

Chapter 12. POLISH NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS INVOLVING
FICTIVE INTERACTION: THEIR SCOPE AND FUNCTIONS
IN DISCOURSE*

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The chapter presents the scope and functions of two Polish constructions in which head nouns are modified by fictive interaction fragments, usually introduced by a quotative marker. The data comes from a variety of oral and written texts of different genres. A wide range of concepts can be characterised by means of fictive interaction in Polish, including types of messages, individuals, mental, or physical activities. Culture-specific and novel social phenomena can also be successfully portrayed by means of embedded fictive utterances. Such constructions fulfil a variety of important functions. They characterise concepts in a precise yet economical and often attention-gripping, humorous, or evaluative way.

Keywords. embedded fictive utterances, evaluative, head nouns, novel social phenomena, quotative marker

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1. Introduction

The aim of the chapter is to present a particular type of construction in the Polish language, consisting of a head noun and a direct speech fragment usually introduced by a quotative marker. An example is: *Sześciometrowa limuzyna z gatunku „patrzcie, jaki jestem bogaty”* (lit. ‘a six-meter long limousine of the kind “Look, how rich I am”). The quotation-like fragment is an example of direct speech not used prototypically for the actual reporting of a previously occurred utterance. This has been referred to by different names in the linguistic literature, for instance “constructed dialogue” (Tannen 1986, 1989), “demonstration” (Clark and Gerrig 1990) or “fictive interaction” (Pascual 2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2014). The last of these approaches will be adopted in this chapter as it offers the most comprehensive and up-to-date theoretical framework for the studied Polish construction. Pascual argues that we deal with grammatical fictive interaction (henceforth ‘FI’) when a particular direct speech fragment does serve to represent literal or loose quotation but it sets up ‘a type of communicative occurrence in order to demonstrate - rather than describe - a particular kind of attitude’ (Pascual 2006a, p. 246). Thus, the status of the direct speech component changes from being a token - a report of the particular speaker’s words - to a type of utterance abstracted from a concrete speech event and used to illustrate the speaker’s attitude, for instance. More often than not, embedded fictive interaction sets up a communicative

situation to achieve a particular discourse purpose even when the speech situation never took place in actuality. To put it in other words, direct speech may open up a mental space or activate a communicative scenario whose time and place as well as the speaker-hearer configuration are different from that of the ongoing discourse, or any previously occurred discourse, for that matter. This is possible due to the fact that direct speech contains deictic elements that automatically anchor a given utterance in time, place, etc.

This Polish FI construction serves a categorising function and it may be applied to categorise a wide variety of concepts, including individuals, attitudes, verbal and non-verbal communication, time, or place. It may be used to refer to new social or cultural phenomena or to characterise existing concepts from a different perspective, in a more emotionally-involving, ironic, humorous, or subjective way. This chapter focuses on the most important functions that this linguistic structure fulfils in written and spoken discourse. I show that it constitutes an intriguing categorisation pattern, offering an alternative to the traditional modes of nominal categorisation, for example by modifying adjectives or nouns (e.g. *droga limuzyna* [‘*expensive* limousine’]). At the same time, this study demonstrates that examples of this Polish fictive interaction construction constitute a valuable inventory of attitudes specific for the Polish culture.

This Polish construction has not been, to my knowledge, analysed at any length, unlike its English counterpart, i.e. fictive interaction compounds (e.g. “+”), studied by Królak (2005, 2008), Pascual (et al. 2013), and others.

The database for this study contains over 300 instances of these expressions from a variety of written and oral texts, including novels, press articles, websites, internet blogs, reviews, interviews, song lyrics, radio and TV programmes, and casual conversations. They were collected in the years 2006–2014 in the process of reading or listening to samples of language and, additionally, via the Google search engine by typing in word combinations such as *podejście + typu* (‘attitude + of the type’). Most of the examples quoted in this chapter are discussed in more detail in my unpublished Ph.D dissertation (Królak 2008).

1.1. Formal properties of Polish nominal constructions involving fictive interaction

In Polish, fragments of fictive interaction may follow rather than precede a head noun, as it is the case with English compounds. The noun can be either directly followed by a fictive interaction component, as in (1a), or be separated from it by a quotative marker, such as: *w typie/ typu* (‘of the type’), *w rodzaju / z gatunku* (‘of the kind’), *z cyklu* (‘of the series /sort’), *w stylu* (‘of the style’), *w klimacie* (‘à la/creating the atmosphere’), *na zasadzie*

(‘following the rule/according to the rule’), *pod tytułem* (‘entitled / under the heading’), *pod zawołaniem / hasłem* (‘under the catchphrase’), as in (1b):

- (1) a. Udziela on wywiadu wedle swej ulubionej zasady: „*M mało wiem, ale i tak się wypowiem*”.

