"Nobody from the Kossaks family has mounted a horse with a knife and fork so far" – Axiolinguistic analysis of evaluative culinary language in letters written by Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska

„Na konia nie wsiadł jeszcze żaden Kossak z widelcem i nożem" – Analiza aksjolingwistyczna języka kulinarnego w listach Marii Pawlikowskiej-Jasnorzewskiej

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to describe evaluative language in letters written by Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska to her husband. The study focuses on examples that illustrate the evaluation of objects related to culinary topics. Over sixty cases of evaluation have been identified in the purpose-built corpus of culinary contexts, where the primary part of speech with the evaluative function was the adjective. The theoretical framework of the study adheres to axiolinguistics. The methods and tools employed in the investigation involve a corpus-based analysis, i.e., frequency, distribution and sentiment analysis in the quantitative part, and axiolinguistic typologies and expert annotation in the qualitative part. The results of the study have shown that the predominant evaluation type is the lexical one, followed by the grammatical and connotative. The study also shows that the majority of the culinary contexts in the corpus are negatively charged.

Keywords: axiolinguistics, the object of value, evaluative judgment, letters, Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest opisanie języka wartościującego w listach napisanych przez Marię Pawlikowską-Jasnorzewską do męża. Badanie dotyczy materiału ilustrującego tematykę kulinarną. Zidentyfikowano ponad sześćdziesiąt przypadków wartościowania w korpusie danych; w większości przypadków funkcję wartościującą pełniły przymiotniki. Podstawę teoretyczną niniejszego badania stanowiły badania aksjolingwistyczne. Metody i narzędzia stosowane w badaniu obejmują analizę korpusową, tj. analizę frekwencji, dystrybucji i analizę sentymentu w badaniu ilościowym, oraz opis wartościowania zgodny z typologią aksjolingwistyczną w analizie jakościowej. Wyniki badania pokazały, że wartościowanie leksykalne jest dominującym typem opisu aksjologicznego w analizowanych danych; kolejne typy wartościowania o wysokiej frekwencji to wartościowanie gramatyczne i konotacyjne. Badanie wykazuje również, że większość kontekstów w korpusie ma negatywny ładunek emocjonalny.

Słowa kluczowe: aksjolingwistyka, obiekt wartości, wartościowanie, listy, Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the methodology used in axiological linguistics (henceforth axiolinguistics) can be employed to describe language phenomena. More precisely, a focus will be placed here on the analysis of evaluative judgments found in letters written by Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska (henceforth MPJ) to her husband and showing the poet from a less known, private perspective at the time of her emigration (that is during World War II). The analysis will deal with culinary topics, which were of particular importance to her. The paper is organised as follows: the notion of evaluation is presented in section 2; axiology developed in philosophy and linguistics is sketched in section 3; aims of the study are defined in section 4; material and methods are described in section 5; data analysis is shown in section 6; and conclusions are drawn in section 7.

2. Evaluation: definitions, approaches and typologies

The term evaluation (Pol. wartościowanie) has been widely used by many scholars. In simplest terms, it means expressing evaluative opinions about something (Bednarek, 2006, p. 19); in other words, "that something is good or bad" (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p. 5), i.e., either positively or negatively charged. Similarly, for Puzynina (2003, p. 27), evaluation is about recognising something as good (in some degree and in some respect) or bad (in some degree and in some respect). Evaluation is seen as an overarching term which encodes "the expression of the speaker's or writer's viewpoint on, or feeling about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Hunston and Thompson, 2000, p. 5). Thus, evaluations "express personal opinions" and are as such "value-laden" in the sense that "they ascribe a particular value to the object of evaluation" (Van Linden, 2012, p. 43).

There are generally two approaches to evaluation: one focusing on modality and one on attitudinal meaning (Van Linden, 2012, p. 41-42). As evaluation consists in expressing one's opinion about an entity, in the attitudinal strand, it is typically encoded by adjectives (Bruce and Wiebe, 1999) or morphological affixes, such as formants that create diminutives (often expressing appreciation) and augmentatives (mostly combined with depreciation, contempt, etc.) (Ponsonnet, 2014). Along with expressing attitudinal options, another way of realising evaluation is by means of modality, also known as nonveridicality (Taboada and Trnavac, 2013, p. 10), which signals likelihood and is more often grammaticalised rather than lexicalised. As claimed by Taboada and Trnavac (2003)

and Van Linden (2012, p. 4), for some scholars, evaluation is mainly seen in terms of an attitudinal standpoint, as in the case of the Appraisal Theory, while for others, it is mainly realised through the modality optics (Martin, 2000) also known as the "separation approach" (Thompson and Hunston, 2000, p. 4). Still for others who represent the so-called "combining approach" to use Thompson and Hunston's (2000, p. 5) parlance, both perspectives are integrated (e.g., for Stubbs, 1986; Biber and Finegan, 1989; Thompson and Hunston, 2000; Taboada, Trnavac, 2013). This study adheres to the combining approach as it integrates evaluations at several levels, including the lexical and the syntactic.

