

ANNA GRANAT

MARIA CURIE-SKŁODOWSKA UNIVERSITY IN LUBLIN (POLAND)

ANNA.GRANAT@MAIL.UMCS.PL

[HTTPS://ORCID.ORG/0000-0002-9388-4831](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9388-4831)

Mediatization of Colloquial Language

Abstract. According to linguists, psychologists and media scientists, mass media can have an impact on language, but no clear, hard evidence for this was presented to date. However, based on differentiating the concept of long-term impact from the concept of short-term effect, we used pedagogical experiments and explorations of purely linguistic consequences of the reception of media messages. This led us to obtain a large collection of respondents' statements. These statements were in turn categorized and subjected to analysis in order to shed new light on the collected material and to document the manifestations of mediatization of colloquial language, by which we understand every act of language use formed as a result of the impact of media. The result of the analysis was isolating the examples for given groups of linguistic behaviours, descriptions of statements and quotations of verbalizations, which can be considered illustrative for the phenomenon of mediatization of the colloquial Polish language, and relatively often also other varieties thereof.

These exemplifications also demonstrated that it is possible to structure the list of symptoms of colloquial language mediatization into the following groups and subgroups, which have been further specified in the text of the article: 1. Verbalization of words, phrases, utterances and statements within the semantic field related to the media and media technology; 2. Verbalization/writing of words, utterances, phrases and forms of expression known directly or indirectly from the media; 2.A. Reproductive language behaviours; 2.B. Creative language behaviours; 2.C. Affective language behaviours; 2.D. Media language behaviours; 2.E. Interactive language behaviours; 3. Verbalization and/or recording content using new and/or incorrect grammar and spelling structures, created as a result of media reception (language digitization); 3.A. Digital language economization; 3.B. Digital iconization of writing/speech (see Granat, 2019). The final conclusion resulting from the presented research includes secondary colloquialization of colloquial language as a result of the reception of colloquialized mass media messages.

Keywords: colloquial language; mediatization; effects of media reception

Introduction

Mediatization field is recently explored by a growing number of scholars, including those representing political science, sociology, media and culture studies, psychology, pedagogy, literary science and linguistics. Mediatization studies often deal with media message or media channels, placed in certain societal and cultural surrounding, as well as with their interrelationship. What we propose in this study, is the audience and reception approach belonging to these streams, which is much less addressed in mediatization field. Our goal in this study is to describe the phenomenon concerning the mediatization of the colloquial language of the mass media audience. We assume that the direct effects of mediatization of language of the audience are observable. The originality of the approach applied in the study lies in triangulation of different kinds of research methods, which serve both gathering and analyzing research material. They include acquisition of the corpus of verbalized or written down texts resulting from the reception of media messaging, as well as the analysis of the corpus material. The corpus of original colloquial texts consists of the spoken and/or written texts resulting from the reception of mass messages and the statements of respondents describing their own language reception behaviour. What is unique about our approach is that we acquired the texts by conducting a series of surveys and pedagogical experiments in groups of various ages, and that all experiments were recorded using hidden cameras and microphones, to secure natural conditions.

It is common and also old knowledge that the language of mass media is often colloquial, and thus it is worth considering whether the colloquial language is subjected to mediatization.

I would resolve this proposition by basing it on the conclusions of open-ended research in form of the acquisition of a corpus of verbalized or written down texts resulting from the reception of media messaging.

Theoretical Background

When it comes to the issue of colloquiality itself, much has been written about this. So, what exactly is colloquial language? To answer this question, it is worth recalling the concept of style:

Style is a recognizable and ordered inventory of resources, integrated by a set of specific principles, and equipped with specific values, which include knowledge of the world, specific rationality, specific image of the world, and communication intentions. (Bartmiński, 2001, p. 116)

Thanks to this definition, we can say, after Jerzy Bartmiński, that:

The language we are used to calling “colloquial language” meets the criteria of a language style, it demonstrates characteristic (which does not necessarily mean – unknown to other styles) features both at the level of values and their linguistic exhibitors (...). This style occupies the central position in the system of language styles (...), acts as a derivative base for other language styles (...) and it is not limited to its oral variety. (Bartmiński, 2001, pp. 116–117)

The stylish affiliation of a statement is determined by the structure of its vocabulary, semantic organization, phraseology and grammar (derivation rules, sentence patterns and longer texts) (Bartmiński, 2001, p. 119). Barbara Boniecka describes the colloquial language in detail:

Speaking of colloquial statements, scientists using a structural approach usually emphasize their meticulous character, abbreviation (manifested in equivalents of sentences and univernisms), syntactic clumsiness (syntax streams, syntactic contaminations), incorrectness in the implementation of individual subsystems (anacolutha, incorrect selection of inflectional endings, slippage, careless articulation of certain sounds, stylistic errors).¹ In the approaches leaning towards semantics, the anthropocentricity of these statements is already exposed (noticeable in metaphors), their emotionality (demonstrated both in the lexis, and also morphologically expressed), redundancy (manifested in repetitions and false starts).² I would also wish features, such as the precision of the sender’s words, i.e. a detailed, accurate, meticulous³ presentation of the subject serves accuracy, clarity and unambiguity of the sender’s thought communicated to some recipient, which gives a very good image of the former one, in that second set of characteristics, and the fact that this language behaviour forms an inseparable feature of colloquial Polish.⁴ In my opinion, I am trying to soften the sharpness of a fairly common feeling that everyday speech (...) is linguistically confusing, twisted, incorrect, disorganized or chaotic in terms of its content (...). (Boniecka, 2007, pp. 73–74)

So, as we can see, the issue of colloquiality has been set out in great detail. The state of research on colloquiality in the media is similarly comprehensive. We can

¹ Boniecka (2007, p. 73) cited numerous works on colloquial language: Wilkoń (1987), Perczyńska (1975), Skubalanka (Ed. 1978), Anusiewicz and Nieckula (Eds. 1992).

² Boniecka (2007, p. 73) cited the works of Szymczak (Ed. 1982, p. 916), Bartmiński (Ed. 1990), Habrajska (Ed. 2001).

³ Boniecka (2007, p. 74) cited the dictionary edited by Szymczak (1982, p. 916).

