Number of International Students in State and Private Sectors of Higher Education Institutions in the Czech Republic from 2018 to 2023

Year	Number of students
2018	44,642
2019	46,281
2020	49,839
2021	51,729
2022	54,624
2023	55,493

Source: Adapted from MŠMT (2023)

As shown in Table 2, the number of international students is increasing, with a rising trajectory. While some HEIs have experienced slight decreases, the overall trend indicates only marginal deviations. It is reasonable to propose that the number of international students in the Czech Republic will continue to increase in the coming years, as no quantitative indicators on a national scale suggest otherwise.

It is crucial to acknowledge that global events can affect the influx of international students to certain destinations. On one hand, events such as COVID-19, war or other conflicts may terminate potential mobilities and studies abroad. On the other hand, they may open opportunities for studying abroad to get away from the home country and thereby equalize the increasing trend in international student enrolments (Tokatli 2024; de Wit and Altbach 2022).

Reflecting the increasing number of international students, it appears essential to establish respected departments specifically tailored to the needs of the international community on a national scale, particularly within HEIs. These university bodies should focus on creating a positive international environment for all

students and scholars, contributing to both individuals and society, as well as accessing new directions of internationalization (Šmutzer et al. 2024; de Wit 2020).

GLOBAL EVENTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL STUDENT WELL-BEING

International students, particularly those from non-EU countries, often experience culture shock and face a number of cultural challenges as they adapt to new societal and university environments (Collins et al. 2021). With the rising number of international students in Czech universities (MŠMT 2023), there is an increased potential for exposure to threats that may lower resilience and cause distress, impacting both physical and mental health during their studies (Mohamud and Madderla 2024). This distress can affect their academic success and overall academic development (Deng et al. 2024).

Several key areas where international students face challenges include environmental, societal, cultural, and academic transitions (Gololo and Seeletse 2024). Economic difficulties are generally less concerning for this group compared to sociocultural, academic, and psychological challenges, which are significant according to the perceptions of international students (Oduwaye et al. 2023).

In 2024, HEIs are still dealing with the negative outcomes of global events such as the COVID-19 pandemic, which caused isolation, societal disconnection, academic difficulties, and mental health distress (Zhai and Du 2020; Udah and Francis 2022). The distress and imbalance in physical and mental health were particularly pronounced among students studying abroad, where isolation and limited social contact were already issues.

Another significant factor affecting both local and international students is ongoing wars and conflicts (Kirmayer et al. 2011; Rossiter et al. 2015; Thabet and Abu Sultan 2016). Current conflicts, such as those between Russia and Ukraine and the longstanding conflict between Israel and Palestine, are widely covered by the media and disrupt the well-being of international students (Escudero 2024; Gautam 2023).

The year 2024 has also seen significant developments in AI and its integration into institutional systems and daily life. AI has numerous advantages, notably improving educational efficiency and introducing innovative teaching methods that can lead to

overall satisfaction if executed correctly (Chaushi et al. 2024). However, AI can also have negative effects on mental health, as individuals may become excessively dependent on these tools (Khadse et al. 2023).

In this context, international students are prone to face multiple sources of distress stemming from global events, such as pandemics and conflicts, as well as apparently positive developments like advancements in AI (Thabet and Abu Sultan 2016; Pastor 2020; Chaushi et al. 2024). Therefore, it is crucial for HEIs to establish preventive programmes and take proactive steps to mitigate the impact of such pressures. This is especially important in institutions that host and educate international communities, emphasizing the need for well-being and good study techniques (Kim 2024).

STUDENT PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES AT PALACKÝ UNIVERSITY OLOMOUC

In recent years, the need for systematic mental health and well-being support within academic and professional institutions has become increasingly critical. This responsibility extends beyond corporate entities to universities, which play an essential role in fostering environments that support the mental well-being of their members (Morrison et al. 2023; Nie et al. 2024). While universities cannot entirely replace professional psychological services, their role in offering preventive mental health programmes is indispensable. Equally important is the provision of support tools and resources that students can access as needed (Flekač 2024).
At Palacký University in Olomouc, students have access to a broad range of psychological counselling services addressing personal, interpersonal, academic, and career-related concerns. These services are administered at the individual faculty level through specialized departments and centres or by connecting students with professionals in various areas of expertise (Krejčiřík 2024).

At the centralized university level, the Support Centre for Students with Special Needs offers services to all students, including those with diagnosed mental health conditions. This support focuses on students with formal diagnoses and includes personalized assistance and individualized educational plans (Ludíková 2015). These resources are available to both domestic and international students.

However, the university's central administration does not operate a dedicated facility providing comprehensive psychological support; instead, these services are decentralized, managed primarily by individual faculties. Faculties generally offer psychological support free of charge to their own students, sometimes specifying eligibility criteria for students from other faculties (Krejčiřík 2024). The extent of support available to international students may vary across faculties.

An exception within this structure is the OUSHI Counselling Centre at the Sts Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology, which provides a wide array of psychological services, including English-language support. This service is available to students, faculty, staff, and the general public on a fee-for-service basis. Most faculty-based departments and contact personnel serve as initial consultation points, after which students may be referred to specialized resources or external support centres. The OUSHI unit notably offers ongoing counselling and therapeutic services beyond initial consultations.

Despite these resources, certain limitations persist in providing psychological support, influenced by both provider and client perspectives. Not all psychologists are qualified to deliver therapeutic interventions, and language barriers often create additional challenges. Providers must possess high language proficiency, as students seeking support may have limited language skills, potentially impacting effective communication and outcomes.

To facilitate easier navigation of available resources, Palacký University Olomouc has established a dedicated counselling webpage that serves as a comprehensive directory of support services across the institution. For international students, confirming specific service details, such as language accessibility, is recommended.

Additionally, the Welcome Office plays a significant role in supporting international students by offering essential information and connecting them to appropriate university services and contacts according to their individual needs. In recent years, numerous initiatives focused on preventive mental health and wellness activities have been introduced. These initiatives are highly beneficial, as preventive measures are preferable to reactive interventions. However, ensuring access to these programmes for the international student community remains a challenge. To address this gap, the Welcome Office has launched the "Welcome

to Well-being" programme, specifically designed to extend wellness support to the university's international members.

PILOT PROGRAMME FOR PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

During the summer semester of 2024, the staff of the Welcome Office organized a preventive programme focused on well-being. The aim of this series, titled "Welcome to Well-being: A Journey to Your Mental Harmony", was to offer students a wide range of lectures and workshops with different focuses, all united by the theme of taking care of one's physical and mental health. The event was promoted through posters at faculties and departments, as well as through the international study officers, the Welcome Office website, and other social sites. For each event, a registration form was created through which students also agreed to the videos and photos being taken during the workshop for the purposes of the Welcome Office.

The lecturers were selected and contacted by Welcome Office staff based on their expertise in the field and previous collaborations. Some students had also previously expressed interest in attending sessions led by these experts. Friday mornings were allocated for these events after discussions with some of the study officers. Although the event had to be rescheduled to the afternoon on two occasions due to lecturers' availability, this did not significantly affect student attendance. There were also situations where students had classes at the same time as the workshops and could only attend if their class was cancelled. These findings and insights will be considered and incorporated into any future lecture series organized by the Welcome Office of Palacký University.

Over time, a "core group" of students emerged who regularly attended the lectures and often brought new participants along. The events typically lasted 120 minutes, with a break after about 60 minutes during which refreshments such as coffee, tea, and cookies were offered to the students. This short break contributed to a more relaxed atmosphere, and informal conversations between participants and instructors regularly took place, fostering a more positive environment.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WORKSHOPS

The first event in the "Welcome to Well-being" series took place on Friday 16 February, and the theme was music relaxation. The instructors were Pavel and Janika Barteček from the Alfa Center located in Návsí, which specializes in this kind of therapy. The event was divided into practical and theoretical parts. First, participants were invited to lie on the floor, close their eyes, and listen to sounds. The instructors then played special musical instruments that produced very unusual sounds and walked among the participants. The next part involved a story about a flying dragon during which participants were asked to imagine its flight and let their imagination work. The instructors once again played their special instruments, which sounded like rain or a flowing stream. Thanks to Tibetan bowls, participants could feel as if they were in the Himalayas. After the story concluded, with the dragon's symbolic return to the ground, the theoretical part followed. The instructors showed the instruments, explained how the unconventional sounds were created, and discussed the participants' feelings as well as the opportunities for attending music relaxation exercises in the future. The participants' reactions indicated that for most it was their first encounter with this topic, and they appreciated the workshop, which skilfully combined information with a demonstration of the instruments.

On 1 and 22 March, two events focused on emotions and mental health were held. In the first part, the instructor Natálie Kubičinová, a graduate of the Department of Asian Studies at the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc, who also studied at the Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine (Kubičinová n.d.), spoke about emotions from the perspective of traditional Chinese medicine and how acupuncture can help when problems arise (Kajdoš and Kajdošová 1997). In the following part, the theoretical explanation was completed, and the students were invited to practice various movements as instructed. These were basic *tai ji quan* (太极拳) exercises, or Chinese shadow boxing (Gaffney and Sim 2002), which has gained global recognition as an approach to enhancing health and preventing illness (Li 2016). At the end of the event students were asked to discuss their feelings. One of the greatest benefits identified by the participants was the realization of the long-term impact of their emotional state on their health, as well as the opportunity to experience significant emotional release through shadow boxing.

On 5 April, a workshop titled "Well-being and Self-Care: Fostering a Balanced Life" took place, led by Associate Professor Michal Růžička from the Faculty of Education, Palacký University Olomouc, who has been involved in this subject for a long time (Růžička et al. 2017). The workshop began with an ice-breaking activity in which students sitting in a circle mimicked the movements and sounds made by the instructor in quick succession. Another activity, called "the camera", involved students divided into pairs, with one acting as the camera, keeping their eyes closed and only opening them when instructed by the other, who directed the imaginary camera's recording. Afterwards, students were asked to fill out a worksheet titled the Well-being Passport, which included questions about what helps them maintain their mental health, how often and in what ways they rest. At the end of the workshop, there was a discussion where participants shared tips on self-care for well-being.

Another event in the series was a lecture on effective learning strategies, led by Barbora Kvapilová from the Faculty of Education, Palacký University Olomouc (Lemrová et al. 2022) on 12 April. Kvapilová introduced students to the concept of learning new things and presented specific strategies, engaging in a discussion with the students about their experiences with different types of learning. One of the most appreciated methods by the participants was the Pomodoro technique, when an individual follows cycles of regular time intervals dedicated to studying (25 minutes) and rest (5 minutes). This technique can be repeated up to four times consecutively, after which it is recommended to take a longer break of 15–30 minutes (Ho 2023). Another strategy recommended by the lecturer was to work on a laptop that is not plugged into a power source. The time we can use the device is thus limited, providing greater motivation to complete tasks, even less pleasant ones, within that timeframe. It is also advisable to set a clear, defined time for each activity, whether work or rest, and to stop the activity when the time runs out. Although it may be difficult to complete some tasks at first, over time the brain should become more activated within the set time, making it possible to finish everything on time.

The topic closely relates to the next lecture, which was by Kateryna Hordiienko, a psychologist specializing in crisis interventions and providing psychological assistance to refugees from Ukraine (Flekač 2024). The event, held on 19 April, focused on time management. Considering the audience, most of the workshop was centred on how to learn effectively and make

meaningful use of time for rest and leisure activities, thereby creating a connection with the theme of the previous lecture.

Another workshop, which took place at the end of April, focused on nutrition practices. The lecturer was Zdeněk Chmelka, who studied this topic during his stay in China and later as part of his studies at the 1st School of Traditional Chinese Medicine – TCM ("Filozofické kořeny a historie TČM …"). He first outlined the theoretical foundations on which the nutrition system in traditional Chinese medicine is based. He introduced students to the theory of the five elements and discussed foods suitable for consumption during each of the five seasons – spring, summer, late summer, autumn, and winter (Fang et al. 2020). He also gave students advice on preventing seasonal illnesses and answered some questions about the effectiveness of Chinese medicine. Subsequently, students had the opportunity to try some *qigong* (气功) exercises, a traditional Chinese practice that works with the concept of *qi* (气), or biological vital energy (Yang 2010).

In early May, a Tibetan dance workshop was held led by Jia Lin, an expert in this discipline who studied for seven years at Sichuan Normal University (Flekač 2024). She began with a brief presentation about her homeland, the western Sichuan region, which is home to various ethnic minorities (Zheng et al. 2024). Later, she demonstrated different movements for the students to imitate. The result was a basic dance routine inspired by Tibetan Buddhism, which can significantly contribute to improving well-being.

The final workshop, held on 10 May, focused on mindfulness. The instructor was Marie Buchtová, a PhD student of St Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology, Palacký University Olomouc, and Olomouc University Social Health Institute (Buchtová et al. 2022). During the event, students drew their interpretations of the four basic elements – fire, water, earth, and wind – and the associations these elements evoked for them. After a short break, students were led on a brief meditation. Although many students had prior experience with this relaxation technique, they appreciated the additional information, which was followed by a practical session. At the end of the workshop, there was a discussion about the students' well-being and the impact of the activities on improving it.

The following table contains information about the series of workshops. All students present at each event were counted. Therefore, if a student attended multiple lectures, they were counted each time. A total of 107 people attended the workshops.

Table 3. Number of attendees at events in the lecture series based on attendance lists

Date	Lecture topic	Lecturer's name	Affiliation	No. partici- pants
16/2	Music Relaxation	Janika and Pavel Barteček	Alfa Center	10
1/3	Emotions and Mental Health from the Chinese Medicine Perspective	Natálie Kubičinová	Faculty of Arts	11
22/3				12
5/4	Well-being and Self-Care	Michal Růžička	Faculty of Education	15
12/4	Strategies for Effective Learning	Barbora Kvapilová	Faculty of Education	13
19/4	Time Management	Kateryna Hordiienko	Faculty of Arts	12
26/4	Nutrition Practises with Traditional Chinese Medicine	Zdeněk Chmelka	Faculty of Arts	11
3/5	Positive Effects of Tibetan Dance	Jia Lin	St Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology	15
10/5	Mindfulness	Marie Buchtová	St Cyril and Methodius, Faculty of Theology	10

Source: Brzobohatý (2024)

EXPECTED OUTCOMES

The entire series was based on the needs of international degree students of Palacký University Olomouc, as the Welcome Office was informed that these students would appreciate some insight into the area of well-being, considering the unfavourable development of their mental health. It is important to emphasize that this situation may have been influenced by the COVID pandemic and the associated lockdowns, which may have caused feelings of loneliness, as well as wars in certain parts of the world, which have heightened feelings of anxiety and mental discomfort within the population.

In the short term, we aimed to provide students with foundational knowledge on well-being by connecting them with experts in the field, introducing them to practices that support mental and physical health and effective academic skills. Long-term, the goal was to make these topics engaging enough to motivate students to explore them independently, empowering them to integrate these practices into their lives as tools for managing stress and enhancing overall well-being.

The core objective of this cycle, organized by the Welcome Office, was to promote well-being through a structured programme that emphasizes inclusion and supports students' adaptation to the academic environment at all study levels (Bachelor's, Master's, and PhD). The activities were divided into three main areas. First, there was a focus on Asia, with lectures covering *tai ji quan*, emotions and mental health from the traditional Chinese medicine perspective, and Tibetan dance, offering alternative approaches to enhancing mental and physical health. The second area focused on well-being and meditation, including sessions on music relaxation, mindfulness, and self-care, which introduced students to practices that support emotional balance. Lastly, workshops on study and time management provided practical strategies for effectively handling academic demands.

Through these structured activities, we aimed to create strong communication channels with academics and lecturers, gathering valuable insights into the impact and popularity of these workshops. These insights will support future research initiatives in well-being and inclusion, enriching the academic experience for future students.

CONCLUSION

This study underscores the profound impact of global events on international student enrolment and well-being, as observed at Palacký University Olomouc. Analysis of enrolment trends revealed noticeable fluctuations corresponding to recent global disruptions, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and geopolitical tensions, which have influenced both the numbers and experiences of international students. Despite these challenges, international student interest in programmes supporting adaptation and integration remains robust, highlighting their resilience and need for structured support.

The "Welcome to Well-being" programme, which welcomed a total of 107 participants across various sessions, addressed these needs by providing students with tools for managing the unique pressures of studying abroad. This attendance pattern, with a consistent core group returning for multiple sessions, suggests that such initiatives are valued by students as essential to their academic and social adaptation. Feedback indicated that students found the programme's focus on practical skills for managing stress, time, and academic demands to be highly beneficial, reinforcing the value of preventive support services in helping students navigate both academic and personal challenges in an international context.

Building on these insights, there is a clear opportunity to enhance the programme's reach and impact by integrating it into the university's elective offerings, thus making support resources more accessible within the academic framework. This approach not only strengthens the university's commitment to an inclusive and adaptive campus environment but also establishes a proactive model for student support, which can be replicated by other institutions both nationally and internationally.

Through data-driven programme adjustments and institutional support, Palacký University Olomouc can contribute to the creation of a resilient international student community, demonstrating a sustainable approach to addressing the complex challenges of globalized higher education.

In the coming semesters we would like to repeat the lecture series, building upon its initial success. Moving forward, we are considering establishing a clearer thematic framework to create a stronger interconnection among individual workshops. Future activities would benefit from a more structured approach to monitoring students' well-being before and after the workshops

through surveys, allowing us to identify specific student issues and provide feedback to the organizers for possible adjustments to the series.

We would also aim to create a course in the university's academic administration system, known as STAG, under category C, that is, elective courses. This approach would not only enhance the mental health of international students at Palacký University Olomouc but also institutionalize these activities, creating centralized support in one place that brings together faculties and students. By aligning with the core values of the university – unity and attention to pressing issues like the COVID-19 pandemic and ongoing global conflicts – this initiative fosters a sense of university community while addressing vital topics that impact students' lives.

The series has the potential for broader impact: on the institutional level by strengthening university cohesion, on a national level by presenting the project as a model for other educational institutions across the Czech Republic, and internationally by supporting the well-being of foreign students of Palacký University Olomouc. We hope that by creating an environment conducive to future collaboration, the series will gain recognition and be recommended by professors and study officers, ultimately amplifying its reach and effectiveness within the academic community.

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POLYPHONIC ELEGIAC LAMENT OVER PERCIVAL IN *THE WAVES* BY VIRGINIA WOOLF

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ABSTRACT

The groundbreaking "play-poem" *The Waves* has attracted much critical acclaim due to the innovativeness of the form. While endorsing the claims on Woolf's experimentation, the present article suggests that ancient traditions and modes are discernible within the innovative narration of grief. The thematic scope involving the death of the major character, Percival, is argued to be a major reason for prioritising the fifth section of *The Waves* as the midpoint, and indeed the central point, of the narration. The formula of mourning contained in this section is investigated alongside the ekphrastic set-piece description of noon preceding it. Subsequently, the elegiac lament over Percival found in Section V is examined, with the analysis based on the references to tragic or pastoral traditions known and deployed in European literature since antiquity. This particular fragment of *The Waves* is argued to constitute a modernist version of prose elegy, being a literary rendition of a polyphonic lament in which each subsequent part differs in terms of mode and rhetoric. The paper examines how much the form and the premise of the elegiac triad of lamentation–confrontation–consolation predetermine the choice of the elegiac speakers: Neville – the pastoral, elegiac mourner; Bernard – the eulogist and chief representative of the community; and Rhoda – a performer of the rites of leave-taking.

Keywords: polyphonic lament, elegy, elegiac triad, pastoral mourner, funeral eulogy, ekphrasis, noon

INTRODUCTION

The Waves (1931) is a remarkable novel; or, rather, it is an outstanding literary achievement that has never failed to challenge the reader's established expectations regarding the form of narration. In fact, it has become common knowledge that Virginia Woolf searched for an appropriate word to indicate the formal novelty of her prose well before the volume came into a literary existence: as early as in 1925, Woolf observed in her diary that she had an idea that she would "invent a new name for [her] books to supplant 'novel.' A new – by Virginia Woolf. But what? Elegy?" (Woolf 1980, 34). A subsequent explicit diary reference to *The Waves* ventures the term "play-poem" (Woolf 1980, 139) to replace "novel" in this particular case, with the disclaimer reiterated on the manuscript, warning that "The author would be glad if the following pages were not read as a novel" (Parsons in Woolf 2000, VI). The experimental nature is thus indicated at the outset of the reading process. Nonetheless, the present article seeks to explore the traditional elements of narration discernible in *The Waves*, given the author's sound classical education and the claims included in one of her essays, "On Not Knowing Greek".

While numerous researchers have explored the formal intricacies of Woolf's fiction (de Gay 2006, Walsh 2009, Sandberg 2014, Penner 2015), this article reconsiders past traditions and modes of expression discernible within the framework of *The Waves*. In particular, it addresses the elegiac mode and the rendition of pain and despair in an act of lamentation. I would argue that Section V[22] of *The Waves* draws upon the tradition of polyphonic lamentation rendered as a literary elegy which – with the help of the figure of the pastoral disdained lover and the solemn form of the funeral eulogy as reinforcement – transmit the bereavement Percival's friends suffer after his sudden death. Barely articulable (Walsh 2016), their pain is at first (re)present(ed),[23] even tough; similar to other elegies of the period (Ramazani 1994), "it is not a refuge for outworn nostalgias and consolations" (Ramazani 1994, ix). As Ramazani argues, modern elegies feed upon "a multitude of […] deaths, including the body of its own traditions" (1994, 8). In the present paper, I will address these traditions by

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[22] Presumably following the author's intention, the sections in *The Waves* are not numbered. For transparency, I have added numbers to each.

[23] On the policy of "(re)present(ing)" the past in Henry James's autobiographies, see my 2023 monograph.

negotiating partial applicability of what Vickery terms the elegiac triad underlying the structure of Section V: "lamentation for the individual's death, confrontation with the fact of human mortality, and consolation for the inescapability of death" (Vickery 2009, 1), with the final point contested.

THE PRELUDE
"GREAT BEAST STAMPING"

As indicated, *The Waves* (1931) is hardly a novel. Framed as a series of scenes preceded by italicised landscape descriptions and based upon soliloquies voiced by six friends, its composition suggests a transposition of narration into a dramatic or, perhaps, poetic work; indeed, into what is today known as Woolf's "play-poem" (Woolf 1980, 139). As de Gay observes, "the novel itself is profoundly polyphonic" (2006, 160), thus emphasising not only the multitude of voices, but also the phonic quality of the narrative. As expected in a polyphonic work, the notion of rhythm is essential in *The Waves*. The writer once admitted that she had created *The Waves* by "writing to a rhythm and not to a plot"[24] (Woolf in Parsons 2000, v). Since establishing a rhythmic pattern may involve a dialogue with (oral) literature, music,[25] and art, a certain range of intertexts presents itself as potentially referential (de Gay 2006), among them Greek tragedies and the classical elegy.[26] As explored further, if involved in the discussion, these textual forms do add to the interpretation of *The Waves*.

