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## SOCIETY'S CULTURAL EXPERIENCES INSCRIBED IN LANGUAGE

**Formulation and justification of the relevance of the problem.** Social sciences recognize the concept of culture as all that is taught to individuals and social groups in the process of enculturation (acculturation). The process of cultural transmission, is also called growing into culture occurs within three «systems» identified by Antonina Kłosowska. The first one, identified by the author as the «primary» one, concerns small communities and is distinguished by psychical and physical proximity between members of the group, as well as similarity of their fates and life experiences. The second one, called institutional, is also based on direct contact, at the same time allowing for formal contacts between people who play specific roles in their interactions with one another, e.g. the roles of teacher-student and spectator-actor. The function of the one who sends a cultural message is formal and determines the sender's social role. The function of the recipient is not permanent, because one can be a student, spectator, etc., only for a limited period of time. The third cultural system is based on indirect means of communication between the sender and the recipient, and refers to content transmitted through the mass media. The culture of a contemporary developed society includes elements of all three systems, which are linked to and dependent on each other [9, p. 60–61]. All people operate in these three systems, and their process of growing into the culture happens gradually and in line with their biological development. Language plays in it a vital role. On one hand, it is passed down to future generations in the process of socialization (part of socialization is to acquire the language skills necessary to communicate, respond to certain types of messages, etc.), On the other hand, is a tool for communication of meaning and cultural expression, because «language can permeate all spheres of cultural activities» [14, p. 101]. E. Sapir notes that «the contents of each culture can be expressed in its language and there is no such language material (...), which would not be a symbol of real meanings for users of the language» [23, p. 37–38]. In this sense, language is a «transmitter» of culture in the broad sense of the word and reflects the experiences of its participants. J. Anusiewicz, A. Dąbrowska, and M. Fleischer also view language as a particular

medium for the cultural output of a communication community. According to these authors, language is an expression of the community's social practice and experience accumulated over the span of many generations. It enables its users to transfer values, assessments, judgements, and standards of conduct which foster behaviours, actions, beliefs, and ethical and normative systems of the community [1, p. 21]. Language «reflects the social reality and cultural values and shapes the form of social behaviour» [10, p. 47]. It may be said that individual elements of language, such as grammar, vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, text structure, semantics, etymology, and style, reflect in a way the cultural experience of individuals and communities.

**The main material of the study.** Cultural experiences inscribed in phrasemes. Language is a system of signs, and language signs are arbitrary, i.e., «There is no reason which would justify the assignment of one or other particular signal to a given meaning. This is why in different languages the same meaning is encoded using different signals» [3, p. 24]. The meaning of «horse» is associated in the Polish language with the sound *koń*, in French with *cheval*, in English with *horse*, in German with *Pferd*, in Italian with *cavallo*. Each of these words carries a specific content (sense, meaning). However, strictly defined «meaning seems to exist only for the mind and in the mind, and does not in fact extend beyond it» [3, p. 26]. It is also worth noting that the meaning we want to express through language varies depending on the society's scientific and civilizational progress. The language itself, which we use to convey the meaning, also evolves. New words appear and are used by successive generations to describe, among others, everyday objects (e. g. computer, smartphone, tablet), social phenomena (e.g. Euro-orphans), human occupations and activities (e.g. blogger, YouTuber, fashion blogger), while certain words fall out of use because the items which they describe become obsolete, e.g. *inkwell*. Some meanings are expressed through new words, and so the old word for notebook, *kajet*, was replaced by the modern word *zeszyt*, and the word *suty* (lavish), was replaced by the word *obfity*.

Regardless of these changes, some social experiences take roots and function, although objects and situations to which they refer have

long since been forgotten. Phrasemes can certainly be numbered among those carriers of cultural content. These are customary combinations of two or more words. Their meaning is comprehensive, metaphorical and does not depend on the meaning of the individual components. The individual elements of a phraseme may be integrated with one another to varying degrees. Stanisław Skorupka identified three types of phrasemes due to the degree of word integration:

- loose phrasemes – the individual words are loosely connected. In this case each element maintains its separate meaning;

- cohesive phrasemes or collocations – although the words are integrated to a considerable degree, the individual elements maintain their separate meaning ;

- fixed phrasemes – individual elements are integrated to a large degree, and the meaning of the phraseme is not a sum of the meanings of its components [Podlaska D., Świątek-Brzezińska M., 2011, p. 7]. The words which form the phrasemes cannot be replaced without losing the meaning of the phrasemes.

