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**INTERFERENCE OF NON-ARTISTIC LINGUISTIC-
CULTURAL CODES IN ARTISTIC DISCOURSE
(NEWSPEAK IN S. WIECHECKI'S AFTER-WAR
FEUILLETONS)**

The subject matter of the paper is the interference of the Polish variant of Newspeak with *wiech*, i. e., the Warsaw vernacular as reflected in S. Wiechecki's after-war feuilletons. The authors show how several Newspeak lexical items occurring in the speech of Wiechecki's characters are used, besides denoting realities of life in Communist-governed Poland, also to express a wide range of additional senses and attitudes, from mere playing on officialese to implicit irony and, further, criticism and negation. In doing this, these items change their meaning or otherwise adapt to *wiech*, serving artistic purposes of satirically portraying, along with other everyday existence paraphernalia, *nowomowa* itself. The reception and interpretation of these *nowomowa* entities by *wiech* are considered a variety of language self-defence (as understood by A. Wierzbicka), with *nowomowa* used by Wiechecki's characters mostly in an unorthodox and creative way, notably in parody, burlesque, and even travesty. Generalizing the conceptual and methodological framework in which the study has been carried out and observations made substantiates the authors' contention that it is both possible and feasible to use the concept of linguistic contacts and interference more broadly, applying it to any theoretically or practically significant instance of such idiom interaction, both interlingual and language-internal; also, that in researching contacts and interference, one must take into account language entities and their features as well as linguistic-cultural codes to which they belong and functional varieties of discourse realizing these codes, as it is within these specific discursive varieties that language entities actually function, idiom interference takes place, and linguistic borrowings are made.

Keywords: idiom interference, Newspeak, *wiech*, discursive-functional genre, S. Wiechecki.

The subject matter of the paper is the study of those linguistic features of Stefan Wiechecki's post-war feuilletons that resulted from, and therefore reflected, the interference of two linguistic-cultural codes, namely of the Polish variant of Newspeak (Polish *nowomowa*)¹ with *wiech*, or the Warsaw urban vernacular as represented in post-war feuilletons of Stefan Wiechecki².

As is well known, contacts of linguistic idioms as well as borrowing of various linguistic features from one idiom to another, which result from these contacts, are in the very nature of language, to a large degree shaping its growth and structure (see, e. g., [Zymovets : 133–142]), all the more so that such contacts and borrowings can occur not only between different languages but also within the same language, between different varieties thereof. In [Yermolenko 2018; Yermolenko 2019; Yermolenko 2021], one of us argued, with special reference to eponymy research, for an approach to the study of lexical borrowings that would take into consideration not only contacting languages as such but also, especially (albeit by no means exclusively) in the case of language-internal interference, contacting linguistic-cultural codes within the same language as well as discursive-functional genres which realize these codes in speech and within which newly adopted items come to operate. Establishing, i. e., finding or reconstructing, the specific discursive-functional context as well as the consituation (i. e., the physical and social situation in which a specific speech act takes place³), in which borrowing occurred, as well as taking into account specific linguistic-cultural codes involved in this process would elucidate such relevant features of interference and/or its results that otherwise would remain unaccounted for and unexplained, or even unnoticed. In particular, in [Yermolenko 2018] and especially [Yermolenko 2021], among other cases, instances are discussed where the motivation and inner form of some eponyms, both old (such as folk calendar terms or traditional plant names formed with the help of anthroponyms) or recent (e.g., *Mare Moscoviense*, a Lunar sea named after the Russian capital) cannot be adequately understood without taking into consideration the discursive interaction of relevant linguistic-cultural codes: in the first case, it is the interaction of the ecclesiastic, folklore, and traditional folk vernacular discourse genres within proverbial microtexts, and in the second, that of the political-ideological and scientific ones (in particular, the influence of political and ideological factors, such as CPSU Central Committee instructions, on coiners' choice of the underlying item to make the eponym a carrier of Soviet propaganda message).

Stefan Wiechecki's after-war feuilletons provide unique material for a case study of Communist Newspeak as an interfering idiom, in that the adoption and acculturation of this idiom's lexical items in his stories was anything but a passive

¹ Coined by George Orwell in his novel «Nineteen Eighty-Four» as a name of an artificial official language, English *Newspeak* became a designation of ambiguous euphemistic language used chiefly in political propaganda (ShOED) (see also [Edwards, Cornwell]). Its Polish correlate was, according to A. B. Strawińska [Strawińska : 307] created by Michał Głowiński to denote a Communist variety of the language serving totalitarian ideology and propaganda [Głowiński 2001 : 173]. On Polish Newspeak, or *nowomowa*, see also his other works, such as [Głowiński 2014], as well as [Bralczyk; Stefanowska].

² Cf. T. Kostkiewiczowa's definition of *wiech* in [Słownik terminów literackich : 487]: 'a literary transposition of the Warsaw urban dialect used by the dwellers of the capital's peripheral districts; the term derives from the surname of the popular feuilleton author Stefan Wiechecki (Wiech), who recorded and to some extent codified this dialect in his feuilletons and comic morals and manners stories'.

³ On the term, see [Gołąb, Heinz, Polanski : 298].

process of obedient and uncritical reception. Therefore, we regard these stories as, *mutatis mutandis*, an instance of what Anna Wierzbicka later called (not referring to Wiechecki's work) language self-defence: according to her, «linguistic self-defence in a totalitarian or semi-totalitarian state consists of finding ways of giving expression (in a more or less permanent form) to those emotions, attitudes and preoccupations which in a country dominated by a severe political control cannot be expressed openly...» [Wierzbicka : 8]. Also, she indicated, following K.Koscinskij, that colloquial / popular language was the only area remaining outside the state censorship control [Wierzbicka : 2] (besides, see [Zaslavsky, Fabris : 394], also mentioned by her).

It was the *milieu* of speakers of such a language, with their idiom, customs, and culture, that was the central theme of the works of Stefan Wiechecki (1896-1979). This Polish writer and journalist became immensely popular before the Second World War due to a genre he created, that of humorous stories of morals and manners whose characters were ordinary citizens of the Polish capital and which reproduced the latter's vernacular. Themes of his interbellum feuilletons and sketches often had their origin in events that ended in the courtroom, where Wiechecki witnessed them in the capacity of a reporter [Wojnowski : 581]. After the war, he gradually stopped writing court stories yet continued to cover various events in everyday life of Warsaw, as a rule, representing them as reported by less educated representatives of the city population, with the author sometimes present as an interlocutor. At the same time, the thematic scope of stories told by *wiech*-speaking narrators was broadened to include two new subjects: new theatrical (later also cinema) performances (including a play or movie itself, i. e., a piece's content, as well as the way it was produced and played), on one hand, and, on the other, the history of Poland from its very beginning and until the so-called Partitions in the 18th c. Both themes were represented from the narrative viewpoint involving not only *wiech* as a means of communication but also the linguistic world picture inhering in it (on *wiech* in his historical stories, see [Chernysh 2011; Chernysh 2018]). The two genres overlapped, when a reviewer expressing his or her opinion accompanied it with some historical commentary concerning the play's plot and characters.

Thus, the Warsaw urban vernacular spoken by his stories' heroes can, too, safely be regarded as one of the leading characters of these stories. The term *wiech*, an eponym deriving from this author's *nom de plume* and defined as 'an informal, unconventional language variety that is expressively marked and independent of the standard language's precise norms; an urban dialect; the Polish word corresponding to English *slang* and French *argot*' was listed in «Dictionary of the Polish Language» edited by W. Doroszewski (the latter's intended to give this word a generalized terminological meaning). The entry also includes, among quotations, the following fragment from Doroszewski's article: «*Wiech* is a way of speaking that contravenes, violates or offends the established linguistic-cultural convention, and therefore most of all differs from any speech that is solemn/exalted, stilted, precious, gravely official and full of pathos» (SJPD). In the same article, he also assessed *wiech* as an expression of the expansiveness, criticism and humour of masses, stemming from their intelligence and wit [Doroszewski : 11-12].