The rhythm is maintained by repetitive patterns, both auditory and visual: the recurrent image of the sea with waves pulsating against the shore, the characteristic phrases uttered by various speakers which regularly reappear,[27] the polyphonic descriptions of the same incidents narrated from various angles in conformity

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[24] The citation is also adduced in Jane Dunn's *Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell. A Very Close Conspiracy* which I read in Polish – trans. by Paweł Łopatka (2004, 283). For more details, see Goldman in Sellers (2010, 70).
[25] Gerald Levin argues that, according to an entry in Woolf's diary, Beethoven's music influenced the shape of the manuscript – see Levin 1983, 164–171.
[26] See Woolf's essay "On Not Knowing Greek". The interest of modernist writers in the Greek tragedy is discussed in Walsh 2016, 201–212 (as regards Woolf) and Ambrosini 2013, 6–12 (as regards Joseph Conrad).
[27] For example, Bernard's somewhat obsessive interest in words: "what are words?" Similar rhetorical questions reappear in *The Waves* on pages 26, 45, 46, 64, 135, 161, and 166.

with the multiple-point-of-view narration – all these means help to transmit the idiosyncratic inner pulsation beneath the linguistic structure of the text. The rhythm is also maintained by the italicised ekphrastic landscape descriptions opening each section: each italicised description presents a different image of the same landscape, a landscape that is transformed by the position of the sun on the horizon. It can be postulated that these involve synaesthesia and, combining music and visual art, they draw on the impressionist and post-impressionist fascination with the interplay of light on objects' surfaces, a matter of significance for the author's contemporaries such as Claude Monet or Paul Cezanne.[28] The highly poetic italicised preludes follow the course of the sun in the sky, completing its daily trajectory in the last section of *The Waves*, in which "darkness cover[s all]" (Woolf 2000, 134). If one may apply the narrative term at all, the plot unfolds according to the (life) stages marked in the preludes, although this too can be broadened: each section reveals a different stage of life, beginning with early childhood, through school days and the years of work, until the moment of death. The final unsentimental italicised comment, "*The waves broke on the shore*" (Woolf 2000, 167; italics in the original) evokes the final stroke of a painter's brush.

Endorsing other scholars (Penner 2015, 68–69; Walsh 2016, 202), I shall argue that Section V of *The Waves* constitutes the centrepiece of the play-poem. Penner views its centrality with regard to the structural and thematic significance by arguing that Percival's death "gives shape to the seemingly endless succession of character monologues and underscores the elegist's role as an organising agent" (2015, 68). While I agree with Penner on both arguments, I would nuance the latter point by emphasising the formal centrality of Section V which, vibrant with intense emotions after Percival's sudden death, locates *The Waves* within the tradition of literary lamentation. The time of day is crucial in this respect: as with the previous sections, Section V opens with a description of a seaside landscape which is this time captured at noon. The noon that forms the middle part of *The Waves*, both

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[28] In fact, Virginia Woolf and her sister, Vanessa Bell, were inspired by the post-impressionist exhibition organised in 1910 by Roger Fry. On its significance, see Stansky 1996 passim and Butler 1994. See Dunn 2004, 172. See the series of Rouen Cathedral paintings completed in the 1890s by Claude Monet currently exhibited in the Musee Marmottan Monet and Musee d'Orsay in Paris. See also the series Mont Sainte-Victoire by Paul Cezanne.

formally and conceptually, proleptically indicates Percival's death, which occurs in his prime and becomes the highlight of the narrative.

As with every other section in *The Waves*, Section V opens with an italicised prelude anticipating the climactic event – Percival's death. The prelude begins with a vision of noon:

> *The sun had risen to its full height. It was no longer half seen and guessed at, from hints and gleams, as if a girl couched on her green-sea mattress tired her brows with water-globed jewels that sent lances of opal-tinted light falling and flashing in the uncertain air like the flanks of a dolphin leaping, or the flash of a falling blade. Now sun burnt uncompromising, undeniable. It struck upon the hard sand, and the rocks became furnaces of red heat, it searched each pool and caught the minnow hiding in the cranny, and showed the rusty cartwheel, the white bone, or the boot without laces stuck, black as iron, in the sand. (Woolf 2000, 82; italics in the original)*

Formally, the prelude to Section V is an ekphrasis.[29] The way in which the succinctness of its first sentence – *"The sun had risen to its full height"* (Woolf 2000, 82; italics in the original) – clashes against the length and the style of the subsequent statements seems to foretell the rupture of the rhythm of life, which stops suddenly at the moment of Percival's death. Given the disproportionate length of the few neighbouring sentences in the opening paragraph, each in turn seems to indicate the regular pulsation of the sea waves which are forced into a hold-up by unforeseen obstacles. The imagery in the second sentence connotes the sudden blow which is to occur: at midday the sun is hardly benign, it sends *"lances of opal-tinted light falling and flashing in the uncertain air like the flanks of a dolphin leaping, or the flash of a falling blade"* (Woolf 2000, 82; italics in the original). On the phonic level, the f- and l- alliterations as well as the long vowels and diphthongs resemble the regular pulsation of waves in the sea, which contributes to the rhythmic pattern of the passage. On the semantic level, stressed by the chiasmus "flash – fall", the associations with sudden, and momentary, actions such as flashing or falling are revealed, the latter a proleptic omen of Percival's fall

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[29] More information on ekphrasis in Klarer 2001, passim. See Alpers 1996, 139ff.

and death. Characteristically, the next two sentences participate in the interplay between laconicity and effusiveness. Negatively charged, the sun seems an aggressor: it *"burns uncompromising, undeniable"* (Woolf 2000, 82; italics in the original). Synaesthesia becomes visible in the oppositions between light and darkness as well as sound and silence. At noon, light is besetting and inimical, it persecutes and, further on in the prelude, beats *"upon passengers"* (Woolf 2000, 82; italics in the original), and cuts short the *"passionate [bird]songs"* (Woolf 2000, 83; italics in the original). The world seems subdued in its silence and poised in anticipation of the unexpected and unwelcome event, with its immediate advent predicted in the last phrase of this prelude: *"like the thud of a great beast stamping"* (Woolf 2000, 83; italics in the original).

To my mind, the fact that Percival's death in *The Waves* is semantically anticipated in the prelude with reference to noontime signals a certain epistemological affinity of the fragment with classical philosophy. As Buczyńska-Garewicz observes, philosophers have long argued for particular significance of noon: the sun at its zenith means a world symbolically poised between morning and afternoon activities (Buczyńska-Garewicz 2003, 144). The scholar adds that in the tradition of Mediterranean literature as well as in the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche, noon is conceived as a moment that is beyond linear time, thus allowing a glimpse into eternity.[30] As I have argued elsewhere, noon, being traditionally dedicated to Pan, the god of shepherds, has contributed to the creation of the pastoral topos of the locus amoenus, that is, a lovely place (Wojciechowska 2017, 28). Interestingly, the pastoral convention explores this dimension of the noon in a twofold way: as a time for passion as well as for terror. As regards the former, in Eclogue 2, Virgil celebrates passion "sole sub ardenti" (v. 13)[31] in perfect time for repose and love – in the Virgilian eclogue, that means Coridon's homosexual, unrequited love for Alexis. Instantiating the "huc ades" pastoral topos (v. 45), Eclogue 2 deploys the symbolism of noon heat connoting unfulfilled male

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[30] The concept of the "Great noon" in *Thus Spoke Zaratustra* offers considerable possibilities for investigation in this context, yet, for reasons of space, it must be left for a future study. A comprehensive analysis of the meaning of noon in philosophy and literature in: Hanna Buczyńska-Garewicz 2003, 144–177.

[31] The Latin original of *Eclogue 2* is available at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Verg.+Ecl.+2&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0056 (accessed July 2018). I also refer to a Polish translation of Virgil's *Eclogues* by Zofia Abramowiczówna 2006.

desire.[32] As shown further, this line of argumentation has a certain bearing upon *The Waves* and the portrayal of one of the speakers in Section V, that is, Neville.

As indicated, however, the paradigm of the pastoral topos at noon also includes an opposite representation of this daytime: in pastoral literature, noon may connote a moment of uneasiness that anticipates the arrival of an angry Pan, who is believed to create panic and awe among the shepherds. The figure of the goatherd in Idyll 1 by Theocritus who admits "I go in too great dread of Pan" (v. 16)[33] has become a literary classic in this context. As Buczyńska-Garewicz argues, the magic of noontide also involves dark magic inimical to men (2003, 146). Indeed, anything may happen at noon since, at this moment in the day, the boundaries of time and space may be transgressed. It seems plausible to assume that the prelude to Section V in The Waves closely endorses this line of argument: the stifling heat of the sun at its zenith hushes the natural world into silence and divides it into "[s]harp-edged wedges of light" and *"circles of impenetrable darkness"* (Woolf 2000, 83; italics in the original). The feeling of uneasy anticipation creates a proleptic suspense in preparation for the shock of Percival's sudden death.[34]

SECTION V
POLYPHONIC LAMENT

The main part of Section V of *The Waves* explores the feeling of loss and bereavement experienced by Percival's friends after his death. The unexpectedness of the event means all are quite unprepared even though the italicised prelude is imbued with a sense of suspense: the image of the "*great beast stamping*" (Woolf 2000, 83), closing the prelude, materialises in the form of the first abrupt sentence of Section V: "He [Percival] is dead" (Woolf 2000, 84).

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[32] See also more recent literature praising the world at noon in: D'Annunzio 1964, 69–72, especially the poem entitled Meriggio (ibid.).
[33] The English translation of *Idyll 1* available at http://www.theoi.com/Text/TheocritusIdylls1.html (accessed July 2018). See Łanowski 2007, 19f.
[34] On the shock Woolf experienced at the death of her brother, Thoby, who is often part of the discussion regarding *The Waves*, see Penner 2015, 64–66.

In *The Waves*, Percival is the apparent compositional axis whose necessity Woolf once indicated as crucial in one of her letters to Roger Fry: the writer demanded one central element underlying the compositional balance in any work of art (Dunn 2004, 171f). Perceived exclusively through the eyes of his friends, Percival effectively becomes the central figure in the community consisting of six friends and himself – the person whose uniqueness is mirrored and amplified in their thoughts and remarks. In Section IV, before Percival's death, Neville voices their complete emotional dependence on their apparent leader by stating: "now we are together. But without Percival there is no solidity. We are silhouettes, hollow phantoms moving mistily without a background" (Woolf 2000, 68). The predicable disorientation and confusion after the fatal fall from a horse leaves a mark on the imagery of Section V: having been notified of the tragic death, the friends feel lost among the familiar surroundings while unknowingly performing meaningless activities and mechanically passing others in the labyrinthine streets of London.

On the formal level, Section V is minutely constructed: every member of the circle is mentioned by name and the three major representatives – Neville, Bernard, and Rhoda – are given a voice to express their common loss. While Neville and Bernard are supposed to represent the privileged male members of British society (Penner 2015, 68), Rhoda is a female voice countering the established order (Penner 2015, 69). Though barely active in the lamenting chorus contained in Section V, Louis, Susan, and Jinny are present within the monologues of their friends and thus included in the circle of silent mourners. The act of establishing indirect bonds of pain between the speakers transforms individual mourning into collective grief. In my reading, Section V thus becomes a polyphonic expression of loss and pain, opening with the rendition of shock and closed with the rites of leave-taking completed by Rhoda. I would argue that this section constitutes a modernist re-imagining of the ritual lamentation performed after the death of a beloved person, a lamentation now re-dressed in a novel form open to psychological processes of mourning, or, as Smythe terms them, "fiction-elegies" (64–65). As a whole, Section V thus validates the long tradition of lamentation, both in rhetoric and poetry, about a promising individual whose life has been cut short.

POLYPHONIC LAMENT IN SECTION V
NEVILLE'S ELEGIAC LAMENT

Vocalised by the three friends – Neville, Barnard, and Rhoda – the lamentation by each mourner in Section V differs in mode and rhetoric: the first sub-section is filled with Neville's despair, which I read as the despair suffered by the (unaccepted) pastoral lover; the second part includes Bernard's eulogy of the deceased; and the last contains Rhoda's ritual farewell to Percival.

As a deserted lover, Neville initiates the lamentation. In my opinion, Neville is a classical link locating the play-poem in a dialogic position with the pastoral tradition of elegiac writing. It would seem that Neville's lament is the voice of a pastoral elegiac mourner, which rests upon his sustained presentation as a pastoral speaker:[35] by the beginning of Section V, Neville has been established as the pastoral lover, however platonic his love turns out to be. Portrayed as a delicate child in the opening section of *The Waves*, Neville is reported sickly and prone to solitary rambles; for him, the image of "the immitigable tree" epitomises the transformative "moment of being" (de Gay 2006, 168) first experienced at the news of the sudden death of an acquaintance (Woolf 2000, 12).[36] The vision of "the immitigable tree" obsesses him at the moment of Percival's death. Solitude, detachment, and despair at the finality of death are characteristics integral to the pastoral convention, as well as to the topos of a despised lover, which Neville seems to exemplify. Indeed, in the re-enactment of classical pastoral loci, the adult Neville envisages himself musing: "I shall lie, too, in the fields among the tickling grasses. I shall lie with my friends under the towering elm trees" (Woolf 2000, 17).[37] In line with the pastoral, he realises "the urgency of [his] own passion" for Percival (Woolf 2000, 27) and despairs when asking himself the rhetorical question, "Should I walk under beech tree,

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[35] Consider the contents of Section II of *The Waves*: Neville's homosexual pastoral longing, his unrequited love, his dedication to poetry, the topos of the rejected lover in a locus amoenus. This issue certainly deserves a separate investigation.

[36] See a similar reference to Neville's weakness as an adult – Woolf 2000, 25. The phrase "death among the apple trees" (ibid.) is believed to contain an autobiographical reference – see Woolf 2000, 169, Note 7; de Gay 2006, 166–168. Consider the symbolism of apple trees in the pastoral tradition.

[37] See Virgil, *Eclogue 1*, 1–4. Eclogue 2, 4–5. Virgil is explicitly mentioned in *The Waves* (2000, 17) in a sentence immediately preceding Woolf's prose variation on the pastoral topos.

or saunter along the river bank […]?" (Woolf 2000, 28). Even though, subsequently, Woolf does not overtly deploy pastoral elegy within Neville's lament in Section V, his outcry of despair in Section V may be viewed as the lament of a pastoral speaker, given his former portrayal and the cohesion of the world described in *The Waves* (Dunn 2004, 172). Since *The Waves* has been examined as a narrative bespeaking Woolf's "relationship with the literary past" (de Gay 2006, 162), I read Neville's lament as being inspired, perhaps indirectly, by the elegiac protestations of the shock felt at the death of the beloved and established within the pastoral convention. This is plausible since, according to Penner, "Woolf reclaims the elegiac enterprise for literature of her own devising" (2015, 64), with the classical echoes discernible if transmuted into novel expressions in her prose.

Pastoral lament has a long tradition, with its conventions encapsulated in the pastoral elegy.[38] Milton's *Lycidas*, Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis*, and Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Adonais* are well-known, modern instances, with Milton and Arnold being apparent heirs to the classical convention and Shelly a much admired elegist within the Bloomsbury Group.[39] Among the ancient examples of the pastoral elegiac are *Idyll 1* by Theocritus and *Lament for Adonis* by Bion of Smyrna.[40] If juxtaposed, Section V of *The Waves* and the expressions of despair in Bion's *Lament for Adonis* converge in certain respects: devastated by the premature deaths of the beloved, both speakers, Neville as well as Bion, try to express the inexpressible pain. The features of the compositional structure underlying both lamentations are similar. Short and concise, the first few lines of Bion's lament contain a repetitive restatement of the finality of death, with the opening statement "The beauteous Adonis is dead" in its first verse[41] being perhaps a model for the cry of woe – "He is dead" (Woolf 2000, 84) – with which Section V of *The Waves* opens. Like Bion, Neville too continues to repeat to himself that "All is over," and again: "This is the truth. This is the fact. […] He died where he fell" (Woolf 2000, 84), and yet again:

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[38] Originally, "elegy" only denoted the form of a poem, that is, a poem written in the elegiac distich, not its content. With the passing of time, the elegy became a poem expressing grief and lament after the death of a beloved person. More information in Abrams 1985, 72 and 48; Alpers 1996, 81–112. On elegy and *The Waves*, see Goldman 2010, 56–66.

[39] See Penner 2015, 65. See also ibid., Note 4 on page 88.

[40] My analysis of *Lament of Adonis* is based on its Polish translation included in Łanowski 2007, 121–124.

[41] The English translation of the Greek original, *Lament for Adonis* available at: http://www.theoi.com/Text/Bion.html (accessed July 2018).

"Percival fell; was killed; is buried" (Woolf 2000, 84). As noted above, the unexpectedness of the event is reflected in the choice of vocabulary in the narrative: various forms of "flash" and "fall" link the contents of this section with its prelude in the same way as the references to light and darkness do. The same inner consistence holds true for Bion's *Lament of Adonis*: the chiastic formula of the first two verses of the poem, underlined by the caesura, creates a focus on lament and death (v. 1) vs. death and lament (v. 2) and, reiterated in a variety of ways, it also functions as an important structural means in the refrain.

The speakers, grieving for both Adonis and Percival, respectively, attempt to understand the unimaginable event by visualising the last few moments in the lives of the beloved. In the ancient pastoral elegy, Bion's mourner recalls the "thigh pierced with the tusk" (v. 8) and in Woolf's narrative Neville holds "the telegram in [his] fingers" (Woolf 2000, 84). In their minds' eyes both speakers visualise the final moments of the recently deceased: "the gentle passing of breath," "the red blood drips," "the eyes beneath his brow wax dim" (vv. 8–17) betoken Adonis' passing. Similarly, Neville imagines the successive stages of Percival's death: "His horse stumbled; he was thrown. […] There was a surge; a drumming in his ears. He died where he fell" (Woolf 2000, 84). At this stage the ancient and the modernist texts diverge: the former includes a polyphonic lament which establishes the elegiac pastoral mode with the help of adynata, personifications, and descriptions of nature transfigured in pain. The final elegiac verses include a description of a procession, specifically of Adonis' mourners lamenting and performing the rituals common to wakes. By contrast, Neville seems transfixed with grief, powerless to go beyond the initial stage of mourning: the ritual will be finally completed by Bernard and Rhoda. Neville is fixated on the act of dying: his mind concentrates on the irreversibility of death and the impossibility of becoming reconciled with the situation: the "tree with stiff leaves which we cannot pass" (Woolf 2000, 84) visibly obsesses him, this "immitigable tree" (Woolf 2000, 85) that essentialises the apparent lack of agency, while, rhetorically, constituting a modernist version of a conventional pastoral adynaton.

As already argued, by the opening of Section V Neville has been established as a modernist pastoral speaker, which explains the lack of conventional pastoral topoi in his elegiac lament in this section. The final few lines of Neville's sub-section seem the highpoint of his lament: "For this moment, for this one moment,

we are together. I press you to me. Come, pain, feed on me. Bury four fangs in my flesh. Tear me asunder. I sob, I sob" (Woolf 2000, 85). Neville's invocation to pain turns his speech into a dramatic masterpiece: it links Neville's lament with those recited by ancient mourners on stage such as Euripides's Hecuba or supplicant mothers.[42] Further, it incorporates the fragment into the traditional ritual lamentation that is still preserved in modern Greek culture.[43] Finally, it links Neville's speech with the *Lament for Adonis*, a pastoral elegy: according to Greek mythology, Adonis died being torn asunder by his own hunting dogs,[44] which Neville's challenging address "Bury four fangs in my flesh. Tear me asunder" seems to invoke.

As indicated above, performed in short and abrupt phrases, Neville's lament opens Section V, which comes immediately after the meaningful italicised prelude emphasising the centrality of noon. The ekphrastic set-piece description of midday as a moment poised on the verge of time is upheld in Section V: all the speakers try and imagine Percival's last few moments in India, with the emotional climax formed by Neville's dramatic outcry that closes his soliloquy. Utmost intimacy and immediacy feature in the final verses of Neville's speech. Quite unlike the conventions of the pastoral tradition, the outcry erupts with emotions: the pastoral elegy is known, and sometimes repudiated,[45] for its artificiality. As argued above, however, Neville's despair seems to draw upon the pastoral elegy, which is imbued with Eastern emotionality,[46] as seen in *Lament for Adonis* by Bion of Smyrna, which may explain the crying and moaning cadence in Neville's performance. The account of Neville's state of mind renders the shock of recognition. The extra-temporality of noontime is matched by the extra-spatiality of Neville's imagination which portrays Percival's last moments in India, they both allow for a combination of "here" and

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[42] See Hecuba's speeches in Euripides' Hecuba, Epeisodion 1, vv. 216–443. See also the laments of the desperate mothers in Euripides' *Suppliants, Parodos*, v.48–53. I consulted the Polish translation in Łanowski 2005. Attention should be paid to acts of self-injury mentioned in the sources listed above. It is perhaps worth noting that Euripides is believed to have died a violent death as a person torn to pieces by hunting dogs.

[43] More information in: Fishman 2008, 274–280.

[44] See the overt references to the myth in *Lament for Adonais* in lines 8–28.

[45] See Samuel Johnson's harsh criticism of Milton's *Lycidas* included in *Patrides* 1983, 60. Johnson complains that: 'Lycidas' "is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion" (ibid.).

[46] See Łanowski on *Lament for Adonis* in: Łanowski 2007, XLVI.

"now" together with vivid descriptions of scenes remote in time and place.

POLYPHONIC LAMENT IN SECTION V
BERNARD'S EULOGY

Bernard's "funeral service" (Woolf 2000, 87), as he himself terms his rumination on Percival's death, supplants Neville's desperate outcry of grief and woe that opens Section V. By the same token, the initial account of individual and intimate grief is superseded by a speech expressing collective mourning. This has already been noted, with Penner assigning Bernard the special role of "chief mourner" in the circle of mourning friends in *The Waves* (Penner 2015, 74) and Walsh calling him "the monopolizing elegiac voice" (Walsh 2016, 203). As a speaker who "begins seven of the nine sections of 'The Waves'" (Penner 2015, 69), Bernard is indeed a prominent figure in the narrative: nevertheless, since his elegiac funeral service is only secondary to Neville's opening outcry of despair in Section V, his centrality as "the chief mourner" in this particular section calls for a certain revision. It can hardly be a coincidence that Bernard's speech is staged in the middle of the lamentation contained in Section V, with Neville preceding him and Rhoda resuming, and indeed closing, the mourning proceedings. As I shall argue further, Bernard's eulogy for Percival participates in collective mourning by representing the official line of the elegiac address usually performed by the privileged male members of (British) society. In this regard, Bernard's speech act is indeed what Penner terms an "elegy […] shaped by a public school and university education" (2015, 64).

Bernard's first words resume the topic of death broached by Neville, yet the mention of "the incomprehensible combination" (Woof 2000, 85) of life and death has its roots elsewhere: "My son is born; Percival is dead" (Woolf 2000, 85). This opening statement encapsulates the idea of circularity[47] or, perhaps, continuity and inheritance, which shifts the focus away from Neville's benumbed immobilisation towards the active succession of life and death that is characteristic of human existence. In his rumination, Bernard, the male representative of the privileged classes (Penner 2015, 66–

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[47] By circularity, I mean the idea of a time cycle governing the italicised interludes which track the rising of the sun on the horizon. It suggests the immovable circular movement of the sun and, by extension, the continuation of humanity. More information in Dick 2009, 67.

70), becomes the spokesman for the community of friends who have prematurely lost their leader (Briggs in Sellers 2009, 77ff): Bernard recalls himself and his friends as the "soldiers in the presence of their captain", meaning Percival (Woolf 2000, 89). I would argue that Bernard's speech exhibits the characteristics of an official funeral address, a eulogy held in Percival's honour.