Along with evaluation, other terms have been used as well to mean this notion, for example overtones (Ullmann, 1972), connotation (Lyons, 1977), attitudinal language (Ochs, 1989), valuation[3] (Hartman, 1967; Krzeszowski, 1997), appraisal (Martin, 2000; White, 2015), evaluative meaning (Hunston, 2004), stance (Biber, 2006), and semantic prosody[4] (Bublitz, 1996). Popularised particularly in corpus-based studies and the analyses of collocations, which received enormous attention with the advent of corpus linguistics, the concept of semantic prosody is understood as the semantic environment a word typically occurs in that can have pleasant or unpleasant associations (Stubbs, 1991, p. 12). It is syntagmatically predictable (Bublitz, 1996) and consists in ascribing a positive or negative value to words in a collocation. Thus, in English, one would say *perfectly beautiful*, as both words are positively charged, yet one cannot say **perfectly ugly*, as ugly is negatively charged, and thus it is more likely to co-occur with, say, *utterly*, which is also a pejorative word that predicts some unfavourable feature.

Probably the best-known and widely acknowledged theory of evaluation is the Theory of Appraisal (White 2000, 2015). For White (2015), the category Appraisal consists of three subordinate notions, of which the most important for our analysis is Attitude. A subtype of the category Attitude is judgment, which relates to the ethical/moral assessment of the human behaviour. Other

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[3] The term valuation is more often used in the context of business and/or finances, and is thus closer to the meaning of estimation or calculation; occasionally, it is also employed in philosophical publications (see, for example, Hartman, 1967), while evaluation is typically associated with linguistics and is more commonly used when attributing some meaning that assesses features, states, processes or events. Hence, throughout this paper, the term evaluation will be used to reflect the Polish term *wartościowanie*.

[4] Partington (2004, p. 149) is of the opinion that semantic prosody is a subtype of semantic preference. In the early days, this distinction was not entirely clear-cut (see Stubbs, 2001, p. 66). A more recent discussion on the differences between semantic preference and semantic prosody is offered by Bednarek (2008).

subcategories of Attitude comprise Affect (refers to a thing, process or state assessed emotionally) and Appreciation (refers to things, processes or states assessed aesthetically).

A less complex typology was offered by a Polish linguist, E. Laskowska (1992, pp. 14-19), and her proposal will be adopted in this study (albeit not all categories can be found in our data). She distinguished the following eleven subcategories of evaluation: vital (henceforth: vit), which is associated with health; hedonic (hed) that expresses sensual experience; pragmatic (pragm) that plays axillary function and is connected with the useful or useless; perfectionist (perf), which is triggered whenever an effective result of one thing entails an effective result of something else; feelings (feel), which can occur independently or can encode a subjective assessment about the mental state of the subject, or can be a subjective reaction accompanying other values; economic (econ) that denotes some material value (usually referring to money, wealth); social (soc), which consist of customs, law, tradition; ethic (eth) that is connected to justice, honesty and benevolence; aesthetic (aest), which evokes the sense of beauty; cognitive (cog), i.e., referring to knowledge and discovering the truth; and finally, sacral (sacr) that is close to the notion of sacrum understood in various ways. Hartman's (1967, p. 108) axiological values (see Section 3 for details) resound in Laskowska's typology.

Categories similar to those in Laskowska's proposal can be partially found in more recent accounts of evaluation. For example, hedonic evaluation was also mentioned by Felices-Lago (1997, p. 11) as epitomising psychophysical facets, yet unlike in Laskowska's typology, the aesthetic and emotive evaluations are also subsumed by this category. Pragmatic-functional and material facets, in turn, belong to the "practical" category in his schema Felices-Lago and Cortes de los Rios (2014, p. 123) proposed an axis of axiological dimensions at the linguistic level, which consists of the following that partially overlap Laskowska's typology: aesthetics, economy/material, emotion/behaviour, function/pragmatics, intellect, prominence, religion, veracity, vitality, and generic evaluation.