(Waldemar Kumór in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Nov. 24, 2006)

‘He gives interviews according to his favourite rule: “I know very little but I’m still going to say something.”’

- b. Nie słuchaj porad typu: *niech się wyplacze*. W ten sposób nie rozpieścisz przedwcześnie swojego dziecka.

(www.smyki.pl)

Lit: ‘Don’t listen to the advice of the type: *let him cry (out)*. This way you won’t spoil your child prematurely’

The first of the constructions is more characteristic of written language (especially journalistic writing), whereas the one introduced by the quotative marker is used more frequently in colloquial registers and oral conversation. However, this is only a tendency and there are exceptions. Especially the quotative marker *typu* (‘of the type’) may also be used by authors of written, often scientific texts (see, for instance, example (3a) below). The occurrence of the Polish quotative markers in the construction seems to be highly motivated. Some of them signal that the quotation-like fragment that follows is generic, that is, it is not attributed to any particular speaker, but represents a type of utterance rather than a specific instance, as indicated by their semantics: *w typie / typu* (‘of the type’), *w rodzaju / z gatunku* (‘of the kind’), *z cyklu* (‘of the series / sort’). Other markers convey

the idea that the direct speech constituent is not verbatim but an approximation, e.g. *w stylu* ('of the style'), *w klimacie* ('à la / creating the atmosphere'), and/or that it represents just a gist of some (verbal) message: *pod tytułem* ('entitled / under the heading'), *pod hasłem / zawołaniem* ('under the catchphrase'). In sum, the meaning of these quotative markers confirms that the direct speech element that follows the noun is not used prototypically, i.e. for actual reporting, but that it constitutes a fictive interaction fragment that may fulfil a variety of different functions.

Polish fictive interaction constituents that follow a head noun form a continuum ranging from highly conventional to heavily context-dependent. They are, for example: (i) formulaic or fixed expressions (*czas to pieniądz*, 'time is money'), (ii) quotations recognisable in a given culture (*co-mi-tam*, 'I don't care'), (iii) direct speech statements that express a well-known proposition (*Jak zarobić, a się nie narobić?*, 'How to earn without working much?'), or finally, (iv) the reported utterances recognisable by particular speakers only within a very specific context (*O matko, co za brzydki facet!*, 'Oh Gosh, what an ugly man!'). Of course, many intermediate stages are possible (e.g. *Synku, zrozumiesz jak dorośniesz* 'Son, you'll understand it when you grow up').

1.2. Categorising function of Polish fictive interaction constructions

I would like to argue that the Polish constructions in which a head noun is specified by the fictive interaction fragment, illustrated in (1), introduce a new category of a given concept, as in their English counterpart, fictive interaction compounds (e.g. “an *I’m-better-than-you* girl, see Królak 2008, Pascual et al. 2013). Some of the categories created by means of fictive interaction constructions in Polish are novel and heavily context dependent, for example, *postawa typu ‘ja jestem taki wyjątkowy i mam super hobby, a nikt mnie nie rozumie’* (‘attitude of the type ‘*I’m so special and have got a great hobby but nobody understands me*”). Yet, in cognitive linguistics they are not viewed as ‘worse’ instances of categories and they are equally worth linguistic analysis as more conventionalized expressions. They are still entities that are “conceptually dynamic and contextually determined” (Oakley 1995, p. 124). This view of categorisation goes in line with psychological discoveries showing that apart from fixed categories people also do create so-called ‘ad-hoc categories’ to fulfill some goal in a specific context, for instance, “things to take on a camping trip” (Barsalou 1983).

We can expect that Polish fictive interaction constructions would have a categorising function because they have a form analogical to that of the expressions that introduce Polish nominal categories, i.e. noun + specifying element (e.g. *niedźwiedź brunatny* ‘brown bear’; *ser biały* ‘cottage cheese’). However, it should be noted that fictive interaction

expressions without a quotative marker, such as the ones in (1a), seem to have a greater potential to introduce a category, since the specifying element directly follows a noun or noun phrase. By contrast, in constructions illustrated in (1b), the quotative marker separating the fictive interaction component and the noun iconically distances the two elements. It might thus be seen as equivalent to elements such as *kind of type of* or *sort of* preceding or following the fictive interaction constituent in English constructions (e.g. “a kind of *I can*’ attitude”, “an *I’m-better-than-you* type of girl”, “the ‘*hey kids!*’ sort of popular culture appeal”).

The fact that the speakers’ aim is to create a novel category is confirmed, among other things, by the occurrence of the compounds’ head nouns such as *kategoria* (‘category’), *typ* (‘type’) or *rodzaj* (‘variety’), for instance, *Samochód miał pasować do kategorii: wygląda na droższy niż naprawdę jest* (‘The car was going to fit into the category: *it looks more expensive than it really is*’). Additionally, fictive interaction constructions are frequently used in titles of articles whose aim is to discuss important concepts such as new social trends or philosophies, for example, *Pokolenie kopiuj-wklej* (‘Generation *copy-paste*’) or *Poznaj filozofię “Pieprz to!”* (‘Learn the philosophy “*Fuck it!*”’).