⁴ Boniecka (2007, p. 74): “Of course, we can prove the opposite opinion too (...). It seems that colloquiality is governed by two opposing tendencies: a tendency to generality, imprecision and a tendency to concreteness and explicitness. Of course, overall, the effect of a language user’s linguistic activity on the precision of spoken words can be mediocre, but the conscious intention of sender to speak clearly and accurately is noticeable and undeniable”.

mention here the work by Maria Wojtak, who quoted a very rich literature related to this subject⁵ and underlines “the principles for selection of colloquial means” (Wojtak, 2007, p. 144) in various press genres. However, it is different with the issue of research on the colloquiality of statements resulting from the reception of media messages. There are definitely fewer such studies. Therefore, to address this research issue, the concept of mediatization must also be clarified.

The way this word functions in Polish dictionaries is very interesting. In the dictionary edited by Witold Doroszewski we read that:

mediatyzacja *z I, lm D. ~cji a. ~cyj hist.*
a) «w cesarstwie rzymsko-niemieckim: przejście władzy zwierzchniej, sprawowanej nad danym terytorium przez cesarza, na innego władcę podległego mu»
b) «wcielanie udzielnych księstw i hrabstw do większych krajów niemieckich» // *SW*
<*nm. Mediatisation*>

Figure 1. Mediatization (*Mediatyzacja*) – entry

Source: (*Mediatyzacja*, 2017).

However, if we reach for the most popular *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, we will find the following definitions of mediatization:

1. an action to mediate between two concepts, entities or phenomena
2. in feudal relations: a form of indirect dependence of the state on the monarch, meaning the king rules only through his vassals. (*Mediatyzacja*, 2020)

In most other dictionaries of Polish, this word has not been included at all, but it has been functioning for some time in literature belonging to a relatively new scientific field called media studies,⁶ where we can find numerous definitions of mediatization. We will use the example of Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska, who referred to the mediatization of politics, classifying it as a process:

⁵ See, among others: Wojtak (2001a, pp. 46–49; 2001b, pp. 323–334; 2001c, pp. 54–55; p. 323; 2002a, pp. 387–391; 2002b, pp. 373–374; 2003, pp. 259–260; 2004), Lubaś (2000, pp. 84–85; 2003, pp. 139–145), Warchała (1991, pp. 42–46; 2003, pp. 200–216), Kita (1993, pp. 34–38; 1998, pp. 46–49), Kamińska-Szmaj (2001, pp. 54–61), Ożóg (2001, pp. 67–69), Markowski (1992a, pp. 55–59), Wolny-Zmorzyński (1990, p. 144), Jedliński (1984, p. 126), Litwin (1995, pp. 183–194), Mikołajczuk (2004, pp. 113–126).

⁶ “Media sciences were classified as a scientific discipline by the decision of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of August 2011 in the field of social sciences” (*O Laboratorium Badań Medioznawczych*, 2017).

This process boils down to transformation of the behaviour of participants of political communication under the influence of media. (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2006, p. 158)

Jędrzej Napieralski listed the detailed features of this process:

It should be noted that the conceptual scope provided for in this definition covers a wide spectrum of changes: starting from a change in the language used (colloquiality), the structure of the message (abbreviation), through a different distribution of accents in public debate (primacy of emotionality), and ending with transformations concerning exclusively the image (aesthetics appearance). (Napieralski, 2010, p. 23)

So as we can see, in general terms, mediatization is the shaping of the behaviour of communication participants through the media. One type of communication behaviour is made up of the language behaviours that can function in a media communication situation that we understand as:

Combinations of physical (media [mass media – A.G.], time, place, accompanying activities, participants), social (relationship between partners, degree of relationship, age, gender, social and regional origin, occupation, education), and substantive components (autobiography, family home, work, study, free time, cultural life, services, ideology, etc.), and the speech act and its structure (language substance, pragmatic function, degree of openness, etc.). (Boniecka & Granat, 2016, p. 7, after: Pisarkowa, 1978, pp. 7–20)

Therefore, mediatized language behaviour is “any act of language use (...)” (Grabias, 2003, p. 57) formed as a result of the impact of media.

Methodology

Returning to the issue of answering the research question: Assuming that the language of mass media is colloquial, is it subjected to mediatization, we will now present selected results of analyzes obtained as part of research on media reception. This is a corpora of colloquial texts (spoken and written) that contain symptoms of mediatization. It must be remembered, however, that the degree and type of mediatization of utterances depends on the recipient of the mass media, and:

The selection of these and not other lexical elements of the utterance depends both on the stylistic intentions of its creator (e.g. striving for colloquiality or, on the contrary – the officiality of its verbal shape), as well as on the intended degree of precision of the text. (Butler, Kurkowska, & Satkiewicz, 1986, p. 45)

In the years 2014–2019, I conducted research, and its detailed descriptions and conclusions were included mainly in the publishing series edited by Barbara Boniecka and Anna Granat, *Recepcja mediów*,⁷ yet can be found in other publications.⁸ In all cases, I applied a research method consisting of analyzing the content and/or the form of spoken and/or written texts resulting from the reception of mass messages and the statements of respondents describing their own language reception behaviour.

I acquired the texts by conducting a series of surveys and pedagogical experiments in groups of various ages. So far, I have elaborated the research conducted among respondents from Lublin:⁹ about one hundred people surveyed in kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, high schools and universities. The surveys were in paper form. The experiments consisted of developing and carrying out teaching tasks.

In the youngest, the kindergarten age group, pre-school¹⁰ teachers were involved in this form of research, presenting, in the following days, the pupils with press, radio, television and Internet broadcasts, which were specially prepared by the author of this article,¹¹ and then conducting group interviews and in-depth individual interviews. All experiments were recorded by the teachers using hidden cameras and microphones, to keep natural conditions of the experiment. In older groups of respondents, the pedagogical experiment consisted in obliging students to produce an argumentative statement on a given topic, as well as in the independent research of the audience of online videos and films performed by another group of students.¹² The analysis under new terms (congruent with the completion of the objective of our elaboration) of selected examples from the previously sourced research materials, taking the basics of pragmalinguistics¹³ into account, allowed us to excerpt the language behaviours that result from media reception, which we do believe to be the manifestations of colloquial language mediatization.