In turn, A. M. Lewicki identified the four key elements that determine whether a lexical unit can be considered a phraseme. These include:

- structural discontinuity – a phraseme is discontinuous, consisting of at least two words;

- stability of form – a phraseme has a fixed form, and the possibility of changing its elements is small and strictly limited, restricted essentially to altering grammatical or lexical forms (phraseological variants);

- globality of meaning – the sum of the meanings of the components does not equal the meaning of the whole;

- established position in the language system – a distinctive feature of a phraseme is its replicability in texts in the same way a single word is replicated [22, p. 7–8].

The same author proposed to categorise phrasemes according to their function in sentence, and identified:

- phrases, which are similar to sentences or sentence equivalents in structure and function as utterances. Due to the fact that they are grammatically complete, they do not require the speaker to add any words, e.g. *wyszło szydło z worka* (the cat is out of the bag), *głowa do góry* (chin up), *świat się przewrócił do góry nogami* (the world has turned upside down);

- phrases, i.e. phrasemes acting as verbs, which must be complemented by a nominal element indicating the subject to which the condition applies, so they can form a sentence, e.g. *kogoś krew zalewa* (someone sees red), *komuś spadł kamień z serca* (a weight was lifted off someone's mind), *ktoś dolewa oliwy do ognia* (someone adds fuel to the fire). The basic form of

a phrase is a combination of a verb with a nominal group(s), a non-prepositional one or one in the form of a prepositional phrase [18, p. 46];

- noun phrases, phrasemes functioning as nouns, which take the form of groups or series of nouns, e.g. *łabędzi śpiew* (a swan song), *małżeństwo z rozsądku* (a marriage of convenience), *na łonie rodziny* (in the bosom of one's family) [18, p. 9];

A literature review reveals one more interpretation of word collocations which creates a separate category out of the so-called colloquial metaphors (proverbs), which, in contrast to literary metaphors, are frequently repeated word sets (phrasemes). Their meaning is commonly understood by language users. They take the form of a short and concise anonymous sentence which expresses observations about social life and psychology as well as general thoughts, often in a metaphorical form [24, p. 201].

T. Milewski points to the fact that collocations arise when «old words stabilize into a new semantic value (...)». Similarly, sometimes the language sees a stabilization of a new meaning of whole word groups used figuratively in the text» [18, p. 82–83]. As a standard, phraseme functions in the minds of users as one concept consisting of several words (lexemes) and is, according to J. Tokarski «of conventional nature and limited application» [27, p. 202]. An example of such a phraseme is *ptasie mleczko* (a type of marshmallow, literally «bird's milk»), which refers to a very specific kind of sweets, and its meaning expressed just as a combination of the words «bird» and «milk» does not reflect the essence of the indirect meaning of the whole phrase. Phrasemes can also play a particular role in an utterance, functioning alongside neutral expressions but carrying much more expressive value, e.g. *erudyta* (an erudite person) and *chodząca encyclopedia* (a walking dictionary), and thus serving to convey the content in a humorous or ironic form. It is therefore easy to agree with the opinion of D. Buttler, who states that phrasemes «favour the subtle emotional shading of a text, form the basis of different stylistic choices, and most of all help to express the humorous intentions of the speaker» [7, p. 212]. Colloquial phraseology (as opposed to the literary one) employs vivid imagery and references to everyday life, crudeness and sometimes bluntness and triviality [7, p. 212]. A.N. Baranov emphasizes in turn that the internal form of many phrasemes is based on a cognitive template which has nothing to do with their current meaning [14, p. 235], which shows how difficult they are to use in different communication situations because «they are open to a whole range of semantic interpretations» [15, p. 235].

Phrasemes preserve what has been important and valuable to society in each period of its historical development. They reveal the world view of past generations, relationships between people, preferred values, etc. An analysis of established sayings allows to notice and trace how life has changed and what was important in various stages of society's development, including agriculture, animal husbandry, the struggle for the autonomy and independence of the community (state), trade and exchange of goods with the neighbouring cities, countries, etc., the development and expansion of cities. The sources of phrasemes exhibit similar variety. The literature of the subject identifies the following: mythology, the Bible, history, literature, old customs, the military realm, observation of human and animal behaviour, agriculture, crafts, the former justice system, human observation of the surroundings, cuisine, urban slang [22, p. 81–83]. In the following paragraphs, I am going to discuss and illustrate selected ones.