At the same time, it should be noted that, strictly speaking, *wiech* of Wiechecki's feuilletons was not part of the underground language. Although banned in 1951 by the state censorship, when all his works were also removed from public libraries [Żmigródski : 13], before and after that period of several years, Wie-

checki's stories regularly appeared in the press and their collections, albeit in a smaller number of copies than he would wish, were published too. Presumably, in his writings in general and in his handling *nowomowa* items in particular, he of necessity was obliged to consider the state censorship's demands, and the latter institution, while on the whole laxer than its Soviet counterpart, still was an instrument of Communist control over media and other varieties of public discourse.

Therefore, to describe his reception of, and reaction to, Polish Newspeak, it was not enough for us to trace instances of the latter's items occurring in Wiechecki's texts. Also, it was necessary to analyze these occurrences in their context in order to determine features in their semantics and usage that differed from their original version as represented in *nowomowa*. For this, we consistently consulted Doroszewski's dictionary (published in 1958–1969 and so reflecting afterwar Polish and its officially prescribed usage⁴), where especially valuable for us were not only definitions but also illustrations in relevant entries that had been drawn from sources representing the contemporary Communist discourse. Contrasting them with the way Wiechecki's characters used corresponding lexemes and phrases made it possible to determine the semantic and pragmatic specificity of the latter use.

All in all, we have examined Wiechecki's pieces collected in thirteen of his books that were available to us⁵. They include ten of his lifetime collections of stories and sketches from 1955 till 1974, two novellas and a book of memoirs, as well as two posthumous collections. Chronologically, stories contained in them were almost exclusively written and published after the war, including some feuilletons from collections published from 1945 till 1953 (unfortunately, editions of this period were out of our reach).

It was not our intention, however, to provide a comprehensive analytical description of all Newspeak items found in these texts, with the chronology of their first and subsequent appearances there, since such a task would have surpassed the journal publication's limits. Instead, we wanted to establish the range of possible effects accompanying the author's use of these items and to present these possibilities, if not as a gamut, then as an otherwise ordered set. To do so, we have selected, as our principal objects of investigation, two items of *nowomowa* lexis, *przodownik* and *uspołeczniać* (*uspołeczniomy*), and, occasionally, also some others found in Wiechecki's texts, establishing all the cases of their textual occurrence as well as the meanings they convey and the discursive functions they perform. These words reflect those new realities, both linguistic and extralinguistic, that emerged in, and became part of, Polish life under the Communist rule; and what regards *przodownik* and *uspołeczniać* (*uspołeczniomy*), in Wiechecki's post-war stories, they belong to the most recurrent items of this kind.

Speaking of such lexemes, the following should be added. As one may presume, lexical units that occurred in *nowomowa* official discourse would mainly have belonged to semantic categories related to ideology, politics, economy, civil administration and the like. Arguably, however, in this word stock, there also existed a periphery, whose constituents, too, were ideologically marked but referred to other aspects of human life and could fulfil other linguistic functions, what with

⁴ As pointed out in [Saloni, Bańko], compiling this dictionary was largely influenced by the exigencies of censorship, both «external» and «internal», in particular the factor of the political acceptability of both definitions and quotations.

⁵ See the full list in Sources.

nowomowa aspiring to be the universal metalanguage applicable to every sphere and situation of language functioning [Głowiński 2001 : 177]. For instance, *dziadek Mróz*, the principal legendary figure of New Year and Christmas festivities lore in Russia since the 19th c., must also have been known in Warsaw as well as the part of Poland that until 1918 was a part of the Russian Empire. Following the Second World War and the Communist takeover, he was reintroduced by the People's Poland authorities both as an atheistic substitute for Saint Nicholas (Santa Claus, Polish *święty Mikołaj*) and as an entity belonging to the Russian and Soviet cultures and therefore suitable for russification and Sovietization of the country (see [Osęka]). In «Trzy Julcie», reviewing «Mały książę» («Le petit prince» by A. de Saint-Exupéry) staged in the Wielki Theatre in Warsaw at the beginning of the 1970s, Wiechecki's character mentions, while describing Christmas paraphernalia present on the stage, also *święty Mikołaj*, adding that earlier the latter was known as *dziadek Mróz: Mechaniczne zabawki na chodzie, same jeżdżą, nawet święty Mikołaj, dawniej dziadek Mróz, na samochodzie zapycha* (Wiechecki 1974 : 296). Arguably, the reason for this additional commentary concerning *dziadek Mróz* was his being an alien lore figure with strong Communist and Russian connotations, so his replacement by the traditional Polish *Święty Mikołaj* after the end of the Stalinist period was a welcome fact for most Poles and therefore worth mentioning.

Polish *towarzysz*, too, should be regarded as a Newspeak item in that, as a term of address, it could only be used with reference to '<...> party members and members of workers' organizations' (SJPD). It occurs in one of Wiechecki's stories («Genia się pakuje»), where a narrating character, while criticizing the imposition of fines for the sale of bread without packaging, says: *Rzecz wiadoma, że w Polsce Ludowej wszystko jest państwowe, ogólne, nasze, znaczy się. Więc o wiele my ściągamy mandat karny z państwowego sklepu z pieczywem i przekazuję go do państwowej kasy, to jest tak jakbyśmy, kochane towarzysze, przekładali te forsy z jednej kieszki do drugiej. Czyż wszak nie? Czyli że ręka boli i czasu szkoda* (Wiechecki 1974 : 255). Presumably, this markedly official Communist form of address is chosen by the author to represent his character as a loyal citizen of a Socialist state in the situation when this character exposes one of numerous absurdities of the Socialist way of life; simultaneously, with its help, the author not only mimicked but also parodied official discourse.

Still, a detailed discussion of the list of main notional categories of *nowomowa* lexis and of problems involved in delineating the latter's boundaries and determining its structure, however interesting and worthwhile it may be, must of necessity be left for the future.

We will start with correlating Newspeak items as employed by Wiechecki with text-internal (i. e., fictional) producers of those speech utterances in which they occur. In other words, initially, we will find out who of his characters used these words and collocations.

In Wiechecki's stories, there are several text-internal narrators. One of them corresponds to the author, i. e., Wiechecki himself, as its fictional counterpart. This «author» never speaks *wiech* and generally introduces a principal and, as a rule, *wiech*-speaking narrator by starting a conversation with him (his *wiech*-speaking interlocutor, Teofil Piecyk, already appears in pre-war feuilletons). Far more frequently, however, the «author» is altogether absent. Like Piecyk, other principal narrators (the most recurrent one among them, besides Piecyk, is Walery Wątrobka) belong to Warsaw's lower, or «uneducated», population strata. Texts featuring

them have the form of narrative and/or dialogue. Besides their role as narrators, these characters can previously have either taken or not taken part in narrated events. Then there are also non-narrating personages whose utterances are reported by the narrators.

Elements of *nowomowa* can occur in the speech of all of them, as, for instance, exemplified by the feuilleton «Napad dzikich». Its text consists of the feuilleton itself embedded in the author's commentary concerning its origin and background. This feuilleton is presented in the form of a fragment of the diary of an old caretaker in a small institution called *Spółdzielnia «Drogista»*, part of which has been, due to a mistake in allocating housing, occupied by squatters. The caretaker notes that the children visiting the latter treat him very friendly, particularly reciting him «legal», as he puts it, i. e., ideologically correct, verse about new enterprises rather than traditional «birds and butterflies»: <...> *Dzieci wierszyki mnie mówią i różne deklamacje. Nie można powiedzieć — legalne, nie o różnych ptaszkach i motylkach, tylko o Nowej Hucie i piecu numer dwa w Częstochowie* (Wiechecki 1955 : 137). In this way, he testifies his loyalty to the Communist regime, as both *Huta imienia Bolesława Bieruta* in the town of Częstochowa and especially *Nowa Huta* (Vladimir Lenin Steelworks) near Krakow were among the most ambitious industrialization projects of the period and, correspondingly, belonged to recurrent topics in the official public media discourse as well as Polish socialist realism literature [Sobkowski; Lebow 2013]. At the same time, depriving children literature's traditional topics of legal status in favour of industrialization makes this loyalty statement exaggerated and therefore intentionally funny.