To sum up, some instances of the Polish construction in question might not qualify by formal criteria as compounds with a category-creating function. This is because they are often creative one-time occurrences with little chances of becoming permanent category names. Additionally, some

of them violate the formal rule of inseparability by inserting a quotative marker in between the modifier and the head noun. Yet, in the light of cognitive linguistics we can place the various instances of the construction on the continuum, from less to more prototypical instances without excluding any of them from the analysis. The most important criterion for including them into the database of this study is of purely semantic/pragmatic nature –by using them the speaker/writer must have an intention of referring to or setting up a unique category salient for him or her in a particular context.

2. Semantic categories of Polish fictive interaction constructions

The categorisation of the Polish data presented in this section shows the kind of concepts that can be elaborated by fragments of fictive interaction and the underlying relationship between the two constituents in this construction. It should be stressed that, although the head noun function as profile determinants, i.e. they specify the type of referent of the fictive linguistic expression, it is impossible to base the categorisation on their lexical meaning only. Instead, one must also take into account the relation between the heads and the modifiers. Expressions with the same head noun can be classified in different categories depending on the kind of fictive interaction in the modifier.

The semantic range of head nouns that can be observed in these nominal constructions is quite striking. What is crucial, however, is that all the categories of head nouns can be placed within the *Conversation Frame*, that is, they are somehow related to human verbal interaction. The categories I through IV discussed below are the most numerous groups of the Polish fictive interaction nominal constructions. They are self-referential, in that their heads indicate the type of message or entity that the modifier represents: a verbal utterance (I), a mental process, (II) a non-verbal message conveyed by some aspects of body language (III), or a non-verbal message conveyed by certain human actions/possessions (IV). The head nouns in subsequent categories refer to other elements of the verbal communication frame, such as, speech event participants (V), time and place (VI), cause, effect or topic of an utterance (VII), or the activity that involves uttering particular words (VIII).

2.1. Category I: Type of message/ 'container' of the message

The example in (2) shows that Polish fictive interaction fragments may be used to refer to language-related concepts such as *answers* .

- (2) I guzik mnie interesuje odpowiedź w stylu “*jestem draniem*”, bo najprościej jest tak powiedzieć właśnie, zamiast ponieść konsekwencję za swoje słowa.

(www.szarm.art.superhost.pl)

Lit: ‘And I’m not interested at all in the answer_of the style “*I’m a bastard*” because it is easier to say so than take the responsibility for your words’

The head nouns in this category may refer to a general type of communicative act such as, for example, *odpowiedź* (‘answer’) or they may specify the function of a particular fictive interaction fragment, i.e. point to the speech act it represents, as in the case of, for example, *groźba* (‘threat’). Additionally, there are certain head nouns that do not refer to types of messages but specify ‘containers’ of these messages, such as *reklama* (‘commercial’), or their verbal ‘carriers’, such as: *wypowiedź* (‘utterance’), *tekst* (‘text’), *zdanie* (‘sentence’), *komentarz* (‘comment’).

2.2. Category II: Mental or emotional processes or states

As in the case of fictive interaction constituents in other languages (Pascual 2002, 2014), fictive interaction modifiers in Polish may also represent different, often very complex, mental or emotional processes or states, as in (3).

- (3) W następstwie tych doświadczeń rodzi się dystans do siebie i do własnego życia, pokora, wyrażająca się w postawie typu “*niech będzie*”.

(Lecture by professor. Maria Straś-Romanowska, Uniwersytet Wrocławski www.kk.jgora.pl)

Lit: ‘As a consequence of such experiences one develops a distance to oneself and one’s life, a kind of humility expressed by the attitude of the type “*let it be.*”’

Apart from *postawa* (‘attitude’), other common head nouns followed by fictive interaction to characterise mental states and processes are: *rozumowanie* (‘reasoning’), *podejście* (‘approach’), or *uczucie* (‘feeling’), *myślenie* (‘thinking’), *logika* (‘logic’), *przekonanie* (‘opinion’) or *emocja* (‘emotion’). This category is a numerous one, which might be due to the fact that very subtle and complex human internal states are often difficult to specify by means of common adjectives, and can thus be efficiently presented by means of fictive interaction fragments. This function of fictive interaction constituents will be further developed in §3.5. below.

2.3. Category III: Body language

Fictive interaction modifiers in Polish may also represent the messages transmitted via a person’s body language, as evidenced by the head noun in (4) below.

- (4) Wszystko jest nie tak, człowiek boi się jej o cokolwiek zapytać, bo zaraz lodowe spojrzenie typu “*jestem tobą rozczarowana*”.