⁷ Granat and Jędrejek (2015, pp. 131–152); Boniecka and Granat (Eds. 2016); Granat (2017a, pp. 75–111; 2018b, pp. 71–74; 2018c, pp. 229–232; 2018d; 2019).

⁸ Granat (2016a, pp. 154–162; 2016b, pp. 111–125; 2017b, pp. 387–408; 2018a, pp. 70–85; 2018e, pp. 177–192).

⁹ Due to requirements imposed by anonymization, I do not provide the names of the facilities, where the research was conducted. We also do not quote the numerical data, as both the research, and the conclusions stemming therefrom have qualitative, and not quantitative bases.

¹⁰ For the purpose of research, I acquired the consent of schoolmasters, teachers and parents.

¹¹ I selected the media content for the presentation after consulting the staff of the psychological and pedagogical counselling center.

¹² I use the term “video”, which I distinguish from “movie”. By “video” I mean a film produced and made public by “non-institutional” broadcasters.

¹³ Pragmalinguistic studies take into account that the act of speech is a single case of action (behaviour) by speaking, under certain conditions (J.L. Austin, J.R. Searle).

Materials and Research Results

Verbalization of words, phrases, utterances and statements that fall within the semantic area associated with the media and media technology can be seen in people even from early childhood, for example, during a conversation of a 2.5-year-old boy with his mother:

[To mum]: Did yaswi tch at on la? Switch at on la?

M.: Why do you say “la” to me?

R.: Switch at on la!

M: Switch that on mom!

R.: Switch that on mom!

M.: [Incomprehensible].

R.: Turned that on mom, this, this tiny wadio?

M.: Yes.

R.: And will it be???

M.: Well, if you want, I turn it on so that it plays.

R.: Wh-ich? Th is wadio? The one you think. Hmm. This, this. What? No head phones. And I da ds. (Granat, 2014, p. 259)

Lexemes can be found in the text provided above, indicating that already at such an age, a small child freely manipulates lexis within the scope of semantics associated with the media, and here specifically with the radio. The boy knows that the radio is a device that “turns on”, so, for example, he asks the question: “Switch at on la?”, he also knows what action to connect this medium with, namely “playing”, “play” and names it *explicitly*: “wadio” and even creates the diminutive “tiny wadio”. In addition, the boy verbalizes the name of the subject that is combined with listening to the radio and which determines the type of radio “No head phones”. Here we are dealing with a phraseological terminology: “headphones radio” or “no headphones radio”. In such a short passage (see Granat, 2014) of language interaction, one can notice that lexemes and phraseologisms that name the media equipment appear in the child’s colloquial language.

As a result of mass media reception, people often verbalize and/or write down various words, phrases, locutions or laconisms, as well as other forms of expression known either directly or indirectly from the media. This type of linguistic behaviour includes reproductive behaviour, or calculating behaviour, consisting of the copying of the received media content (see Granat, 2019, p. 60).

These behaviours include speaking/articulating/using words known from the media. An example of a statement confirming such a phenomenon may be a student’s answer to the question whether the media affect the language of the recipients (see Granat, 2019).

Another argument is talking aloud about what is happening on the screen. (Granat, 2019, p. 303)

Thus, a way to implement reproductive behaviour may be to quote/cite/repeat words known from the media. A four-year-old child, bitten by a mosquito, asks his mother: “Well, when will you finally buy me anthisan?” We can even risk stating that, as part of the mediatization process, the colloquial language is infiltrated by lexis and phraseology from different styles, here the scientific style, as “anthisan” is a name for medical preparation that the child knows from an advertisement.

Yet one more way to implement language reproductive behaviour is to use “media slang” in speech and writing. As stated by a student:

I use abbreviations or slang expressions or hear them in the statements of my friends. A good example of this would be phrases such as: what tha, lol or xD. (Granat, 2019, p. 327)

It confirms the existence of this phenomenon. Anglicization of speech and writing in the consequence of media reception is a very common reproductive behaviour. One of the adult respondents said the following on this topic:

Unfortunately, the language is shaped by the patterns of presenters of entertainment stations, and these are frequently far from good, with very common vocabulary used and various phrases cut in, including Anglicisms, which are gaining popularity among them. (Granat, 2019, p. 302)

Another large collection of verbal effects of media reception are creative language behaviours that are the result of creative processes activated by media messages (Granat, 2019, p. 67).

Adding to or paraphrasing texts known from the media may be considered the first subset of it. One of the students answered the question in the following way:

Does receiving media messages result in specific language behaviours? Absolutely. With the help of the mentioned examples, I tried to prove that each time they can lead to a different reaction – singing, conversation, adding, paraphrasing, using film quotes in everyday life, verbal aggression and commentary. These are just one of the few effects related to my reception of various contents. (Granat, 2019, p. 288)

The conducted research demonstrates that within the group of creative language behaviours, the most numerous is the collection of texts containing information wherein the effect of the receiving media coverage is achieved through singing/whispering/humming using words known from the media (see Granat, 2019, p. 67). We need to mention that verbal language behaviour includes singing combined with

the text as a verbal and melodic behaviour, not only in the colloquial but also in the Polish language.

When asked, if she ever sang something that she heard on the radio, a 17-year-old girl replied very specifically:

I sang *Despacito* – Luis Fonsi with my friends. (Granat, 2019, p. 234)

The next way to respond to media messages is through applying linguistic affective behaviour, i.e. such verbalizations that include exponents of emotions. This includes shouted replies as a result of media reception. For example:

The second example of how media messages influence my language behaviour is when I watch a football game. During football games, I sometimes shout at the TV: “don’t pass there!”, “Why did you pass there? He can’t play!”, and when the team I support scores a goal, I always squeak, jump and shout “Yeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeees”. However, when “my” team loses a goal, I also scream, but these are often bad words. (Granat, 2019, p. 283)

In the above example, another reception phenomenon was revealed, i.e. the vulgarization of speech as a consequence of media reception (swearing, cursing, use of foul language, verbal aggression).