As noted by Thompson and Alba-Juez (2014, pp. 10-11), evaluation can be analysed at several levels of linguistic description: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic. The phonological level can convey evaluative opinions via prosody, intonation, and pitch. Evaluative affixes may decide about the perception of an utterance as either good or bad. In the data analysed in this study, for example, the suffix -sko is attached to coffee (Pol. *kawsko*), which adds a strong negative charge to the word 'coffee'. This morphological element is used as an augmentative. Unlike diminutives, augmentatives typically convey pejorative

emotions, which tend to carry positive evaluative meaning. Some words are inherently positive or negative (e.g., *intelligent, stupid*), and thus, the evaluative load may be engrained at the lexical level. By changing the order of words in a sentence, one can achieve the effect of some evaluative judgment, which would exemplify the syntactic level. Finally, according to Thompson and Alba-Juez (2014, p. 11), a context-dependent meaning illustrates the semantic level. The example the authors give is the word fat, which may be pejorative (especially in today's Western culture) but was still a positive sign of beauty and health at the beginning of the 20th century.

Following a similar line of inquiry, in the study by Benenowska (2015, pp. 52-160), lexical and phraseological means of evaluation have been distinguished, which are encoded by nouns, verbs, adjectives (including participles), adverbs and phraseological units. Grammatical devices used in the evaluation are divided into those stemming from (1) word formation, wherein affixes not only have a modifying function but also expressive and evaluative one (pp. 161-171), (2) inflectional, with, inter alia, sparse cases of depreciating forms and changes in singularity/plurality of pronouns (pp. 172-175), as well as (3) syntactic, wherein evaluation flows from an iterated lexical-syntactic pattern (pp. 175-184). The connotative evaluative device, in turn, takes into consideration not so much the explicit meaning of a language device per se as the sense extracted from references to the system of values typical of a given social group or an individual; hence, cultural connotations, stereotypes and extralinguistic context become important (Benenowska, 2015, pp. 185-197). We agree with Bednarek (2008, p. 136) that the primary meaning engrained in a given word or phrase, that is, the properties of the referent of a denotation, is not a necessary component of a connotative meaning. Textual evaluative devices are the most difficult to analyse inasmuch as the axiological charge does not result directly from the words or sentences but from whole fragments of a text that, at first blush, contains ordinary descriptions. Extralinguistic information becomes crucial, as well as the skill in interpreting metaphors, irony and word play (Benenowska, 2015, pp. 198-223).

3. Axiology in philosophy and linguistics

Evaluation is a notion discussed in axiology in philosophy and axiological linguistics (henceforth axiolinguistics). By and large, axiology is a branch of philosophy that deals with the description, categorisation and analysis of values. Several typologies describing language with axiological charge (evaluative meaning) have been proposed thus far seen from the philosophical perspective

(see Felices-Lago 1997 for details). For example, there was a neo-Kantian (Münsterberg, 1908) school and phenomenological perspective on evaluation (Scheler, 1916). The former involved aesthetic, ethical, metaphysical, logical values and values of life and culture. The latter comprised a four-step classification, with un/pleasantness as the lowest one, divine vs profane as the highest, and two stages in between, namely vital values at level two (e.g., physical strength, death) and spiritual values at level three (e.g., un/just, beautiful, ridiculous). Echoes of these typologies, particularly of the phenomenological categories, reverberate in current linguistic classifications. The first typologies, however, can be traced back to ancient times (Plato, Aristotle), to which values connected with the Christian thought were later added. Various hierarchical systems related to values have been proposed by modern scholars, for example, by Georg H. Wright (1963), Roman Ingarden (1966), Robert S. Hartman (1967), Milton Rokeach (1973), Winfried Zillig (1982), Max Scheler (1987).

Important research on axiology in modern thought that influenced (cognitive) linguistics (see Krzeszowski, 1997) was presented in publications by Hartman (e.g., 1967, or a paper published post-mortally in Edwards and Davis, 1991, chapter 3) on the nature of axiology. Hartman (1967, p. 154) defines the term 'value' "as a formal relation": it is "the correspondence between the properties possessed by a subject and the predicates contained in the intention of the subject's concept". Thus, by saying, "The chairs in this room are good", one communicates that: (i) there are entities in some place (room) dubbed 'chairs'; (ii) they make a class of objects, (iii) which have the properties associated with the concept/name. He distinguished Values (capitalised) from specific values: the former is elaborated in formal axiology, that is, "in the logic of value" (axiologistic or axiologic elaboration), while the latter is in "applied formal or pure theoretical axiology" (Hartman, 1967, p. 107). Along with these, he also distinguished applied (pure) axiology, which he dubbed valuation, and this is the "phenomenal level" (Hartman, 1967, p. 108) rather than a theoretical one. Thereby, there are three levels he proposed, which comprised formal, theoretical and phenomenal (material) "specifics" (Hartman, 1967, p. 107). There are four value specifics: sociology and economy (both are extrinsic values), as well as ethics and aesthetics (intrinsic values) (Hartman, 1967, p. 114). Sociology refers to the "application of extrinsic values to groups of persons", economics stands for extrinsic values being applied to individual things, ethics equals applying intrinsic values to individual persons, and aesthetics incarnates the application of intrinsic values to individual things. These general types of values circulate, in one guise or another, in many classifications offered by linguistic evaluation theories.