No longer heir to the pastoral elegiac tradition, Bernard's part of Section V nonetheless resumes the *laudatio* of the deceased, traditionally included in pastoral elegies.[48] In his eulogy, Bernard emphasises Percival's leadership within the community[49] and his special role within society as a judge,[50] both consistent with the ancient traditions of public orations.[51] Bernard highlights Percival's virtues, defined as the most valuable in noble men as early as the Greek classical era: "justice and courage are the most esteemed, the latter being useful to others in war, the former in peace as well" (Aristotle, Rhetoric 1366b).[52] A range of "means of amplification", encapsulated in the Aristotelian rule "you [were] alone, or first, or with a few" (Rhetoric 1368 a), further underscores the classical ethical foundations of Bernard's oration. His emphasis on the young age of the deceased and the lost opportunities of the whole community bestows on Percival a heroic dimension which is nevertheless checked by the ironic comment on the absurdity of his accidental death. Since each of the speakers in *The Waves* intends to fill the vacuum of Percival's personality, or, "to interpret him as they choose" (Penner 2015, 73), Bernard's underscoring of the classical traits in the leader's ethical portrait is telling: the eulogist becomes a spokesman for the privileged community of males who miss their leader. Bernard's eulogy, supplanting Neville's expression of the shock felt by a bewildered individual,

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[48] See Milton's monody, *Lycidas*, especially Poebus' part in verses 76–85. In the article, I refer to the version included in *The Arnold Anthology of British and Irish Literature*, 1997.

[49] The topic of war is subtly alluded to in the implication regarding imperial dominance over India where Percival goes as a representative of the British Empire. More information in Briggs 2009, 77f.

[50] See "You have lost a leader whom you would have followed" (Woolf 2000, 85), "You would have had to form up and follow behind him" (Woolf 2000, 86); "a judge" (Woolf 2000, 86). See Adrastus' oration in Euripides' *Suppliants* vv. 857–917.

[51] See Adrastus' oration in Euripides' *Suppliants* vv. 857–917.

[52] See also other virtues mentioned by Aristotle: "The components of virtue are justice, courage, self-control, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, practical and speculative wisdom" (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1366b). In the recollections of the friends in *The Waves*, Percival represents them all in varying degrees.

may thus be viewed as a particular example of what Walsh observes regarding the singularity of Wolf's poetics of loss: the blows of loss are registered both on the personal and collective level (2016, 200–201).

Bernard speaks on behalf of the community, which seems to be present at the "funeral service" as an imaginary audience that is addressed with the words, "Oh, yes, I can assure you" (Woolf 2000, 85). The mute recipients of the eulogy constitute an imaginary circle of mourners who might be present at the actual funeral. Dependence upon their presence is upheld in the speech when it is continued in the National Gallery where Bernard withdraws and contemplates the "cold madonnas" (Woolf 2000, 86), a visual reference to his newborn son. In Bernard's mind, death inextricably mingles with new life, as envisaged in the recurring image of doves; thus, inevitably, death is argued as a natural part of life, included within "the totality of existence" (Walsh 2009, 3). Mentally excluded from his immediate surroundings, Bernard becomes a detached observer of London life, who, in his grief, "resent[s] the usual order" of routine activities around him (Woolf 2000, 86).

The mood of the commemorative speech is not desperate, closing with Bernard's act of choosing life and the living (Woolf 2000, 86). Indeed, he delivers Percival's eulogy in the certainty that in this way "something of you [Percival] remains" (Woolf 2000, 86), a certainty which, as some scholars assert, suggests a certain closeness to Milton's elegiac *Lycidas* (Goldman in Sellers 2010, 51).[53] In contrast to Neville's shock and grief, Bernard's speech in fact finishes with a plea for life: whereas the former, petrified with grief, remains a figure of despair, the latter prefers Jinny's companionship in order to commemorate Percival. The recurrent images of doves and references to "the machine [that] works" (Woolf 2000, 85) render death one of the experiences of living. Unlike Neville, who tries to envisage death as a fact accomplished in time and triggering consequences for himself, Bernard endeavours to capture its meaning for a community that inhabits a definite space, namely post-WWI London. The spatial and temporal bias in Bernard's speech is crucial: the shattered,

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[53] Further Goldman argues: "Milton's 'Lycidas' is, of course, a web of such classical poetic borrowings, something that Woolf, unlike Yeats and De la Mare, finds productive" (Goldman in Sellers 2010, 53). Goldman observes: "Bernard, the writer, […] [was a potential] equivalent of Milton's singular 'uncouth swain'" (Goldman in Sellers 2010, 65). See also ibid., 51.

post-WWI world calls for new expressions of pain, expressions foreign to both the elegiac pastoral, pre-occupied with the individual, and public eulogies shaped by Roman ethics which used to connote honourable public life which proved unavailing in times of war. As the new world order finds little application for the traditional forms of expression, both the pastoral elegy and the funeral eulogy for a *vir illustris* have lost their appeal. Though seemingly assuming the place of "the chief mourner" in the community of friends, Bernard thus yields to Rhoda, whose expression of lament in Section supervenes upon the traditions of male mourning.

POLYPHONIC LAMENT IN SECTION V
RHODA'S RITES OF LEAVE-TAKING

Bernard's official eulogy is supplanted by Rhoda's words of grief. She resumes the lament as the final speaker within the polyphony of voices, being the only female voice in Section V. To some extent, Rhoda thus represents the figure of the female mourner traditionally present at funerals as a performer of ritual lamentation, traces of which can be found in Euripides's tragedies, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, or modern ritual lamentations.[54] Rhoda's thoughts close Section V, helping in the leave-taking of Percival through the symbolic act of throwing flowers into the Thames. The final observance completed, Percival's imaginary funeral, as envisaged in Section V, is over.

Various critics note that Rhoda may be the most difficult voice in *The Waves* to follow owing to her "estrangement from her body" (Ondek Laurence 1991, 136). When compared to Neville (suspended out of time from the moment he receives the news) or Bernard (the observer of London life) Rhoda appears as a character whose detachment is of different nature from that exhibited by Neville (temporal detachment) or Bernard (spatial detachment): she lives in a dream state and explores the realms of the mind (Ondek Laurence 1991, 146). Her confrontation with a sudden death leads Rhoda in a direction opposite to that taken by Bernard: while Bernard turns to his newborn son, she searches for detachment and the final truth about the human condition by

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[54] See Euripides' *Suppliants* and the choir of mothers in despair. In Chaucer's epic, see the fragment included in *The Knight's Tale* in the description of "a company of ladies […] [a]ll clothed in black" (Chaucer 1954, 49). On modern ritual lamentation, see Fishman 2008, 267–295.

concentrating upon images of decay and destruction. As Ondek Laurence puts it: "Rhoda is not the 'thinking' woman or the 'thinking' mind that Bernard represents, but the visionary, dreaming mind made flesh" (1991, 168). Notably, Rhoda's speech becomes a token of subjective leave-taking of the deceased in an act of reconciliation, which, I argue, means no final consolation. It is in her soliloquies that the elegiac triad of lamentation–confrontation–consolation, as formulated by Vickery (2009, 1), is called into question: while Neville and Bernard may be interpreted as participating in the lamentation and confrontation processes, respectively, Rhoda is never consoled. Even if reconciled with death as part of life, she is hardly consoled in her grief after Percival's fatal fall. In fact, she cannot be consoled since her wound is barely healed.

Rhoda resumes the speech where both Neville and Bernard have stopped, each in turn is evoked in her speech by virtue of character-specific rhetoric: like Bernard before her, Rhoda begins her soliloquy by addressing "them", that is, the mourners whose gazes she directs towards "the figure that stood in the grove where the steeped-backed hills come down [who] falls in ruin" (Woolf 2000, 88).[55] In her subtle way, Rhoda also involves Neville in this opening of her speech since she employs one of the pastoral topoi, the topos of a beautiful youth in a solitary grove. In her short reference to "the figure robed in beauty" (Woolf 2000, 88) and the rhetorical question "What lovely boy?" (Woolf 2000, 89), for a moment, she bestows a pastoral touch upon her mourning speech. Later on, detached and lonely – "I am alone in a hostile world" (Woolf 2000, 88) – she walks down Oxford Street, heading towards Greenwich and the mouth of the River Thames so that she might perform her final rite – the offering of a bunch of flowers to Percival.

If examined in its entirety, her speech is imbued with images of death and decay. Since Rhoda's contribution is part of a joint, if heteroglossic, mourning (Penner 2015, 77), she resumes the lament in the space that she shares with other mourners. In contrast to the two preceding elegists, however, she does so by focusing upon the repulsive aspects of London life. Initially, Rhoda admits "I am sick of prettiness" (Woolf 2000, 89), so in her speech the image of the doves mentioned by Bernard is exchanged for those of rooks and crabs and maggots. In her dismissal of "prettiness",

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[55] See Virgil, *Eclogue 5*, v. 43: "Daphis ego in silvis" on Daphnis's epitaph, which may arguably be a source for the analysed sentence in *The Waves*.

the oak of the pastoral tradition is pictured as "cracked asunder", with its "flowering branch [that] has fallen" (Woolf 2000, 88). While the elaborate linguistic texture of this fragment binds Rhoda's lament with the previous speeches,[56] it may also be considered an example of what Walsh terms "Woolf's elegiac figure-language" (2016, 200). Such figure-language, explains Walsh, "enact(s) a particular kind of language […] which, composed by an assemblage of figures, simultaneously serves as a response to and expression of blows driven by death and loss" (2016, 200). To convey her pain, Rhoda thus depicts the world around her as a place of sorrow and ugliness, which Percival's death has revealed to her. The repelling aspects of reality – the faces, "deformed, indifferent" (Woolf 2000, 89); "hate, jealousy, hurry and indifference frothed into the wild semblance of life" (Woolf 2000, 89); "sweat, and scent as horrible as sweat" (Woolf 2000, 90) – are gradually reduced to mere onomatopoeic exclamations in the series of "Ah[s]!" reported by Rhoda (Woolf 2000, 90): the "Ah!" hurled by a woman who, apparently, crushes into nothingness ancient Paris's reckoning of beauty; the "Ah!" cried by a woman to her lover; the "Ah[s]!" that follow (Woolf 2000, 90). To my mind, the exclamations of "Ah!" link Rhoda's speech to the ritual cries such as "aiai, oi, ea" (Fishman 2008, 269) known from the Greek tragic or pastoral traditions which Woolf appreciated (Walsh 2016, 210). Similar to the pain-stricken mothers in Euripides' *Suppliants*, who exclaim "Ió moi" and "Ió Ió, moi moi",[57] Rhoda turns her attention to the cries, by the same token reducing the significance of language. The cries thus not only betoken the elegiac character of her speech, but seem to suggest the sheer impossibility of conveying by means of language the pain experienced. Interestingly, Rhoda reports the "Ah!" series before finally asking the ontological question: "And what is a cry?" (Woolf 2000, 90). This question suggests the infeasibility of rendering human despair by means of words. Consequently, the cries of "Ah!" not only bespeak the classical inspiration behind Rhoda's part in Section V, they also underscore the inadequacy of

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[56] Attention should be paid to the choice of vocabulary which brings to mind the chiasmus of flash and fall in Neville's section, which also links Section V to italicised prologue.

[57] See Euripides' *Suppliants*, Epeisodion 1, v. 275: "Ió moi" and in Epodos, v. 828: "Ió Ió, moi moi". See Bion of Smyrna, *Lament for Adonis*, "aiai" in v. 90. The Greek word for crying, "Αἰάζω", is onomatopoeic and it reappears in elegies. See the opening verses of the original *Lament for Adonis*.

language uttered by people in great distress. As Woolf argues in "On Not Knowing Greek", in certain cases "it is necessary to take that dangerous leap through the air without the support of words" (Woolf 1984, 30). Woolf continues, arguing: "The meaning is just on the far side of language. It is the meaning which in moments of astonishing excitement and stress we perceive in our minds without words" (Woolf 1984, 30). Apparently, the death of a close friend is such a "moment […] of astonishing excitement" it calls for extra-linguistic means of expression.

Since words apparently fail her, the highpoint of Rhoda's lament is the act of throwing flowers into the Thames. Formally, such an ending resumes the elegiac traditions of leave-taking: traditional elegies contain descriptions of flowers, often elaborate, covering the hearse of the deceased.[58] Since Percival's coffin is in India, the Thames and the sea become a metonymical link with India and indeed the coffin. Rhoda's ritual homage is not conventional, though: the characteristic "vernal flowers" of the elegy (Lycidas v. 141) have been replaced by Rhoda's bunch of violets, "wind-bitten, almost deformed, without fruit or blossom" (Woolf 2000, 91). Thus, although Rhoda's physical gesture of lamentation conforms to the elegiac frame, the "elegiac figure-language" (Walsh 2016, 200) refuses the conventional and instead chooses the somewhat repelling images of decay. This qualitative change bespeaks the novelty in Woolf's elegy which offers a novel take upon the form of the elegy.

Rhoda's contribution is not desperate, though. Instead, it ends on a calm note. In her lament in Section V, Rhoda finally finds the answer to the question "To whom?" which, apparently, has concerned her from the beginning of *The Waves*: "Into the wave […] I throw my violets, my offering to Percival" (Woolf 2000, 91), she says. Hardly consoled, she admits to have found something vital to her: "Look now at what Percival has given me" (Woolf 2000, 88). The truth she learns from Percival's fatal fall addresses the transience of beauty and human life and leads to the acceptance of death as an indispensable part of life. The initial feeling of disorientation with which she opens her lamentation – "All palpable forms of life have failed me" (Woolf 2000, 90) – is supplanted by words of "liberat[ing] understanding" (Woolf 2000, 91) when closing it with the assertion: "Wander no more, I say; this is the end" (Woolf 2000, 91).

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[58] For example, Milton's *Lycidas*, vv. 138–151. See Bion of Smyrna, *Lament for Adonis*, v. 73f. There is more on elegiac convention in Alpers 1996, 81–112 and Abrams 1985, 73.

CONCLUSION

Section V of *The Waves* is an expression of mourning in both the individual and collective dimensions. Regardless of considerations concerning the nature of the six voices in *The Waves* – whether they are six individuals or six versions of the one individual[59] – intuitively, Section V can be viewed as a rendition of lamentation, which in literature has been absorbed into the form of the elegy. I suggest that the generic affiliation of the passage has impacted on the selection of the characters allowed to give voice to their pain in *The Waves*. The choice of Neville and not Susan – "whom he [Percival] loved" (Woolf 2000, 88) – as the lover's voice may be explained by the pastoralism involved in Neville's portrayal and the traditions of pastoral, elegiac writing with which Woolf engages in intertextual dialogue. Bernard, a male voice in the community of mourners, resumes the role the conventional eulogist whose credibility is questioned by the fact that he finally yields to Rhoda and retreats back to "life [that he wants] round [himself]" (Woolf 2000, 88). Indeed, it is Rhoda, a female mourner, who explores the margins of human experience and closes the elegy with her rites of mourning. The manner in which the rites are concluded betokens the immediacy of experience that is part of Woolf's elegiac "figure-language" (Walsh 2016, 222):

> Now I will relinquish; now I will let loose. Now I will at last free the checked, the jerked-back desire to be spent, to be consumed. We will gallop together over desert hills where the swallow dips her wings in dark pools and the pillars stand entire. Into the wave that dashes upon the shore, into the wave that flings its white foam to the uttermost corners of the earth, I throw my violets, my offering to Percival. (Woolf 2000, 91)

Consumed by her grief, Rhoda refuses to be consoled after Percival's death in the manner she earlier deems possible for her friends, that is, for Louis who "will shepherd us if we will follow"; for the public official, Bernard; for "pirouetting" Jinny and Susan who will stand for a [mere] second with the telegram before her";

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[59] In one of her letters Woolf admitted: "But I did mean that in some vague way we are the same person, and not separate people. The six characters were supposed to be one" – Woolf in: Goldman in Sellers 2010, 69, Note 33. More on the issue in Briggs in Sellers 2009, 23.

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and, finally, for Neville who will ask "What lovely boy" (Woolf 2000, 89). In contrast to them all, Rhoda chooses to pay her "tribute to Percival: withered violets, blackened violets" (Woolf 2000, 89). Futile as it is (Penner 2015, 84), the gesture seems to betoken the interlacement of death and life (Walsh 2016) that cannot be dismissed in Woolf's prose in general, and in *The Waves* in particular. Her loss may be felt, but complete consolation never follows. Thus, the concept of the elegiac triad is only partially applicable, with its final, consolatory stage barely reached.

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THE ORIGINAL VERSUS TRANSLATIONS OVER THE YEARS: FAITHFUL COPIES OR TRANSLATORS' INTERPRETATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The article offers a comparative analysis of two of Charles Dickens's *Christmas Books*: *The Chimes* (1844) and *The Cricket on the Hearth* (1845). Time influences literary fashions, which prompted me to conduct an analysis of these translations. Polish translations of the books were published at different times, encompassing the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, which had a considerable impact on their poetics and quality. This paper aims to present various approaches to the linguistic representation of emotions in source texts and target texts. The study relies on structural analysis and cognitive linguistics, which includes spoken and written language, as well as non-verbal communication. It opens with a short introduction on the issue of emotions and how they can be examined. It also explores how languages manifest expressions of emotions and translators' techniques to cover expressiveness. Special attention was given to various ways of depicting emotions in the texts, paying attention to the use of diminutives, metaphors, and phraseological units involving body organs (one of them being the "heart") or symptoms of emotions. Triggered by interest in emotions in recent years, researchers have started to take them into account in research. Consequently, I claim that among the numerous linguistic works devoted to feelings and emotions, it is not easy to distinguish those whose corpus is a novel or literary fiction, especially from a comparative perspective in the retranslation. This article is part of the current research on the linguistic approaches to naming, communicating, and expressing emotions in literary texts compared to their translations as well as translators' choices and their techniques. Hence, another notion that will be useful in the analysis is that of "retranslation". However, although the issue of emotions has been tackled by many scholars, it seems still under-researched and it certainly seems possible to shed new light on how translators work and what drives their translation decisions. Thus, in the conclusions, I attempt to portray various ways of expressing emotion, as exemplified in *The Chimes* and *The Cricket on the Hearth* and their Polish renditions.

Keywords: retranslation, *Christmas Books*, emotions, emotionality, linguistic expressions

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to delineate the issue of emotions and examine how they are externalized through a contrastive analysis of two of Charles Dickens's *Christmas Books*, namely *The Chimes: A Goblin Story of Some Bells that Rang an Old Year Out and a New Year In* and *The Cricket on the Hearth: A Fairy Tale of Home*. I intend to compare selected excerpts of English material from source texts with their Polish translations to identify potential similarities and differences in the emotive construction of linguistic messages.

While there has been recent interest in emotions, feelings, and affect, past research by psychologists continues to be relevant, serving various disciplines in the exploration of emotions. The study of emotions entered psychological discourse in the nineteenth century, specifically starting in 1808.[60] The psychological perspective focuses on the conscious and subconscious nature of emotions, as well as physiological reactions and facial expressions of emotions (Ekman and Davidson 1998, 22), In Poland, the development of linguistic analyses of emotions gained momentum in the 1980s. As Agnieszka Mikołajczuk notes, early linguistic analyses prioritized negative emotions, exploring their symptoms and linguistic expressions, such as anger, fear, aggression, sadness, melancholy, jealousy, and others (Mikołajczuk 2009, 7). Research in both Polish and international contexts has reflected the evolution of linguistic studies on the semantics of emotions. Two dominant approaches in this research have been structuralism and cognitivism. Structuralism posits that language, the world, and cognition are separate systems that do not influence each other. In contrast, the cognitivist approach views language as an integral part of cognitive structures, whose functioning is shaped by external contexts, particularly culture (Skowronek 2013, 11).

It should be pointed out that analyzing the linguistic representation of a specific emotion requires a multi-layered approach. This analysis encompasses not only the precise names of emotions but also idioms, metaphors, lexemes, and various syntactic features revealed in the text. These features can include a range of structures, such as the accumulation of questions, rhetorical questions, exclamatory sentences, interjections, and

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[60] Entry for "emotion" in the *Online Etymology Dictionary*. Available at: https://www.etymonline.com/word/emotion (accessed November 2021).

more. Additionally, it cannot be precluded that the nature of emotions can diverge in terms of their degree of intensity. Consequently, the intensity of an emotion mirrors its gradation, which can vary in "clarity, duration, and force" (Romanov 2004, 16). The aim of this article is to present emotions in selected excerpts from two of Dickens's *Christmas Books*, comparing them with their target texts in retranslation. Though these books differ in plot, they both portray human emotions in various contexts, providing rich material for analysis.

EMOTIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Emotions significantly influence translation, especially through fictional characters who share similar feelings and their interpersonal relationships. The expression of emotions in source texts and their Polish translations differs in several ways, including markedness, emotional closeness, the progression of conveyed emotions, and the conceptualization of emotions. Research indicates that the experience of emotions in a language is determined not only by the selection of specific emotionally charged words but also by grammatical structures which shape emotional expression in a distinct way. The analysis in this paper suggests that expressing emotions is not a universal but a culturally conditioned phenomenon, specific to the given culture and language.

There are two prevailing types of linguistic research: on the ground of structuralism and, more recently, cognitivism. Structural optics assume that language, the world, and cognition are three separate systems that operate independently and do not influence one another. As Stanisław Grabias states, "[l]inguists interpret emotional lingual signs through their own feelings" (Grabias 2019, 49). Structuralism also introduced the concept of lexical fields which serve "as a way to organize vocabulary conceptually" (Grabias 2019, 50). One way of organizing words within fields is the componential method. This method "arranges words from the least to the most semantically complex, such as 'angry', 'nervous', and 'mad'. The semantic elements that help organize the words in a field are referred to as semes, which are distinct from the analyzed material" (Grabias 2019, 50). Grabias accurately notes that emotional states can be communicated, expressed, or manifested through behaviour. He classifies the ways the

emotional states are expressed in utterances, resulting in the observation of three distinct methods:

1. Feelings are manifested in the unconscious and pointless ground. They are exteriorized in utterances through non-linguistic measures such as facial expressions; the intensity of gestures; the tone and rhythm of the voice; and extralinguistic vocal reactions such as crying, screaming, laughing. This is how we can gauge the emotional state of the person speaking.

2. Feelings are expressed indirectly through linguistic means. The evaluation of these expressions is embedded deeply within morphological and syntactic constructions, as well as in prosody and vocabulary. To analyze and interpret a specific expression, one must engage in semantic analysis.

3. Feelings are also communicated directly and explicitly by using the names of emotional states, defined predicates, words, and idiomatic expressions that convey particular emotions (Grabias 2019, 294–295).

As Krystyna Data observes, language users express their feelings not only through communicative and expressive procedures but also through naming, which involves using specific lexemes to denote emotions. This communication can occur when the subject or narrator describes their feelings and articulates their sensations using names of emotional states – "I like you", "I am sad" – as well as through phraseologisms and idiomatic expressions. Expressing feelings is a method of externalising emotions in the present moment, here and now, influenced by context, situation, relationships, and social conditions that may limit communication. Emotions can be expressed through spontaneous conversation, as well as para-linguistic and non-linguistic representations. When it comes to lexical representations, linguistic expressive signs are utilized such as explicative constructions, which include diminutives, hypocoristics, augmentatives, positively and negatively charged formations, expressive words with implicit expressivity, figurative language, particles, and phraseological compounds. Various syntactic structures also impact the emotionality of the text. These include rhetorical questions, exclamatory statements, imperative sentences, short sentences, interjections, ellipses, and both lexical and grammatical repetitions. In this way, feelings are effectively expressed at the syntactic level (Data 2000, 245–252).