When talking about emotivity, it is necessary to raise the problem of linguistic behaviour that cannot be considered normative. I am thinking here of vulgarity, i.e. language units that users of the general national language perceive as rude or coarse. As an example, a fourth-grader was to answer the following question: “Did it ever happen that what you saw on television or the Internet caused you to say something? If so, please, write what you saw and what you said. Maybe there were more such situations? If so, please describe as you will”. His response was:

Most of my swear words likely come from the Internet. There are movies on TV in which they swear, e.g. f**k, s**t, b***h, s*x. (Granat, 2017a, p. 90)

In contrast, a 16-year-old, answering a similar question concerning a game, explained:

Many times it happened that while playing CS: GO or League of Legends, there was much swearing caused by emotions. (Granat, 2019, p. 248)

A journalism student, while writing about the linguistic effects of media reception, stated:

As a journalist, I value the so-called *Feedback*, i.e. the recipients' response to the message. Of course, I prefer when the reader sends a letter to our editorial office in which he includes his thoughts and opinions on the article, but, standing in a queue to the cash register next to yesterday's edition of newspapers, I happened to hear someone seeing the header of my authorship **and swearing** or exploding with laughter, thus, expressing the contempt he feels for a given media group. This is also an example of the fact that media messages do not always result in positive, but still language-related behaviours. (Granat, 2019, p. 333)

Like the respondent cited above, I believe that media reception results in various language behaviours, including erroneous ones, and these errors often result from the advanced and increasingly common process of digitization, what I explain later in the article.

Another affective behaviour may be laughing at someone/ridiculing/ironizing in consequence of media reception. Here is an example of a statement by a female student:

I often watch "viral" videos that are commonly known and later discussed by the people, while those who have not seen them yet are immediately familiarized with them, even on screens of their smartphones. One example is the "Spider dog" with a dog dressed as a spider, scaring people at night. At some point everyone around me, and most certainly the vast majority, was talking about that video, and if you wanted to humiliate someone, make fun of that person or suggest that she or he is useless and won't get anywhere with their lives, I heard phrases like: "go on, dress up as a spider". (Granat, 2019, p. 283)

Linguistic media behaviour consists of the verbal responses to what was read, heard and/or seen in the media. By these I mean "the verbal responses in the form of speech acts that play a role in accordance with the current, colloquially understood meaning of the »medium« lexeme,¹⁴ i.e. message transmitters. The point is that the main intention of those speaking is to convey a media message to others" (Granat, 2019, p. 80). Media language behaviour includes storytelling/communication/commenting/recommending content and forms known from the media – culture of participation (see Jenkins, 2007). We can quote the example of a 14-year-old school girl:

¹⁴ The PWN dictionary of Polish lists the word "mediumiczny" [*Mediumiczny*], referring to the first meaning of the "medial" lexeme: "1. »Related to the medium and paranormal phenomena«" [*Medialny*]. Given that other meanings of the word "medial" are: "2. »Relating to mass media«; 3. »regarding the passive voice of a verb«; 4. »in statistics: average, middle« [*Medialny*]", are reserved for semantic categories that do not reflect the conceptualization of the term I have adopted, I have found that the most appropriate to convey the sense of the relay is to use the word "medial", in the sense of the "medium" lexeme in its fourth dictionary meaning: "4. »what is used to transmit or express any content«" [*Medium*] (Granat, 2019, p. 80).

If I watch a movie that I liked, I tell about it and recommend it to others. (Granat, 2019, p. 238)

Another method of language action, consisting of forwarding messages, is to share content and forms known from the media, which a 17-year-old confirms by saying:

If I read something interesting on the Internet I usually share it with others. (Granat, 2019, p. 260)

Within the material collected during the research, I was able to extract language interaction behaviours, i.e. those that result from the intentions of the media recipient to enter interpersonal interaction with someone else as a result of the reception of mass media (see Granat, 2019, p. 88).

This group includes such speech acts as: talking/conversing about the content and forms known from the media. An example confirming this type of situation is the utterance of an 18-year-old student:

Sometimes it happens that the text I read on the Internet makes me talk about it with my friend. The last text I discussed with my friend was devoted to politics. (Granat, 2019, p. 227)

What is also worth mentioning here is the example of a specific interaction, namely that of man and machine (see Granat, 2017a, p. 108). This often occurs when participating in computer/video games. This often has to do with emotionality, but it is worth isolating such behaviour as a separate, specific type: a man talking with an avatar. Here is an example of a statement by an 18-year-old high school student:

This happened sometimes when I was overcome by both positive and negative emotions and then I uttered different words. (Granat, 2019, p. 250)

A type of speech that falls within the sphere of interactive language behaviour resulting from the reception of media messages is to discuss the content and forms known from the media. A student put it in the following way:

We learn everything from the media and then discuss it. (Granat, 2019, p. 283)

The above-mentioned ways of linguistic response to media content are complemented by another group, namely verbalization and/or saving of content using new and/or incorrect grammatical and spelling structures created as a consequence of media reception (language digitization).

Słownik języka polskiego PWN [*The PWN Dictionary of Polish*] gives two definitions of digitization:

digitization

1. *see* [digitalization](#)

2. disseminate and popularize digital technology and introduce electronic infrastructure on a large scale. (*Cyfryzacja*, 2020)

As you can see, it is an *idem per idem* definition, and that is why it is worth explaining what digital technology is. According to the same dictionary, “digital” means:

1. related to numbers

2. related to the technique of generating, transmitting and processing signals recorded in a binary (zero-one) system. (*Cyfrowy*, 2020)

Therefore, I assume that digitization is the technical process of “producing, sending and processing signals recorded in a binary (zero-one) system” (*Cyfrowy*, 2020). I consider language behaviours to be digitalizing when they stem from digitization, i.e. the dissemination and popularization of digital technology and large-scale introduction of electronic infrastructure (*Cyfryzacja*, 2020).

It should be mentioned here that, currently, the most common way of receiving mass media is to read, listen and watch content with use of the extensive electronic infrastructure, including the global network called the Internet. According to the CBOS report (2019), in July 2019, 2/3 of all Poles (69%) used the Internet at least once a week.

Online presence is primarily determined by age, followed by education, which is particularly significant in this respect in the case of older respondents (55+). The youngest respondents (18–24) and those 25 to 34 years old, are the most frequent Internet users. The vast majority of respondents between the ages of 35 and 44 are also online, three-quarters of those aged 45 to 54, and more than half of those aged 55 to 64. Three-quarters of the oldest respondents (65+) remain offline. (CBOS, 2019)

It should be remembered that using the global network means not only receiving the messages posted there, but also receiving the increasingly widespread broadcasting of media messages. This means that the mass character of media emissivity and the increasing “commonness” of the broadcaster’s role that in the “old media” was reserved for culture-forming elites, results in a shift in the quality of the transmitted content, also in terms of its correctness.