Many phrasemes present in various European languages are rooted in Roman and Greek mythology. These include e.g. *syzyfowa praca* (Sisyphus task), i.e. work that fails to yield results, *w objęciach Morfeusza* (in the arms of Morpheus) – in one's sleep, asleep, *węzeł gordyjski* (the Gordian Knot) – a difficult problem to solve, a complex issue, *wzrok Meduzy* (Medusa's gaze) – an unpleasant, penetrating, paralysing stare, *herkulesowa praca* (a Herculean task) – a task which exceeds human strength, *homerycki śmiech* (Homeric laugh) – unrestrained loud laughter, *ikarowe loty* (Icarian flight) – bold and risky ventures which may end in disaster [8]. What distinguishes this group of phrasemes is that they have similar meanings in various languages and can be relatively easily translated into other languages. For example, the saying *ikarowe loty* has its counterpart in English – Icarian flight, French – *jeux icariens*, German – *ikarische Spiele*. Another example, *koń trojański*, has its counterpart in English – *the Trojan horse*, French – *cheval de Troie*, German – *Trojanisches Pferd*, Italian – *Cavallo di Troia*. Universal phrasemes also include *puszka Pandory* (Pandora's box), i.e. a matter which causes many unexpected and unpleasant results, problems and misfortunes when touched upon. The French equivalent of this saying is *boite de Pandore*, the German one – *Büchse der Pandora*, and the Italian one – *vaso di Pandora*. The same applies to sayings which take their origins from the Bible. This group includes, among others, the phraseme *miłosierny Samarytanin* (a good Samaritan), which describes a merciful, compassionate and kind-hearted person who does not hesitate to help the sick. It is also found in other languages: French – *Bon Samaritan*, German – *barmherziger Samariter*,

Italian – *buon Samaritano*. Similarly, various languages use the phrase *niewierny Tomasz* (a doubting Thomas), which means someone full of doubt, a skeptic. The French counterpart of this saying is *un saint Thomas*, the German one – *ungläubiger Thomas*, the Italian one – *essere come san Tommaso* or *fare come san Tommaso* [8, p. 182–183].

A large group of phrasemes reflect an anthropocentric view of the world. This is demonstrated by numerous sayings referring to parts of the human body, e.g. *od stóp do głów* (from head to toe), *mieć coś na końcu języka* (to have something on the tip of one's tongue), *mieć głowę na karku* (to keep a cool head), *zawrócić komuś w głowie* (to sweep someone off their feet), *mieć oczy dookoła głowy* (to have eyes in the back of one's head), *pójść za głosem serca* (to follow one's heart), *coś jest w dobrych rękach* (something is in good hands), etc. Phrasemes related to colors are an equally interesting group. In Polish, they include: *nie mieć zielonego pojęcia* (literally «to not have a green idea»), to not have a clue, not know or understand something [4, p. 400]. Other sayings in this group are *czarna owca* (the black sheep), or someone who puts their community in a compromising position, an outcast, apostate, *biały kruk* (literally «a white raven») – a rare book, a very valuable item, *myśleć o niebieskich migdałach* (literally «think about blue almonds») – to be unable to focus one's attention on anything, to think about trifling matters. Similarly to other languages belonging to the Western culture, Polish also frequently uses phrasemes related to the animal world. An example might be *kupować kota w worku* (literally «to buy a cat in a bag»), meaning «to buy a pig in a poke») – to buy something without checking what it actually is. This saying goes back probably as far as the medieval times, when products were bought in bags. Describing its etymology, W. Kopaliński suggests that «the subject of the transaction seems rather strange, the stranger the older the proverb, because no one in their right mind would buy a cat in a market» [16, p. 10]. In contrast, pigs or hares were sold in bags and initially the saying referred to one of these two. It should be noted in Poland a hare was called a cat in hunters' slang. And so the saying indicates that when acting in a hurry and not paying attention, one could buy a rotten, bad hare [11, p. 175]. Another interesting saying is *latać or ganiać jak kot z pęcherzem* (literally «to run around like a cat with a bladder»), meaning to move nervously, to move impulsively from place to place. K. Głowińska in «The Phraseological Dictionary» points to the origins of the phraseme explaining that it was a popular game in the past to attach a dried fish bladder to a cat's tail. The bladder would be filled with peas, which rattled with the