(RE)TRANSLATION OR *SERIA TRANSLATORSKA*

The growing recognition of translators – evidenced by their names appearing on book covers – has shifted research from a focus on translation itself to a focus on translators. This change has fostered new connections with various other disciplines (Lehr 2022, 1304–1305). According to Nida (1969):

> translating a message involves three tasks: the analysis of the meaning of the source language, including its emotive meaning, the transfer of the analyzed text from source language structures to target language structures, and the restructuring of the target language to make the text acceptable in the receptor language and to achieve the appropriate response in the reader. (Lehr 2022, 1309)

Consequently, as Eco argues, "translating is not only connected with linguistic competence, but with intertextual, psychological, and narrative competence. Similarity in meaning can only be established by interpretation, and translation is a special case of interpretation" (Eco 2001, 16–17).

Many Polish scholars are interested in the question of retranslation, a phenomenon known as *seria translatorska* in Polish (Balcerzan 1998, 17). The study of translation series can be approached from two perspectives: diachronic and synchronic. The diachronic perspective is the most common in a contrastive view, where the series develops gradually in response to changes in the language over time. As part of the historical and literary process, translation series should be analyzed and discussed within a broader context, taking into consideration the transformation of norms, styles, and literary conventions. Additionally, this diachronic approach often intersects with social studies, such as examining how different emotions are felt and expressed across cultures. By juxtaposing the past and present, we can identify what has been lost and what has been preserved over time. In contrast, the synchronic approach posits that the translation series "reveals itself simultaneously, as a package of interpretative propositions, as a set of equivalent translations" (Zarek 1991, 8).

A new translation is created for several motivations, the primary one being the evolution of the target language over time and consequently "the understanding and functionality of the

translated text as well as the expectations and cultural awareness of the readers" (Szymańska 2014, 193). Therefore, every subsequent translation is "better in some areas" (Adamowicz-Pośpiech 2013, 22) or "better suited to the needs of the contemporary readers, current norms, trends, knowledge and sensibility […] – in this way a translation, and especially retranslation, not only moves a work to a new place but also inscribes it into a new time" (Zarek 1991, 8), which can be described as "marked by the language of its era" (Bensimon 1990, ix). John Michael Cohen asserts, "[e]very text requires a new translation in a hundred years to fit into the ever-changing standards and taste among new, completely different generations" (Cohen in Skibińska 2005, 78). Polish scholar, Maria Krysztofiak makes a valid point on the matter, noting that "[t]ranslations age faster than source texts, and require reworking. However, it is often the case that only the well-known and important works receive retranslations. The more creative the translators are with their language and culture, the slower is the aging process of a translation" (Krysztofiak 1996, 51).

The second stimulus for retranslation is the intention and changing sensibility of readers and translators (Adamowicz-Pośpiech 2013, 21) who "feel brave enough to face a particularly challenging text and take up the gauntlet left by their predecessors" (Szymańska 2014, 194) as well as "the willingness to present a unique interpretation of the original" (Skibińska 2005, 79). If the reference point for the creation of a retranslation is a previous translation, because a new translator can translate it better thanks to his different interpretation of the text (which shows that he/she is familiar with the previous versions in a translation series), then it proves the existence of two correlations: between the translation and the source text and between the various translations in a series (Adamowicz-Pośpiech 2013, 22).

The two *Christmas Books* by Dickens were selected for discussion because their translations were created at different times, over a span of more than a century. This difference is not only reflected in their release dates, but also in the various styles and trends employed by the translators to express emotions. As a result, the translations showcase how linguistic approaches and tendencies in expressing emotions have changed over the years. This provides an opportunity for a comparative analysis of translators' decisions regarding how to convey emotionality.

THE CHIMES: BACKGROUND

One significant factor that directly influenced and contributed to the creation of this series is history. All Polish translations of *The Chimes: A Goblin Story of Some Bells that Rang an Old Year Out and a New One In* (1844) were published in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This particular story caught my attention because it is not as popular in Poland as Charles Dickens's first *Christmas Book*, *The Christmas Carol*. This classic has been translated into Polish numerous times, with the first translation appearing anonymously in 1879. To date, more than 80 editions and translations of *The Christmas Carol* have been published. The second *Christmas Book*, titled *The Chimes* in Polish, was first published as *Dzwony cudowne* [Miraculous Chimes] in Warsaw in 1846 by Józef Tomaszewski's printing house. In 1923, a contrasting version titled *Dzwony upiorne* [Ghost Chimes] was published by A. S. Krzyżanowski in Krakow. However, the translators of both renditions remain anonymous. There have been three subsequent editions of this work. The first, in 1946, 23 years later, was a version by Maria Kreczowska titled *Dzwony* [The Chimes]. This was the first version to have an identifiable translator. Subsequently, in 1958, *Dzwony* was published by Czytelnik Publishing House. Finally, in 1989, *Dzwony, które dzwonią gdy odchodzi stary rok i nadchodzi nowy: opowieść o duszkach* [The Chimes That Ring When the Old Year Goes and the New One Comes: A Tale of Ghosts] was released. Both texts were translated by Krystyna Tarnowska. It can be indicated that 2015 was a momentous year for *The Chimes* as Zysk and S-ka Publishing House released the most recent interpretation, *Sygnaturki. Opowieść o duszkach, za sprawą których jedne dzwony wyganiają stary rok, a inne przyzywają nowy* [A Spire. A Story about Ghosts, Thanks to Which Some Bells Chase Away the Old Year, and Others Summon the New] by Jerzy Łoziński. The analysis is based on the translations listed below, except for the two translations by Krystyna Tarnowska; I chose the one from 1989. I marked the book's title as "CH" with the page number of the Wordsworth edition used as a reference in parentheses in the analysis below. The translators' initials are included in tables throughout the analysis. In the case of anonymous translations, instead of initials, I use "Anon. 1" and "Anon. 2".

Table 1. Translations of *The Chimes* into Polish

1846	*Dzwony cudowne* [Miraculous Chimes]	Anonymous
1923	*Dzwony upiorne* [Ghost Chimes]	Anonymous
1946	*Dzwony* [The Chimes]	Maria Kreczowska
1958	*Dzwony* [The Chimes]	Krystyna Tarnowska
1989	*Dzwony, które dzwonią gdy odchodzi stary rok i nadchodzi nowy: opowieść o duszkach* [The Chimes That Ring When the Old Year Goes and the New One Comes: A Tale of Ghosts]	Krystyna Tarnowska
2015	*Sygnaturki. Opowieść o duszkach, za sprawą których jedne dzwony wyganiają stary rok, a inne przyzywają nowy* [A Spire. A Story about Ghosts, Thanks to Which Some Bells Chase Away the Old Year, and Others Summon the New]	Jerzy Łoziński

The analysis of the titles may reveal that they evoke different feelings in readers, as one lexeme may steer and capture recipients' attention and either encourage or discourage them from reading the book.

The Chimes is a short *Christmas Book* written by Charles Dickens in 1844. The story follows the life of Toby Veck, a poor messenger who works in London. He is a hardworking man who struggles to make ends meet and support his daughter, Meg. One New Year's Eve, Toby hears the chimes of a nearby church and is overwhelmed with despair. He begins to contemplate the purpose of his life and wonders if he can provide a better life for his daughter. As he falls asleep, some spirits take him on a journey through time and space. Throughout this journey, Toby learns the true value of his life and the importance of hope. *The Chimes* is a powerful story that explores themes of poverty, social inequality, and the resilience of the human spirit.

In his writing, Charles Dickens delves into the inner experiences of his characters using linguistic devices that convey emotions – elements that communicate feelings through language.

His fascination with the emotions of his characters is evident. The fundamental emotions they experience are portrayed convincingly throughout the narrative, demonstrating the author's ability to capture their feelings directly. One can discover and analyze various devices related to emotions. Particular attention is given to the choices made by translators in terms of emotionality and expressiveness. The question of whether these translations are faithful representations or interpretations remains a topic of discussion.

AN ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS

CH (98) "Trotty **had a father's heart** within him, which had somehow got into his breast in spite of this decree. […]"

Table 2. Example 1

Anon. 1, 46	Lecz w piersiach Tobiego **biło ojcowskie serce** i tajemnie oburzało się przeciwko takiemu wyrokowi; […]
Anon. 2, 36	Trotty miał jednak w swej piersi **serce ojcowskie**, które mimo tej predystynacji jakimś sposobem tam się zabłąkało; […]
MK, 27	Trotty miał jednak w swej piersi **serce ojcowskie**, które mimo tej predystynacji w jakiś sposób tam się zabłąkało; […]
KT, 32	Toby miał **serce wypełnione miłością ojcowską**; żywo biło mu ono w piersi mimo powyżej wygłoszonego sądu. […]
JŁ, 303	Miał jednak w sobie **tyle ojcowskiego serca**, że nie dało się ono uciszyć owym bezwzględnym wyrokiem […]

In the first version, the father's heart "beats" within Tobi's chest. This seems to be similar to the original, even though it includes the phrase "beating heart", which signifies the experience of strong emotions. Additionally, the plural form of the noun "breast" is used. The second anonymous translator and Kreczowska slightly alter the meaning of the original. They use a metaphor in this fragment, employing the verb "to have" along with a conjunction "however". This choice seems intended to

persuade readers of this fact. Tarnowska employs a metaphor, suggesting that the heart is a container for emotions. She uses the name of emotion – "love" to emphasize its boundless nature, which encompasses Trotty's care for and attachment to his daughter. She also uses amplification: "it was beating vividly in his chest". In contrast, Łoziński incorporates the term "heart" with the adjective "paternal". However, unlike Tarnowska, he does not refer to any emotion, making his interpretation quite similar to Kreczowska's, which also refers to a "paternal heart". All translators aim to convey the emotional impact and recreate the same image of expression of this emotion in readers' minds.

Idiomatic phrases that include body parts, known as "idiomatic somatic phrases", are a valuable element of the contemporary Polish language. For instance, the phrase "to have a cold heart" carries a negative connotation, whereas a warm heart is associated with positive emotions. A heart is often described as broken, cold, or icy, indicating that sadness, a basic human emotion, tends to have a detrimental impact on the heart. Many emotions are verbalized using this lexeme. The following example further supports this idea:

2) CH (96) "[…] which perhaps accounted for his having also the appearance of being rather **cold about the heart**."

Table 3. Example 2

Anon. 1, 41	[…] i dla tego, zapewne, **serce pozostawało zimnem**.
Anon. 2, 31	[…] co może było powodem, że zdawał się **mieć serce dość zimne**.
MK, 23	[…] co może być powodem, że zdawało się, iż ma **serce dość zimne**.
KT, 29	[…] przez co (być może) sprawiał wrażenie człowieka **o zimnym nieco sercu**.
JŁ, 298	[…] co może odpowiedzialne było za ogólne wrażenie, iż **serce miał raczej lodowate**.

In the original, Dickens uses the phrase "cold about the heart". The first version translates this as "the heart remained cold". The second anonymous translator and Kreczowska rephrase it as "he had a rather cold heart", while Tarnowska refers to "a person with a somewhat cold heart". This suggests that the character is not entirely devoid of emotion but may simply be hiding his true

feelings, or implies that he is not a person with completely bad intentions. In contrast, Łoziński opts for an equivalent that strongly conveys negative feelings: "an icy heart". It is important to note that this translation enhances the negative emotional tone of the passage. To summarize, all translations connect the "heart" to the emotional dispositions of the character rather than to the emotions they experience.

In another excerpt, the door to Meg's room suddenly opens and Lilian stands in the doorway. She kneels in front of Meg and cuddles up to her. Meg confesses her love for Lilian, using the phrase "child of my heart" and the verb "to love", indicating that her feelings are expressed and named directly. In language, feeling is conceptualized by lexical background and exclamation marks:

3) CH (137) "'Sweet Lilian! Darling Lilian! **Child of my heart** – no mother's **love** can be more tender – lay your head upon my breast!'"

Table 4. Example 3

Anon. 1, 156	Kochana Liljano! droga Liljano! **Dziecię mego serca**! – Miłość matki nie może być tkliwszą – złóż głowę na mojej piersi!"
Anon. 2, 126	Lilly droga, Lilly ukochana, **moje dziecko jedyne**! Własna matka nie mogłaby cię **kochać** goręcej! Złóż głowę na mej piersi.
MK, 91	Droga Lilly, Lilly ukochana, **moje dziecko jedyne**! Własna matka nie mogłaby cię **kochać** goręcej! Złóż głowę na mej piersi.
KT, 101	Lilian! Lilian ukochana! **Dziecię mojego serca…** nawet **miłość** matczyna nie może być czulsza od mojej **miłości**. Wstań, Lilian, połóż głowę na moim ramieniu!
JŁ, 373	Najmilsza Lilian! Moja droga Lilian! **Dziecino mego serca** – żadna matczyna **miłość** nie może być czulsza – połóż mi tu głowę na piersi!

Translators often use repetitions and exclamation marks to convey the tenderness of this passage. In the first target version, "child of my heart" is translated literally, using the old Polish equivalent "dziecię" for "child", along with exclamations. However, the second anonymous translator and Kreczowska reinterpret this phrase as "my only child", substituting "heart" with

"jedyne" [only] and thus omitting the emotional connotation associated with the word "serce" [heart]. Additionally, they employ the technique of transposition, moving the emotional emphasis of the exclamation mark to the end of the sentence: "moje dziecko jedyne!" [My child only!] (Anon. 2). With Tarnowska's translation, we encounter the phrase "dziecię mojego serca" [my heart's child], which is followed by an interruption (ellipsis). Meg intends to express her positive feelings but she cuts herself off, possibly because the sentiment felt too intense, or perhaps due to her overwhelming internal emotions. The climax of feelings makes it difficult for her to articulate her thoughts clearly.

In Łoziński's version, "Child of my heart" is translated as "Dziecino mego serca", maintaining the hyphen found in the original. This stylistic choice reflects a similar approach to that of the original text, made possible by the use of archaisms and structures that are no longer in common use. In contrast, Tarnowska's version simplifies the adjective "sweet", but adds emotional depth through substitution. One example is the phrase with the lexeme "love": "od mojej miłości" [from my love] and "Wstań [rise], Lilian", which is absent in the original. She is faithful with her use of the exclamation mark, and for emotional expression she opts for an ellipsis instead of the hyphen present in the original.

The quoted piece of text includes semantic connotations that illustrate the warmth of feelings in Polish culture. This is evident in the expressive derivatives of names in translations. For instance, in Polish, the name "Lilian" can take several different derivatives that imply various relationships and emotional attitudes towards the addressee: "Liljano, Lilly, Lilian". Among these, the diminutive "Lilly" carries the most sensitive and emotional tone, emphasizing an intimate relationship between the protagonists involved.

Another passage presents an emotional state described as being "out of temper", which is translated into various names of emotions in Polish.

4) CH (99) "Alderman Cute! Never **out of temper** with them!"

Table 5. Example 4

Anon. 1, 48	Co za wyborny człowiek alderman Kjut! **Nigdy nie gniewa się** rozmawiając z pospólstwem!
Anon. 2, 37	ten alderman Cute! Zawsze **w dobrym humorze!**
MK, 28	ów alderman Cute! Zawsze **w dobrym humorze!**
KT, 33	Ach, ten rajca Cute! […] Nigdy nie okazywał im **gniewu**.
JŁ, 304	ten sędzia Cute! Nigdy nie traci do nich **cierpliwości**!

Alongside dictionary equivalents, various equivalents can convey the original meaning while altering the intensity scale. The second anonymous translator and Kreczowska utilize the phrase "zawsze w dobrym humorze" [always in a good mood] to give a positive portrayal of the character. Conversely, the first anonymous translator and Tarnowska clearly employ the modulation technique with the phrase "nigdy nie" [never no] and the name of emotion "gniew" [anger] to translate the adjectival phrase "out of temper".

Anger is defined as "a violent reaction to an unpleasant external stimulus, manifested through excitement, dissatisfaction, indignation, agitation, rage, or irritation"[61]; "a sharp and intense feeling of dissatisfaction often accompanied by aggression"[62]. Thus, the translation modifies the meaning of the primary text's words, using a highly expressive synonymous phrase.

Only Tarnowska omits the exclamation mark at the end of the sentence. It is also worth noticing that the pronoun "co za" [what a] appears in the first target version. All other translators introduce demonstrative pronouns, such as "ten", "ów", or the exclamation "Ach", which create nominative equivalents. For instance, we see phrases like "ten alderman Cute!" (Anon. 2), "ów alderman Cute!" (MK), "Ach, ten rajca Cute!" (KT), and "ten sędzia Cute!" (JŁ), all accompanied by exclamatory intonation. In contrast, Łoziński's version presents a different perspective. While the translator also uses the demonstrative pronoun "ten" [this] alongside the exclamation, he introduces an intriguing equivalent for "out of temper", which is "nie tracić cierpliwości" [not losing patience].

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[61] entry: *gniew* [anger], in: Doroszewski, W. (ed.). *Słownik języka polskiego.* Available at: <https://doroszewski.pwn.pl/haslo/gniew/> (accessed June 2023).
[62] Entry for "*gniew*" [ange*r*], in: Bańko, M. (ed.) (2000). *Inny słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa, 460.

Among these translations, Tarnowska's version appears to be the strongest. The translator expresses a strong emotion with the exclamation "Ach!" and uses the emphatic negative adverb "nigdy nie" [never no] in connection with a name of the emotion "okazywał gniewu" [showing anger]. This indicates that the character indeed exhibits anger and displays other related symptoms. In contrast, other translations present a lighter load of emotions. The first anonymous translator employs the phrase "nigdy nie gniewa się rozmawiając z pospólstwem" [never gets angry when talking to commoners], while the other translators tend to convey a more positive tone with expressions like "w dobrym humorze" [always in a good mood] and "tracić cierpliwość" [lose patience], which clearly does not convey the same sense of anger.

This article also addresses the issue of phraseological units, which play a significant role in expressing emotions. As stated in the introduction, these units often include words associated with bodily organs or fluids such as the liver, the heart, blood, and so on.

The fragment below relates to a situation in which Alderman Cute summons Meg and offers her "advice". Cute tries to discourage both her and Richard from considering marriage. Richard is visibly annoyed by this interaction, and Toby witnesses the entire event. One of the target versions employs the lexeme "gniew" [anger]. In Polish, the linguistic depiction of anger is often conveyed through phraseology. Mikołajczuk explains that anger disrupts the functioning of various organs in the human body, which is why many phraseological expressions related to anger include body parts, particularly those on the face (e.g., "zmarszczyć czoło" [to frown]), as well as internal organs and fluids (e.g., "mieć coś na wątrobie" [to have something on one's liver]), and other physiological symptoms (Mikołajczuk 1996, 135). The predicative noun "gniew" connects with verbs such as "wrzeć" [boil], "wybuchnąć" [explode], and "wzbierać" [well], etc., often realized as analytical verb–nominal constructions.

5) CH (100) "The young **blood** of her lover had been **mounting**, wrathfully, within the last few minutes […]."

Table 6. Example 5

Anon. 1, 51	Już od kilku chwil **młoda krew Ryczarda wrzała w jego sercu** [...].
Anon. 2, 40	Młodemu jej wielbicielowi **gorąca krew uderzyła do głowy** w ciągu ostatnich pięciu minut [...].
MK, 30	Młodemu jej wielbicielowi **gorąca krew biła do głowy** w ciągu ostatnich pięciu minut [...].
KT, 35	Od kilku minut **gniew** wzbierał w młodym wielbicielu dziewczyny [...].
JŁ, 306	Młoda **krew od kilku już minut gotowała** się w jej ukochanym [...].

The phrase "krew wrzała w sercu" [blood boiled in the heart] is a semantic transformation from the original in the first translation (Anon. 1). In Polish, emotions are often expressed using the term "serce" [heart], making the fragment more accessible to a secondary audience. The second anonymous translator (Anon. 2) and Kreczowska effectively convey the emotion by referring to it through its physical symptom – blood. In their versions, the conceptualisation is "anger as hot liquid in a container", using the idiomatic expression "gorąca krew uderzyła do głowy" [hot blood rushed to the head], with Kreczowska substituting the verb "mount" with "bić" [beat]. Tarnowska's translation lacks symmetry in portraying emotions through blood, stating instead, "gniew wzbierał" [anger was rising], where she directly names the emotion. On the other hand, Łoziński employs an idiom that refers to blood, "krew się zagotowała" [blood boiled], signalling a strong emotion.

The discussed translations differ in how they render the anthroponym in translation. The name Meg in the first translation is replaced with "narzeczona" [fiancée], diverging from the original. In the fragments by the second anonymous translator and Kreczowska, emotional nuance is enhanced by using the diminutive form of the Polish equivalent of the name "Małgosia". In contrast, Tarnowska and Łoziński retain the unchanged form "Meg", indicating they chose the foreignization strategy.

Translators realize emotionality in different ways. The first anonymous translator employed a domestication strategy in their choices, using Polish versions of names (such as "Ryczard"), altering sentence lengths, and amplifying certain words. Regarding the emotional layer of the text, this translator sometimes reduces

the emotional intensity of specific passages or characters by closely adhering to the original text. They may select equivalents that are neither the closest nor the most distant in the semantic field of a given lexeme. These choices evoke friendly feelings in the reader, but result in a poorer version of the text. Consequently, this leads to a different portrayal of the scene. The second anonymous translator's versions and Kreczowska's translations are almost identical, hence we may suggest these were produced by the same author. These texts name emotions indirectly or use reactions that signify feelings. The translator aims to be faithful to the original, but at times she compromises the translator's richness and impoverishes her translation by using rhetorical questions or exclamations, which diminish the emotional tone. She selects equivalents that closely align with the content of the original text and uses appropriate semantic units related to the original language. However, there are instances where the equivalents differ in grammatical structure and imagery, leading to reductions, the introduction of elliptical constructions, and pauses. Overall, it can be argued that Kreczowska's translation reflects a similar emotional charge in the target language to that found in the source material, although her version tends to be less emotionally charged. Occasionally, she employs diminutive forms or hypocoristics (e.g., "my heart") and includes a higher density of negative lexemes that dramatize the scene. Still, the translator typically opts for more neutral equivalents of emotional lexemes. In conclusion, Kreczowska's version is characterized by emotional restraint. Compared to other translations, it exhibits a shallower emotional depth and a reduction in the expressive–emotional shades of the analyzed passages.

Another translation by Krystyna Tarnowska marks a breakthrough and significant advancement in the linguistic expression of emotionality. Her target version emphasizes the changes that have taken place in the translation series and illustrates how the approach to these translations has evolved.

Tarnowska's example demonstrates that language is often over-structured, featuring semantic transformations and amplification. In her translations, she employs vocabulary that carries strong emotional weight, as well as a variety of diminutives and hypocoristics. Phraseological units and diminutives constitute the largest groups of lexical emotional expressions. There is a significant accumulation of words associated with feelings, including diminutive forms, strong variations of verbs, and emotionally charged adjectives. The choices made by translators

can alter the perceived emotional intensity of passages through techniques such as transposition and modulation. Emotions are also expressed at the syntactic level with heightened expressivity conveyed through repetitions and frequent exclamations. The translator senses the emotional depth of a scene and expressions and, in response, selects equivalents that carry a stronger emotional charge.