A vast number of researchers have already dealt with what a language error is, which is why I bring up the most common definition – herein that of Walery Pisarek from *Encyklopedia języka polskiego* [*The Polish Language Encyclopedia*]:

A **language error** is an unconscious departure from the modern language norm, sanctioned by the language custom and the sense of language of environments socially recognized as users of a cultural variety of the respective national language (...). Currently, these environments primarily include humanistic intelligentsia (...). Because language has to constantly evolve and thus change, not all speech and writing innovations must be regarded as errors. Therefore, an error can be understood as a functionally unjustified innovation. (Pisarek, 1991, p. 33)

After quoting the above definition, there is a doubt about which groups can be included in the so-called “Humanistic intelligentsia”. Do these include, for example, journalists, politicians or other people associated with broadcasting mass media whose language, as I wrote earlier, is colloquialized?

Probably due to the disputability of the possibility of designating groups of people whose “language sense” would decide what constitutes a language error, the Parliament of the Republic of Poland adopted the Act of 7 October 1999 on the Polish language (Act, 1999), appointing the Polish Language Council, which was established on 9 September 1996 at the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the opinion-forming institution in this regard. It is worth noting that since 2012, instead of previous committees, there are Polish Language Council teams, including the Media Language Team. Since the members of the Council are undisputed experts in the field of language correctness, they thus provide unequivocal decisions regarding what can be considered a language error in the respective situation.

The subject of my considerations, however, is not to judge or classify language behaviours resulting from the digitization of utterances as linguistic errors, because I do assume that digitization of colloquial language may already form a common practice, i.e. *usus* (Uzus, 2020), in consequence of economization of digital statements/records, which we call the digital economization of verbalization and records. What I understand by that is the use of all abbreviations and simplifications, and thus also failure to follow the rules of grammar, spelling, punctuation and editing in texts, that does result from the reception of media content.

And thus I call this effect a language phenomenon that consists in denying the saturation of verbal realization with various rules, e.g. grammatical, and I use the “dis-“ prefix to emphasize the denial of the presence of these rules (dez-, 2020).

When a teacher conducted a focus group interview with children who watched an Internet advertisement, a child used a word in different meaning. This should not be considered a language error, but rather a digital dis-lexicalization, i.e. a phenomenon of applying a wrong lexeme to designate:

T.: Frania? Do you know what the Internet is?

Ch.: Coverage.

T.: Will you tell me? Yes?

Ch.: Coverage! (Granat, 2018d, p. 222)

According to *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, “coverage” is “the area of occurrence or operation of a phenomenon or someone’s influence”. Children have heard about the coverage of the Internet from older people in their environment in the context of talks about access to the network. Therefore, not understanding the meaning of the word “Internet”, they considered it a synonym of “coverage”. In this case, it is impossible to disagree that in terms of provenance, “coverage” belongs to a group of lexemes with a semantically “digital” semantic field.

A language grammatical error consists in using language means in violation of grammatical norms (for word-formation, genre, inflectional, syntactic) (Pisarek, 1991, p. 33). We may quote the meta-survey reply of a fifth-grader as an example of grammatical errors copied from the Internet to conversations, thus, documenting the existence of the phenomenon of digital de-grammatization:

D.: I saw a Facebook post, where it was written: cat – catee; dog – doggiee; chimpanesee – ? Then I made my friends fall in this trap. (Granat, 2017a, p. 80)

The child simply wrote where he had got the list of wrong variants, and also explained the ludic purpose behind quoting them.

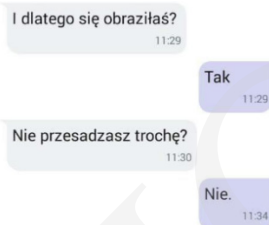
In reference to the typology of extra-linguistic errors, they include punctuation, spelling, but also editorial. In the collected research material, punctuation errors form the most numerous group, and they have become very common in digital communication. I call such linguistic behavior digital dis-punctuation, and believe economization to be the underlying cause of this phenomenon. When writing text messages, emails, blogs, texts on social media and in various messengers, the point is to write them very quickly, hence often punctuation characters are omitted, or change their meanings. We may quote a survey reply of a 14-year-old student, who failed to use any punctuation marks at all, as an example thereof:

I read such articles about which I talked with other people they were e.g. of more criminal nature like they kidnapped or killed someone but there were more gossip or youth stories about different stars and their lives and so on. (Granat, 2019, p. 221)

Therefore, we can observe reflections of changes in thinking caused by the reception of ubiquitous media, from “focusing on the message” to “focusing on increasing the pace and amount of information absorbed”, e.g. increasing the pace of speaking in everyday communication, lack of spaces in words written in handwriting or giving up punctuation when noting down thoughts (see Bartmiński, 2001, pp. 117–118) – which is, of course, characteristic not only of the colloquial language, but also of a nationwide language.

At this point it is also worth mentioning the digital provenance of the so-called “dot of hate”. In January 2019, the following article appeared on the National Geographic website:

Don't End a Message with a Dot! It Means War



That's sort of how it looks. One small dot with so many different meanings

Punctuation marks at the end of titles on the web arouse distrust? There is research to prove it!

Short text messages ending with a dot are perceived as less honest than answers without punctuation marks – we read in the “Computers in Human Behavior” magazine.

For some time now the 'Dot of hate' Facebook page is going galactic. It is based on mocking example conversations, in which the respondents answer a given question with a short, single statement followed by a period, e.g. “Ok.,” “Yes.,” “No.,”. These types of responses are perceived by Internet users as a manifestation of negative emotions and a signal indicating the desire to end the conversation (...).

Recently, the dot of hate has received interest from the scientific community. Researchers from the University of Binghamton (USA) proved that this seemingly innocent punctuation mark really causes unpleasant sensations in recipients, and short text messages ending with a dot appear less honest.

Source: (PAP, 2019).