In the «author's» speech, too, there are instances that can be regarded as ironic allusions to, or renderings of, Newspeak. First, the author cites his editor-in-chief who summons him to his office and proposes him the feuilleton's theme, substantiating his proposition as follows: *Ponieważ podobne wypadki dość często się zdarzają, trzeba to napiętnować*. Polish *napiętnować* 'to expose and denounce' literally means 'to brand or mark something or someone with a stain', and, in a transferred sense, 'to consider as evil and shameful, harshly to denounce, to stigmatize someone or somebody (usually according to the general opinion or the opinion of some social group or community)' (SJPD), cf. the illustrations from the same source: *Brudna ta <...> sprawa kwalifikuje się pod pręgierz opinii i powinna być napiętnowana, jako odstrasżające zjawisko w życiu publicznym; napiętnować publicznie*. Used in a formal communication between two journalists, but outside the public discourse, the verb sounds not only much too official but stilted and unnatural as well, all the more so that the object of criticism is unimportant enough to make a call to «stigmatize» it incongruous and comic.

In the same piece, however, there is an instance of even more subtle ironical allusion to Newspeak. The author portrays his editor-in-chief as «gnawing the stem of his little English people's pipe»: <...> *grzyząc cybuch ludowej angielskiej fajeczki* (Wiechecki 1955 : 132). Whatever pipe the latter may have smoked in reality, indeed irrespective of the fact, if there is actually such an artefact as an English people's pipe, one should bear in mind that in the afterwar period, Great Britain, along with the United States, almost immediately turned from the former ally of Poland into a major enemy of the Socialist bloc consisting of the Soviet Union and its people democracy satellites. In this socio-cultural context, the Polish adjective *angielski*, occurring in the official discourse, had a pronounced negative connotation, still more aggravated by the fact that London remained a seat of the Polish government-in-exile, whose members refused to return to

Poland and were labelled by Communist authorities as traitors and enemies of the Polish people (cf. [Davies : 433]). Given the all-pervading atmosphere of paranoia and Westernphobia of that period, the mention of even such an innocent object as an English pipe in official discourse indeed called for some justification or at least excuse due to its politically suspicious provenience, and the adjective *ludowy* ‘concerning the people as working population strata, first of all, workers and peasants’ (SJPD) provided precisely that, neutralizing, as it were, all the negative features of *angielski* and making the pipe ideologically acceptable. Needless to say, the implicit absurdity of such a justifying explanation and, by extension, of its political background is what juxtaposing the two adjectives in a subtle parody of the officialese hints at. As B. Stanosz pointed out, the use of *ludowy* as a qualifier with particular reference to *Polska Republika Ludowa* was false both politically and socially, since PRL was an autocratic state ruled by a hierarchized caste without any control of society [Stanosz : 61]. This use of *ludowy* exemplifies one of *nowomowa*’s features, namely, the dominance of evaluation over significance and precise reference. According to M. Głowiński, this feature manifests itself in lexical usage that is semantically vague, making a word a carrier of arbitrarily assigned value [Głowiński 2001 : 174–175] (in Ukrainian, such usage will be called *наліплювання ярликів*).

Another instance of such parody, where the author, seemingly following the prescribed usage, coincidentally makes it sound somewhat silly, is found in Wiechecki’s memoirs book, in which he, telling about his dining with the singer Mieczysław Fogg, while on a joint concert tour, found it necessary to indicate that the dinner took place in an overcrowded nationalized dance hall: *w <...> uspołecznionym dansingu* (Wiechecki 1970 : 140). In this case, the mention of the venue’s status as a state-owned enterprise seems quite superfluous or out of place and therefore has no significance other than supplying a testimony of one’s conformity with the official discourse and values it propagates (a detailed discussion of his use of *uspołecznienie* will be given below).

In «Napaд dzikich», the author himself indicates the fictional nature of the second, and at the same time principal, narrator, whom he himself created. Typically, however, if such a narrating character (usually Teofil Piecyk) is introduced by the text-internal «author», it is done more conventionally and at the same time realistically and plausibly by representing him as the author’s interlocutor. As to the other *wiech* speakers’ narratives, they, too, reproduce colloquial discourse, either monological or dialogical, which is perfectly normal, given the character of the Warsaw vernacular as an oral language variety *par excellence*.

At the same time, practically nowhere, or at least extremely seldom, in Wiechecki’s stories, *nowomowa* items are shown in their original discursive environment; correspondingly, among his characters, there is, perhaps understandably, no one speaking this idiom officially and *bona fide*.

Having established who in Wiechecki’s feuilletons uses Newspeak words and phrases, we will now proceed to the question of how they do it. In what follows, we will analyze instances of several lexical items of *nowomowa* as actualized by *wiech*-speaking characters. The first of them is the substantive *przodownik*.

Polish *przodownik* earlier meant ‘a leader’, as well as ‘someone who is the first to start, and then leads in, some collective activity, a leading mower or reaper; (in dance) a leading dancer; (in the Polish Republic of the interbellum period) a functionary of the state police in the rank of sergeant’ (SJPD). After the Second World War, however, this noun came to convey a new, ideological mean-

ing 'someone who is an activity leader, showing the best results in work, study, or sport, someone who is the leader and the best member of a collective' (SJPD). *Przodownik* could also be used as an abbreviated form of the phrase *przodownik pracy* 'a worker who achieves the best results in productive and social activity' (ibid.). The importance of the concept of *przodownik* for Polish discourse of the period is indicated by the fact that the corresponding entry in a contemporary dictionary also lists the phrase *odznaka przodownika pracy* 'a decoration given to workers as a reward of their proficiency and excellence' (ibid.); cf. also some illustrations of its usage given there: *Rozgłośnia Krakowska stara się pokazać nie tylko sylwetki poszczególnych przodowników, ale całe przodujące załogi; można by powiedzieć że p. Szczapow zajął miejsce przodownika w pocście badaczy rosyjskiej historii; oni pracy przodownicy, żarliwe serca, twarde ręce: gorliwiej, prędzej, lepiej, więcej; przodownicy pracy otoczeni są powszechnym szacunkiem narodu; wielu młodych robotników z honorem nosi miano przodowników pracy; mężczyzna w szarym garniturze z odznaką przodownika pracy na klapie marynarki* (on the Production Leaders Movement, see also the editor's succinct yet important commentary in (Wiechecki 2002 : 960). Arguably, this meaning of *przodownik* was a semantic borrowing, or a calque, from Russian, more specifically, from the official Soviet Russian discourse, since the very concept and institution, i.e. the officially inspired and backed movement, of *przodowniki* (*przodownictwo*), were adopted in Poland by its new Communist rulers from the Soviet ideology and social practice [Sigelbaum : 51; Lebow 2001 : 199-202]. In Russian, the corresponding words were *передовик* and *ударник* (traditionally rendered in English as *udarnik*, *shock worker*, or *model worker*). For the former, too, the sense of highly productive worker at a state-owned socialist enterprise was not an original one: as registered in V. Dahl's dictionary in the entry *перед*, *передовик* meant 'a bell-wether, the leading sheep of a flock (also *передовой баран*); a leading person or animal in work; a leader, a manager; an instigator, a ringleader' (Dal 3 : 49); another of its older meanings is (journalistic slang) 'in the editorial staff, a writer of leading articles, editorials' (the Russian for such an article is *передовая* or *передовица*).