Even though in philosophy the notion of axiology had developed a long time ago (starting in ancient times), axiology was absent from linguistic considerations for many decades (Krzeszowski, 1990, p. 136; Felices-Lago, 2014, pp. 27, 41-42). It received surprisingly little attention in linguistic theories of the 20th century, particularly in the Saussurean and Chomskyan traditions (Krzeszowski, 1997, p. 9; Felices-Lago, 2014, p. 27), which was dominated by logic (Krzeszowski, 1997, p. 9). It was not until the nineties, with the publications of, *inter alia*, Polish (Krzeszowski, 1990, 1997; Bartmiński, 1991; Pawelec, 1991; Puzynina, 1991, 1992; Laskowska, 1992; Wierzbicka, 2012) and Spanish (e.g., Felices-Lago, 1991, 1997) linguists, and with the development of functionalist-systemic linguistics (most notably Martin, 1995; White, 2000; Martin & White, 2005) in the Anglo-American literature, that the dichotomy *good-bad* (i.e., axiological evaluation) finally replaced the previous long-standing interests of linguists in *true-false* judgments (i.e., truth-conditional semantics based on logic). Thus, an increasing interest has been observed in the evaluative function of language since the nineties (Alba-Juez & Attardo, 2014, p. 95). Evaluative meaning has no longer been perceived as a notion of marginal importance in linguistic semantics but as a central categorisation scale in meaning conceptualisation and lexicalisation. In sum, evaluation is inherent in conceptualisation and permeates language (Krzeszowski, 1997, p. 15).

In Polish linguistics, the scholarship devoted to expressing values can be roughly divided into two strands: deriving from language's structural and cognitive theories. On the one hand, focus has been placed on evaluative words and ways in which evaluation can be encoded in language and text structure, as well as on indicating types and names of values (Puzynina, 1982, 1992, 1997, 2013). Cognitive linguists, on the other hand, assumes that evaluation belongs in conceptualisation and concept categorisation, which originate in the human experience of the world (Krzeszowski, 1997, 1999). As noted by Krzeszowski (1997, p. 13), the distinction between *good* and *bad* is one of the first recognised and learnt by infants, which certainly precedes the notion of *truth*, which makes evaluation an essential type of categorisation in human cognitive development.

In line with the cognitive approach to language (see, for example, Langacker, 1987), values "can be built into the perceptive apparatus, and hence into language" (Krzeszowski, 1997, p. 16). In other words, values are inherent in conceptualisations rather than in language. While meaning is conceptualisation in the cognitive stance, for Puzynina, meaning is envisaged traditionally as bifurcating into one that belongs to the realm of semantics or pragmatics (and dealing with denotation vs connotation), i.e., either a context-free meaning or

one in a larger (intra- or extra-textual) context. The cognitive take, represented *inter alia* by Krzeszowski, is thus more subjective, where concepts are the starting point for linguistic considerations, whereas Puzynina's perspective is more oriented towards objective analysis of language, and as such it is akin to semasiological (rather than onomasiological) approach to language.

There are also other approaches to evaluative language in the Polish axiolinguistic studies, which encompass publications devoted to evaluation embedded in the language-culture relation (Anusiewicz, 1995), linguistic phenomenology (Bogusławski, 2007), elements of the "linguistic picture of the world" (Pol. *językowy obraz świata*) (Bartmiński, 2003, pp. 59-87), the language of politicians used unethically (Laskowska and Benenowska, 2018), evaluations in line with the discourse historical-critical approach (Bączkowska, 2019) proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2008), as well as values realised in and via language (Zgółka, 1988) (see Benenowska 2015, s. 43-44 for more details).