(www.feliz76.blox.pl)

Lit: ‘Everything is wrong, you are afraid to ask about anything because you may immediately get the ice-cold look of the type “*you disappoint me.*”’

The head nouns in this category represent different types of meaningful or telling bodily behaviour. They can describe a mimic facial movement such as *spojrzenie* (‘look’) in (4). Other popular head nouns referring to body language might be *mina* (‘face’), *grymas* ‘grimace / face’, *uśmiech* (‘smile’), *ton* (‘tone of voice’) or *głos* (‘voice’).

2.4. Category IV: An activity or thing that communicates something

Another group of nouns elaborated by fictive interaction fragments in Polish refers to human activities and things that communicate something non-verbally, as illustrated in (5):

- (5) Janusz A. Majcherek o kampaniach “*Niech nas zobaczą*” pisze: “One prowokują otoczenie”.

(www.feminoteka.pl)

Lit: ‘Janusz A. Majcherek writes about the campaigns “*Let them see us*” that they “provoke people”’

The campaigns in (5) communicate their participants’ need to be seen by other members of the society. Apart from social actions or enterprises also people’s personal belongings or outfits convey their

attitudes as in ‘fryzura typu “*jestem grzeczna*”’ (lit. ‘hairstyle of the type “*I’m a good girl*”).

2.5. Category V: Speaker and hearer

Individuals or groups of people can be characterised by fictive interaction in Polish. The head nouns can refer to either speakers, as in (6a) or hearers, as in (6b):

- (6) a. Na zewnątrz to *typ “przepraszam, że żyję”*, ale wewnątrz kłębią się emocje, frustracja i rozżalenie.

(www.enneagram.pl)

Lit: ‘On the surface he’s the guy “*I’m sorry I’m alive*”, but inside he is full of swirling emotions, frustration and bitterness’

- b. Jednym słowem koleś typu “*idź i nie wracaj*”.

(www.our-freedom.blog.onet.pl)

Lit: ‘In a word, (he is) a guy of the type: “*go away and don’t return*”’

What a person says is one of the basic sources of information about them for other people. That is why people can readily be characterised on the basis of their verbal output. In (6a) a type of individual is described by means of a fictive interaction fragment *Przepraszam, że żyję* (‘I’m sorry I’m alive’), which is a common way to refer to intimidated people. In (6b) a type of man is specified by what others might have potentially said to or about him, namely, *Idź i nie wracaj* (‘Go away and don’t return’). Other similar

head nouns in my database are: *dziewczyna* ('girl'), *dziennikarze* ('journalists') or *pokolenie* ('generation').

Interestingly, in Polish individuals may also be characterised by means of a fictive enunciation ascribed to them, inserted in between their first name and surname, for instance, Donald *Nic Nie Mogę* Tusk ('Donald *I Cannot Do Anything* Tusk') or Cristiano „*Czy już mnie widać na telebimie?*” Ronaldo (Cristiano “*Am I already shown on the LED display?*” Ronaldo).

2.6. Category VI: Time and place

Nouns referring to the time and place of a fictive utterance also occur in Polish, as evidenced by the examples in (7):

- (7) a. Chciałem napisać coś ciekawego (...), a z drugiej strony to był dzień w stylu “*bez kija nie podchodzić*”

(www.bluesman1989.bloog.pl)

Lit: ‘I wanted to write something interesting (...) but, on the other hand, it was a day of the style “*don't approach me without a stick*”’

- b. miejsce typu: *pstrykać i uciekać*

(www.fototok.tkb.pl)

Lit: the place of the type: *snap (a photo) and run away*’

Example (7a) shows that we can characterise a day in somebody’s life by the conventional expression used to represent somebody’s militant

mood at that particular time i.e. *Bez kija nie podchodź* ('don't approach me without a stick (as I am aggressive/in a bad mood)'). Additionally, a kind of location in space can be specified by a message that could be uttered there, as in (7b). Other entities that could be characterised by means of fictive interaction are expressed by such head nouns as: *moment* ('moment') or *bar* ('bar').

2.7. Category VII: Cause and effect of producing a message, topic of a message

In the examples below the underlined simple or more complex noun phrases represent a cause (8a), effect (8b), and a topic (8c) of a fictive utterance.

- (8) a. Owszem, prawne zakazy i mnie nie całkiem smakują. Daleko bardziej wolałbym jakieś normalne kulturowe tabu w rodzaju "nie wypada".

(www.czytanki.hox.pl)

Lit: 'It's true, I don't like legal prohibitions myself. I would prefer a typical cultural taboo of the kind "it's not becoming"'

- b. Lista miejsc przyjaznych mamie powstanie podczas tegorocznej kampanii "O Mamma Mia - tu wózkem nie wjadę!"