In those of Wiech's feuilletons that we have studied, the lexeme *przodownik* occurs, although not exclusively, in the sense that corresponds to the one found in the officialese: after all, it was the latter that dominated the public discourse in the totalitarian society of *Polska Ludowa*, and to be able to publish, Wiech was forced somehow or rather to conform to it. Then again, *przodownicy* as a social phenomenon existed not only in the discourse but in real life as well (see, e. g., [Mrowiec]), hence such instances in Wiechecki's stories as: *Totyż szwagier pracuje jak się należy i kto wie, czy zasłużonem przodownikiem społecznej pracy przy Wisłostradzie się nie zostanie* («Ciut ciut przymokro», Wiechecki 1974 : 28). *Nasz warszawski zabytek będzie dużo mniejszy, ale za to nowiutki, bez żadnej szczyrby, z cegły specjalnie w tem roku wypalanej przez przodowników pracy w Zielonce* («Nowa Starówka», Wiechecki 1955 : 303); *Tylko jaśniejsze łaty zaświadcniają ciężkiej pracy naszych przodowników kamieniarzy. Chociaż troszkie w innym kolorze, nasze Wenusy posiadają już wszystkie, tak dolne, jak i górne końcówki, pomimo że amerykańskie turyści dolaresów nam nie przywożą* («Paryskie muzea», Wiechecki 1968 : 123); *Bo kamienica jak kamienica i niczem się na oko nie odznacza. A mimo tego stanowi tak zwany zabytek, chociaż jest 'świeżo od samych fundamentów przez przodowników pracy systemem szybkościowem wybudowana* («Firma Lalka», Wiechecki 1968 : 241).

But even in these occurrences, one cannot help feeling that there must have been more to Wiech's politically loyal and ideologically correct use of this term than just paying a lip-service to the current official system of values. *Przodownik* as an entity of *nowomowa* was at variance with (to use an old Romanticist term) the very spirit of *wiech*, that is, with the general pragmatic-linguistic characteristics of the Warsaw vernacular as defined by Doroszewski, to say nothing of its world picture. And therefore, seen against the discursive background of *wiech*, the positive colouring of *przodownik* looks somewhat implausible, all the more so that there are cases in which negative connotations associated with the word are expressed far more explicitly.

For instance, in the feuilleton called «Szarpane filmy» (the title can be translated as «The movies suck» or «The beastly movies»⁶), its unspecified *wiech*-speaking narrator reviews Polish movies presented at the Polish Cinema Days festival. He starts by stating that not all Polish movies are that bad; rather, they cannot be duly appreciated by the public who is «politically uneducated» (*politycznie niewyrobiona*): *Wolą na przykład pełnomleczną Lole Brigidę* [meaning *Gina Lollobrigida*, a buxom Italian film star. — The authors] *od dyplomowanej dojarki czy przodownicy pracy szczelnie zapiętej pod szyję*. (Wiechecki 1962 : 41). Using *przodownica* 'a female leading worker' as an opposite to the sexually attractive movie actress, the narrator imperceptibly yet clearly moves from mimicry to mimicking and deriding, and from criticizing politically wrong tastes of the public to solidarizing with them: *Musiem samokrytycznie stwierdzić, że najładniejszy nawet śrubsztak czy nóż Kolesowa nie wytrzymuje konkurencji ze średnim nawet biusthalterem. Tak samo jak najnowocześniejsza obora zarodowa nie umywa się nawet do skromnego dansingu na Capri* (Wiechecki 1962 : 41). In doing so, he, rather than more or less faithfully reproducing the Newspeak usage, parodied it by explaining the preference given by the Polish cinema-goers, allegedly due to their insufficient political and ideological education, to feminine lingerie over instruments and tools of production, and to dancing halls over cowsheds.

The last example shows production leaders finding their way in one of those two genres of feuilleton as mentioned earlier that Stefan Wiechecki created in the period following the war, namely, stories reporting about new theatrical and cinematographic performances and stories telling about the history of Poland, both told in *wiech* and sometimes fusing in the case of historical movie or drama review.

In terms of the traditional literary genology, these two genre innovations of Wiechecki can be considered as exhibiting features of burlesque and travesty, cf. the following definitions: «Burlesque — a comical piece of satirical nature, combining pathos with ordinariness, triviality and vulgarity, and using the devices of caricatural emphasis, tomfoolery, grotesque, and travesty» [Słownik terminów literackich 1976 : 53–54]; «Travesty — a kind of parody; a derogatory paraphrase mocking a serious piece that, while retaining the essential features of its content and composition, radically debases its style» [ibid. : 469]. The Warsaw urban vernacular (and, *mutatis mutandis*, *wiech*) with its «subtle profundity, wisdom, strength, appeal, the lower class' bitter gutter charm and razor-sharp wit» [Tyrmand : 6] (to use the characteristic given by an author who claimed himself to be

⁶ Polish *szarpany*, a participial form of the verb *szarpac* 'to pull, to jerk', in *wiech* has turned (possibly under the influence of *szemrany* 'dodgy, seedy') into an adjective with a general depreciative meaning and so used as a swear word.

Wiechecki's disciple) was perfectly fit to be utilised as a counterpoint in burlesque travesty, where it operated as an opposing alternative to, and, coincidentally, as a metalanguage for the comical and satirical rendition of, the traditional Polish romantically exalted historical-patriotic discourse and its usual topics, on the one hand; on the other, and coincidentally, the other object parodied in such travesty could be the discourse of *nowomowa* [Chernysh 2018: 35]. Regarding performance «reviews», it should also be emphasized that besides achieving the comical effect, the description of a piece or performance in terms of *wiech* operated as a means of defamiliarization, or making strange (in the sense of V. Shklovskii's *ostranieniyе*), allowing to present their content through the optic differing from the traditional and modern semiotics of theatre and cinema with their arbitrary conventions and norms.

In the collection «Ksiuty z Melpomeną», which consists of Wiechecki's theatrical and cinematographic feuilletons and, in the author's words, «<...> is a piece of the history of theatre in People's Poland as seen by Mr. Piecyk, Mr. and Mrs. Wątrobka, Mr. Krówka, Mrs. Balon *et consortes*, as they used to say with a sneer in the olden days» (Wiechecki 1963 : 1), the word *przodownik* occurs in several stories. In some of these occurrences, the word denotes the rank of sergeant in the interbellum Polish state police, this meaning no longer used after the war and therefore obsolete (in Walery Wątrobka's account of the production of Georges Bizet's «Carmen», it is wrongly used with reference to Don José, actually corporal of dragoons). The same semantic variant of *przodownik*, but this time referring to a Polish policeman, is used in the feuilleton «Flippant sister» by a Warsaw taxi driver who, retelling Włodzimierz Perzyński's comedy produced at the Rozmaitości Theatre, recalls a real-life incident in which one of the protagonists was *starszy przodownik*.

As to the new sense of 'leading worker', the phrase *przodownictwo pracy* 'leadership in production', deriving from *przodownik pracy* and containing the corresponding *nomen actionis*, is mentioned by Piecyk as he tells about the opera by Stanisław Moniuszko «Straszny dwór» («A haunted manor») in the Warsaw Opera Theatre. Explaining why he could not catch the words when the actors were all singing at the same time, he indicated, as a root cause, the phenomenon of production leadership, with the performers striving to exceed their planned quotas of singing and so obtain their monthly bonus: *O czym śpiewają artyści, to sprawa zagadkowa. A wszystko przez przodownictwo pracy. Każdy jeden przed końcem miesiąca normę chce poprawić i wszyscy razem, na siłę, jeden od drugiego głośniej śpiewają. Widziałeś pan, w trzecim akcie już jest ich cała scena, że się przelewa, to jeszcze wpada z dziesięciu i tyż chcą śpiewać. Te, co już są, klócą się z niemy, nie dadzą jem dojść do głosu, ale nic nie pomaga, nowe tyż chcą premie wyrobić i nie dadzą się przytłumić* («Opera w sklepie komisowym», Wiechecki 1963 : 22). This *bona fide* explanation, given by Wątrobka and obviously wrong and humorous from the viewpoint of the author and his readers, must have reflected the general negative attitude of Warsaw's common citizens towards Socialist plan economy and competing for production leadership resulting in chaotic work and yielding products of poor quality.