cat's every movement. The animal desperately, though unsuccessfully, tried to run away from the source of the terrifying sounds [11, p. 175], and the more the cat tried to escape, the louder and more irritating was the sound made by the bladder. The saying *a cat always falls on its feet* is in turn elaborated on in an interesting way by J. Bralczyk, who writes that "se who are here (in the saying) likened to difficult to damage cats may enjoy our conditional admiration, but not our unconditional liking: they come out of every misfortune unscathed, and even, though this is not expressly said, with some profits» [6, p. 113]. The cat is not the only animal which appears in phrasemes; many expressions mention the dog, for example such ones as *czuć się jak zbity pies* (literally «to feel like a beaten dog», to feel downtrodden) *coś jest jak psu z gardła wyjęte* (literally «something looks like it was taken out of a dog's throat», something is badly creased), *wieszać na kimś psy* (literally «to hang dogs on someone», to badmouth someone), the wolf, e.g. *o wilku mowa* (literally «speaking about the wolf», meaning «speak of the devil»), *patrzeć na kogoś wilkiem* (literally «to look at someone like a wolf», to give someone a hostile look), *wilczy apetyt* (literally «wolfish appetite», ravenous), the donkey, e.g. *uparty jak osioł* (literally «stubborn as a donkey», meaning «stubborn as a mule»).

The group of phrasemes referring to the plant world is also of a considerable importance. A. Nowakowska notes that «in pre-industrial times, when most phraseological expressions in use today were coined, humans were in much closer contact with nature. It is therefore easy to understand why language users referred in their comparisons to trees, shrubs, fruit and other plants» [19, p. 59]. She points to the fact that in «The Phraseological Dictionary of Contemporary Polish Language» as many as 45 popular phrasemes include a plant name among their components. They come from different periods of language development, and the earliest attested idioms, like *rzucić grochem o ścianę* (literally «to throw pea against the wall», to waste one's breath) or *nie owijać w bawełnę* (literally: to not wrap in cotton, to not beat around the bush), were created in the 16th and 17th century.

The phrasemes of the Polish language also point to our forefathers' love of military pursuits, as evidenced by such expressions as *kruszyć kopie* (literally «to break lances», to fight for something) *spalić za sobą mosty* (to burn bridges), *stanąć w szranki* (literally «to enter the lists», to compete) [5, p. 10–11]. They also «describe» knights' customs as well as military artifacts and traditions, e.g. *na placu boju* (on the battlefield), *grubszy caliber* (higher caliber), *otoczyć się pancernym ochronnym* (literally «to put up a defensive armour», to put up a wall around one's feelings),

*podnieść larum* (literally «to play the battle signal», meaning to start an uproar), *uderzyć rykoszetem* (literally «to ricochet», meaning to backfire), *wysadzić kogoś z siodła* (literally «to unseat a horse rider», to deprive someone of their position or importance) [22, p. 469–470]. K. Handke offers an interesting explanation of the origins of the saying *iść jak w dym* (*pójść jak w dym*, *uderzyć do kogoś jak w dym*) (literally: to go as if into the smoke, to go to someone as if into the smoke; to turn to someone or something without hesitation). Today this phraseme means «to turn to someone with a request that will certainly be granted, proceed without hesitation, boldly, surely, in a straightforward manner». Its origins go back to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, when firearms were becoming popular. In those times guns required a long time to load. And so, as the author describes, when infantry fired a round during a battle, a cloud of smoke would rise up and created a curtain which allowed the enemy's cavalry to attack. The attackers were safe until the infantry loaded their guns again and could fire another round [13, p. 294–295]. Similarly, the proverb *przed bitwą nie trąb wygranej* (literally «do not play the trumpet to herald victory before the battle», meaning «do not count your chickens before they're hatched»), known already in the 17th century and suggesting one should not deem a success something that is not yet finished, has its roots in military tradition. The court culture, on the other hand, was preserved in sayings like *dworskie maniery* (literally «courtly manners», gentlemanly manners), *rycerskie zachowanie* (chivalrous behaviour).

A considerable group of expressions is related to items popular a long time ago, which today have fallen out of use. Nevertheless, their traces are left in popular sayings. An example is the expression *nie w kij dmuchał* (literally «it's not blowing into a stick»), meaning something is of a high value. It refers to an old custom of Polish nobility, which consisted of drinking the contents of a wine glass without a stem (also called a stick or *kulawka*) without pausing for breath (that is, «blowing»). The glass in question, of a considerable size, was filled with wine.