4. Aims of the study

The aims of the study are twofold. On the one hand, the notion of evaluation will be pursued in our data with the objective of capturing various types of evaluation categories (adopted from Benenowska, 2015) and aspects of values (adopted from Laskowska, 1992). The data will be examined within the axiolinguistic framework, which makes the study one of the few in Polish scholarship that makes an attempt to apply axiological theory and methodology to the analysis of language. The other aim, which is secondary, is to verify what can be learnt about the author on the basis of her letters, i.e., epistolary literature. It is assumed that by examining the author's culinary preferences described in her writings in colloquial style, we can obtain some background information about the times and the environment MPJ found herself in during World War II, that is, the time when the letters were written, as well as about the author herself, who is thus presented from a more private angle. In other words, we believe that epistolary literature is a rich and reliable (yet subjectively presented) source of information about the world in which the author lived. The letters written by MPJ have not been an object of intense linguistic investigation, let alone the culinary aspects described by her, and for this reason, the theme of axiological values of culinary objects found in the letters was chosen as the focus of this study. The analysis is based on letters written by MPJ in the years 1939-1945 as, compared to her other writings, no exhaustive examination of them has been offered so far.

5. Material and methods

The data used in the study were sourced from the collection titled Maria z *Kossaków Jasnorzewska. Listy do przyjaciół I korespondencja z mężem* (1928-1945)[5], prepared by K. Olszański (1998, p. 895). There are 1043 letters in the publication, 862 of which are marriage letters (577 written by the poet and 285 by her husband), as well as 105 letters written to other addressees, 55 from *Fragmenty dziennika* (Eng."Fragments of a journal") and 21 texts that constitute a part of *Ostatnie notatniki* (Eng. "Recent notebooks"). Only the poet's letters to her husband will receive due attention in the remainder of this paper. In the whole collection of letters, three thousand occurrences of evaluation devices have been selected from the letters, of which the most numerous group occupied lexico-phraseological means (2250 occurrences), grammatical devices (almost 300 occurrences), textual devices (ca. 200 occurrences), and connotative (70 occurrences) (see Benenowska, 2015). Of the three thousand occurrences of evaluation, culinary contexts constitute 60 letters, which contain fragments describing culinary matters, where nearly 170 evaluative devices were used (i.e., ca. 5%). The analysis of evaluation will be preceded by a general examination of the data, which will rely on corpus tools.

Since we are all homo aestimens (Dilthey, 1974, p. 17), we are endowed with the ability to evaluate practically all sorts of phenomena (in this study, referred to as 'objects of value' or just 'objects' for short). In what follows, however, we shall focus on select objects of value that are subject to evaluative judgments[6], which can be generally dubbed culinary objects. Research on culinary topics has been already explored in the context of cultural elements and semantic structure of a language (Przymuszała, 2017, p. 247) in recent accounts of interdisciplinary nature by several scholars (e.g., Gęsina and Wilczek, 2018; Przybylska and Ochman, 2021; Przymuszała and Świtała-Trybek, 2021).

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[5] Maria Jasnorzewska, née Kossak. Letters to friends and to her husband (1928-1945), released in 1998 by Kossakiana Publishing House in Kraków.

[6] The word 'judgment' will be used here yet not in the sense proposed by the Theory of Appraisal, wherein it refers to an evaluation of behaviour against socio-cultural standards and expectations, but in a more general sense of expressing an opinion.

In the analysis which follows, the typology proposed by Laskowska (1992) will be employed. Moreover, it is assumed here that the basic formula used in evaluative judgments is as follows: AU: X is D/Z W, i.e., somebody (A) claims (U) that something (X) is good or bad (G/B) in terms of something (W). In the deciphered judgments formulae, X will be the culinary element, while AU will be omitted since the subject of evaluation is always MPJ. This general/canonical coding of the structure of an evaluative judgment can occur in several variants, depending on the type or the means of evaluation.

6. Analysis

The pool of 37 examples occurring in 17 contexts analysed below is meant to be a sample of representative contexts of all those present in the letters written by Maria Pawlikowska-Jasnorzewska. These examples illustrate various evaluation types (written in bold). Prior to this qualitative analysis, some quantitative facets of the whole corpus of data are described in the general overview section.

6.1. General overview of the corpus data

The running text with all the culinary contexts found in the letters (60 letters) was converted into a corpus (MPJ corpus), 1136 words in size, with the aid of the Sketch Engine (henceforth SE; sketchengine.eu), i.e., it was lemmatised, tagged and parsed, and stored on the SE commercial account. TTRs (Type Token Ratios) were calculated for nouns (29.3), verbs (6.2), adjectives (118.13) and adverbs (9.5). TTR is an index of lexical variation which divides the number of tokens (unique words) by the number of occurrences of all words in the corpus. From this, it transpires that the data contain a high number of unique adjectives (four times more than nouns, which on average means that there are four adjectives per one noun), which makes the text a good material for the analysis of evaluation. In line with Bruce and Wiebe (1999, p. 200-201) mentioned above, adjectives were positively correlated with subjective assessments in their study; thus, adjectives can potentially be seen as bearers of evaluations and emotions.