In Jerzy Łoziński's translation, he demonstrates inconsistency in his choice of techniques, although he certainly exoticizes anthroponyms. The examples reveal a range of forms that are sometimes more intense than the original text. His version is marked by the use of amplification, phraseological units, and strong variants within or near the semantic field. To convey emotional tone, he employs emotionally triggered lexemes and contemporary colloquialisms. Additionally, he varies the register, at times intensifying it and at other times softening it. Beyond employing modern forms of translation, Łoziński also incorporates archaic stylization which reflects the expressive function characteristic of work. The stylistic archaisms he introduces alter the register, making it inconsistent with the original. Often, he abandons fidelity to the source text in favour of achieving an emotional charge. He creates an expressive effect through the accumulation of exclamation marks, although his focus is more on functional equivalence than on strict syntactic adherence. When it comes to conveying the emotional layer of a text, the area the translator navigates is multifaceted.

THE CRICKET ON THE HEARTH: BACKGROUND

This text contains selected fragments from Charles Dickens's third *Christmas Book*, *The Cricket on the Hearth,* in a series of translations from English into Polish, specifically: Antoni Mazanowski's translation from 1914, Maria Kreczowska's translations from 1923 and 1946, two translations by Maria Feldmanowa-Kreczowska from 1954, with the second being the abridged edition, Krystyna Tarnowska's translation from 1988, and Jerzy Łoziński's translation from 2015.

Table 7. Translations of *The Cricket on the Hearth* into Polish

1914	*Świerszcz za kominem* [The Cricket behind the Hearth]	Antoni Mazanowski
1923	*Świerszcz u ogniska* [The Cricket by the Fire]	Maria Kreczowska
1946	*Świerszcz za kominem* [The Cricket Behind the Hearth]	Maria Kreczowska
1954	*Świerszcz za kominem* [The Cricket Behind the Hearth]	Maria Feldmanowa-Kreczowska
1954	*Świerszcz za kominem* [The Cricket Behind the Hearth] abridged version	Maria Feldmanowa-Kreczowska
1988	*Świerszcz za kominem. Bajka o domowym ognisku* [The Cricket Behind the Hearth. A Tale of the Domestic Hearth]	Krystyna Tarnowska
2015	*Opowieści wigilijne. Świerszcz za kominem. Baśniowa opowieść o domowym ognisku* [Christmas Eve Tales. The Cricket behind the Hearth. A Fairy Tale of the Domestic Hearth]	Jerzy Łoziński

    The Cricket on the Hearth is a story that explores the lives of ordinary people, focusing on marriages and relationships. It is a warm, harmonious, and charming Christmas tale. Dickens creates three couples as the main characters: John and Mary (Dot) Peerybingle; future husband Tackleton and his would-be wife May Fielding; and a father and his blind daughter, Caleb and Bertha Plummer. Caleb tries to make his blind daughter Bertha happy by creating a false image of their reality. They both work for Tackleton, who exploits them. Charles Dickens skilfully develops his characters, notably the toy merchant Tackleton, who despises children.

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Seven translations have been analyzed below. The book title is marked as "CR" followed by a page number and the initials of the translators. An abridged version of one book is marked with an asterisk (*). From *The Cricket*, a fragment containing the lexeme "heart" was selected.

AN ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF EMOTIONS

6) CR (182) "[…] when his **heart** was **heaviest**, forgotten the light tread that was to render her so cheerful and courageous! […] having confused himself about himself and everything around him, for the **love** of his Blind Daughter."

Table 8. Example 6

AM, 50	[…] i żeby nie wiedzieć jak **ciężko mu było na duszy**, ojciec nie zapomniał o lekkim chodzie, który miał podnieść odwagę jego córki. […] mówił nieprawdę o sobie i o całem otoczeniu z **miłości** ku swemu ślepemu dziecku.
MK, 62–63	I chociażby mu **na sercu było niewiadomo jak ciężko,** dla niej zmuszał się zawsze do ruchów lekkich, swobodnych, **radujących jej serce**. […] z **miłości** dla ślepej swej córki, przeinaczał siebie i wszystko w około.
MK2, 46	I chociażby mu **na sercu było niewiadomo jak ciężko,** dla niej zmuszał się zawsze do ruchów lekkich, swobodnych, **radujących jej serce**. […] z **miłości** dla swej ślepej córki przeinaczał siebie i wszystko dokoła.
MFK, 48	Nigdy, nawet w momencie **największego przygnębienia**, nie zapominał o tym lekkim kroku, który tak ją radował i dodawał otuchy. […] z **miłości** dla niewidomej córki przeinaczał on siebie i wszystko dokoła.
MFK*, 67	Nigdy, nawet w momencie **największego przygnębienia**, nie zapominał o tym lekkim kroku, który ją tak radował i tak jej dodawał otuchy. […] z **miłości** dla niewidomej córki przeinaczał on siebie i wszystko dokoła.

KT, 56	Nigdy też, nawet gdy przytłaczały go **najcięższe troski**, nie zapomniał o tym <u>niefrasobliwym chodzie</u>, dzięki któremu ona mogła iść przez życie z taką odwagą i pogodą ducha. […] z **miłości** do córki pogmatwał umyślnie swoje pojęcie o sobie samym i o wszystkim, co go otaczało.
JŁ, 58	Nigdy też, chociażby było mu nie wiem jak **ciężko na sercu**, <u>nie zapomniał iść w sposób, który jej wyda się lekki i radosny</u>. […] z **miłości** do niewidomej córki bez przerwy zmyślał na swój temat i na temat otaczających go rzeczy.

After examining the translators' choices in the example above, it is clear that in Kreczowska's first two versions the "heart" is depicted as bearing a heavy weight. However, in her later versions, she softens this imagery, reducing it to a sense of deep dejection. Instead of "heaviest" she uses the phrase "największe przygnębienie" [a great depression], distancing her interpretation from the original. Mazanowski opts for the phrase "it was hard on his soul", which deviates from the original, as he replaces "heart" with "dusza" [soul]. Similarly, Tarnowska's target version employs "the hardest worries", omitting the phraseological unit with the word "serce" [heart]. In contrast, Łoziński remains closest to the original by rendering it as "heavy on the heart". However, his emotional tone is lighter than in other translations. "Love" which appears in the original is translated in all versions as Polish equivalent "miłość".

For Bertha, a blind person, other senses take over the role of sight. In the hierarchy of the senses, after sight, hearing comes second. Bertha experiences and learns about the world in this way, which is why translating the character's gait is also important. Firstly, Bertha's father is a hardworking and busy man, so even in the way he walks he hides his tiredness and depression. It can be said that Mazanowski is closest to Dickens's version, while the first two versions by Kreczowska generally focus on movements, thus giving a different image of the character, depriving it of some sensuality in the context of corporeality, strengthening this image with the verb to force oneself, i.e., by doing something. In two subsequent translations, Feldmanowa-Kreczowska modifies this expression. The change occurs in the syntax, as the translator inserts "did not forget" and then refers to the walk, softening this version. Tarnowska's choice of "ungainly gait" sounds stiff, yet it

reflects a certain image embedded in the language portraying a person who is not prone to worrying or dwelling upon problems. In Łozinski's translation, it reads naturally: "he didn't forget to walk in a way she recognizes as light and cheerful". Here, the idea of forgetting implies a lack of intention and a desire to deceive, whereas suggesting a direct manner evokes mystification and untruth. This example demonstrates that interpreters are not consistent in their assessment of emotional tone, which is expressed in various ways.

Below you can observe the symbolic, metaphorical antithesis of light and darkness as blind Bertha talks to her father:

7) CR [185] "'**Father**, I am **lonely** in the dark. I want my eyes: my patient, willing eyes.' […] 'They are more yours than mine, Bertha, any hour in the four and twenty. What shall your eyes do for you, **dear**?'"

Table 9. Example 7

AM, 53	**Znudziłam** się w ciemności, **ojczulku**. Potrzebne są mi oczy, moje <u>cierpliwe, usłużne</u> oczy. […] Więcej twoje niż moje Berto, w każdej chwili, przez całą dobę. Ale cóż mają zrobić dla ciebie twoje oczy, **droga moja**?
MK, 71	**Ojcze**, jestem **sama** w ciemnościach. Potrzeba mi teraz moich oczu, zawsze spieszących mi na pomoc. - […] Więcej one są twoje, niż moje, dziecko, gotowe ci służyć każdej chwili. Co oczy twe mają dla ciebie uczynić, **kochanie**?
MK 2, 51–52	**Ojcze**, jestem **sama** w ciemnościach. Potrzeba mi teraz moich oczu, zawsze spieszących mi na pomoc. - […] Więcej są one twoje, niż moje, gotowe ci służyć każdej chwili. Co oczy twe mają dla ciebie uczynić, **kochanie**?
MFK, 53	**Ojcze**, jestem **sama** w ciemnościach. Potrzeba mi teraz moich oczu, cierpliwych i życzliwych oczu. […] Więcej są one twoje niż moje; gotowe ci służyć każdej chwili. Co oczy twe mają dla ciebie uczynić, **kochanie**?
MFK*, 75	**Ojcze**, jestem **sama** w ciemnościach. Potrzeba mi teraz moich oczu, cierpliwych i życzliwych oczu. […] Więcej są one twoje niż moje; gotowe

	ci służyć każdej chwili. Co oczy twe mają dla ciebie uczynić, **kochanie**?
KT, 62	**Ojczulku**, tak mi jakoś **smutno w ciemnościach**. Zatęskniłam za moimi oczami, za moimi cierpliwymi, dobrymi oczami. […] Bardziej twoje, Berto niźli moje, w każdej godzinie dnia czy nocy. Czego żądasz od swoich oczu, **dziecino**?
JŁ, 63	**Ojcze**, tak mi **smutno w ciemności**. Proszę o moje oczy cierpliwe i zawsze gotowe. […] - Masz rację, zawsze w pogotowiu. Bardziej twoje niż moje, Bertho, dwadzieścia cztery godziny na dobę. Co mają dla ciebie zrobić, **kochanie**?

Grammatically, this fragment should not pose challenges for translators. However, when considering context and emotiveness, we can appreciate the effectiveness of translators in conveying Bertha's mental state. In this instance, it is obvious that a translator's technique cannot rely solely on finding dictionary equivalents, as these may not adequately express emotionality. "An attitude of empathy is expected so that emotions, such as excitement, disgust are credible and moving in translation" (Tokarz 2015, 385). Translators should not follow the original blindly. They must recognize that the English language is limited in terms of certain techniques for expressing emotions, such as diminutives, which may not exist. As a result, they need to find alternative ways to express emotions, depending "on the norms of intimacy accepted in the target culture" (Tokarz 2015, 388).

The two lexemes "lonely" and "dark" are closely related to themes of loneliness, ignorance, and confusion. The situation described in the original revolves around loneliness. However, the translators use metonymy to represent loneliness as the emotion of sadness, thereby modeling a different image and highlighting an additional aspect of the situation and the heroine. The term "dark" is associated with people, things that are dark, gloomy, mysterious, seedy, and English idioms involving "dark" often relate to mystery and ignorance. Additionally, "dark" can emphasize feelings of loneliness and longing for someone (Budrewicz 2015, 18). The euphemism "I am lonely in the dark" conveys feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, and isolation. The word "lonely" has been translated as "I'm bored", "I'm alone", or "I'm sad" in the dark. In this case, Mazanowski replaces "lonely" with "boredom", which deviates from the original meaning. This alteration gives the

impression that Bertha is a "vain doll who does nothing" (Budrewicz 2015, 18), portraying her as a puppet without purpose, which leads to feelings of discomfort and a lack of engagement for the reader.

The use of this substitution technique allows the translator to reduce the emotional intensity of the original text. Mazanowski later selects archaic (serving) synonyms quite precisely, aligning with the original meaning. On the other hand, the translation of the phrase "dear" as "droga moja" [dear mine] results in the reduction of emotionality of this fragment. Kreczowska's emotional portrayal of Bertha's feelings is relatively weak. The reader of her translation will certainly experience different emotions towards Bertha than one reading Tarnowska's version, which again tends to employ diminutives like "ojczulku" [father], "dziecino" [baby]. In subsequent translations, Feldmanowa-Kreczowska opts for a different solution by omitting the metaphor of eyes rushing to help and instead keeps the adjectives describing Bertha's eyes: "patient" and "kind". Tarnowska depicts a scene where Bertha reveals two emotions: sadness and longing. She uses Polish equivalents that aim to interpret Bertha's mental state. However, these choices are ineffective because they directly name what was meant to be subtly conveyed. In contrast, Łoziński directly names the emotion: "I am so sad in the dark". Bertha's request for her father's eyes carries the weight of a child's heartfelt message. This allows readers to vividly imagine the blind girl's face and empathize with her emotional state. Overall, the translations by Tarnowska and Łoziński are the most effective in capturing the emotionally charged situation and conveying the depth of human drama.

In the following situation, Bertha, who is in love with Tackleton, discovers that he intends to marry a younger woman named May Fielding. She asks her father to tell her more about Tackleton's future wife. Her father responds with affection and gratitude for May, but Bertha expresses her emotions through nonverbal cues. She hugs her father, seeks comfort in his arms, cries, and wears a sad expression which highlights her feelings of sadness and regret.

8) CR [187] "I **love** her, father; I can love her from my soul!' exclaimed the Blind Girl. And saying so, **she laid her poor blind face on Caleb's shoulder**, and so **wept and wept**, that he was almost sorry to have brought that **tearful happiness** upon her."

Table 10. Example 8

AM, 56	Kocham ją ojcze; mogę ją **kochać z całej duszy**! – zawołała ślepa dziewczynka. Przy tych słowach przylgnęła swą żałosną bez światła twarzyczkę do ramienia ojca i płakała, płakała bez końca tak, że Kaleb prawie zasmucił się, że dał jej to bolesne szczęście.
MK, 74–75	Ojcze, ja ją kocham; mogę ją **kochać całą duszą**! zawołała ślepa dziewczyna. Przy tych słowach położyła swą biedną ślepą twarz na ramieniu ojca i płakała tak rzewnie, że go niemal bolało, iż jej zgotował to bolesne szczęście.
MK 2, 54	Ojcze, ja ją kocham; mogę ją **kochać całą duszą!** – zawołała ślepa dziewczyna. Przy tych słowach położyła swą biedną, ślepą twarz na ramieniu ojca i rozpłakała się rzewnie, że go niemal bolało, iż jej zgotował to bolesne szczęście.
MFK, 55	Ojcze, ja ją kocham; mogę ją **kochać całą duszą**! – zawołała ślepa dziewczyna. Przy tych słowach położyła swą biedną twarzyczkę o niewidzących oczach na ramieniu ojca i rozpłakała się tak rzewnie, że go niemal bolało, iż jej zgotował to budzące łzy szczęście.
MFK*, 78	Ojcze, ja ją kocham; mogę ją **kochać całą duszą**! – zawołała ślepa dziewczyna. Przy tych słowach położyła swą biedną twarzyczkę o niewidzących oczach na ramieniu ojca i rozpłakała się tak rzewnie, że go niemal bolało, iż zgotował jej to budzące łzy szczęście.
KT, 65	Kocham ją, **ojczulku**. Gotowam ją **kochać z całego serca** – rzekła niewidoma dziewczyna i przytuliwszy biedną twarzyczkę do ramienia ojca, tak płakała, tak płakała, iż ów jął żałować, że stał się sprawcą radości zaprawionej obficie łzami.
JŁ, 65	Kocham ją, **tato**, kocham, z **największej głębi mego serca** – wykrzyknęła **kaleka**, po czym złożyła swą biedną twarz na ramieniu ojca i tak się rozpłakała, iż stało mu się niemal szkoda, że przyprawił ją o takie rozszlochane szczęście.

Mazanowski translates "blind face" into "a face without light" to express a face devoid of light. He also uses the diminutive form of the lexeme "face", reminding us that we are referring to a little girl and evoking feelings of empathy in the reader. Furthermore, we see an exchange of "heart" to "soul" in the narrative. When Mazanowski discusses love, he speaks of "loving with all one's soul", incorporating a sense of location that resonates with our experiences throughout life. The phrase "to love with all one's heart" is particularly well-chosen by Tarnowska, as it conveys deep, sincere, and warm emotions, with the heart symbolizing love and human feelings. The translator's technique is again evident through the use of diminutives like "ojczulku" [father]. At the level of syntax, Tarnowska does not include any exclamations that would further emphasize the text. However, an exclamation does appear in the story, in a manner similar to the versions by Mazanowski and Kreczowska. In this instance, Caleb persuades and explains to the girl that everyone loves her because she is good and lovely.

This example illustrates how Dickens uses adjectives – such as cheerful, happy, good, loved, mindful, kind, perplexed, poor – as well as exclamations, to develop character and evoke emotion.

9) CR [196] "'But think how cheerful and how happy you have been, Bertha! How good, and how much loved, by many people.' 'That strikes me to the heart, dear father! […].' Caleb was very much perplexed to understand her. 'To be – to be blind, Bertha, my poor dear,' he faltered, 'is a great affliction […]'."

Table 11. Example 9

AM, 72	Pomyśl, jak byłaś wesołą i szczęśliwą, Berto, jak dobrą i kochaną przez wielu. – To **rani mi serce**, ojcze drogi. […] – Być... być ślepą, Berto, moje drogie biedactwo – wyszeptał – wielkie to nieszczęście.
MK, 97–98	Ależ **dziecko**, pomyśl, jak dotąd byłaś wesołą i szczęśliwą! Jak cię ludzie kochali, że jesteś tak dobra i miła! – **Ojcze** drogi, **to mnie właśnie tak boli**! […] Ku wielkiemu utrapieniu Kaleb nie rozumiał, co jej właściwie dolega. – Tak, moje drogie, biedne dziecko – mamrotał. Takie kalectwo jest wielkiem nieszczęściem, ale […].

MK 2, 70	Ależ **dziecko**, pomyśl, jaka byłaś dotąd wesoła i szczęśliwa! Jak cię ludzie kochali, że jesteś tak dobra i miła! – **Ojcze** drogi, **to mnie właśnie tak boli**! […] Ku wielkiemu swemu utrapieniu, Kaleb nie rozumiał, co jej właściwie dolega. – Tak, moje drogie, biedne dziecko – mamrotał. Takie kalectwo jest wielkiem nieszczęściem, ale […].
MFK, 70	Ależ **dziecko**, pomyśl, jaka byłaś dotąd wesoła i szczęśliwa! Jak cię ludzie kochali, że jesteś tak dobra i miła! – **Ojcze** drogi, **to mnie właśnie tak boli**! […] Ku wielkiemu utrapieniu Kaleb nie rozumiał, co jej właściwie dolega. – Tak moje drogie, biedne dziecko – mamrotał. Takie kalectwo jest wielkiem nieszczęściem, ale […].
MFK*, 98	Ależ **dziecko**, pomyśl, jaka byłaś dotąd wesoła i szczęśliwa! Jak cię ludzie kochali, że jesteś tak dobra i miła! – **Ojcze** drogi**, to mnie właśnie tak boli**! […] Ku wielkiemu utrapieniu Kaleb nie rozumiał, co jej właściwie dolega. – Tak, moje drogie, biedne dziecko – mamrotał. Takie kalectwo jest wielkiem nieszczęściem, ale […].
KT, 84	Ale pomyśl, **córeczko**, jaka szczęśliwa i jaka wesoła byłaś dotąd. Jak gorąco, jak serdecznie kochana przez wszystkich. – Bo też to mnie, drogi **ojczulku**, **najbardziej boli**! To, że zawsze taki jesteś o mnie dbały. Taki dla mnie dobry… Kaleb żadną miarą nie mógł jej zrozumieć. – Ślepota… ślepota, drogie moje **biedactwo** – rzekł niepewnie – jest strasznym nieszczęściem, ale […].
JŁ, 82–83	Ale przecież pamiętam, jaka byłaś wesoła i szczęśliwa, Bertho! I tyle ludzi cię **kochało** i **kocha**! – I to właśnie jest **cios w serce**, ojcze! Zawsze tacy o mnie troskliwi! Zawsze dla mnie tacy mili! Caleb nie bardzo mógł ją zrozumieć. – Nie… nie widzieć, Bertho, moja biedna, moja kochana – zaczął nieporadnie – to wielkie kalectwo, ale […].

Only Mazanowski and Łoziński provide Bertha's name in the first line, as per the original. Łoziński employs the substitution technique, using the word "remember" instead of "think". When conveying the emotional tone, he uses a fighting metaphor, exemplified by the expression "a blow to the heart". This can refer to a physical situation when someone hits someone in a fight, but

it also suggests love as a fight or struggle – such as "we fought for ourselves".

Here, the heart serves as a metonym for feelings. A wounded heart is similarly depicted in Mazanowski's translation with the phrase "it hurts my heart". Both translations reflect a physical change with two phrases indicating a disruption in the heart's influence, highlighting that emotional pain can be comparable to physical pain (Pajdzińska 1990, 93). Łoziński changes the sentence structure for emphasis, opting for repetition, and utilizes modulation. In contrast, Kreczowska reduces the emotional charge of this fragment. While she maintains the number of exclamations, her use of an excess of lexemes affects the "intensity of the scene" (Hejwowski 2004, 168). Tarnowska's tendency to employ diminutives such as "córeczko" [daughter], "ojczulku" [father], and "biedactwo" [poor thing] is manifested. As Jarniewicz points out, "Polish has a separate grammar that applies when an adult addresses a child. […] These may be […] diminutives and shortenings, both for informational and emotional purposes, the intensity of which in speech to a child is its distinguishing feature, a typical feature" (Jarniewicz 2014, 294).

Fragments of the translation of *The Cricket* by Antoni Mazanowski prove its fidelity to the original. The translation, which dates back to the early twentieth century, adopts a strategy of domesticating the text for the target culture while preserving specific values and norms from the original work. This hybrid approach applies not only to linguistic and aesthetic norms but also to moral and emotional aspects. The translator often avoids naming emotions directly, which leads to a less intense and deep portrayal of feelings compared to the original. A careful comparative reading of the English original and the translation proves that Mazanowski's translation reveals inconsistencies in his choice of equivalent lexemes. At times, he intensifies the emotional intensity and expressiveness of a particular scene, while at other times he diminishes emotionally charged words or omits exclamations in the syntactic structure. This omission of exclamation marks can distort the work's overall concept and interpretation. Additionally, when dealing with the character of the disabled girl Berta, the translator tends to use diminutive forms which carry significant emotional weight. A comparative analysis leads to the conclusion that his early twentieth-century translation may feel cumbersome for modern readers due to its archaic style, reflecting changing societal norms.

Maria Kreczowska (Feldmanowa-Kreczowska), translated this book multiple times over the course of more than 30 years and focuses on fidelity to the original text and accurately reflecting the author's intentions. She achieves this by selecting synonyms and variations that are closely aligned with the original meaning. A notable aspect of Kreczowska's work is her emphasis on emotional equivalence, which often results in a certain emotional liveliness. This emotional expression can sometimes lead to an exaggerated portrayal of feelings, the use of superlatives, or even the adoption of diminutives. In her latest two translations Kreczowska adapted the language to modern standards, which has introduced noticeable differences in intensity, grammatical forms, and vocabulary. In her shortened version, she omits certain passages and diminishes the intensity of emotions, which ultimately impacts the reader's understanding of the characters and their inner world of experiences and emotions.