In a far more positive tone, and coincidentally in a still more arbitrary and creative way, the plural of *przodownik* is employed in the feuilleton «Helcia, chodu!», in which Piecyk recounts his impressions of the production of the historical play «Zakon Krzyżacki» by Ludwik Hieronim Morstin in the Polish Theater. One of the characters in the play was Ryngała (Lithuanian *Rimgailė*), the daughter

of Kęstutis, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, who is characterized by the narrator-reviewer as follows: *Ryngała to, uważasz pan, była siostra Jagiełły i Witolda, jednym słowem, z królewskiej rodziny. Ale że czasy byli niespokojne, w wojsku z poboru służyła w charakterze, zdaje się, tajnego podporucznika. Bo na wierzchu, uważasz pan, damską jedwabną suknie z koronkami nosiła, a pod spodem żelazne staroświeckie umundurowanie wojskowe. Nawet nylony na nogach ze szwejsowanej blachy posiadała. A biusthalter podobnież ręcznie kuty przez przodowników pracy w Państwowej Fabryce Parowozów, dawniej «Cegielski» w Poznaniu* (Wiechecki 1963 : 9).

This description of the travestied medieval figure of Ryngała is largely oxymoronic, combining incongruous terms and *denotata* of different, distant and more recent historical periods, cf. the anachronistic use of *podporucznik* (the word came to denote a lower military rank of sublieutenant much later) and *umundurowanie* (strictly speaking, body armour is not military uniform), to say nothing of applying the word *nylony* 'nylon stockings' to metal leg guards. The bra in the modern sense of this word, too, is a much later invention (see [Forbes]). Yet not only does Ryngała wear this item of lingerie, non-existent in her time, but her bra is also said to be made of iron and, what is more, hand-forged by leading workers at the State Steam Engine Works in Poznań, earlier Hipolit Cegielski Mechanic Works (Zakłady Mechaniczne Hipolita Cegielskiego). Besides producing comical effect, this anachronistic and absurd combining of details of different periods, irrespective of their actual historical reference, within the description of the same entity is reminiscent of the circular model of mythical time (see, for instance, [Eliade]), with the essential difference that in traditional mythology, it is events of the earlier, primaeval and sacred times that are repeated and recreated later, whereas in Wiechecki's version of Polish history told in the Warsaw vernacular, features and ideologemes of contemporary Polish life are transposed into the past, transforming it according to the world picture of *wiech*, on one hand, and sometimes also according to Newspeak (and, along with it, Communist ideology positioning itself as reflecting the ultimate sense of everything in the past, present, and future), on the other (as M. Głowiński points out, *nowomowa* was designed by its creators to be able at any situation to fulfil the role of a universal metalanguage, which at the same time would be exempt from any metalinguistic reflection [Głowiński 2001 : 177]).

Arguably, this particular mention of *przodownicy* must be construed as an indication that Ryngała is a character that is positive and even «progressive» (in the Newspeak sense of 'generally corresponding to Communist ideology and politics'). The adjective *marszałowski* obviously conveys an opposite connotation when it is applied by Piecyk, also anachronistically and otherwise somewhat wrongly, to the ambassadors of England, France, Italy, and even Spain on a visit to The Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem (generally known under the name of the Teutonic Order), differentiating these countries from the so-called people's democracies of the 20th c.: *Totyż Krzyżaki, jak sobie małowiele podgazowali, w bajer ją zaczęli brać na konto wolnej miłości. I to nie tylko oni, bo byli tam jeszcze na tej rozróbce w gościach u Krzyżaków różne zagraniczne ambasadorzy. Ale przeważnie tak zwane marszałowskie: Anglik, Francuz, Hiszpan i zdaje się, że Italianiec. Faktycznie, trzeba przyznać, że żadnego przedstawiciela demokracji ludowej nie przyuważyłem* (Wiechecki 1963 : 9). *Marszałowski*, an hapax lexeme (whose occasional character is graphically indicated by the spelling), is an eponym formed by the narrator from the name of

General George C. Marshall, the U.S. Secretary of State, with whom the post-war initiative called the Marshall Plan (also known as European Recovery Program) was associated. The latter's beneficiaries were some eighteen countries, including Great Britain, France, West Germany and Italy, whereas the Soviet Union refused, and made its satellites, with Poland among them, refuse, to participate in it (see [Davies : 427–428]).

Leading workmanship is mentioned in Wątrobka's account of his incidental visit to the performance of Władysław Żeleński's opera «Goplana» (based on Juliusz Słowacki's tragedy «Balladyna») in Warsaw Opera Theater (Wątrobka's intention was to visit the eponymous public baths also named «Goplana», but due to some misunderstanding of his, he got to the theatre instead, where the opera of the same title was staged). In both the opera and the tragedy, a «raspberry-picking tournament» takes place, in which two sisters participate, vying for the prize of marrying prince Kirkor. The narrator describes this tournament and its unexpected outcome in the following way: *Ale się okazuje, że ta dana wdowa jeszcze jedne córki posiada. <...> i wtenczas Chochlikowa, [a servant to the fairy queen Goplana. — The authors], cholera, doradziła, żeby tak zwany wyścig pracy urządzić. Która z tych córek prędzej dzbanek malin uzbiera, czyli że za przodowniczkę pracy się zostanie, w charakterze premii otrzyma tak zwane ręce Korkociąga [i. e., Kirkora, whom Wątrobka paronymically renames as Korkociąg 'a cork screw'. — The authors]. Jednym słowem, spółzawodnictwo pracy w ramach spółdzielni «Las». Blondyna pierwsza przekroczyła normę na dwieście pięćdziesiąt pięć procent i byłaby premię otrzymała, ale cóż, jej przegrana siostrzyczka nożem w lesie jej życie odebrała («Dwie Goplany», Wiechecki 1963 : 17).*

Thus, the narrator describes the raspberry-picking tournament, employing, apart from *przodowniczka pracy*, such recurrent Newspeak items as 1) *wyścig pracy*, cf. the second meaning of *wyścig* as defined and illustrated in Doroszewski's dictionary: 'striving for being the first in something, especially in the quickest fulfillment of something': *Na tablicy współzawodnictwa ogłoszono miesięczne wyniki. W wyścigu zespołowym pierwsze miejsce zajęła brygada młodzieżowa. Współzawodnictwo pracy zapoczątkowane zostało w Polsce przez ZWM-owców, którzy w r. 1947 zorganizowali tzw. Młodzieżowy wyścig pracy (SJPD); 2) przekraczać normę (o pewną ilość procent)*, cf. one of the citations illustrating the second meaning of *przekraczać* 'to reach a level or grade exceeding something' in the same reference source: *Dzięki lepszym metodom pracy robotnik przekracza normy*; 3) *norma* 'a quantity, a measure, a limit that is set, calculated, anticipated as required and obligatory, mandatory' illustrated there by the citation *Osiągnął wydajność pracy 270 procent ponad normy!*; 4) *wpółzawodnicwto pracy*, defined in this dictionary as follows: *Współzawodnictwo pracy* (abbreviated: *współzawodnictwo*) 'in the socialist system: competition in aspiration to achieve better and better production results'.

Thus, the narrating reviewer (along with Wiechecki) has taken out these lexical entities as well as scripts they occur in from the set of rhetoric clichés of Communist propaganda discourse to use them in his rendition of a classic piece of Polish literature (which he clearly does not know) and Polish operatic art (which he admits not to understand quite well), and this provides us with evidence from which the following two conclusions are to be inferred: firstly, that *nowomowa* with its linguistic image of the world was part of *wiech* speakers' linguistic competence and performance, but, secondly, more often than not, Newspeak items as such were at the same time an alien and passive part of *wiech*

speakers' thesaurus and lexicon, apparently not to be taken at their face value, but mainly to be employed in a secondary, altogether not entirely complimentary, sense (although it should be reiterated once more, there are opposite examples as well). Accordingly, the fragment should most probably be construed as having a double meaning: as Piecyk's account, seemingly given in good faith, on the one hand, and, on the other, as a parody of *nowomowa*, in particular, of vulgarly ideological interpretations by Marxist scholars in the field of literature and art.