A large number of errors and spelling errors in respondents' statements are also caused by the digitization and dominance of computer writing over handwriting. Computer word processors usually mark and correct errors. Therefore, when writing, we usually do not think about correctness, but rather about the semantics of our own message. In this way, the phenomenon of digital dis-orthography occurs. A text of a 17-year-old constitutes an example here: “I read on the Internet about girls who beat up their friend, after something **likewha I read and sawanted** to say sharp words about them and the guy that **he** was recording” (Granat, 2019, p. 225).

The quoted text clearly demonstrates writing inaccuracy. The result of this is numerous “typos”. Moreover, the change in characters constitutes an orthographic error. What we see here are the most common errors of this type, which are related to

“the combined or separate spelling of word groups (...) and the use of capital letters” (Pisarek, 1991, p. 33).

The very interesting editorial errors of digital origin, and which at the same time combine spelling errors with punctuation mistakes, include the widespread use of hyphen as a dash or bullet in computer-typed texts, and confusing hyphens with en-dashes. For instance:

The•third•and•last•argument•that•I•would•like•to•cite•in•my•analysis•is•closely•related•to•journalism. Specifically, to my articles on journalistic ••social••cultural• topics. (Granat, 2019, p. 305)

In the example above, we see a student of journalism using hyphenation with spaces (I presented them with dots), thus creating characters that do not exist in editing practice at all. I do believe that the confusion of hyphen – a spelling sign, with an en-dash – a punctuation mark, in media records results from a lack of education in this field. Children learn to write in a traditional way, by hand, so they do not know how to render certain writing characters in computer editing. This effect leads to digital dis-typography. This phenomenon occurs both in colloquial written language and in the Polish language in general.

The examples of using the wrong quotation marks, parentheses, unskillful paragraph referencing using tabs, or shooting text with spaces are very similar in this regard. Only a few people take care to remove the so-called “orphan” and “widow” characters from the texts they print on their own. What is more, a further phenomenon is the digitizing iconization of writing (and speech). This involves the inclusion of emoticons in the text (see Granat, 2018d) that replace or further specify lexemes or syntactic structures, giving the statements an emotional overtone in colloquial and generally in the Polish language.

This is exemplified by the statement of a 16-year-old student:

I usually sing when I play, when I complete some missions or something good happens xD (?). (Granat, 2019, p. 248)

Results and Discussion

Research on language behaviour resulting from media reception demonstrates that press, radio, Internet, TV and computer games, especially those emitted digitally, cause their recipients to exhibit language behaviours that can be represented in the form of the following list:

1. Verbalization of words, phrases, utterances and statements within the semantic field related to the media and media technology
2. Verbalization/writing of words, utterances, phrases and forms of expression known directly or indirectly from the media
 - 2.A. Reproductive language behaviours
 - 2.A.a. Speaking/uttering/using words known from the media
 - 2.A.b. Quoting/citing/repeating words known from the media
 - 2.A.c. Using “media slang” in speech and writing
 - 2.A.d. Anglicization of speech and writing as a result of media reception.
 - 2.B. Creative language behaviours
 - 2.B.a. Extending, paraphrasing texts known from the media
 - 2.B.b. Singing/whispering/humming using words known from the media
 - 2.C. Affective language behaviours
 - 2.C.a. Shouting in reaction to media reception
 - 2.C.b. Vulgarization of speech in the result of media reception (swearing/cursing/using of foul language/verbal aggression)
 - 2.C.c. Laughing in the result of media reception
 - 2.C.d. Laughing at someone, ridiculing/ironizing due to media reception
 - 2.D. Media language behaviours
 - 2.D.a. Telling/forwarding/commenting/recommending content and forms known from media
 - 2.D.b. Sharing content and forms known from the media
 - 2.E. Interactive language behaviours
 - 2.E.a. Talking/conversing about content and forms known from the media
 - 2.E.b. discussing content and forms known from the media
3. Verbalization and/or recording content using new and/or incorrect grammar and spelling structures, created as a result of media reception (language digitization)
 - 3.A. Digital language economization
 - 3.A.a. Digital dis-lexicisation
 - 3.A.b. Digital dis-grammatization
 - 3.A.c. Digital dis-punctuation
 - 3.A.d. Digital dis-orthography
 - 3.A.e. Digital dis-typography
 - 3.B. Digital iconization of writing/speech. (see Granat, 2019)

The research material I subjected to analysis is very extensive, but it forms a closed set of statements. The acquired texts contain examples or descriptions of specific language behaviours that result from media reception. The list presented above is, therefore, probably not conclusive, because it is based on specific text corpora and it would be worth exploring further items. Despite this imperfection, the material base confirms the existence of mediatization of colloquial language.

Conclusions and Summary

In the last century, we said “I sit in front of the TV”, now we say “I sit at the TV”. This change follows from the fact that formerly the viewer’s attention was focused on the message, currently, the TV can be perceived as an accompanying medium, similar to the radio. For example, a child does homework “at the TV”, which fills the room with sound and picture. Other examples include: “I play/I watch on my tablet” (Granat, 2019, p. 246), “I play/I watch on my phone” (Granat, 2017a, p. 99). These phrases not only illustrate media convergence, but also their objectivity. Thus, in colloquial Polish, for example, we now find such idioms as “I read a newspaper” (I read *what* – a proximal complement which becomes a subject when the aspect changes to passive) and similar structures: “I watch TV”, “I listen to the radio”. Currently, and to a growing extent, the role of media is reduced to the function of a message emitter that is not inscribed in the essence, the “core” of the media message, it merely forms its “casing” – it is present “on” and not “in” it. This reveals that media reception is now inscribed in the language in terms of “flatness”, “superficiality”.

An interesting example of this phenomenon is the proper noun that denotes the global computer network: the “Internet”. It turns out that a change in the perception of the role of this medium has triggered changes in the notation of the word, and this divergence can be found not only in colloquial writing (e.g. texts or e-mails) – but also in *strictly* scientific texts – where the term “Internet” is now spelt with a lowercase letter. Hence, the term “Internet” is considered to be a common noun meaning a simple type of relay, a “cable”, and not the proper noun denoting the network, as before. Another illustrative example of this effect is the sentence created by a 16-year-old: “I read on TV” (Granat, 2019, p. 223) – this statement reveals the whole truth about the convergence of media, which for this generation ceases to exist as old and new, and where the media message is generally received as digital.