(www.feminoteka.pl)

Lit: 'The list of mother-friendly places will be created during this year's campaign "Oh Mamma Mia I won't enter here with my pram"'

- c. The Punisher - film typu "włącz film, wyłącz mózg", jednak jako kino czysto rozrywkowe sprawdza się znakomicie.

(www.db.o2.pl)

Lit: ‘The Punisher – film of the type “*turn on the film turn off the brain*” – is a great example of purely entertaining cinema’

In (8a) the existence of some cultural taboo may cause the comment *nie wypada* (‘it’s not becoming / it’s not in place’). In-turn, the social campaign referred to by the noun in (8b) is the effect of some problems encountered by mothers presented here in the form of a jocular fictive speech act following the noun *O Mamma Mia - tu wózkiem nie wjadę* (‘*Oh Mamma Mia I won’t enter here with my pram*’). Lastly, the film in (8c) is the topic of the fictive utterance *włącz film, wyłącz mózg* (‘*turn on the film, turn off the brain*’).

2.8. Category VIII: An activity which involves producing a message

The head nouns in this category, similarly to the ones in category IV above, refer to human activities. However, in this case the relationship between the constructions’ elements is slightly different. The modifier does not represent the non-verbal message conveyed by the activity itself, but rather an utterance or a thought that was *involved* in carrying out the action by one of its participants.

- (9) *Czy w PL są jakieś ogólnopolskie serwisy, które organizują wymianę przebitego koła? W sytuacjach typu jestem w garniturze, pada deszcz i nie chce się z tym babrać.*

(www.lameriada.com)

Lit: 'Are there in Poland any national services that organise flat tire replacement in the situations of the type *I'm wearing a suit it's raining and I don't feel like smearing my fingers with it?*'

In the example above, an emergency situation on the road is characterized by the utterance ascribed to the type of person involved in it.

This section showed that the range of fictive interaction nominal expressions in Polish is quite striking. The diverse concepts that are used as the construction's heads do, however, form a regular pattern - they are elements of the Conversation Frame. It is not surprising if we consider the fact that the modifier in each case is a piece of fictive discourse. Thus, we may expect that in other languages expressions of this type would also be used to characterise some elements of the Conversation Frame. It is true at least in the case of English nominal compounds (see for instance Pascual et al. 2013 and Pascual 2014).

3. Functions of Polish fictive interaction constructions

In the sections below I argue that Polish fictive interaction constructions are employed by language users in order to fulfill important functions in discourse. Some of these functions are associated with the general discourse effects of using direct speech discussed by Clark and Gerrig (1990) and Tannen (1986, 1989), among others. Consequently, it is not surprising that

similar functions can be played by fictive interaction constructions in other languages, such as English FI compounds (cf. Pascual et al. 2013; Królak 2008). Crucially, however, while the basic functions FI fulfills cross-linguistically may be similar, studying its manifestations in particular languages, in this case Polish, is worthwhile since this way we receive insight into culture-specific and often novel attitudes and social trends popular among language users of a given speech community. Fictive interaction constructions are very convenient and precise tools for ‘echoing’ what speakers of a particular culture say or might have potentially said or expressed in some other way, e.g. by means of their actions, possessions or body-language. The examples discussed below reveal many popular ways of thinking manifested in the Polish culture - see in particular section 3.6 and 4. It should also be pointed out that, the functions described below are not mutually exclusive and frequently overlap.

3.1. Producing rhetorical effects

Polish FI constructions are employed to achieve different and diverse rhetorical purposes. A variety of linguistic devices are used to make the fictive interaction constituents more attention-grIPPING. They frequently contain different types of emotive elements, exclamatives, rhetorical questions, repetition or rhyme. Speakers may also achieve special effects by

creating longish and exaggerated fictive utterances like the one in (10) below.

(10) Postawa typu “*świat jest zły, system jest winien wszystkim moim niepowodzeniom, więc założę koszulkę z che guevarą i będę udawał, że komuniści nie zrujnowali naszego kraju i nie pomordowali niepokornych*” jest bez sensu.

(www.hyperreal.info)

Lit: ‘The attitude of the type “*the world is evil, the system is responsible for all my failures, so I’m going to put on Che Guevara T shirt and pretend that the communists didn’t ravage our country and didn’t murder the non submissive people*” makes no sense’

The fictive interaction fragment in (10) used to illustrate a particular type of attitude consists of a few subordinate clauses. Additionally, it contains hyperbolic statements, as in *system jest winien wszystkim moim niepowodzeniom* (‘the system is responsible for all my failures’) and negative emotionally-loaded verbs *zrujnowali* (‘ravaged’) and *pomordowali* (‘murdered’). These strategies clearly play a role of assessing the particular attitude negatively (see § 3.3. below). The fictive speaker to whom the utterance is attributed is presented as hypocritical (*będę udawał* ‘I’m going to pretend’) (for detailed discussion on the integration of different viewpoints in fictive utterances, see Pascual 2014). Additionally, what contributes to the rhetorical impact of the fictive interaction fragment is that it mentions an easily imaginable concrete physical object - a T-shirt with

Che Guevara's face - which the fictive speaker puts on to depict his 'rebellious' attitude (for the role of detail in discourse, see Tannen 1992).