Also, it should be pointed out that the contents of «Goplana» as well as «Balladyna» are far from being realistic, and the characters of both pieces include historically fictional and fantastic figures. As Słowacki himself indicated, his drama was opposed to any historical truth and often lacked any verisimilitude whatever [Bizan]. Combined with artistic conventions of opera, these features make Wątrobka's ill understanding of them all too natural and plausible. At the same time, his other misinterpretations, too, resemble common places of official mass media discourse, such as the need for wireless aerials to be grounded: *podczas burzy radia nie uziemnili i piorun zabił brunetkę już w charakterze wiejskiej bogaczowej, czyli Korkociągowej* (Wiechecki 1963 : 17), cf. the illustration from Doroszewski's dictionary: *Każdy przewód odprowadzający musi być uziemiony, tzn. połączony z zakopany lub wbitym w ziemię uziomem*); or reports of working masses spending the labour holiday at rest homes (*Na mój rozum, to rzecz w tej sztuce działa się na czasach świata pracy, nad sadzawką pod tytułem Gopło, niedaleko damskiego domu wypoczynkowego, podczas pełnego sezonu*) (Wiechecki 1963 : 16); cf. *święto pierwszomajowe* 'an international proletarian feast celebrated on the first of May' (SJPD).

From the viewpoint of its theme, the feuilleton «Juniorki im. Chopina», too, is a performance account. At the same time, it is a dialogue of two unrefined *wiech* speakers discussing the traditional Chopin international competition of pianists (presumably not kind of a cultural event such people would be interested in attending), which from 1927 has been traditionally held in Warsaw and at that particular time coincided with the flu epidemic, so that the audience at the concerts was constantly coughing and sneezing, especially during intervals between performance. One of the interlocutors recalls his similar experience at a previous concert: *Nie o to się rozchodzi, tylko o kaszel na sali. Nawet w zwyczajnym czasie bez epidemii, jest to duża przeszkoda. <...> Mile są widziane krótsze kawałki, przy długich publika dostaje niemożliwego kaszlu. Zaczyna jedna osoba, a za nią wszystkie dawaj kasłać jak owce. Właśnie jak parę lat temu byłem z żoną na tych zawodach, siedział koło nasz taki przodownik. Co się trochę uciszyło, z miejsca zaczął się dusić, a cała sala za nim* (Wiechecki 1967 : 16).

However apt was the choice of *przodownik* by *Wiech*'s character jokingly to refer to a person initiating a wave of coughing among the audience members at a Chopin competition concert, — and the inner form as well as the traditional meaning of the substantive mentioned above, to our mind, did justify it — perceived against the background of the contemporary usage of the word in the Communist discourse, it also seems mockingly to deride and debase the latter, stripping *przodownik* of its connotations of stilted exaltedness and official enthusiasm. It is not so much the discrepancy between the significance of the act of sneezing and the basic semantics of *przodownik* presupposing some purposeful and fruitful activity that matters here as a trigger of comical effect. Rather, it is a very fact of a *nowomowa* item, especially a word with a *denotatum* so high in the Communist value

hierarchy, becoming an object of word-play⁷, however unpretentious and simple, that makes this occasional use of *przodownik* significant, demonstrating that Newspeak is, in a sense, an idiom just like any other and not some *lingua sacra*, which only initiated ones belonging to the Communist priest caste can handle, while the rest can only reverently follow the prescribed usage.

Some instances involving *nowomowa* item usage leave one with an impression that the sole reason for their use was a desire just to play with a linguistic entity that is not allowed to be employed in any way other than strictly official, ponderous, and hieratically serious. Arguably, this is the case with some occurrences of the phrase *związek zawodowy* 'a trade union'. Trade unions, considered by Communist ideology, following Lenin's definition, «a school of governing and communism»⁸ and, correspondingly, controlled by the ruling Communist Party, were intended to, and did, play a significant role in the organization and functioning of a new Socialist society in Poland [Encyklopedia Polski : 795], cf. the citation in Doroszewski's dictionary: *Związki zawodowe odegrały wielką rolę w odbudowie i rozbudowie naszego kraju. Jako jednolite, powszechne organizacje klasy robotniczej łączyły one wszystkich robotników i aktywizowały ich politycznie (SJPD)*. In Wiechecki's texts both from the pre- and after-war periods, there are several instances when the phrase expresses its usual meaning, e.g.: *Utarł się zwyczaj, że każdy prawie szanujący się dziennikarz, czyli literat, powracający z wczasów podaje do wiadomości publicznej swoje wrażenia urlopowe. Jako karny członek obydwu wyżej wymienionych związków zawodowych, solidaryzując się ze stanowiskiem szanownych kolegów zaczynam...* («Posuń się pan troszkie», Wiechecki 1980 : 80); *A co, może związek zawodowy kolejarzy z orkiestrą i sztabarami miał na szanownego obywatela na stacji czekać* («Drapacz i koza», Wiechecki 1967 : 82).

There are, however, cases, when Wiechecki, putting it in the Locative and combining it with the preposition *w*, employs the word in his character's narrative as an equivalent of the conjunction *w związku (z czym)*, cf.: *W związku zawodowym z dniami filmu polskiego przeszedłem się parę razy do kina* («Szarpane filmy», Wiechecki 1965 : 42); *tylko patrzeć, jak ruszą na Warszawę w związku zawodowym z tem całym Milenium* («Zatrudnic Kilinskiego», Wiechecki 1967 : 63); *Takie rozmowy na porządku dziennym odbywali się ostatnio w Warszawie w związku zawodowym, jak się to mówi, z wprowadzeniem nowych patyków, czyli 1000-złotówek* («Patyk w kawalku», Wiechecki 1967 : 66) (note that in the last example, the use of the phrase is accompanied by the metalingual marker indicating the habitual character of this kind of usage). The content of all the pieces featuring *w związku zawodowym* has absolutely nothing to do whatsoever with trade unions, so that mentioning this organization in this context indeed was a purely linguistic joke, an instance of facetious word play. At the same time, such ludic and flippant treatment of an item of the official parlance of power by someone who is only subject to, and is not part of, this power shows the attitude towards the linguistic item extending to include its extralinguistic referent.

⁷ On modern approaches to the linguistic study of word-play, see [Chernysh, Yermolenko : 2020; Czernysz, Jermolenko : in print].

⁸ For the first time, the definition appeared in his work «The infantile sickness of Leftism in Communism» (another English-language version of the work's title is «Left-wing Communism: an infantile disorder»).

Instances are understandably few, when Wiechecki's characters seriously discuss, let alone criticize, speech utterances appertaining to the official Communist discourse. And yet cases of this kind, too, can be found. In the feuilleton «Szpacerkiem przez Poniatoszczaka», the text-internal author and his acquaintance and interlocutor Piecyk, while visiting the rebuilt Józef Poniatowski bridge in Warsaw, witness there the youth demonstration. The political affiliation of the marchers is not explicitly indicated, but it can be inferred from what is written with golden letters on a transparent they bear (*Zrodził nas czyn*), that the demonstration is that of *Związek Walki Młodych* (the Union of Youth Struggle), a Communist youth organization linked to the Polish United Workers Party and later incorporated in *Związek Młodzieży Polskiej* (the Polish Youth Union) [Encyklopedia Polski : 793], cf. the beginning of the 1943 declaration of this organization: «Młodzieży polska! Zrodził nas czyn. Naszą wolę walki wykuwa nienawiść do kajdan hitlerowskiej niewoli, gorące ukochanie wolności» [DZ]. It stands to reason that, due to censorship demands, both the author and Piecyk are depicted as sympathizing with what they see: having indicated that the Warsaw residents love «the future of the people» (*młodzież przyszłością narodu* was another slogan of official propaganda: the Polish youth, brought up in the spirit of Communism, was regarded by the powers that be as a vanguard social stratum, see [Martinek]), the author then portrays Piecyk as regarding the marchers with pride and fondness: *Warszawa kocha przyszłość narodu, pan Piecyk patrzył na nią z dumą i rozrzewnieniem* (Wiechecki 1987 : 52)⁹. And yet Piecyk's next observation brings a dissonant note in this ideologically correct picture: <...> *ale na widok transparentu, głoszącego złotymi literami: «Zrodził nas czyn», trącił mnie lekko łokciem i rzekł z uśmiechem: — A mamusia to pestki gryzła, tak?* (ibid.) It will be noted that it is not a political or ideological message of this slogan that has been the reason for Piecyk's ironic remark, for it is quite obvious that the slogan was understood by him literally and therefore wrongly. This misunderstanding, however, is left by the author with no further commentary, implying that it is Piecyk's pure irony that counts, and that it is more to his remark than just mixing senses: the Warsaw street, impersonated by him, and the Polish officialdom speak different languages, with ideological rhetoric remaining alien to *wiech*, its speakers and their worldview.