Those who could not drink it without pausing for breath spilled the liquor all over themselves. In addition, the clumsy drinker's companions would pour a glass of water down his back [11, p. 153]. Old traditions are referred to also in another saying, *czytać od deski do deski* (literally «to read something from board to board», to read something from cover to cover). In those times, books were bound in wooden covers. The saying implied that those who read carefully, read a book from its one board to the second one. Today this expression was replaced by *czytać od pierwszej do ostatniej karty* (to read from the first

to the last page). Another popular saying related to books is the expression *mól książkowy* (literally «a book moth», a bookworm). A bookworm is an insect preying on old books and living on the dust gathered between pages or the mould covering the pages of old books which developed on damp paper. It multiplies in advantageous conditions, destroying paper and book covers, and rendering valuable writings lost forever. The metaphorical meaning of this saying, popular in the contemporary Polish language, refers to a person who likes reading and reads a lot of books, «devours books» like the insect mentioned above. As S. Bąba and J. Liberek say, a bookworm is «a person buried up in books, poring over them, someone who only cares for books» [4, p. 146].

**Conclusions and prospects for future research directions.** The linguist Andrzej Markowski notes that «language is a treasury of knowledge about a nation's past and its culture, as well as a link that binds the nation together, a vital element of its identity» [19, p. 12]. It is therefore undoubtedly of value to every society. The phrasemes discussed in this paper reflect the cultural experience inscribed in language. They prove that «words at the same time label reality, providing names for that which exists independently of them» and «create the world, influencing the way we perceive it» [2, p. 5]. Language users avail themselves of this rich heritage preserved in their language, not always realising they have a valuable inheritance from past generations at their disposal. Language changes and evolves. We have many examples illustrating the way how phrasemes established in the popular consciousness have gained new meanings thanks to the contemporary media and advertising. The consumptionist lifestyle created by the advertising business has altered the cultural experiences of today's generations. It has also impacted the language, which has adopted new expressions such as *I'm lovin' it - McDonald's*, *The freshmaker - Mentos*. Language changes and expands, although it also requires its users to care about its development and employ its abundant possibilities in a conscious manner. This abundance is hidden in every language's phrasemes. It is therefore advisable to explore them with children and teenagers as early as possible, interpret them and search for their meanings and origins. Such activities, which I call «phraseological immersion», stimulate linguistic sensitivity and develop linguistic awareness in the contemporary users of all languages.

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## THE EFFECT OF TECHNOLOGY ON STUDENTS' READING HABITS: READING FROM A SCREEN VERSUS READING FROM PAPER

**Formulation and justification of the problem.**

**Reference lists – what for?**

– **Supplemental reading** of course textbooks is essential, as instructors normally do not teach all the required material in class.

– Reading textbooks helps students enhance their thinking, promotes academic reasoning, and imparts new principles and concepts that will help them succeed in the academic world.

**Features of academic reading?**

– **Compulsory.**

– **Requires** reading skills: vocabulary (Hebrew, English), exposure and understanding of the existing theories.

– **Exposure to inquiry capabilities:** criticism, order and organization, ethical judgment, etc.

Academic studies introduce students to a different world of thinking than that with which they were previously acquainted – one that involves corroboration and references, intellectual property, innovativeness, and creativity.

Academic reading requires reading skills, a large vocabulary, thorough understanding of the theories studied, investigative ability, criticism,

organization, and so on. Academic studies present students with a different world of thinking that that with which they had been previously acquainted. According to a recent study, supplemental reading of textbooks is essential, as instructors normally do not manage to teach all the required material in class [14]. Furthermore, reading textbooks helps students develop the quality of their reasoning, advances academic reasoning, and imparts new principles and concepts that will help them succeed in the academic world.

Research has shown that positive attitudes to reading generate positive reading experiences. These positive attitudes are acquired through years of support and encouragement by influential factors, which create the possibility of encouraging higher academic performance [4]. However, even students who are not avid readers find the necessary motivation to prepare for exams and to read the required material [2]. Another study found that the students with high marks have a better feeling concerning their reading abilities than students with lower marks [17].

In order for students to successfully pass the various courses, they must put at least three