3.2. Presenting concepts in a personal and transparent way

Since in this type of construction a head noun is specified by a fictive utterance, the concept coded by the noun is presented from a human perspective. The Polish fictive interaction expressions are readily used in contexts in which the speaker wants the addressee to identify with a given idea or wish, so as to make a concept more transparent or graspable. Consider the example in (11).

- (11) Ruszyła kampania społeczna: *Nie daję, nie biorę łapówek.*
(www.wirtualnemedi.pl)
Lit: 'The social campaign: *I don't give I don't take bribes* has been launched'

As evidenced by the example in (11) fictive interaction fragments can be used in Polish to give official names to different types of campaigns or actions. This clearly serves the purpose of drawing the attention of the public and making the message more personal and easy to identify with. Another example in (12) shows how fictive interaction can make certain concepts more understandable.

(12) Wobec innych możemy prezentować takie cztery różne postawy. 1. Postawa bierna: *ja nie jestem Ok., ty jesteś Ok.* 2. Postawa manipulująca: *ja nie jestem OK., ty nie jesteś Ok.* 3. Postawa agresywna: *ja jestem OK., ty nie jesteś OK.* 4. Postawa asertywna: *ja jestem OK., ty jesteś OK.*

(www.sciagi.bajo.pl)

Lit: 'We can manifest four different attitudes towards other people. 1. Passive attitude: *I'm not O.K., you are O.K.* 2. Manipulative attitude: *I'm not O.K, you're not O.K.* 3. Aggressive attitude: *I'm O.K., you're not O.K.* 4. Assertive attitude: *I'm O.K., you are O.K.*'

The passage above lists four main attitudes one can adopt in social contacts with other people. The technical names by which they are referred to in psychological theories are followed by first person singular statements in which fictive enunciators specify their attitude to themselves and others. In this way the concepts are defined in a simple and concise way.

3.3. *Introducing negative evaluations*

Polish fictive interaction constructions are also commonly used to assess a concept negatively. This can be achieved in a variety of ways, for instance by employing hyperbolic statements, as in (10) above. Consider further the examples below, in which different mental processes are evaluated.

(13) a. (...) myślenie typu “*nie stać mnie na Porsche, więc mam prawo ukraść*”

(www.losux.pl)

Lit: ‘Thinking of the kind “*I can’t afford a Porsche so I have the right to steal it*”’

- b. (...) rozumowanie typu “*cóż może zaszkodzić wlany do rzeki mój zużyty olej silnikowy skoro fabryka obok wlewa do tej samej rzeki tysiąc razy więcej ścieków*”

(www.forum.turystyka-gorska.pl)

Lit: ‘Reasoning of the kind “*what harm can there be in the waste motor oil I pour into the river if the nearby factory pours there a thousand times more waste*”’

The example in (13a) specifies a type of dishonest attitude and (13b) a non-ecological approach manifested by some people. These mental processes are presented in the form of fictive utterances in which certain states of affairs, such as the fact that somebody cannot afford an expensive car in (13a) and the observation that a factory pollutes a river in (13b), lead the fictive speakers to drawing false conclusions that the narrator considers unacceptable. Using fictive statements with/containing such erroneous reasoning is a common strategy to express the ridicule of certain attitudes and the people holding them. Additionally, in this case, mentioning particular details (*Porsche* and *waste motor oil*) adds to the rhetorical impact of the expressions by evoking particular scenarios.

It should be stressed that employing fictive interaction fragments allows the actual speaker or writer to pass evaluation of some phenomenon in an indirect way. The narrator constructs an utterance that presents an unfavourable image of the person in question (i.e. the fictive enunciator) by

employing such strategies as the above-mentioned exaggeration, erroneous reasoning or other rhetorical tools. By contrast, the role of the actual addresser and producer of the message is presented as that of objective reporting the referent's words so his/her own responsibility is diminished.

3.4. Providing precise and economical characterisations

Fictive interaction constituents can provide a particularly precise specification of a concept (cf. Pascual et al. 2013, Pascual 2014). This function may be due to the fact that they may be fairly long and contain much information about the referent. More importantly, even if they are concise, they have the potential of giving access to sometimes complex socio-cultural scenarios whose elements are evoked without being overtly mentioned. Consider the example below.

(14) Nie musze chyba dodawać, że wakacje typu: *'jadę w ciemno, śpię u poznanych ludzi i smakuję zwiedzanego kraju 'od środka', jak zwykły mieszkaniec'* odpadają.