Krystyna Tarnowska's translation clearly demonstrates a significant influence on the emotional aspects of the original work. She does not overlook elements related to emotional intensity. Her decisions are undoubtedly shaped by the host culture, which is known for its emotional openness. In many instances, Tarnowska opts for equivalents that possess a high degree of expressiveness, especially when it comes to emotionally charged lexemes like adjectives. One of the common translation techniques she employs to convey a strong sense of emotion is diminutive forms and the use of superlatives. Tarnowska enhances and intensifies her version, focusing on vocabulary as well as structural elements, ensuring that the emotional depth is preserved and accurately reflected in Polish culture. In comparison to earlier translations, Tarnowska modernizes her version by addressing and eliminating stylistic failures. This approach aligns with contemporary translation practices.

When comparing the original text to Jerzy Łoziński's translation, it becomes clear that Łoziński takes a more creative approach, introducing his own perspective and style. Analyzing his translation reveals that he employs a modern, accessible style that resonates with today's readers in terms of vocabulary, syntax, and expressive language. However, his work is not entirely free of archaisms and terms reflective of an older era, which highlight the antiquity of the original text.

The differences between the original and the translated text are evident in several areas: the omission of some descriptions, a reduction in emotional depth, and a simplification of certain

words. Instead of adhering strictly to the original, the translator experiments with creative choices, aiming to stand out and align more closely with contemporary trends and audience preferences. Despite these changes, the emotional essence of the translation is not entirely lost. However, there seems to be inconsistency in how Łoziński conveys the emotive nature of the text. At times, he enhances his version, making it more expressive and impactful, while at other times he opts for a more economical approach, reducing the richness of some lexemes.

CONCLUSION

When translators render a source text they face various dilemmas, one of which is how to depict the emotions within the text, the images evoked by characters' emotive language, and the emotional impact of the text. These translations can bring interesting, puzzling and thought-provoking conclusions about the phenomenon of the retranslations and the concept of faithfulness. In terms of faithfulness, as Eco convincingly argues that:

> translation is a form of interpretation and that (even while considering the cultural habits of their presumed readers) translators must aim at rendering, not necessarily the intention of the author (who may have been dead for millennia), but the intention of the text – the intention of the text being the outcome of an interpretative effort on the part of the reader, the critic or the translator. (Eco 2003, 5)

This premise holds true, since in every single translation some information is added, lost, reduced, or reshaped. Perfect and faithful translation is impossible because every culture differs. Hence, translators bring into translations their cultural heritage, social norms and images. What they can do is to transfer the closest image of the source text to the target one. Research shows that the experience of emotions in a language is determined not only by the choice of particular words marked emotively but also by grammatical structures which appear and shape the issue of emotional expression in a certain way. The analysis offered in this paper may prove that expressing emotions is not a universal but a culturally conditioned phenomenon that is specific to each culture and language.

Time is also significant for poetics and the fashions and trends of translation. The path of translating the works examined here spans from the nineteenth century, when the first version of *The Chimes*, was published to the twenty-first century, culminating in 2015 with Jerzy Łoziński's translations of both *Christmas Books*.

The paths of choice are also outlined; these include faithfulness to the original, individual lexemes, stylistic equivalence, cultural differences (determined by Polonization), the influence of Polish literary trends, and, above all, attention to the projection of the primary text. Due to the asymmetry between the language systems of English and Polish, different variants are possible in the case of lexis and grammar. The use of variants from a diachronic perspective is influenced by the large timespan within which all the target versions exist. Given this, translations that are supposed to be standard-bearers themselves contribute to the development of future translations. First of all, linguistic norms determine that earlier versions sound archaic, causing older translations to become obsolete. Secondly, we have translation norms – the basic elements of translation techniques that create an acceptable approach to translating languages in a given era. Translation norms take into account the fact that what was once considered "normal speech" might today draw attention to itself, perhaps even make the reader laugh, because it sounds inappropriate, overly obvious, or inappropriate. Translation norms also take into account actions by the translator that intensify the expression of emotions or feelings, and those which diminish or weaken such expression. The examples presented in this article illustrate the dilemmas faced by translators. Due to the period of development of the series, translators implement or not emotionality in different ways.

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AN ACOUSTIC ANALYSIS OF RHYTHM IN BAHDINI KURDISH

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ABSTRACT

Based on their common rhythmic characteristics, languages have been divided into different classes: stressed-, syllable- and mora-timed languages. A variety of studies have examined the acoustic correlates of rhythm in various world languages. However, there has not yet been any experimental work analysing the rhythmic properties of Kurdish, nor is it clear to which rhythmic class it belongs. This study examines the acoustic correlates of rhythm in one of the sub-dialects of Kurdish, namely Bahdini Kurdish (BK). It represents the first attempt to study BK rhythmic patterns using the methods proposed by Ramus et al. (1999) to analyse rhythm metrics. The study is based on the reading of 10 BK sentences and the spontaneous speech of 10 BK native speakers. The data was segmented using the speech analysis program Praat and the duration of the vowel and consonant intervals was derived. The rhythm class of BK was determined by examining the patterns of duration, variability and segmental properties, and then the effects of speakers and speaking styles on the variation of the rhythm metrics were examined. The results show that the rhythmic quantitative features of BK are associated with syllable-timed languages in both read and spontaneous speech. Both the speaker and speaking style were observed to have an effect on the values of %V. The study contributes to filling a gap in phonological studies of BK by examining the segmental-prosodic profile of the language to determine whether it correlates with a stress-timed or syllable-timed rhythm-metric composition. Providing BK's rhythm-metric computations also expands the existing repository of languages already explored using this framework.

Keywords: Bahdini Kurdish, rhythm, stressed-timed, syllable-timed, segmental intervals, speaking styles

INTRODUCTION

Rhythm is a prosodic feature that results from the repeated intervals that occur successively in human speech and depends on certain factors such as syllable structure, the contrasts of short and long vowels, vowel reduction, and the appearance/absence of vowel sequences (Ladefoged 2006). Languages can be divided into three different classes based on their rhythm characteristics: stressed-timed, syllable-timed and mora-timed.

This study will analyse the rhythmic properties of Bahdini Kurdish (BK) and identify the rhythmic class to which the language belongs. BK is a subdialect of the northern Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish, which belongs to the Indo-European language family. It is a member of the northwestern subgroups of Iranian languages, which are subdivisions of the Indo-Iranian branch of this largest language family in the world (Thackston 2006). The language is divided into three main groups: Northern, Central and Southern Kurmanji, in addition to Dimili and Hewrami (Kurdish Academy of Language 2023). BK is spoken in the cities of the Duhok Governorate in the north of Iraq. As for the phonemic system, BK has eight vowels (Khan and Salih 2017) and 32 consonants (Hasan 2012). Four vowels – /iː, uː, eː and ɑː/ – are inherently long and the others – /ɨ, ʉ, o and ɑ/ – are short. There is a debate about the existence of diphthongs in BK. For consonants, there is a phonological contrast in BK between aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless plosives and affricates (in terms of syllable initial position only) (Shokri 2002; Thackston 2006) as well as between palatalized and non-palatalized alveolar plosives.

BK does not have a complicated syllable structure. It has few syllable types and the consonant clusters can include up to two segments in the initial and final parts (Shokri 2002; Hasan 2009). The vocalic element is the central obligatory element in a syllable, while the non-vocalic elements are optional (Marif 1976; Shokri 2002). Shokri (2002) identifies the following syllable patterns for BK: V, VC, CV, CCV, CVC, CCVC, CVCC, VCC and CCVCC (V stands for vowel and C for consonant). However, vowel-initial syllable structures are not allowed in BK either word-initially or medially, because they are pronounced with a glottal stop that is not part of the phonemic structure of the syllable, i.e., not a true consonant but rather inserted to fill the onset position (Hasan and Mohammed 2023). Additionally, the stress in BK is almost always word-final, i.e. the stress is assigned to the last syllable of the

prosodic word after all morphological operations have taken place (Hasan 2016).

Bahdini Kurdish has never been rhythmically studied, nor is it clear which rhythm class it belongs to. There is a study on the rhythm class of Kalhori Kurdish, a subcategory of Kurdish spoken in the southern part of the Kurdish language-speaking area in western Iran (Taghva and Zadeh 2016). Taghva and Zadeh (2016) analysed the rhythmic features of Kalhori Kurdish using Pairwise Variability Index (PVI) metrics and, based on the results, classified this variety of Kurdish within the stress-timed category. This study presents an analysis of BK's rhythm metrics to examine whether the language exhibits patterns of durational variability and segmental proportions typical of stressed-timed or syllable-timed languages. In addition, the effects of speakers and speaking styles on these metrics are examined. Specifically, we assume that: 1) if there is high alternating variability in the length of consonantal (C-) and vocalic (V-) intervals, then BK can be categorized as a stressed-timed language; 2) if there is low alternating variability in segmental intervals, it can be categorized as a syllable-timed language and 3) the durational metrics may vary depending on the speaker and speaking style.

The research questions that the study addresses are:
1) What are the rhythm patterns in BK?
2) Is there variability among speakers and speaking styles in the realization of the rhythm metrics?

The study is significant because it helps fill a gap in our understanding of the phonology of BK and examines the segmental-prosodic profile of the language to determine whether it is associated with a stressed-timed or syllable-timed rhythm-metric composition. The study complements the collection of studies that have used this approach on other languages by providing rhythm-metric calculations for a previously unanalysed language.

THE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC RHYTHM

According to the traditional isochrony hypothesis (Abercrombie 1967; Pike 1945), languages can be classified into syllable-timed, stress-timed and mora-timed. This grouping is attributed to the isochrony or equal duration of specific prosodic elements: syllables in the case of syllable-timed languages such as Spanish, Italian and French; stress intervals in the case of stressed-timed

languages such as English and Dutch; or mora in mora-timed languages such as Japanese and Tamil. A variety of instrumental studies have shown that the stressed-based and syllable-based isochrony is not systematic and, furthermore, the empirical evidence for these classes is weak (Roach 1982; Dauer 1983).

Given the lack of phonetic evidence for the strong version of the traditional isochrony hypothesis, an alternative account of speech rhythm has been proposed, often going under the heading "rhythm class hypothesis" (e.g., Dauer 1983; Ramus et al. 1999). In this view, the perceived rhythm of the supposedly stress- and syllable-timed languages is reinterpreted as reflecting a combination of phonological and phonetic properties, particularly syllable structure and vowel reduction. Accordingly, stressed-timed languages tend to have a greater variety of syllable types and stress is correlated with syllable weight, while syllable-timed languages tend to have fewer syllable types and stress and syllable weight are independent of each other. As for vowel reduction, unstressed syllables in stressed-timed languages have reduced, shorter vowels than stressed syllables. In other words, stress-timed languages allow vowel reduction in contrast to syllable-timed languages, therefore vowel duration should be more variable in stress-timed languages (Low and Grabe 1995; Low, Grabe and Nolan 2000). Languages are then classified as stressed-timed or syllable-timed depending on the typical phonological properties they exhibit (Dauer 1987). Dauer (1987) advocated a continuous one-dimensional rhythm model in which typical stress- and syllable-timed languages occur at both ends of the continuum, ranging from lowest to highest stressed-based. This model is supported by the fact that there are languages whose properties correspond neither to those of typical stress-timed, nor to those of typical syllable-timed languages. This reflects that rhythm differences in languages are not classes but that these differences are represented in a unified rhythmic continuum or space (Ramus 2002).

CONSONANTAL AND VOCALIC INTERVALS

Consonantal and vocalic intervals (C- and V-intervals respectively) are the basic units for rhythmic measurements in speech streams (Ramus et al. 1999; Grabe and Low 2002) as they are most important for the perception of rhythm. According to Ramus et al. (1999) and Grabe and Low (2002), speech rhythm classes can be acoustically distinguished by monitoring the variability of the

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V- and C-intervals. They used these measurements on the basis that rhythm is reflected in the phonotactic structure of the language. Ramus et al. (1999) hypothesized that (1) higher syllable complexity of stressed-timed languages leads to greater variability in C-interval durations and (2) vowel reduction leads to greater variability in V-interval durations in stressed-timed languages than in syllable-timed ones and ultimately leads to greater complexity in consonantal clustering, causing V-intervals to occupy a smaller percentage of the signal in stressed-timed languages than in syllable-timed languages. In this study, these units are used to measure BK rhythm.

A C-interval is an interval in speech that consists of one or more consonants preceded and followed by a vowel or pause (Ramus et al. 1999). The bi-syllable word *encam* /andʒɑːm/ [result] in isolation consists of two C-intervals: /ndʒ/, which occurs between the initial vowel /a/ and the second /ɑː/, and the second interval /m/ occurs between the second vowel /ɑː/ and the last pause. Structurally, C-intervals can be simple, consisting of one consonant (c) segment (e.g., the second interval in *encam*) or they can be complex, consisting of two or more c-segments (e.g., the first interval in *encam*). C-intervals can stretch across syllable boundaries, i.e., the syllable boundary between the /n/ and the /dʒ/ in the first C- interval of *encam* does not separate the interval. In utterances that consist of more than one word, C-intervals also stretch across word or sentence boundaries, as long as these boundaries are not marked by a pause (Dellwo 2010).

C-interval complexity refers to the number of consonant segments in a C-interval (ibid.). Languages allow for a greater variety of complex syllable clusters but they can arrange them in a way that keeps C-interval complexity low. Intervocalic consonantal complexity varies from language to language and stress-timed languages have significantly higher numbers of complex C-clusters than syllable-timed languages (ibid.). This is reflected on the acoustic level by the variability of C-interval durations. Languages that exhibit high levels of consonantal complexity reflect higher variability in C-interval durations.

A V-interval is an interval in speech that consists of one or more vowels preceded and followed by a consonant or pause. The Kurdish word *encam* /andʒɑːm/ consists of two V-intervals: /a/ preceded by the initial pause and followed by the consonant /n/ and the second interval /ɑː/ that occurs between the consonants /dʒ/ and /m/. The vowels typically form the syllable nucleus and V-intervals typically consist of one vowel or diphthong only. It is,

however, possible that two vowels clash together at word boundaries in multi-word utterances in which one word finishes with a vowel and the following word starts with another vowel. The complexity of the vocalic clusters is mainly shown by whether languages allow vowel reduction, which is a feature of stressed-timed languages (ibid.). Because vowel reductions are characterized in the time domain by shorter durations, languages that require a variety of reduced and non-reduced vocalics should reflect this on an acoustic level by highly variable V-interval durations.

RHYTHM METRICS

Based on the segmentation of a speech signal into consonantal and vocalic intervals, rhythm metrics or rhythmic indexes (Salem and Pillai 2019) can be calculated as a means to study the rhythm class by measuring the variability of segmental intervals in the speech stream (Ramus and Mehler 1999). In this approach, the existence of the traditional stress-timing/ syllable-timing dichotomy is reinterpreted and a set of metrics is proposed to distinguish languages according to their traditional rhythm classifications. The approach focuses on two phonological features proposed by Dauer (1987), namely, syllable structure and vowel reduction, which have direct consequences on the duration of consonantal (C-) and vocalic (V-) intervals. According to Ramus (2002), the speech is segmented into alternating V- and C- intervals which are measured along three durational metrics: %V, ΔC and ΔV. Percent vowel (%V) is the percentage of vocalic content in the speech stream relative to the total segmental content that is measured by totalling the duration of the V-intervals divided by the combined total duration of the V- and C-intervals. Delta C (ΔC) shows the standard deviation of the C-intervals, and Delta V (ΔV) represents the standard deviation of the V-intervals. Stressed-timed languages are characterized by high alternating variability in the duration of V- and C-intervals (high scores for ΔC and ΔV). This is due to the typical lengthening of the consonants and vowels in stressed syllables, relative to the shortening of vowels and consonants in unstressed syllables. Meanwhile, syllable-timed languages show lower alternating variability in segmental interval length (low scores for ΔC and ΔV). This is due to the greater uniformity in syllable structure resulting from less lengthening of vowels and consonants in stressed syllables and less reduction in unstressed syllables. It is concluded that %V and ΔC best represent rhythm

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because these two measures best reflect the accepted classification of the languages under study when plotted together, creating a rhythm space in which rhythmically similar languages are clustered together.

Low and Grabe (1995), Low et al. (2000) and Grabe and Low (2002) suggest different metrics for the study of rhythm, known as pairwise variability indices (PVIs). Raw PVI (rPVI) is the sum of the absolute differences between pairs of successive consonantal or vocalic intervals divided by the number of pairs in the speech sample. This is used to measure consonants because they are less sensitive to changes in tempo. To measure variability in V-intervals, this metric can be normalized (nPVI) by dividing each absolute difference between successive intervals by their mean. Low et al. (2000) state that stress-timed languages exhibit relatively high variability index values for V- and C-intervals, while syllable-timed languages exhibit low variability index values for both intervals. This is different from ΔC and ΔV, which measure the standard deviation of the intervals calculated overall.

Additional metrics that are variations of already-existing metrics but normalized in some way have been developed. Frota and Vigario (2001) suggested the use of standard deviation of normalized percentages of C- and V-intervals. Dellwo and Wagner (2003) suggested Yet Another Rhythm Determination (YARD), which is similar to the PVIs in that z-transformed syllable durations are used for measurement. Furthermore, Dellwo (2006) proposed normalized standard deviation calculations of C- and V-intervals (standard deviation divided by the mean or Varco). Additionally, some studies proposed metrics that rely on the duration of prosodic units rather than segments. For example, Barry et al. (2003) employed a syllable-based PVI calculation, while Nolan and Asu (2009) measured the nSPVI (normalised syllable PVI) and nFPVI (normalised foot PVI) – similar to the normalized PVI of Grab and Low (2002) but measuring the duration of the syllable and foot respectively.

Analysing rhythm using metrics is considered somewhat controversial and unreliable, as results vary according to different factors such as speakers, elicitation methods and the syllable composition of the materials (Arvaniti 2012), but the use of the metrics remains a frequent and prevalent measure of rhythm class in the literature. This method has provided clear evidence for the acoustic reality of rhythm class and serves as a methodological framework for analysing many languages. It supports the idea that "the standard rhythm classes are meaningful categories, that not

only appeal to intuitions about rhythm, but also reflect actual properties of the speech signal in different languages" (Ramus et al. 1999, 387). This study adopts this approach for the analysis of the BK rhythm pattern, especially the metrics proposed by Ramus et al. (1999). Ramus et al.'s (1999) metrics have been studied by many linguists over recent decades, demonstrating the efficiency of this approach in analysing the acoustic rhythmic features of languages of the world (Ramus 2002; Lin and Wang 2007; Dellwo 2010; Mairano and Romano 2011; Arvaniti 2012) or dialects of the same language (for dialects of Arabic, see Ghazali et al. 2002; Hamdi et al. 2004).

RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

This study employs an analysis of the rhythm metrics proposed by Ramus et al. (1999): %V (percentage of vocalic content), ΔC (standard deviation in C-interval length) and ΔV (standard deviation in V-interval length). The study is different from Ramus et al. in that 10 speakers, both genders, were chosen as subjects while Ramus et al. had only four female speakers from each language examined. Additionally, this study was based on 10 short individual declarative sentences representing read speech, in addition to spontaneous speech, while Ramus et al. had only five sentences as read speech. Finally, this study focuses on BK, which is not among the languages studied in Ramus et al.

Participants

The speech material was produced by 10 BK native speakers from the University of Zakho: three males and seven females. They were students at the University of Zakho, and their ages ranged between 19 and 22. The speakers were from various Bahdini-speaking areas such as Duhok, Zakho, Akre and Amedi. Their participation was voluntary and they were informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study if they wanted to. Prior to recording, the speakers were asked to provide written consent to be recorded.

In this study, a sufficient number of speakers were recruited to try to identify and overcome any problems that may result from inter-speaker variability and thus obtain, to some extent, robust and reliable metric scores.

SPEECH MATERIAL

The read experimental sentences were different both in their length and the type of syllables they contained (see Table 1). The BK sentences were written using the Kurmanji Latin writing system; transcriptions are provided in IPA revised version symbols and the syllable structures are given using C (consonant) and V (vowel).

Table 1. Experimental sentences

1.	*çavêt wî kurî kulbun* [the eyes of that boy were hollow]	/ʧɑːveːt wiː kʉriː kʉlbuːn/ CVː.CVːC.CVː.CV.CVː.CVC.CVːC
2.	*ew zaruke keftin* [the children fell]	/ʔɑw zɑːrʉkɑ kɑftɨn/ CVC.CVː.CV.CV.CVC.CVC
3.	*kenîn zaruka dilxoš diket* [laughing makes children happy]	/kɑniːn zɑːrʉkɑː dɨlxoʃ dɨkɑt/ CV.CVːC.CVː.CV.CVː.CVC.CVC.CV.CVC
4.	*cîranêt me hemî rabun* [all our neighbours were up]	/ʤiːrɑːneːt mɑ hɑmiː rɑːbuːn/ CVː.CVː.CVːC.CV.CV.CV.CVː.CVː.CVːC
5.	*ew dare hamî sotin* [all those trees were burned]	/ʔɑw dɑːrɑ hɑmiː sotɨn/ CVC.CVː.CV.CV.CV.CVː.CV.CVC
6.	*sotin ya dijware* [the burn hurts]	/sotɨn jɑː dɨʒwɑːrɑ/ CV.CVC.CVː.CVC.CVː.CV
7.	*ew ji tirsa revîn* [they ran away because of fear.]	/ʔɑw ʒɨ tɨrsɑː rɑviːn/ CVC.CV.CVC.CVː.CV.CVːC
8.	*ewan warêt xo hêlan* [they left their countries]	/ʔɑwɑːn wɑːreːt xo heːlɑːn/ CV.CVːC.CVː.CVːC.CV.CVː.CVːC
9.	*jotyara zavî kêlan* [the farmers culti-vated their lands]	/ʤotjɑːrɑː zɑviː keːlɑːn/ CVC.CVː.CVː.CV.CVː.CVː.CVːC
10.	*kêlan karekê bi zehmete* [cultivating is hard work]	/keːlɑːn kɑːrakeː bɨ zɑħmɑtɑ/ CVː.CVːC.CVː.CV.CVː.CV.CVC.CV.CV

The test sentences were presented to the speakers in a randomized order. No context was given and no fillers were used, as the sentences were quite different. Since this study represents the first attempt to analyse rhythm in BK, it is thought that read speech is the most appropriate speech material as it includes less variation and is more controlled with respect to speech rate than other speaking styles.

For the spontaneous speech, the speakers were asked to talk about a topic they were interested in. They were given time to think about their topic and what they wished to say. The speakers were recorded when they felt prepared and ready to talk. Ten utterances from each speaker were extracted thus, the total number of spontaneous utterances was 100 (10 utterances × 10 speakers).

Two types of speech (read and spontaneous) were used in this study to help identify whether the calculations are consistent across speech types or whether speech type has any effect.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

For the production test, the speakers were individually asked to read the sentences at a normal speech rate and were given time to read through the text before the recordings were made. Their readings were recorded in a soundproof booth, using a MacBook Pro computer, a Creative Headset HS-600 noise-cancelling microphone and the speech analysis software Praat version 6.1.16 (Boersma and Weenink 2020). The data was digitized at 16 kHz. When hesitations or errors occurred during the recordings, the speakers were asked to repeat the utterances at the end of the session. After that, the spontaneous speech was recorded.

PROCEDURES OF DATA ANALYSIS

The data were segmented in Praat. The phonemes of each sentence were marked using both auditory and visual cues in tier one of Praat textgrid. Segments were identified and located as precisely as possible manually, using the phoneme inventory of BK. Then, they were classified as vowels (V) or consonants (C) in tier two. The V- and C-intervals were indicated in tier three. A V-interval was placed between the onset and the offset of a vowel, or of a cluster of vowels; similarly, a C-interval was located between the onset and the offset of a consonant, or of a cluster of consonants. Figure 1 represents the segmentation process of a sentence as produced by a speaker.