At the beginning of the feuilleton «Królewicz maj», the anonymous narrator, citing an official report about the plan overfulfillment in flower trade, supplies the quotation with the following ironic commentary: — *«Wykonaliśmy plan na sto dwadzieścia pięć procent». — Znaczy się plan zapachu wykonany z nadwyżką i przedterminowo. Wszystkie kwiaty wywączane i możem śmiało się przrzucić na serdelki. Dobrze, co?* (Wiechecki 1955 : 95).

At the end of the feuilleton, the narrator tells about how differently one feels, having and not having a spring violet as a boutonniere: *A ileż osobistego wydzwiewku dostarcza nam skromny fiolet! Powiedzmy: ja bez niego szary człowiek, nic ważnego, jednostka, no, wprost — ciapciak. A teraz, jak go sobie przypnie — usposobienie wiosny, Fanfan Tulipan, królewicz maj, to jest, pardon, towarzysz maj* (Wiechecki 1955 : 98). In his description of the mood of a person without and with

⁹ In his later feuilleton «Naręczona z M-3», Wiechecki's other narrating character uses the somewhat modified phrase *nasza przyszłość narodowa* with ironic reference to Warsaw's youth and children vandalizing staircases and halls in new apartment buildings: *A teraz o wiele się rozchodzi o dzieci i młodzież. Na świeżo zaciągniętych klejowo, jasnych ścianach nasza przyszłość narodowa maluje podobnież smolą różne widoczki i kalikatury do śmiechu* (Wiechecki 1974 : 37).

a violet on his suit, the narrator makes a use of the opposition of two terms with distinct ideological and socio-political connotations, *jednostka* 'an individual' and *królewicz* 'a king's son'. It should be noted, however, that *królewicz maj* should coincidentally be regarded as a more or less traditional poetic symbol, employed, in particular, as a title of several poems and song lyrics by B. Ostrowska, A. Oppman and J. Pietrzycki, and also of a 1938 book by Irena Mrozowicka (Ostrowska's text, published in 1902, begins as follows: *Otwórz dziewczę, ktoś cię woła: To królewicz maj!* (Ostrowska), cf. also the first stanza of Oppman's 1894 poem: *Czy słyszysz, jak szumi zielony gaj? Jak wierzby drżą nad jeziorem? To schodzi na ziemię królewicz maj z całym błyszczącym swym dworem* (Oppman). Yet, irrespective of the status of *królewicz maj* as belonging to the habitual poetic imagery, the narrator hastily changes *królewicz* for *towarzysz* 'comrade' (a term used by Communists when addressing each other), in this way demonstratively (as well as mockingly) showing his conformity with *nowomowa*.

As we have seen so far, the ways *przodownik* and other *nowomowa* items were adopted by Wiechecki were manifold indeed. The same is true of another politically and ideologically connotated Newspeak item, namely, *uspołeczniać*; at the same time, his use of this word exhibits specific features as well.

Some major economic and political changes in the Polish society taking place after the Second World War were related to nationalization launched by the Communist government. The Polish words for it that are listed in Doroszewski's dictionary are *nacjonalizacja* 'nationalization' (< *nacjonalizować* 'to nationalize'); *unarodowienie* (< *unarodowić* '1. to make national, to make free from alien influences, to give features that are peculiar to a given nation; 2. to transfer principal means of production, such as plants, banks, major landed estates, communications, transport etc. to the possession of the nation or state'); *upaństwowienie* (< *upaństwowić* 'to make state-owned, to transfer to the possession of the state'); and *uspołeczenie* (< *uspołecznić* 'to make socially active and useful to society, to adapt to social life; to civilize; 2. to transfer to the possession of society, state or cooperative, to transform a privately owned enterprise into one controlled by a social organization, a union, a cooperative etc.; to nationalize') (SJPD). (It should be noted that the so-called *Słownik Warszawski*, i.e. A Dictionary of the Polish Language by J. Karłowicz, A. Niedzwiedski and W. Kryński, whose eight volumes appeared from 1900 through 1923, while listing all these lexemes, ascribed the meaning of nationalization to *upaństwowić* alone). Expectedly, topics linked to the Polish nationalization were somehow or other touched upon in Wiech's feuilletons, almost exclusively in the speech of his narrating characters. As to the verbal expression of these topics, of the four entities mentioned above, only *uspołeczniać* and, to a lesser extent, *upaństwowiać* as well as their derivatives occur in these texts. In what follows, we will concentrate on the former of these items.

As *przodownik*, *uspołecznić* (in a finite form or as the Passive Past Participle *uspołeczniony*) is mostly employed by the author in its usual meaning, i. e., to denote the nationalization process or an enterprise or branch that are nationalized, but, as different from the former lexeme, nationalization seems to be mentioned in contexts that are invariably negative. For instance, speaking of his brother-in-law only looking for a job in a nationalized trade establishment, Walery Wątrobka adds that confectionery produced by state-owned enterprises (this time he does not emphasize this feature) is of extremely poor quality («Szwagier szuka posady», Wiechecki 1974 : 203), cf. also his another, clearly contemptuous

remark: *Zanim handel uspołeczniiony nie nauczy się pietruszczkami handlować* («Twardy zając», Wiechecki 1965 : 70). In «Ciuchy w Kaczym Dole», another story of the same 1974 collection, commenting on the Warsaw flea market allocation problem, Wątrobka proposes, as a radical means of solution, flea market nationalization. He then explicates this idea in detail, showing that, once nationalized, trade supply can never satisfy demand, and so flea markets will disappear.

In yet another feuilleton, «Oleńka i gejsze», the same character discusses, among other things, the episode in the historical drama movie «The deluge» featuring the destruction of the Swedish culverin cannon by putting into its muzzle a long powder sack, in Polish called *kiszka prochowa*, literally ‘powder intestine’ (apart from intestine, Polish *kiszka* can denote blood sausage). Wątrobka says they were worrying that the destruction might have gone wrong: <...> *nie było wiadomo, czy sie uda: ...albo uspołeczniiona kiszka z prochem za słaba, jak to przy kooperacji* (Wiechecki 1965 : 82). Since animal intestines are traditionally utilized as sausage casings, what he alludes to by mentioning collectivized (powder) intestine probably is the poor condition of the casing of sausages produced by cooperatives.

The latter example demonstrates yet another feature of Wątrobka’s usage of *uspołeczniiony*: in this and some other instances, this adjective actually means something else rather than ‘nationalized’ or ‘collectivized’. Rather, its meaning should be construed in this case as ‘produced in a collectivized enterprise’. The collocation *uspołeczniiona kiszka* therefore should be regarded as a result of a syntactic transformation in which the grammatically correct but somewhat lengthy description of this produce was substituted by its compressed variant, ungrammatical as well as funny, whose emergence involved both syntactic and lexical (more specifically, metonymical) derivation¹⁰.

One more example of such derivation resulting in humoristic effect is found in one of Wątrobka’s accounts of theatrical productions, where the narrator starts with complaints about furniture trade, in particular, irregularities in the working schedule of furniture shops, which he depicts in the following way: *Zamiarowaliśmy z Gienią szafę kupić. ...Szafy owszem byli, tylko nie do sprzedania, bo albo nie wycenione, albo rachunek nie nadszedł, albo kierownik wyszedł. Jak nie remont, to renament, jak nie renament, to inwentarz czyli też jakieś insze uspołecznione święto handlowe — dosyć na tem, że sprzedaż chwilowo wstrzymana* («Tylko nie Rozalinda», Wiechecki 1963 : 8). Here Wątrobka compared, with bank holidays, such events as repair, inventory check, stock control etc., which, too, were the reason for temporary shop closure. The phrase *uspołecznione święto handlowe* is, on one hand, coined by him on the analogy to the usual collocations *święto państwowe (narodowe)* or *święto religijne*, but first of all to *święto zawodowe*. On the other hand, however, this unusual and ungrammatical phrase as well as the meaning ‘a holiday celebrated by nationalized trade’ expressed within it with the help of *uspołeczniiony* can be considered as derived, by means of lexical-syntactical transformation, from the underlying phrase *święto obchodzone przez handel uspołeczniiony*.