(www.antidotum.org)

Lit: 'I don't have to add that a holiday of the type *'I'm going without any booking, sleep at newly met people's place and experience the visited country from the inside like an ordinary citizen'* is not an option'

The kind of holiday the speaker has in mind is specified by means of a fictive interaction fragment consisting of a few clauses. Much information

about the holiday in question is mentioned specifically like, for example, the fact that it is spontaneous and that the accommodation is not prearranged. However, the fictive utterance can also give us access to much more information. We can picture the fictive speaker (i.e. the holidaymaker) as a probably young, adventure-seeking, nature-loving uncommitted individual, possibly with a limited budget. By evoking an appropriate life scenario, the fictive interaction fragment contributes to a precise and economical specification of this type of holiday.

3.5. *Demonstrating ineffable concepts*

The fact that fictive interaction constituents can specify a concept in a clear and precise, as well as economical way seems to make them especially efficient in categorising concepts such as mental or emotional states or processes, and explains the large number of instances of category II (described in §2.2. above). Human internal states can be very complex and subtle, which makes them difficult to describe. Clark and Gerrig (1990) classified them as ‘ineffable’, that is, as phenomena that are easier to demonstrate than describe. Such ‘demonstration’ can be achieved by means of fictive interaction constructions. Consider the example in (15).

- (15) W egocentryzmie nerwicowym pojawia się wyraźna pretensja w stosunku do otoczenia: *nikt mnie nie rozumie!*, połączona z myśleniem: *to ja mam jedyną słuszną receptę na zdrowie.*

(Agnieszka Paczkowska in *Polityka* Nr. 29, 21 July, 2007)

Lit: ‘In the neurotic egocentrism there appears a clear resentment towards the world: *nobody understands me!*, connected with the thinking: *only I have the right formula-for health*’

In (15), fictive interaction constituents are used to define a kind of feeling and a way of thinking that are characteristic for people suffering from neurotic egocentrism. By presenting these internal states as samples of speech, the author refers to them in a clear, precise and expressive way. These effects would not be achieved if the concepts were specified in some other way, for example, by adjectival modifiers.

3.6. Referring to novel phenomena

As stated above, direct speech constructions in Polish – as in English and other languages – can adequately specify ineffable concepts such as thoughts or feelings. Additionally, these constructions are frequently employed to refer to new phenomena, such as recent social trends. In the example below, the author identifies an anti-posh fashion that she observed in present-day Warsaw.

(16) Na imprezach antysnoby popalają skręty tytoniowe, puszcza­ją stare Kombi, ukazują się w poliestrowych dresach i znoszonych buciorach z lumpeksu berlińskiego, a ładne dziewczyny lansują antymodę, czyli: *„jestem taka ładna, że mogę być brzydka i noszę okulary po dziadku, tak zwane telewizorki oraz spodnie z krokiem na wysokości kolan.”*

(Passent, Agata, 2002. *Miastówka*, Warszawa: Pracownia Słów, p.37)

Lit: 'At parties, anti-posh people smoke hand-rolled cigarettes, put on old hits by Kombi, wear polyester tracksuits and worn out shoes from a second-hand shop in Berlin, and beautiful girls launch the anti-fashion i.e.: "*I'm so pretty that I can look ugly so I'm wearing glasses after my grandfather, the so-called TV sets, and trousers with the crotch at my knees*"

In (16) the fictive interaction construction referring to a new anti-fashion achieves many of the effects described in the sections above. It is catchy, humorous and conveys the ironic attitude of the author. At the same time it serves as the linguistic label of a trend that has been recently identified by the author and cannot be referred to by a well-established expression. Other examples of fictive interaction fragments used to refer to new phenomena are the names of different types of campaigns and actions like the ones already given in (5), (8b), and (11) . Other instances are: *Parking "Parkuj i Jedź"* ('Park and Ride car park'), *Festiwal "Weź to wyłącz"* ('Turn-it-off festival'), *Akcja "Nie biorę, chcę normalnie zarabiać"* ('I-don't-take-(bribes),-I-want-to-earn-normally action'), *Kampania "Rzuć palenie i wygraj"* ('Give-up-smoking-and-win campaign').

4. FI and Polish cultural values

Sections §3.1–§3.6 showed that fictive interaction fragments can categorise a number of different phenomena in an immediate, clear, precise,

economical, and often evaluative way. As noted in §3.5 above, different types of mental processes and states can be efficiently represented in this fashion. For this reason, samples of fictive speech used in particular languages to specify different types of attitudes, approaches, or mentalities for instance, could become a valuable source of knowledge about the culture of some speaking community. In the same way as the proverbs functioning in a language can give us some insight into the cultural values, samples of fictive speech constitute an interesting inventory of some common views, ways of reasoning, unwritten rules, etc. Since strings of fictive interaction are frequently used with an evaluative function, they would often represent culture-specific fallacies of thinking and unpopular attitudes. Consider the examples below:

- (17) a. Postawa typu “*mnie się należy*” która panuje w Polsce prowadzi do stagnacji i regresu.