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Figure 1. The segmentation process of one of the experimental sentences as produced by one of the speakers in the sample

tʃ	ɑː	v	eː	t	w	iː	k	u	r	iː	k	u	l	b	u	n
C	V	C	V	C	C	V	C	V	C	V	C	V	C	C	V	C

0.893   3.111

Time (s)
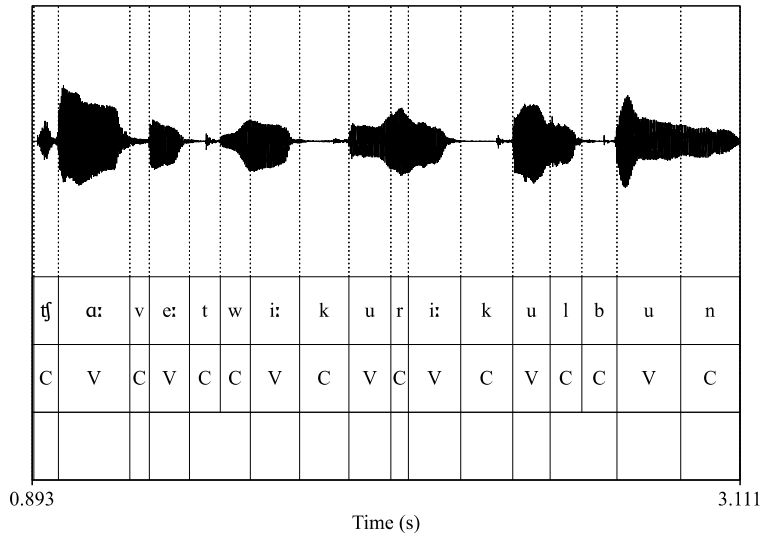
Thus, the following sentence is comprised of eight consonantal and seven vocalic intervals.

Çavêt	wî	kurî	kulbun.
CVCVC	CV	CVCV	CVCCVC

[The eyes of that boy were hollow.]

For the next step, the following measurements were extracted:

1) the duration of the V- and C-intervals in each sentence;
2) the sum of V- and C-intervals in each sentence which constitutes the total duration of the sentence;
3) %V: the proportion of V-intervals within the sentence, that is, the sum of V-intervals divided by the total duration of the sentence multiplied by 100;
4) ΔV metrics were derived by calculating the standard deviation of the V-interval durations within each sentence;
5) ΔC metrics were derived by calculating the standard deviation of the C-interval durations within each sentence.

The results of the measurements were saved as Excel files and the scores were derived using Excel formulas. The sentences constituted 72 syllables. The total number of segments (both consonants and vowels) analysed was $170 \times 10 = 1700$. The total number of intervals was 1,484 (764 C-intervals and 720 V-intervals). For the spontaneous speech, the total number of

syllables came to 3,460. The total number of segments came to 8,160. The total number of intervals was 7000 (3440 V-intervals and 3,560 C-intervals).

RESEARCH RESULTS

The main measurements of BK read speech are presented in Table 2. The average proportion of V-intervals (%V) and the average standard deviations of consonantal (ΔC) and vocalic (ΔV) intervals across all sentences as produced by all speakers are shown. ΔV and ΔC are shown multiplied by 100 for ease of reading.

Table 2. the number of V- and C-intervals and the values of %V, ΔV and ΔC for BK

| V-intervals	C-intervals	%V	ΔV	ΔC
720	760	49.35	3.84	4.73

The %V score (49.35) indicates that the overall proportion of time during which speech is vocalic is high. This suggests that BK is less likely to allow vowel reduction. The score (3.84) for ΔV is low, which indicates that there is limited variability in the vowel duration between stressed and unstressed syllables, i.e., there is not much lengthening of vowels in stressed syllables or reduction in unstressed syllables. Additionally, the ΔC measurement (4.73) indicates that the proportional amount of time spent on C-intervals is low, which indicates that there is less variability in the C-intervals' length, i.e., BK syllable structure is not so complex. Thus, BK scored low on ΔC and ΔV due to the greater uniformity in syllable structure, with limited lengthening of vowels and consonants in stressed syllables and limited reduction length in unstressed syllables.

PHONOTACTIC COMPLEXITY

It is also important to study whether BK language material is generally representative of stress-timing or syllable-timing with regard to the syllabic complexity rationale. The study found that the BK syllable structure is not particularly complex and there is low complexity and variability in the length of C-intervals. Thus, the syllable complexity and number of consonants that BK admits intervocalically in read and spontaneous speech were analysed.

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The read speech consisted of 10 utterances constituting 72 syllables. The syllable structures identified were CV and CVC. The CV structure was dominant, occurring in 46 syllables (64%), compared to 26 CVC syllables (36%). In spontaneous speech, 3,460 syllables were analysed and more complex syllables were identified due to vowel deletion. The structures identified were CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC, CVCC, CCCV and CCCVC. CV was the dominant structure, occurring in 2,330 syllables (67%), followed by 880 CVC structures (25%). At the other end of the scale, CCV and CCVC were only used in 3% of syllables each and the rarest structures were CCCV (0.5%) and CCCVC (0.25%). Thus, in both types of speech CV and CVC were the most dominant syllable structures.

Figure 2. C-interval complexity in BK read and spontaneous speech

READ SPEECH C-INTERVALS

CC 22%

C 78%

SPONTANEOUS SPEECH C-INTERVALS

CCC 3%

CC 26%

C 71%
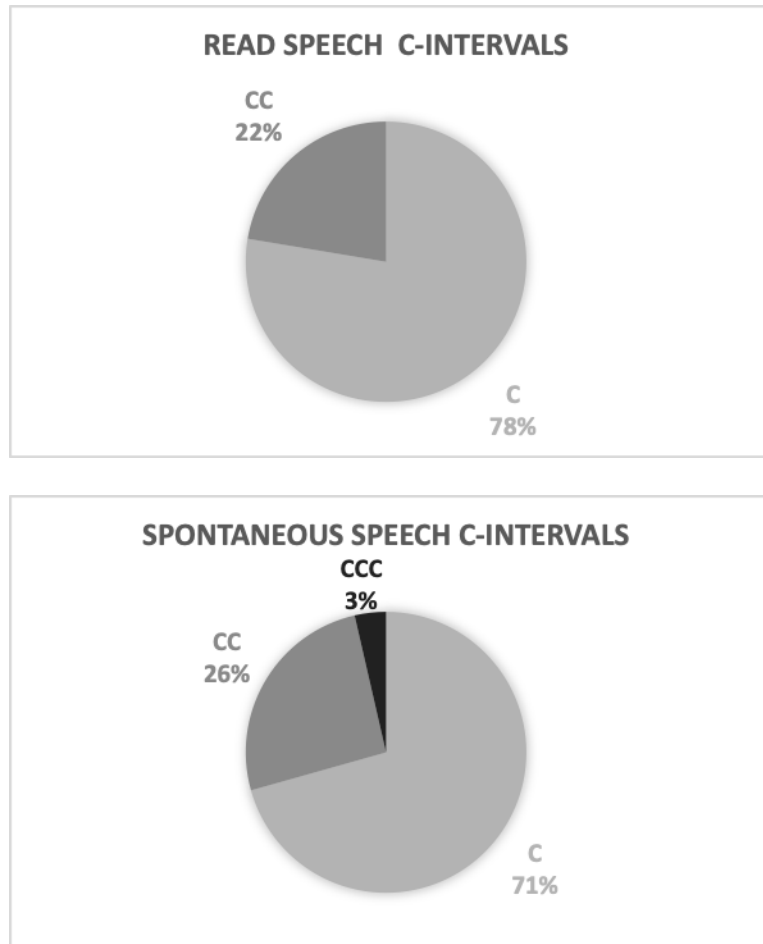
As for the C-interval complexity in both read and spontaneous speech, the number of c-segments in the C-intervals was examined and the frequency of each type of C-interval was established. The results are summarized in Figure 2.

In the read speech, out of the 764 C-intervals, 594 C-intervals (78%) had one c-segment, while only 170 (22%) had two c-segments. More complex C-intervals consisting of triple consonant clusters were not found. Meanwhile in spontaneous speech, the total number of C-intervals was 3,560; of these, 2,550 (71%) had one c-segment, 930 (26%) had two c-segments, and only 130 (3%) had three c-segments. Thus, the more prominent cluster type consists of one consonant only, while the least prominent consists of three.

SPEAKING STYLE AND INTER-SPEAKER VARIABILITY IN BK RHYTHM

Variability in rhythm metrics was studied as a function of speaker and speaking style to identify whether the scores were consistent across these factors. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. rhythm variability across speakers and speaking styles
(ΔV and ΔC values multiplied by 100 for ease of reading)

S	Read speech			Spontaneous speech		
	%V	ΔV	ΔC	%V	ΔV	ΔC
1	47.55	3.6	3.72	48.08	3.28	5.52
2	50.46	3.97	6.25	41.97	3.91	7.09
3	49.01	2.99	3.82	44.34	2.13	4.89
4	52.04	4.74	4.08	48.13	3.38	4.34
5	51.72	2.93	4.03	48.85	3.51	4.40
6	52.04	2.92	3.55	46.26	3.59	5.19
7	50.03	4.72	5.3	46.43	3.84	5.41
8	44.56	3.14	4.95	47.58	3.05	4.59
9	51.14	5.85	7.04	45.18	2.53	4.66
10	44.99	3.58	4.54	44.31	4.23	8.17
Mean	49.35	3.84	4.73	46.11	3.34	5.43
Variance	7.81	0.96	1.35	4.68	0.40	1.57
SD	2.79	0.98	1.16	2.16	0.63	1.25

The table shows the mean score for the three metrics –%V, ΔV and ΔC – for each speaker's read and spontaneous speech. The speakers seem to display lower average %V and higher average ΔC for spontaneous speech compared to the read passage values, indicating more syllable-timing features in the spontaneous speech.

Regarding variance across the speakers for read speech, the scores show great speaker variability for %V (7.81) due to the high value of the variance, and less speaker variability for ΔV (0.96) and ΔC (1.35) due to the low values of the variance. In the spontaneous speech, there was high variability for %V (4.68), although this was less than the variability of %V in read speech. Meanwhile, there was less speaker variability for ΔV (0.40) and ΔC (1.57).

To examine the effect of speaking style on the measurements of the durational metrics, a one-way ANOVA was used. The results show that speaking style had a statistically significant effect on %V, as $F(1,18) = 8.40858$; $p = 0.00955$. However, speaking style did not have a significant effect on ΔV ($F(1,18) = 0$; $p = 1$) or ΔC ($F(1,18) = 1.66236$; $p = 0.213608$).

DISCUSSION

This study attempts to identify the rhythmic class of BK. The BK read speech results were compared with those of the languages examined by Ramus et al. (1999) in Table 4, which ranks the languages from most to least stress-timed.

Table 4. %V and ΔC scores of BK ranked with the languages examined by Ramus et al. (1999)

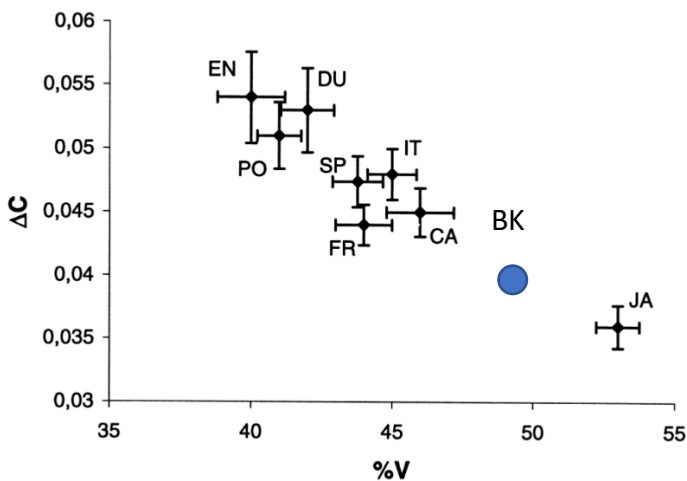| Language	%V	ΔC
English	40.1	5.35
Polish	41.0	5.14
Dutch	42.3	5.33
French	43.6	4.39
Spanish	43.8	4.74
Italian	45.2	4.81
Catalan	45.6	4.52
BK	49.4	4.73
Japanese	53.1	3.56

The table shows that BK has a higher %V score than the languages classified as stress-timed (English, Polish and Dutch) and syllable-timed (French, Spanish, Italian and Catalan), second only to Japanese. In terms of ΔC, the score definitely places BK among the syllable-timed languages, as it lies between the syllable-timed languages Spanish (4.74) and Italian (4.81). Thus, based on its values for %V and ΔC, BK is consistent with syllable-timed languages.

The location of BK in the three-dimensional space proposed by Ramus et al. (1999) for the languages they studied is given in Figure 3.

According to these parameters, BK can be classified a syllable-timed language, along with Spanish, Italian, French and Catalan. Thus, the hypothesis that BK is a syllable-timed language is supported, as there is low alternating variability in the both vocalic and consonantal segmental intervals.

Figure 3. The distribution of BK alongside the languages studied by Ramus et al (1999) over the %V and ΔC planes.

The classification of BK as a syllable-timed language is supported by the relatively low complexity of its syllable structure and low number of complex C-clusters. In syllable-timed languages, syllables are more similar in duration because they are of the same type (Nespor et al. 2011). For example, in Spanish and French, more than half of syllables (by type frequency) consist of a consonant followed by a vowel (CV) (Dauer, 1983). In Italian, 60 percent of syllable types are CV (Bortolini 1976). This is similar to BK, in which the majority of syllables were CV in both read (63%)

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and spontaneous speech (65%). For this reason, the majority of the C-intervals have one c-segment in BK in both read (78%) and spontaneous speech (71%). The C-interval with a c-segment is most pronounced in syllable-timed languages such as French and Italian and is less pronounced in stressed-timed languages such as English and German (Dellwo 2010). Most syllables in syllable-timed languages are open syllables, which is another phonological property of this group: that open syllables are more prevalent than in stress-timed languages (Schmid 2004 cited in Mairano 2011).

Furthermore, it was found that BK speakers exhibit syllable-timing features in both read and spontaneous speech. However, the value of %V was lower and that of ΔC higher in the spontaneous utterances than in the read speech, suggesting that speakers exhibit greater temporal variation in spontaneous utterances, and therefore syllable-timing characteristics are more strongly manifested in spontaneous speech. Furthermore, the analysis of the data shows that the rhythm measures, particularly %V, are influenced by the speaker and speaking style. It turns out that %V depends heavily on the speakers and speaking style. There is high speaker variability for %V in both read and spontaneous speech, but variability was greater in read speech than in spontaneous speech. This is related to the variability in speaking rate in read speech, although speakers were told to read at a normal speaking rate, while when speaking spontaneously, speakers produced the utterances naturally and therefore there was less variation in their vocalic durations. Meanwhile, lower speaker variability was observed for both ΔV and ΔC values in both speaking styles. Likewise, %V was also significantly influenced by speaking style, with a lower value for spontaneous speech than for read speech. This may be related to the different segmental content of speech samples and vowel elisions in spontaneous speech (Salem and Pillai 2019). ΔV and ΔC, on the other hand, were not significantly influenced by the speaking style.

CONCLUSION

The study represents the first attempt to acoustically analyse the rhythm pattern of BK and establish where it stands in the rhythmic classification of world languages. It is classified as a syllable-timed language according to the measurements presented by Ramus et al. (1999). It is placed in this group because it has a high vowel content and a low consonant variance. This suggests that BK has

fewer syllable types and does not allow vowel reduction. The study also analysed the effects of speakers and speaking styles on rhythm measures and found that only %V was influenced by these variables.

This study was limited to one subdialect of Kurdish, namely BK. Therefore, it is recommended that similar studies be carried out on other dialects and sub-dialects of Kurdish to find out whether they all cluster around syllable-timed languages or whether there are dialectal variations in rhythm patterns.

The study makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of BK phonetics and phonology by conducting a preliminary experimental study on the rhythm class of one of the sub-dialects of Kurdish, demonstrating its clear durational metrics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CODE-SWITCHING IN SESOTHO CLASSES IN LESOTHO: IMPLICATIONS FOR SESOTHO TEACHING AND LEARNING

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ABSTRACT

A common feature of colonised nations is the co-existence within the same community of two or more languages, leading to bilingualism and even multilingualism as a characteristic of the citizens of such countries. This gives rise to a communicative strategy that is only available to bilingual people, that of code-switching (CS). Despite the fact that all interlocutors in Sesotho classrooms in government schools in Lesotho are speakers of Sesotho as a mother and/or first language, occurrences of CS in those settings have been noted. This article examines the use of CS by teachers and learners of Sesotho, a Southern African Bantu language spoken in Lesotho, in formal Sesotho lessons in selected government schools. All the teachers and learners who were the subjects of this study were competent speakers of Sesotho as their mother and/or first language. Qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews with the teachers, as well as lesson observation. Four (4) Grade 11 classes in four (4) schools were purposively selected as sites for the study. The study found that whereas CS does occur during formal Sesotho lessons, teachers are actually inclined to forbid and banish it from their lessons. Paradoxically, however, there are forms of CS that have become so naturalised in the Sesotho classroom that the teacher and learners do not even seem to notice that they have actually spoken English amidst a Sesotho lesson.

INTRODUCTION

Whereas all bilingual individuals and speech communities are loci for the perpetual jostling of the two or more languages that are available to them at all times, in formerly colonised nations, this ever-present need to choose between and among languages often has serious and far-reaching political, cultural and socio-economic implications. From a purely linguistic perspective, the co-occurrence of two or more languages within a given social setting gives rise to a communicative strategy known as code-switching (henceforth CS). Whereas many studies of this phenomenon focus on its use in the context of second or foreign language acquisition, this present article examines the use of CS among students and teachers of a dominant indigenous African language who are also mother or first-language speakers. The language was being taught in an African country where it is the mother tongue of the vast majority of the population. That country is Lesotho, the language in question is Sesotho, and the teachers and learners of it are indigenous Basotho who speak it as their mother and/or first language.

Having been a Sesotho teacher and a member of Sesotho Teachers Associations for more than fourteen (14) years, one of the authors of the present article observed how some teachers of Sesotho became agitated if a fellow teacher or learner used an English word, phrase or expression in their utterances. Reactions were often so aggressive that angry words were exchanged, with some even going as far as to claim that people who code-switched were tainting their language. However, it was equally observed that some teachers of Sesotho routinely resorted to CS in their lessons. The article accounts for the first phase of a study aimed at exploring the use of Sesotho as a mother/first language.

BACKGROUND

Lesotho is a country in the SADC region with a total of six languages, including sign language. However, the number of languages spoken in the country is not limited to these six languages, as in recent years the country has experienced an influx of people of Chinese and Indian origin who come into the country mainly for business and bring their languages along with them. Furthermore, in 2009, the Ministry of Education and Training decided to expand its repertoire of languages being offered in schools by introducing French as an elective subject (Makumane,

Fru 2021). This plethora of languages thus renders Lesotho a multilingual country (Kamwangamalu 2012).

The most dominant languages in the country are Sesotho and English. English has for centuries predominated in all formal domains, including education, while Sesotho has been primarily used in all the other less formal, less socio-economically important and less prestigious domains (Kolobe, Matsoso 2020, 2021).

CS refers to the use of two or more languages in one utterance. It is defined differently by different scholars and there seems to be a slight confusion as far as the distinction between CS, code-mixing and borrowing, with some scholars arguing that there is no difference between the terms (Myers-Scotton 1997; Appel, Muysken 1987) while others feel strongly that there is a difference, albeit a thin one. According to Semethe (2019), this is because there are different views concerning the length of the elements switched. Poplack and Meechan (1995) and Sankoff (2001) opine that CS and borrowing should be regarded as two different phenomena, while Semethe (2019) notes that many scholars consider it difficult to differentiate between the two in certain contexts. Muysken (1987) states that code-mixing and borrowing are actually different. This view is, however, somewhat contrary to the view stated in Appel and Muysken (1987) that it is difficult to separate code-mixing and borrowing.

CS in language classes in Lesotho is inevitable because teachers and learners have a large enough pool of languages to choose from for their interactive and communicative needs. The power and influence of the English language emanates from the country's colonial history whereby Lesotho was a protectorate and later a colony of Britain between 1868 and 1966, when it gained independence (Maliehe 2021). Lesotho's contemporary education system is therefore deeply marked by the colonial legacy of the country's former colonial master, Britain. One consequence of that legacy is that most people in Lesotho can speak both Sesotho (which is dominant among the country's indigenous African languages) and English well. The unification of the country around these two languages is reflected in the fact that Basotho of Isixhosa and Siphuthi origins can speak and understand Sesotho. So dominant is Sesotho that 85–90% of the country's population speak Sesotho as their mother tongue (Kolobe, Matsoso 2021) As a result of the country's colonial legacy, the co-existence of Sesotho and English in Lesotho is governed by policies around language and language in education, as well as perceptions of prestige, economic worth and various cultural factors.

Lesotho's language policy states that both English and Sesotho are official languages, with Sesotho also being a national language (Ministry of Education and Training 2009; Kolobe and Matsoso 2021). According to Kolobe and Matsoso, "even though the two languages are declared as both official in the country, their status […] is defined by the roles that they play" (Kolobe, Matsoso 2020, 379). This means that both languages have been accorded the same status and are supposed to function equally in the country. However, in practice this is not the case, as English continues to be the dominant language in socio-economic domains that are considered important (Kamwangamalu 2012; Ministry of Education and Training 2021; Mpholle 2024).

The Lesotho Education Language Policy (Ministry of Education and Training 2019) stipulates that the mother tongue shall be used as a medium of instruction in all the lower grades of basic education (Grades R to 3), while English takes over from Grade 4 and is used as a medium of instruction up to tertiary level, whereas Sesotho continues to be taught only as a subject from Grade 4. This policy was adopted in the Lesotho Basic Education Policy (Ministry of Education and Training 2021), which states that the two languages must be used in that particular order in schools. Raselimo and Mahao (2015) posit that English is privileged over other subjects in the Lesotho curriculum and that this has remained so even after the publication of the curriculum and assessment policy, which is the curriculum framework that came before the Lesotho Basic Education Curriculum Policy was introduced. The first four years of basic education are therefore the only time that learners get to freely speak and practice Sesotho on school premises (Ministry of Education and Training 2009; 2021; Kolobe and Matsoso 2020; 2021). This is because, from Grade 4, the use of Sesotho outside and beyond the Sesotho class is strictly prohibited and schools do all they can to promote the use of English. If students are found speaking Sesotho on school grounds, they are punished. In almost every school, there is an "English Club" but there are no Sesotho clubs. There are many activities which are held in English all year long, some of which are even sponsored either by the government or various non-governmental organisations, whereas there is very minimal to no effort to accord Sesotho the same support.

AIM OF THE STUDY

This study is aimed at specifying the use of CS by Sesotho teachers in their classes and determining its impact on the teaching and learning of Sesotho. To attain this goal, the study sought to establish whether Sesotho teachers and their learners use CS during Sesotho lessons and evaluate the impact of any CS thus used on the teaching and learning of Sesotho in those lessons.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The researchers hope that the findings of this study will be useful in informing mother-tongue teachers worldwide about how they can make use of CS in their classes. It is also believed that teachers will be made aware that, as much as they may be against CS in their classes, they subconsciously employ it when the need arises. The authors also hope the study will be helpful in creating awareness among education policy-makers in all bilingual and multilingual countries that they should give learners and teachers the opportunity to choose the language they think helps them best achieve the objectives of their teaching and learning process and allow all the languages that co-exist in the country to become languages of education.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To conduct the study, the following research questions were addressed:
- Do Sesotho teachers and learners use CS?
- How does CS impact the teaching and learning of Sesotho?