The negative evaluative connotation of *uspołeczniiony* ‘collectivized’ (as distinct from the meaning of ‘private, individual’) as well as the semantic feature ‘of collective nature’ underly the following instance, where the word is employed,

¹⁰ On the difference between syntactic and lexical derivation, see the seminal paper of J. Kuryłowicz [Kurilovich].

by means of ironic metaphor, to describe a TV set on which Wątrobka watched a soccer game in the overcrowded lounge of a vacation home: *Bo co inszego, jak się ogląda mecz w swoim właściwym mieszkaniu na swoim rodzonym meblu, a rzecz druga wytrzeszczanie oczów z dziesiątego rzędu krzeselek, w nabitej do niemożliwości, niedużej salce wczasowego domu, na uspołeczniony odbiornik "Orion"* («A to ci polka», Wiechecki 1968 : 319).

As to Wiechecki's rendition of *uspołeczniony* in its other meaning, the one of 'socialized, included in social activity', besides instances mimicking *nowomowa*, there is also an occurrence where this semantic variant is ironically used in the description of Walery Wątrobka's family as *uspołeczniiona* due to its «taking part» in the epidemic of flu (the choice of this word alluding, perhaps, to the fact that the participation in various social activities, although allegedly voluntary, was in fact forced and required of one irrespective of whether one liked it or not): *Sezonik na grypę w związku z tem w całej, można powiedzieć, pełni. Jako rodzina, jak to mówią, uspołeczniiona, też także samo bierzem czynny udział — szwagier Piekutoszczak w szpitalu, na wewnętrznej sali się znajduje* («Ostrożnie z grypą», Wiechecki 1955 : 48) (here, too, the belonging of *uspołeczniiona* to the current usage is emphasized by the metalingual discourse marker *jak to mówią*).

The results of our research can be summed up as follows. In our paper, we have investigated lexical items of *nowomowa* (Polish Newspeak) as employed by Stefan Wiechecki in his post-war feuilletons. This idiom of totalitarian society was among the most striking new realities of Polish life of that period. Consequently, in his stories of that time, he, among other things, depicted artistically the reaction of the Warsaw urban dialect as well as its speakers to the interference of *nowomowa*.

Our findings can be summarized as follows. We have started by identifying several such items in Wiechecki's stories. Then we have analysed their use from the perspective of their appurtenance to text-internal speakers and their individual idioms, and have established that Newspeak lexemes and phrases, as a rule, occur in speech utterances of personages other than the text-internal author, who, besides, never speaks *wiech* either. Also, we have established those meanings and senses that these such entities serve to express, and those functions that they fulfil in their new discursive environment. We have found that in some cases, Newspeak units adopted by Wiechecki reproduce their original usage; much more frequently, however, they are used differently and in such a creative way as to express some negative sense or emotional attitude of the character and the author towards their denotata as well as the unit itself and, by extension, the idiom it originally belongs to, i. e., *nowomowa*. These meanings can be conveyed either explicitly, in representing their denotata as something bad, or, far more often, implicitly and through irony and burlesque parody, the author expressing them with the help of word-play and sometimes metaphor.

Observations that we have made and regularities that we have established lead to several theoretical and methodological conclusions of a more general nature.

In identifying Newspeak borrowings, it is but natural to proceed on the assumption that, in terms of their categorial appurtenance, they belong to those classes of lexis that are related to ideology, politics, and economy. At the same time, one should bear in mind that, due to Newspeak's pretension to the role of the only universal metalanguage possible, there are Newspeak lexemes outside these categories too. No less importantly, lexical items can be identified as belonging to Newspeak by the way of their distinctive use in it rather than by their exclusive appurtenance to it.

As opposed to borrowings resulting from the contact of linguistic-cultural codes that are of a similar character but belong to different languages, the interference of different linguistic-cultural codes, either within the same language or not, is far more likely to influence the semantics of a borrowed item, in particular its signification, as well as the general semantic and pragmatic character of its use in the receiving idiom, in this way giving rise to occasional semantic derivatives, or secondary semantic variants of items concerned.

In the case of Newspeak interfering with *wiech* in the context of artistic discourse, such secondary items are of a peculiar semiotic character. Generally, when used in a secondary sense, the primary signification operates as an inner form onomasiologically motivating the designation of a new *denotatum* and at the same time interpreting the latter by presenting it a certain way. But in Wiechecki's artistic idiolect, these units, together with the idiom they come from, are often not only the means but also the object of communicative interpretation. When *wiech*-speakers use *nowomowa* items, either in the original or modified sense, they do so in order not only just to denote something or somebody. Besides, by doing so, they express, as a rule, implicitly, their attitude to these linguistic signs and their primary denotata, i. e., those senses and values the latter express in their original discursive environment of Newspeak. To do so, Wiechecki's narrators often imitate *nowomowa* usage as if to conform to it and at the same time mockingly to play with it by the way of burlesque or even travesty.

The results we have obtained are indicative of the possibility as well as the feasibility of a more general application of the categories of contacting and interference in linguistic research, broadening their extension to include all significant cases of the interaction of different idioms, both interlingual and language-internal, and in this way extending the scope of investigation of linguistic idiom interaction. Also, these results prove that such investigations must take into consideration not only linguistic entities involved but also their appurtenance to a specific linguistic-cultural code and their actualization in a specific discourse-functional genre that realizes this code.

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ІНТЕРФЕРЕНЦІЯ НЕХУДОЖНИХ ЛІНГВОКУЛЬТУРНИХ КОДІВ У ХУДОЖНЬОМУ ДИСКУРСІ (Новомова у повесних фейлетонах С. Вехецького)

У статті висвітлюється відображена в мові повесних фейлетонів С. Вехецького лексична інтерференція польської новомови з варшавською міською говіркою (так званим *вехом*). Продемонстровано, як персонажі цього письменника-сатирика вживають низку властивих новомові лексем не лише для позначення нових явищ повсякденного життя польської столиці, а й для вираження широкого діапазону смислів і ставлень стосовно цих явищ, починаючи від словесної гри з мовою влади і закінчуючи іронією, висміюванням і категоричним неприйняттям. При цьому одиниці новомови змінюють свою семантику або в інший спосіб адаптуються до *веха* як ідіома-реципієнта, слугуючи сатиричному зображенню, серед іншого, також і самої новомови. Рецепція цих одиниць *вехом* і відображення останнім новомови оцінюються як вияв мовного самозахисту (у розумінні А. Вежбицької): зазначені одиниці вживаються у спосіб, що є водночас і неортодоксальним, і креативним, особливо в контексті пародії, бурлеску й навіть травестії. Узагальнення застосованого концептуально-методологічного апарату і зроблених спостережень підтверджує тезу авторів про можливість і доцільність уживання категорій мовних контактів та інтерференції стосовно теоретично чи практично важливих випадків подібної взаємодії будь-яких мовних ідіомів, як належних до різних мов, так і в межах тієї самої мови. Ці спостереження й узагальнення також свідчать про те, що, досліджуючи явища контактів й інтерференції, слід залучати до аналізу не лише релевантні мовні одиниці й риси, але й ті лінгвокультурні коди, до яких вони належать, а також функційно-дискурсивні різновиди, які реалізують ці коди у мовленні, адже саме в контексті останніх реально функціонують ті чи інші мовні утворення, і саме в цьому контексті відбувається контактування ідіомів і здійснюються мовні запозичення.

Ключові слова: мовна інтерференція, новомова, «вех», дискурсивно-функційний різновид, С. Вехецький.

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