(www.kurier.lublin.pl)

Lit: ‘Attitude of the type “*I have the right to get it*” which dominates in Poland leads to stagnation and regression’

- b. Rozumowanie w stylu “*jest drogo to będę kombinował*” do mnie nie trafia.

(www.flyfishing.pl)

Lit: ‘Reasoning of the style “*everything’s expensive so I’ll wheel and deal*” doesn’t appeal to me’

The fictive interaction fragments in the examples above contain propositions that speakers of Polish would easily recognize as expressing

typically Polish vices or some prevalent erroneous attitudes characteristic of the Polish mentality. Some of these expressions (for example *mnie się należy* ‘I have the right to get it’) or their parts (like the verb *kombinować* ‘wheel and deal’) are culture-specific and it is quite challenging to translate them into English precisely preserving all their shades of meaning.

Culture specific views can be conveyed by both conventionalised and creative fragments of fictive interaction found as noun modifiers; they can be either fixed conversational expressions, quotations recognisable in a given culture or creative statements that express recognisable propositions. What is crucial is that the construction can provide access to a great variety of attitudes held by a given language community, including those that have appeared quite recently, e.g. *podejście typu “mam jakiś objaw, to sprawdzę w guglu jaka to może być choroba”* (lit. ‘attitude of the type “I have some symptoms so I’ll check in Google what kind of disease it could be”). The characteristic syntax of the Polish construction, (noun + quotative marker + FI), combined with the knowledge of which head nouns frequently occur in Polish (see section 2), make it possible to carry out a Google search of combinations such as, for example, *rozumowanie + w stylu* (‘reasoning + of the style’), *podejście + typu* (‘attitude of the type’) or *pokolenie + w rodzaju* (‘generation’ + ‘of the kind’). By appropriately devising the internet search criteria it would be possible to obtain data that could add up to the linguistic picture of particular aspects of the Polish speaking community, such as, for example, Polish national vices, new generations of Poles or popular Polish

attitudes towards politics, ecology, etc. This kind of research is the logical continuation of the present study which the author of this article intends to conduct.

5. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to examine two Polish constructions in which a fictive interaction constituent is used to specify a noun or noun phrase. The study has shown that these Polish expressions are used to categorise a great variety of concepts, all of which make use of the Conversation Frame. Several semantic categories of this type of constructions were identified on the basis of the meaning of their constituent parts and the relationship between these parts. It was observed that these fictive interaction nominal constructions can refer to two basic types of phenomena. Firstly, they may specify concepts that direct speech represents, such as, language (Category I), mental or emotional processes or states (Category II), as well as non-verbal messages conveyed by our body language (Category III), or activities and possessions that 'communicate' something (Category IV). The second group of these constructions categorise other components of the verbal communication frame namely: speakers and hearers (Category V); time and place of producing a message (Category VI); cause/effect/topic of a message (Category VII); an activity that involves producing a message (Category VIII).

Apart from categorising different elements of the Conversation Frame Polish nominal expressions involving fictive interaction are employed by language users to achieve a variety of additional, equally important, functions. Specifically, they serve to produce diverse rhetorical effects such as humour and vividness, convey negative evaluation, specify a category in a precise, economical, transparent, and subjective way, and provide efficient specifications of new or ineffable concepts. Crucially, the fictive interaction modifiers used for noun-elaboration in Polish can frequently convey some culture-bound views and attitudes. This last aspect of the construction in question deserves to be developed in a separate study that could lead to the creation of a linguistic picture of some crucial aspects of Polish culture.

The Polish FI constructions described in this chapter bear many similarities to English fictive interaction compounds (for details see Królak 2005, 2008; Pascual et al. 2013, Pascual 2014). Concepts modified by fictive interaction fragments could be grouped in slightly different categories in Polish and English, but in both languages they necessarily belong to the Conversation Frame. Also the discourse functions that these nominal constructions fulfill in the two languages (e.g. producing rhetorical effects or achieving negative evaluations) seem to be similar. These similarities are highly motivated and stem from the fact that fictive interaction is probably a universal cognitive category, which may be manifested in different languages (Pascual 2014, Pascual and Sandler this

volume). However, the existing formal differences between the languages account for some differences in the way the constructions can be employed in texts. For this reason, it would be interesting to have a closer look at the FI nominal constructions and their particular functions in a cross-linguistic perspective. This task was undertaken by Pascual and Królak, who study Spanish and Polish translations of English fictive interaction compounds found in literary bestsellers (Pascual and Królak in prep).

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