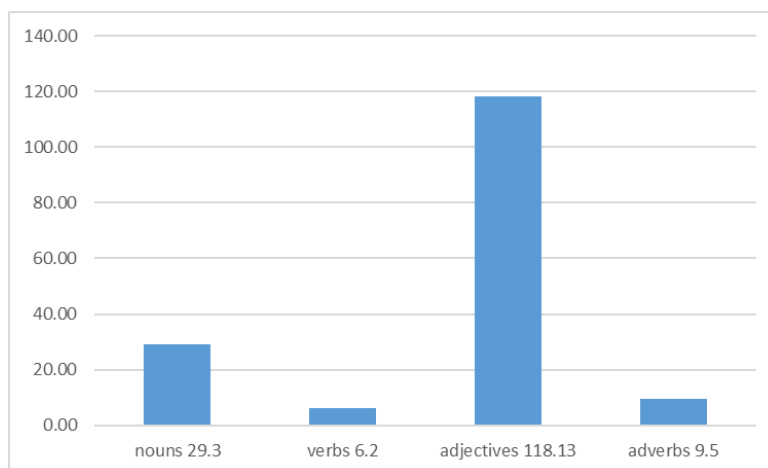Fig. 1. TTRs for nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in the MPJ corpus

The most frequently occurring adjectives are *dobry* ("good") and *świetny* ("great"). The distribution of these adjectives is shown in Fig. 2., and it indicates that the two words are used relatively systematically across all the contexts under scrutiny.
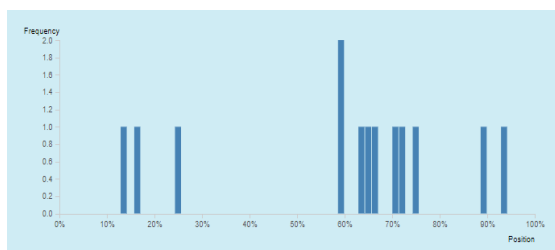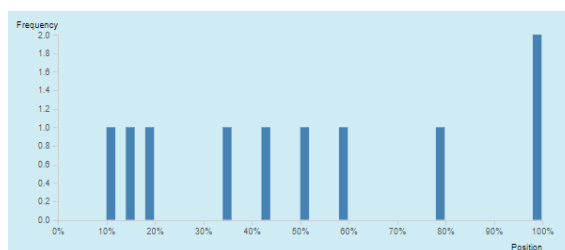

Fig. 2a. Distribution of *dobry*

Fig. 2b. Distribution of *świetny*

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The adjective *dobry* ("good") occurs only as a noun premodifier, and it patterns with five nouns (*chocolate*, *cheese*, *thing*, *afternoon snack*, *bread*), whereas *swietny* ("great") premodifies three nouns (*dinner*, *tomato* [+dim.], *lettuce*) and also occurs as a predicate in two cases (with *cheese* and *chocolate*).

The distribution of adjectives seems to suggest the predominance of positive comments. However, despite the high number of positive adjectives, multi-word keyword terms clearly show that the majority of contexts express a negative evaluation. The highest keyness score (equal to 1205.8) has the phrase *węgiel ochłapu*, which is a fragment of a longer phrase: *spalonego na węgiel ochłapu mięsa* (Eng. "meat scrap burned to a crisp"). The keyness score in the SE is calculated using the simple math method (SMM; Kilgariff, 2009). The second place is taken by *stary kartofel* ("an old potato") with the keyness score equal to 1203.4, and in the third place is *nieświeża ryba* ("not fresh fish"), which has a score equal to 1198.9. Other negatively charged n-grams, with much lower score oscillating around 600), include inter alia: *obrzydliwe śniadanie* ("disgusting breakfast"), *namiastka cykorii* ("substitute of chicory"), *jajko-proszek* ("egg-powder"), *czerwone świństwo* ("red crap"), *papierowy chleb* ("paper bread"), *złe ciastko* ("bad cookie"), *perzowaty chleb* ("couch grass-like bread"), *okropny chleb* ("awful bread"). There are only several positively charged n-grams: *ogromna pieczarka* ("huge white mushroom" - two occurrences), *śliczna bezcenna oliwa* ("beautiful priceless olive" - three occurrences), *wielka sałata* ("huge lettuce"), *świetny pomidorek* ("great tomato [+dim.]"), *świetna śliwka* ("great plum"), *świetny szary chleb* ("great grey bread") (Table 2). The phrases can be shown in a sentential context in the SE, which may provide additional information. For example, the author writes about a soup that had the colour of an ill toad:

(0) *Odstawiłam na bok zupę z proszku o* **kolorze chorej ropuchy**, *zaprawioną kminkiem sztucznym. ("I put aside the powder soup which had* **the colour of an ill toad***, seasoned with artificial caraway").* [s. 352, 18 V 1942][7]

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[7] After each citation, in the squared brackets, there is information regarding the source, i.e., page number in the Olszański's (1998) publication, and the date of writing a letter.

negative n-grams	SMM score	positive n-grams	SMM score
(spalony na) węgiel ochłapu (mięsa)	1205.8	wielka sałata	603.4
stary kartofel	1203.4	twoja gruszka	603.4
nieświeża ryba	1198.9	jedna ogromna pieczarka	603.4
obrzydliwe śniadanie	603.4	świetny pomidorek	603.4
zimna sałata	603.4	poprawny chleb	603.4
zły żołądeczek	603.4	angielska chałwa	603.4
namiastka cykorii	603.4	śliczna bezcenna oliwa	603.4
wyciśnięta ścierka	603.4		
jajko-proszek	603.4		
kolor złego żołądeczka	603.4		
papierowy chleb	603.4		
złe ciastko	603.4		
perzowaty chleb	603.4		

Table 1. Top 20 negative and neutral/positive n-grams expressed in simple math method (SMM) score

In sum, at first blush, the automatic retrieval of words and phrases from the SE demonstrates contradictory information. Firstly, the emotional load of adjectives is indicative of positive emotions being predominant in the corpus. At the same time, however, when n-grams are analysed rather than single words, there are twice as many examples of negatively charged phrases as those positively charged. The cursory analysis of multi-word keyness terms shows that the overall attitude to culinary topics in the letters by MPJ is generally rather negative. The data were further analysed to attest this tentative observation by resorting to sentiment analysis (ws.clarin-pl.eu), which discloses the predominance of negative emotions (sadness, anger, disgust, fear, uselessness, ugliness, unhappiness, harm) over positive ones (happiness, trust, usefulness, beauty) (Fig. 3). This quantitative examination of the MPJ corpus was next followed by an analysis of the evaluative charge for further, fine-grained verification.
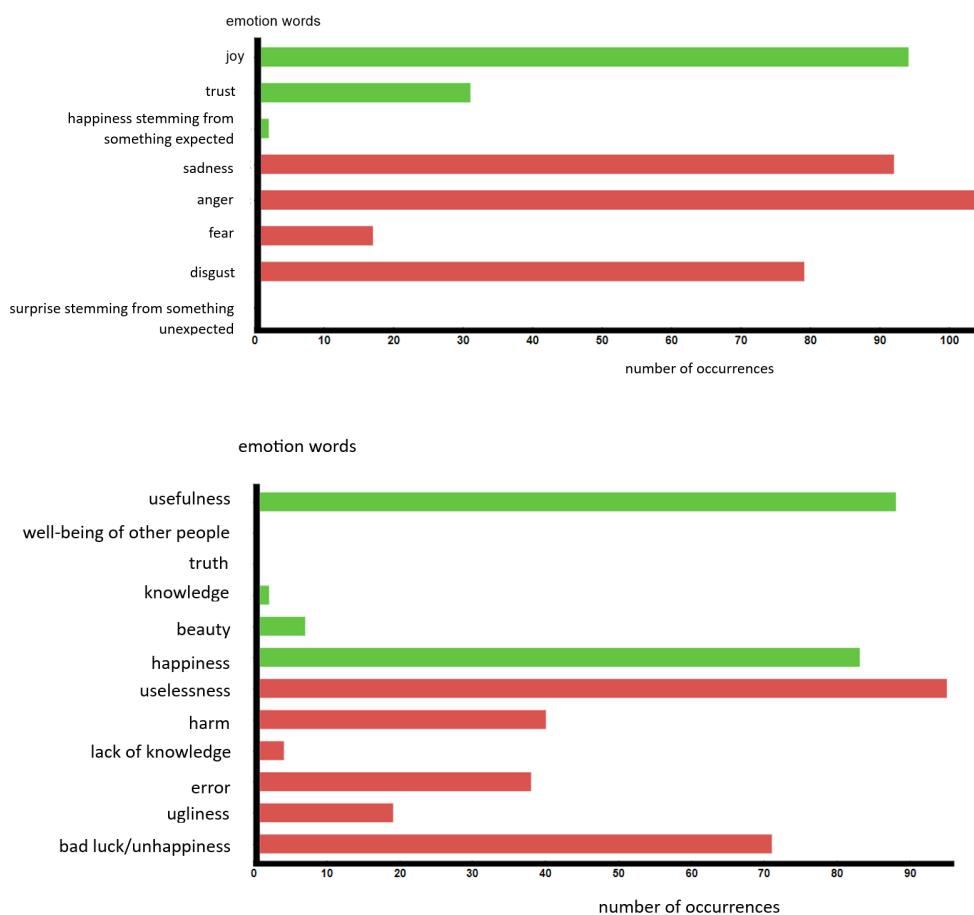
Figure 3. Sentiment analysis results