The increasing scale of colloquialization of the written language is evident in the form of digital text editing in the form of SMSs, emails, blogs, etc. Written communication is often made public, as are records of thoughts, descriptions, stories, etc. Currently, people from the younger generations read less and write more than did older generations years ago, and, in addition, have numerous technical possibilities to publish their records. Their statements, constructed in media situations, are, therefore, thoroughly mediatized, and they are characterized by digitization.

The occurrence of the aforementioned language phenomena in colloquial utterances and records attests to the mediatization of colloquial language. This, at the same time, leads to the conclusion that language mediatization occurs and largely relies on the secondary colloquialization of language as a result of the reception of mass media.

References

- Act. (1999). Act of 7 October 1999 on the Polish language. Retrieved from <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19990900999/U/D19990999Lj.pdf>
- Anusiewicz, J., & Niecukula F. (Eds.) (1992). Publishing series: *Język a Kultura*, t. 5. Wrocław: Wyd. UW.
- Bartmiński, J. (Ed.). (1990). *Językowy obraz świata*. Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Bartmiński, J. (2001). Styl potoczny. In J. Bartmiński (Ed.), *Współczesny język polski*. Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Boniecka, B. (2007). Rzecz w jasności wypowiedzi. In B. Boniecka & S. Grabias (Eds.), *Potoczność a zachowania językowe Polaków* (pp. 73–88). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Boniecka, B., & Granat, A. (Eds.). (2016). Publishing series: *Recepcja mediów*, t. 2: *Wpływ sytuacji medialnych na komunikowanie się dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym*. Wypisy. Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Buttler, D., Kurkowska, H., & Satkiewicz, H. (1986). *Kultura języka polskiego*, t. 2. Warszawa: PWN.
- CBOS. (2019). *Komunikat z badań nr 95/2019: Korzystanie z internetu*. Warszawa. Retrieved from https://cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2019/K_095_19.PDF
- Cyfrowy. (2020). Retrieved from <https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/cyfrowy;2553934.html>
- Cyfryzacja. (2020). Retrieved from <https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/cyfryzacja;2553935.html>
- dez-. (2020). Retrieved from <https://sjp.pwn.pl/slovniki/dez-.html>
- Dobek-Ostrowska, B. (2006). *Komunikowanie polityczne i publiczne*. Warszawa: PWN.
- Grabias, S. (2003). *Język w zachowaniach społecznych*. Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A. (2014). *Podstawy interakcyjności w komunikacji językowej. Interakcje językowe z udziałem dzieci w wieku przedprzedszkolnym*. Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A. (2016a). Odzwierciedlenie recepcji wolności dziennikarskiej w języku dzieci przedszkolnych. In M. Gabrys-Sławińska & K. Pilipiuk (Eds.), Publishing series: *Media a wartości. Wolność w mediach* (pp. 154–162). Biała Podlaska: Wyd. Polska Fundacja Wspierania Talentów.
- Granat, A. (2016b). Stereotyp mediów w języku polskim a konceptualizacja ich prototypu w procesach recepcji i edukacji. *Kognitywistyka i Media w Edukacji*, 1, 111–125.
- Granat, A. (2017a). Jak media wpływają na zachowania komunikacyjne? Odbiorcza samoświadomość dzieci w wieku szkolnym. In B. Boniecka & A. Granat (Eds.), Publishing series: *Recepcja mediów*, t. 3: *Recepcja mediów przez dzieci w wieku szkolnym* (pp. 75–111). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A. (2017b). Odzwierciedlenie recepcji gatunków dziennikarskich w zachowaniach językowych dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym. In I. Hofman & D. Kępa-Figura (Eds.), *Współczesne media: Gatunki w mediach* (t. 2, pp. 387–408). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A. (2018a). Wpływ mediów na prototypowe myślenie i językowe operowanie schematami przez dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym. In E. Bańczyk & N. Moćko (Eds.), *Medialne kody w wyobraźni i języku dziecka* (pp. 70–85). Katowice: Wyd. UŚ.
- Granat, A. (2018b). Jak media wpływają na zachowania komunikacyjne? Odbiorcza samoświadomość młodzieży w wieku szkolnym – komunikat o wynikach badań. In B. Boniecka & A. Granat (Eds.), Publishing series: *Recepcja mediów*, t. 5: *Recepcja mediów przez młodzież i osoby dorosłe* (pp. 71–74). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A. (2018c). Jak media wpływają na zachowania komunikacyjne? Odbiorcza samoświadomość studentów dziennikarstwa i komunikacji społecznej – komunikat o wynikach badań. In B. Boniecka & A. Granat (Eds.), Publishing series: *Recepcja mediów*, t. 5: *Recepcja mediów przez młodzież i osoby dorosłe* (pp. 229–232). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A. (2018d). *Recepcja mediów*, t. 4: *Rola badań nad zachowaniami językowymi dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym we wdrażaniu edukacji medialnej*. Publishing series: B. Boniecka & A. Granat (Eds.). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.