LITERATURE REVIEW

CS, as a phenomenon arising from language contact between English and Sesotho, has been a big issue in Lesotho, especially in classroom settings. Studies such as those by Khati (2006), Moloi (2008), and Semethe (2019) have investigated different aspects of the performance of CS between Sesotho and English in the English-as-a-second-language (ESL) classroom. In this context, English functions as the matrix language or the main language of a conversation in which, according to Semethe (2009), the conversation was initially intended to be carried out before the

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switch occurred, whereas Sesotho is the embedded language, that is, the less important language that is not expected to be used in that particular conversation.

Previous research has demonstrated the usefulness of CS in classes where English is used as a medium of instruction, as it can help learners who are not linguistically gifted and has been found to improve their understanding and performance in the target language. However, the implications of switching from Sesotho to English in a Sesotho lesson are unclear, as are the types of CS common in that setting. The present article explores these patterns of behaviour in order to determine whether they pose any threats to Sesotho both as a language and as a taught subject and examines whether CS offers any opportunities for the teaching/learning of Sesotho.

This study adopts Semethe's definition of CS as "an alteration of linguistic elements between two or more languages or codes" (Semethe 2019, 24). This definition is supported by Halmari (2004) and Josefsson (2010), who regard CS as denoting the use of two different languages within one episode of a conversation, and Khalema and Raselimo (2024), who note that it denotes the alternating use of two languages in the same conversation within and between grammatical boundaries. Bullock and Toribio (2009) and Jamshidi and Navehebrahim (2013) concur that CS is the alternation of languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent of a sentence and reflects the ability of bilinguists to move seamlessly between two languages. Nilep (2006) corroborates this but adds that the process of CS may also include linguistic and extra-linguistic elements such as identity, norms and culture. Kumar et al. (2021) add that in CS the speakers must retain the same topic even if they are switching codes. Semethe (2019) argues that CS is a language contact phenomenon found in highly bilingual communities. According to Grosjean (2000) CS is important because it allows the speaker to choose the language they feel best satisfies their need.

CLASSROOM CODE-SWITCHING

Classroom CS can be defined as the alternation of languages that happens inside a classroom. According to Mangila (2018), classroom CS can also be called pedagogic CS. Norrish (1997) describes it as a switch between two or more linguistic codes to facilitate the acquisition and comprehension of a concept or metalinguistic element in the continual progression of a structured

or unstructured learning event. Lin (2008) defines classroom CS as the alternating use of more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants, including teachers, students, and teaching assistants.

TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING

According to Kasim et al. (2019) and Yildiz and Su-Bergil (2021), there are three (3) major types of CS. The first is inter-sentential CS, where the first sentence is completed and the speaker starts the next sentence in a different language. The second is intra-sentential CS, where the speaker shifts between two codes within the same sentence. The third is tag switching, where a speaker adds tags of one or two phrases into their statement. According to these authors, tag switching is a very common type of CS. Blom and Gumperz (1972) classify occurrences of CS in two categories: situational and metaphorical. According to them, situational CS involves a change in situational factors such as setting, topic and participants, while metaphorical CS occurs when the speaker deliberately shifts language codes to signal a new domain.

Whereas the literature has mostly focused on languages other than Sesotho and on the acquisition of foreign and second languages, often in settings dominated by languages other than the target language, this study is concerned with the learner's mother and/or first language – Sesotho – within a Sesotho language community.

REASONS FOR CODE-SWITCHING

Generally, people switch codes for a variety of reasons, including accommodating or excluding others. People may decide to switch to a different language if another person has joined the conversion and the original speakers want to shut them out. On the other hand, it may be to accommodate the person being spoken to, especially in cases where the addressee does not know the language that was initially being used. According to Narayan (2009), attention should be paid to the motives and determinants of CS. Motives include the need to coin new terminology and concepts, the tendency to imitate a more powerful group and the tendency to create a special jargon in closed groups. In this case, Sesotho teachers might switch to English in their classes because of the desire to imitate the native speakers of the language. Determinants include modernisation, economic development, prestige, ethnic and linguistic diversity,

nationalism, cultural threat, national character and the existence of a regulatory linguistic establishment. Those who support CS may be doing it for reasons such as prestige and linguistic diversity, while those who are against it may feel that the donor language poses a threat to their language and their culture as a whole. Matei (2009) points out that some aspects of communication may differ depending on geographical area, social class, gender, age and level of communication. This could mean that CS amongst learners is influenced by one or more of those factors.

There may be many reasons teachers and learners or any other participant in a classroom setting may decide to code-switch. It could be to clarify a concept or to bring order in a chaotic classroom. A teacher may grab the attention of the learners by switching to a language different from the one being used in class up to that point. Narayan (2019) highlights the fact that teachers utilise CS to bridge the language gap between them and their learners. According to Muthusamy et al. (in Khalema, Raselimo 2024), teachers may employ CS to emphasise important points and ensure the clarity of the content being taught.

Malindi et al. (2023) argue that CS is used for distinct reasons such as communicative functions, to fill in a lexical gap and for emphatic statements, among other uses. Hoffman (1991), Holmes (1992) and Kasim et al. (2019) concur that CS has nine (9) functions, namely, conversational, interjections, loan words, message qualification, transfer of subconscious markers, proper nouns, quotations, message reiteration, and personalisation versus objectification. Sert (2005) adds that sometimes teachers use CS to build solidarity and affinity with their learners.

Scholars who advocate the use of CS in classrooms (Limoso 2002; Mangila 2018; Bullock and Toribio 2009) observe that CS has advantages for learners. Limoso (2002) found that CS facilitates cooperation and understanding. Bullock and Toribio (2009) corroborate this, stating that CS fills linguistic gaps, expresses ethnic identity and achieves particular discursive aims.

Garcia and Lin (2016) argue that CS is an effective teaching instrument for teachers to pass on messages to their learners in a manner that they can understand, and that it contributes to the academic use of the second language (L2). This is echoed by Suganda et al. (2018) (in Khalema, Raselimo 2024), who claim that CS is recognised globally as an instrument that can help improve mutual understanding between learners and teachers. It is thus evident that in a second-language learning environment, CS can be a valuable asset. However, it is still unclear whether the same

positive effect can be translated into a Sesotho – or any other mother-tongue – learning environment. Littlewood and Yu (2011) raise concerns that while it may have some positive attributes, CS crowds the target language and therefore has unfavourable effects on the learning process. This concern is supported by Ferguson (2003), who asserts that one other reason for avoiding CS is its "interference" with the target language. If Sesotho teachers continually use English in their lessons it can have a negative impact, as learners may never get to know the words, sentences or phrases which are said in English. Indeed, going forward, they may learn to integrate those English words or phrases in their utterances in Sesotho.

Poplack (2001) suggests that there are three different approaches to CS: the sociological approach, the psychological approach and the structural approach. This study aligned itself with the structural approach which is the one that is explained further here. The structural approach looks into the extent to which a second language (L2) is integrated into a first language (L1) or the other way round. It determines intra-linguistic CS as internalised grammatical system or subsystems of bilingualism (Poplack 1980). Panhwar and Buriro (2020) describe how structuralists consider CS to be the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which are internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic rules of the lexifier language.

The authors of this paper felt that the structural approach to CS was best suited for this study because the way sentences are constructed (in terms of word order) is the same in both English and Sesotho, as both languages follow the subject–verb–object (SVO) pattern. Thus, most of the alternations that happen between these languages are rule-governed and, in most cases, show that the speakers are somehow competent in the two languages.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is underpinned by the matrix language frame model and Hymes's (1962) ethnography of communication. According to Semethe (2019), the matrix language frame model was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993). Myers-Scotton (2005) asserts that this model predicts the structures that are allowed to occur within a code-switched clause. The model claims that there is an imbalance in the roles played by the languages in CS given that one language is the source of the grammatical structure that governs the bilingual clause. The main language of the conversation, which is the source

language, is therefore called the matrix language, while the donor language is called the embedded language. In this present study, Sesotho, which is the target language, is considered the matrix language since it is the official language of instruction and general communication in the Sesotho language class, while English (and any other language that may be used) is considered the embedded language.

According to Farah, "ethnography of communication in the study of language must concern itself with describing and analysing the ability of the native speakers to use language for communication in real situations rather than limiting itself to describing the potential ability of the ideal speaker/listener to produce grammatically correct sentences" (Farah 1998:125). Farah goes further to explain that the focus of the ethnography of communication is on the speech community and the way communication is patterned and organised within that community.

This study examines the use of Sesotho and English (as well as any other language that may be used) in the study of Sesotho as a mother and/or first language in Sesotho speech communities in Lesotho. By adopting the ethnography of communication framework, the study mobilises a descriptive, rather than a prescriptive approach to its exploration of the Sesotho classes under investigation, not a prescriptive one.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a qualitative approach to data collection, analysis and interpretation in order to build an in-depth understanding of use of CS in formal Sesotho lessons at high school level. As means of data generation, semi-structured interviews and classroom observation were used. Kothari (2010) asserts that when observation serves a formulated research purpose, it must be planned and recorded to allow checks and control so as to ensure the validity and reliability of the data and the findings. Semi-structured interviews were considered useful because they are somewhat flexible and allow the participants to respond freely to the questions asked. Mcintosh and Morse (2015) note that in semi-structured interviews participants have the freedom to answer questions as they wish and a researcher may probe those answers. They further assert that semi-structured interviews allow for individual responses from people regarding their experiences.

These assertions are corroborated in Morse and Field (1995). DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) point out that when engaging in participant observation, the researcher takes part in the everyday activities of a particular group as a way of learning how they do things. This is reinforced by Flowerdew and Martin (2005), who state that participant observation seeks to understand the ways of life of real people from the inside, in the context of their everyday and authentic experiences.

Four (4) high schools in Mafeteng, Lesotho were purposively selected as sites for the study. The study population included all the teachers and learners of Sesotho in those schools. All in all, the four schools have a total of 1930 learners, all of whom take Sesotho as a subject. The study sample comprised four (4) Grade 11 Sesotho teachers and their Grade 11 learners, numbering a total of 120 learners. The size of the classes that were sampled varied from 25 to 33 learners. The learners were aged between seventeen (17) and twenty (20). Sixty percent (60%) were girls while the remaining forty percent (40%) were boys. The teachers included three (3) females and one (1) male between the ages of 39 and 46. They were all included because they taught the targeted language at the selected schools: the gender ratio was not planned. The authors chose to focus on Grade 11 because it is a terminal, high- stakes class: at the end of that year, the performance of the four-year-long teaching/learning process is evaluated and assessed via the school's graduation examination, administered by the Examinations Council of Lesotho (ECOL).

The following questions were used in the semi-structured interviews:
- Do you or your learners ever code switch in your Sesotho classes? If yes, why? If not, why?
- Can you give examples of non-Sesotho words and/or phrases that often come up in your classes?
- In which topics is CS likely to happen, in your opinion and why?
- Who uses CS more, teachers or learners? Any idea why?
- Do learners understand some concepts better when they are explained in English? If so, which ones?
- Do you think CS poses any threat to Sesotho teaching and learning? Is so, in what way?

DATA ANALYSIS

The data from the class observations and interviews was transcribed. Similar words and phrases which kept occurring in all the observed classes were put together so that they could later be used to form an opinion. The data from the teachers was written up separately from that of learners in order to establish whether the two groups use CS in classroom interactions and, if they do, the extent to which they do so. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to solicit teachers' views about whether they think CS poses any threat to the teaching and learning of Sesotho.

In an attempt to corroborate and validate the data from the interviews, classroom observations were also conducted. The data was then described, leading to the conclusion that teachers do code-switch but to a very minimal degree.

Next, information from the interviews with teachers was compared to observations from their classes in order to corroborate the information they shared. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data from the observations: responses were grouped in accordance with the research questions and similar answers were later put together and used in association with the data from the interviews to inform the study's conclusions. According to Jowsey et al. (2021), thematic analysis makes it easy for researchers to understand what people do and say in their social context.

Discourse analysis was used to analyse the data collected through interviews. According to Brown and Yule (2003), discourse analysis is basically the analysis of language in use, so this method was very helpful in determining whether Sesotho–English CS might indeed be a problem in Sesotho education and comparing how the two languages are used in that setting. Knott et al. (2022) state that discourse analysis is concerned with the role of language in society, with special attention paid to the clear or indirect dimensions of language and power.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Class observations and teacher interviews were used to gather data pertaining to use of CS during Sesotho lessons. A triangulation strategy was used to compare data from the semi-structured interviews with the four (4) teachers with data from classroom observations of their Sesotho lessons. We begin by reporting the results of the semi-structured interviews.

When asked whether they use CS in their classes, all four (4) teachers responded that they do. They explained that most of the time they did not do it deliberately, that it just happens, and that they sometimes did not even realise that they had used CS. They said that they used it because it was a natural way of communicating to their learners in a manner that they could understand.

Asked whether their students used CS, one teacher indicated that her students code switched all the time. Another teacher claimed that her students never code-switched, but her claim was contradicted by observation of the same teacher's classes, in which the learners did, in fact, resort to CS.

When asked if CS depended on the topic being taught, teachers opined that topics such as composition and grammar caused them to code switch most often because learners struggled to understand some concepts in Sesotho, compelling the teachers to resort to English to clarify the concepts. When asked whether learners understood some concepts in the Sesotho classes better when they were explained in English, teachers responded that this was indeed the case. They suggested that this might be because learners were more exposed to English than they were to Sesotho.

On the question of whether they thought CS poses any threat to Sesotho teaching and learning, the teachers indicated that CS was by no means a threat to Sesotho teaching and learning, especially if it was used minimally. In fact, they believed that CS could actually be a good strategy to facilitate teaching and learning of Sesotho.

Findings from the interviews with the Sesotho teachers were then compared with findings obtained through observing their lessons. Data collected from the class observations revealed that CS by teachers was relatively minimal and that the embedded language used was English in all the instances of CS noted. Teachers also reported that they used CS when explaining some concepts to their learners, especially when they suspected that the learners may struggle to understand what they mean in Sesotho. For example, in trying to explain different parts of a composition to learners, one teacher opted to use the noun climax instead of its Sesotho equivalent *sehlohlolo* and the English noun suspense instead of its Sesotho equivalent *ho sia mmali a khaletse litaba*. Another teacher used the English noun newspaper instead of its Sesotho equivalent *koranta*.

Observed usage of CS suggests that it was used by both the teachers and their students to underpin strategies to sustain, maintain and evaluate rapport during classroom interactions. For instance, in one lesson, learners say "Yes, teacher" in chorus in response to variations of their teacher's questions aimed at checking if they understand what has just been said. Examples of her utterances include *"Akere rea utloana*?" (Do we understand each other?) and *"Akere lea bona?"* (Is it clear?/ Do you see?). The most frequently used variation of the question, however, is the much shorter *"Akere*?" (Isn't it?/ Right?). In these instances, use of the English utterance "Yes, teacher" by the learners is embedded between two utterances in Sesotho by the teacher, making such uses of the phrase instances of intersentential CS. A peculiarity of this recourse to CS is that, linguistically, it is completely unnecessary, as the learners are entirely capable of producing the Sesotho equivalent of the English utterance "Yes, teacher" (*E ea tichere/mosuoe*), since it belongs to basic Sesotho. This type of CS must therefore be regarded as an integral part of established and naturalised classroom discourse. We are therefore faced with the paradox of Sesotho pedagogical discourse being comprised of a mixture of Sesotho and English. So naturalised was this type of CS that occasionally, the teacher elicited the learner response "Yes, teacher" by resorting to the English question "Right?". Another teacher frequently used the single word utterances "Right?", "Ok?", and "Yes?" in one lesson to check learners' understanding and maintain their attention.

Other types of CS that were noted were tag CS and intra-sentential CS. Learners systematically called their teachers either "Teacher" or "Madam" and never once used the Sesotho equivalents of those terms. These terms were used at the beginning of an utterance to draw the teacher's attention or signal that the learner was addressing the teacher, as in "Teacher, *ke kopa ho botsa …*" (Teacher, may I please ask …). Another example is "Madam, *ho na le meqoqo ena eo ereng,* Madam, *ha e felella e ke e felile kalehare*, Madam" (translation: Madam, there are some stories which when they end, Madam, leave the reader hanging, Madam). In this utterance, the embedded polite formal address term madam is used thrice in a sentence whose matrix is Sesotho, punctuating the sentence at the beginning, in the middle and at the end. Similarly, the formal English term sir is used to address male teachers in Sesotho classes. This is quite peculiar given that, in any other social setting, all Basotho people use the terms *ntate* and *mme*, which are the Sesotho equivalents of the English sir and madam respectively,

even when addressing their interlocutors in English. Indeed, the typical Mosotho, young or old, never uses the English terms sir and madam in a Sesotho conversation in any situation outside of formal education institutions. This is therefore a case of generalised and naturalised CS whereby the embedded term is actually treated as a borrowed word that now constitutes an element of the Sesotho pedagogical discourse. Using such terms therefore no longer constitutes CS for Sesotho teachers and learners in the context of their classroom interactions since they now function as ordinary elements of Sesotho language, at least in educational settings.

A peculiar instance of intra-sentential CS was when teachers resorted to explicit translation, as in the following example: "*ka senyesemane re re* they leave us in suspense". Such reliance of Sesotho to English translation suggests that the teacher assumes that her learners had learnt the concept in question in English and therefore only needed to transfer it to the Sesotho context. This is an instance of learners' mother or first language assuming the status of a foreign or second language, to the extent that the concept being learned – or at least the discourse about it – originates from the embedded and, in this case, second language of the learners and their teacher.

While spontaneous use of CS by learners not only went unsanctioned by the teachers but also seemed to cause no concern at all for any of the four (4) teachers observed, explicit requests by learners to express themselves in English were systematically denied. Here is an exchange in which a learner struggles to express the notion of literary devices in Sesotho and asks to say it in English:

Table 1. Interaction between a learner and a teacher in a
Sesotho class

Speaker	Transcription of recorded utterance	English translation
Learner	Madam, *joale mantsoe a a tlameha hoba makae*?	Madam, so how many words should there be?
Teacher	*Mantsoe a fe*?	Which words?
Learner	*A na e re bouang ka oona*.	The ones that we are talking about.
Teacher	*Ke mantsoe a fe ona ao*?	Which words are those?
Learner	Madam, *ke kopa ho hlalosa ka Sekhooa*.	Madam, can I explain in English?
Teacher	*U hlanya ha ka kang*!	Are you that mad?

This exchange illustrates the fact that learners have acquired more metadiscursive competence (such as grammatical terms) in English than in Sesotho and are inclined to rely on it, at least in cases of extreme difficulty, in their Sesotho lessons. However, for the teacher, explicit discussion of CS seemed to elicit diglossic considerations, leading to knee-jerk recall of the official instruction to use only Sesotho in Sesotho lessons. Thus, whereas the teacher's reaction to the learner's request to resort to English suggests that using English in a Sesotho lesson is taboo and should never be considered, the same teacher accepted the learner calling her Madam throughout the above exchange. This underscores the notion that some types of CS have become so naturalised in Sesotho pedagogical discourse that the interlocutors do not even notice instances of them, meaning that they are now effectively bona fide elements of Sesotho for pedagogical purposes.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study were compared against those from studies by Semethe (2019), Mangila (2018), Kumar et al. (2021), Malindi et al. (2023) and Khalema and Raselimo (2024).

Analysis of the data from this study focusing on CS in Sesotho classes revealed that both teachers and learners use CS in their classroom interactions in which the embedded language is English. If teachers and learners use CS, as this study has shown they do, this could suggest that poor performance among Sesotho learners could be improved if teachers employed more CS.

Since teachers are responsible for implementing curriculum policies, their belief that CS can have positive impact on the teaching and learning of Sesotho suggests that policy-makers should consider allowing the use of whichever language both teachers and learners are comfortable with in their daily pedagogical processes.

The study also revealed that teachers do not believe that CS harms Sesotho as a language in any way. However, findings from a similar study by Semethe (2019) focused on Sesotho–English CS reveal that even though all changes in the structure of Sesotho are influenced by the use of English, they are in fact there. As Semethe notes, "Sesotho's susceptibility to change correlates strongly with age: both the length of time contact between Sesotho and English has existed, and the generation in which change is mostly found." The findings from the teachers' interviews in this study contradict

Semethe's point, because the teachers we interviewed stated that they did not think CS between Sesotho and English will change Sesotho at all.

This study revealed that CS is habitual among Sesotho teachers, and that sometimes they are not even aware that it has occurred. Mangila (2018), who studied a similar phenomenon in the context of the Philippines, found that although teachers do use CS in their language classes, it was rare for language acquisition and habitual purposes. This is also interesting because the data from the class observation in this study reveal that the teachers *did* code switch when it was clear that learners did not understand what they were saying.

Kumar et al. (2021) studied the effectiveness of CS in a language class in India. Their findings are aligned to what has been discovered in this study: that CS is mostly used to interpret complex ideas, translate questions and check students' understanding. It is mentioned in this study that Sesotho teachers are inclined to forbid the use of the use of CS in their classes. The findings of Kumar et al. (2021) also reveal negativity amongst teachers towards the use of CS in their classes. However, as the results of this study and Kumar et al. (2021) show, despite their stated aversion to it, teachers in fact use CS themselves to help their learners understand better. This suggests that CS does actually help learners to improve their marks. However, CS must be used with caution so that it does not overshadow the target language.

Malindi et al. (2023) who studied the same phenomenon in the teaching and learning of mathematics in South Africa asserts that it is impossible to avoid CS in teaching learners who speak languages other than English as their first language. Even though the scenarios are different here, the two studies are however in consensus that CS is natural in teaching and learning processes, especially in a bilingual or multilingual society.

Khalema and Raselimo (2024) indicate that, as a teaching strategy, CS improves geography learners' understanding by improving their knowledge of subject-specific terminology. Geography is among the subjects taught in English, but teachers sometimes have to switch to Sesotho to ensure that learners understand the content being given to them. This is not very different from what was revealed by the findings of this study: that Sesotho teachers switch to English to explain some concepts which seem to be difficult for learners. As shown in the interviews with the teachers, as much as it may be a good strategy, CS needs to be used minimally. They also advise against over-reliance on CS as

they say it may have negative effects on the target language of Sesotho itself.

CONCLUSION

This article reported the findings of the first phase of a broader study of CS in Lesotho. It acknowledges that a peculiarity of Lesotho's bilingualism is that CS emanates from the British colonial legacy. The study focused on the use of CS in the formal teaching and learning of Sesotho as a mother tongue and/or the first language of all the interlocutors involved. It was found that although CS does occur during formal Sesotho lessons, teachers are actually inclined to forbid and banish it from their lessons. Paradoxically, however, there are forms of CS that have become so naturalised in that teachers and learners do not even seem to notice that they have actually spoken English in a Sesotho lesson.

The authors recommend that a study similar to this one but with a larger population should be conducted to collect more comprehensive data on this phenomenon. They also recommend further research on Sesotho teachers' attitudes towards CS in their Sesotho classes, comparing the influence each of these two languages has on the teaching and learning of the other.

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