- Granat, A. (2018e). Wpływ mediów a edukacja medialna. Zachowania komunikacyjne dziecka podczas jego występu artystycznego w programie telewizyjnym – analiza przypadku. In A. Stępińska, E. Jurga-Wosik, & B. Secler (Eds.), *Oblicza współczesnej komunikacji. Konteksty, problemy, wyzwania* (pp. 177–192). Poznań: PTKS.
- Granat, A. (2019). *Recepcja mediów*, t. 6: *Badania nad odbiorem przekazów masowych w praktyce edukacji medialnej*. Publishing series: B. Boniecka & A. Granat (Eds.). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Granat, A., & Jędrejek, M. (2015). „Świat realny za zasłoną mediów” – recepcja programów radiowych i telewizyjnych przez dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym. In B. Boniecka & A. Granat (Eds.), Publishing series: *Recepcja mediów*, t. 1: *Recepcja programów radiowych i telewizyjnych przez dzieci w wieku przedszkolnym* (pp. 131–152). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Habrajska, G. (ed.). (2001). *Język w komunikacji*. Łódź: AHE.
- Jedliński, R. (1984). *Gatunki publicystyczne w szkole średniej*. Warszawa: WSiP.
- Jenkins, H. (2007). *Kultura konwergencji. Zderzenie starych i nowych mediów*. Warszawa: WAIp.
- Kamińska-Szmaj, I. (2001). *Słowa na wolności*. Wrocław: Europa.
- Kita, M. (1993). Perswazyjne użycie języka potocznego w kontakcie ogólnym. In A. Wilkoń & J. Warchał (Eds.), *Z problemów współczesnego języka* (pp. 33–41). Katowice: Wyd. UŚ.
- Kita, M. (1998). *Wywiad prasowy. Język – gatunek – interakcja*. Katowice: Wyd. UŚ.
- Litwin, J. (1995). Potoczność w reportażu. In T. Ampel (Ed.), *O stylu poezji i prozy. Funkcje, kategorie, struktury* (pp. 193–201). Rzeszów: Wyd. WSP.
- Lubaś, W. (2003). *Polskie gadanie. Podstawowe cechy i funkcje potocznej odmiany polszczyzny*. Opole: Wyd. UO.
- Lubaś, W. (2000). Słownictwo potoczne w mediach. In J. Bralczyk & K. Mosiołek-Kłosińska (Eds.), *Język w mediach masowych* (pp. 83–95). Warszawa: Upowszechnianie Nauki – Oświata „UN-O”.
- Markowski, A. (1992a). Kategoria potoczności w języku i w opisie języka. In: J. Anusiewicz & F. Niecula (Eds.), *Potoczność w języku i w kulturze*. Publishing series: *Język a Kultura*, t. 5. Wrocław: Wyd. UW.
- Markowski, A. (1992b). *Leksyka wspólna różnym odmianom polszczyzny*, t. 1-2. Wrocław: Wiedza o Kulturze.
- Mediatyzacja*. (2017). Retrieved from <http://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/mediatyzacja;5450313.html>
- Mediatyzacja*. (2020). Retrieved from <http://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/mediatyzacja.html>
- Mikołajczuk, A. (2004). Punkt(y) widzenia w reportażu. Od etymologii nazwy do tworzywa gatunku. In J. Bartmiński, S. Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, & R. Nycz (Eds.), *Punkt widzenia w tekście i w dyskursie* (pp. 113–126). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Napieralski, J. (2010). Mediatyzacja polityki. Konieczność, zagrożenie czy alternatywa? *Refleksje. Pismo naukowe studentów i doktorantów WNPiD UAM*, 2, 23–34.
- O Laboratorium Badań Medioznawczych*. (2017). Retrieved from <http://www.lbm.uw.edu.pl/onas/o-lbm-uw>
- Ożóg, K. (2001). *Poliszczyzna przelomu XX i XXI wieku. Wybrane zagadnienia*. Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Literacko-Artystyczne „Fraza”.
- PAP. (2019). Nie kończ wiadomości kropką! To oznacza wojnę. *National Geographic*. Retrieved from: <http://www.national-geographic.pl/ludzie/znasz-kropke-nienawisci-powinienes-koniecznie>
- Perczyńska, N. (1975). *Wybrane cechy składniowo-stylistyczne polszczyzny mówionej (na materiale gwary północnomazowieckiej wsi Szczutowo i okolic)*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Pisarek, W. (1991). Błąd językowy. In S. Urbańczyk (Ed.), *Encyklopedia języka polskiego*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Nar. im. Ossolińskich.

- Pisarkowa, K. (1978). Zdanie mówione a rola kontekstu. In T. Skubalanka (Ed.), *Studia nad składnią polszczyzny mówionej* (pp. 7–20). Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Skubalanka, T. (Ed.). (1978). *Studia nad składnią polszczyzny mówionej*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Szymczak, M. (Ed.). (1982). *Słownik języka polskiego*. Wrocław: PWN.
- Uzus. (2020). Retrieved from <https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/uzus;2579302.html>
- Warchala, J. (1991). *Dialog potoczny a tekst*. Katowice: Wyd. UŚ.
- Warchala, J. (2003). *Kategoria potoczności w języku*. Katowice: Wyd. UŚ.
- Wilkoń, A. (1987). *Typologia odmian językowych współczesnej polszczyzny*. Katowice: Wyd. UŚ.
- Wojtak, M. (2001a). Przejawy mody w sposobie kształtowania informacyjnych gatunków prasowych. In K. Wojtczuk (Ed.), *Moda jako problem lingwistyczny* (pp. 35–52). Siedlce: Wyd. AP.
- Wojtak, M. (2001b). Potoczność w tekstach prasowych. In *Język trzeciego tysiąclecia II*, t. 1: G. Szpila (Ed.), *Nowe oblicza komunikacji we współczesnej polszczyźnie*. Publishing series: *Język a komunikacja* (t. 4, pp. 323–334). Kraków: Krakowskie Towarzystwo Popularyzowania Wiedzy o Komunikacji Językowej „Tertium”.
- Wojtak, M. (2001c). Wyznaczniki gatunkowe zapowiedzi. In I. Borkowski & A. Woźny (Eds.), *Nowe media – nowe w mediach* (pp. 53–67). Wrocław: Oficyna Wyd. Arboretum.
- Wojtak, M. (2002a). O doskonałości wypowiedzi publicystycznej na przykładzie felietonów J. Szczepkowskiej. In A. Maliszewska (Ed.), *O doskonałości* (cz. 1, pp. 377–392). Łódź: Archidiecezjalne Wyd. Łódzkie.
- Wojtak, M. (2002b). Wyznaczniki gatunkowe komentarza prasowego. In K. Michalewski (Ed.), *Tekst w mediach* (pp. 372–386). Łódź: Wyd. UŁ.
- Wojtak, M. (2003). Wyznaczniki gatunkowe sylwetki prasowej. *Stylistyka*, 12, 259–278.
- Wojtak, M. (2004). *Gatunki prasowe*. Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Wojtak, M. (2007). Potoczność w wypowiedziach prasowych a konwencje gatunkowe. In B. Boniecka & S. Grabias (Eds.), *Potoczność a zachowania językowe Polaków* (pp. 131–145). Lublin: Wyd. UMCS.
- Wolny-Zmorzyński, K. (1990). *O poetyce współczesnego reportażu polskiego 1945–1985*. Rzeszów: Wyd. WSP.

UMCS