6.2. Qualitative analysis

In the remainder of this paper, the qualitative axiolinguistic methodology will be applied to select culinary examples (from 60 letters), which present various evaluation types and values described above. All the contexts exemplify veridical statements, i.e., based on truth and "express certainty and an individual's commitment to the truth of a proposition" (Taboada and Trnavac, 2013, p. 3). More than one evaluative means can occur in a citation; hence, the numbers indicating examples do not correspond to the number of evaluative devices. Following a citation and the analysis, reconstructed formulae of

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evaluative judgments are presented. In the examples presented in this section, axiological tools typically used in axiolinguistic analysis will be applied (Benenowska, 2015).

In Table 2, the type of evaluation and value aspects are presented for a general overview.

Example	Type of evaluation				aspects of values					
	Lex.	Gram.	Con.	Tex.	hed	feel	aest	vit	prag	perf
1 great	X				X	X				
2 good	X				X	X				
3a paper			X		X	X				
3b lukewarm	X				X	X				
3c powder Inappropriate [smell] bad stomach			X X X		X X X	X X X	X X X			
3d strange creature			X		X	X		X		
3e tired, sugared			X X		X X	X X				
4 disgusting	X				X	X				
5 Coffee [+augm] *kawsko*		X			X	X				
6 chicory				X	X	X				
7 Junk /muck	X				X	X		X		
8a careles	X					X	X		X	
8b bad	X					X		X		
9 excellent	X				X	X		X		
10 great Fresh	X X				X X	X X		X X		
11a scrambled eggs		X			X	X				
11b yellow salty (what X - *co za X*)	X X				X X	X X				
12 perfect	X				X	X				X

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13a genuine	X				X	X		X		
13b daily Imitation (X and not Y)		X			X X	X X		X	X	
14a chopped	X				X	X		X		
14b this muck	X				X	X		X		
14c shrivelled	X				X	X		X		
14d grey, hard, bitter	X X X				X X X	X X X		X X X		
15a lunch [+dim]		X			X	X				
15b muck	X				X	X		X		
15c artificial	X				X	X			X	
16 insolent	X				X	X				
17a great	X				X	X		X		
17b aspices		X			X	X		X		
Total	**24**	**5**	**7**	**1**	**36**	**38**	**4**	**17**	**3**	**1**

Table 2. Types of evaluation and aspects of values in the MPJ examples (1-17)

In example (1), plums are the objects of a positive evaluation in terms of hedonic and (subjective) feelings.

(1) *These plums are* **great** *when one rolls them in sugar* […] 14 II 1941][8, 9]

By resorting to the adjective *great*, the sender of the judgment adds lexical evaluation, which can be expressed by the following formula:

Eval (lex.): X is G Whed, feel

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[8] Some of the examples have been already analysed by Benenowska (2015, p. 269).

[9] All translations are ours. To the best of our knowledge, the letters by MPJ have not been translated into English.

A similar type of evaluation is demonstrated in the next example:

(2) *Very **good** cocoa* […] [p. 89, Zima 1941].
Eval (lex.): X is G Whed, feel

The following citation needs a more elaborated analysis:

(3)**Paper** *bread and **lukewarm** (re-newed [re-brewed]) tea* […]. *The soup was **powder**, dear Bajbak, and it was endowed with an **inappropriate smell** so that Brus [dog] even sneezed when I offered it to him; the colour of a **sour stomach** [+ dim.]. Later, apart from cabbage, a morsel of a **strange creature**, don't know it and thank you. Nobody from the Kossaks family has mounted a horse with a knife and fork so far. The* <u>misfortune</u> *was complemented by tinned rice, very **tired and sugared**,* <u>yuck</u> *teufel noch a mal!* [p. 85, 13 II 1941]

Paper bread is an example of connotation-based evaluation, that is one that resorts to means which can be problematic in terms of treating them as systemic evaluation inasmuch as they balance on the border of pragmatics and semantics. At first glance, an expression does not contain an evaluative element, yet the evaluative judgment is encoded as follows: X is J (some object). Only language-external knowledge allows one to determine the value, which conveys information regarding the sender's evaluation of the good and the bad values, i.e., the G/B W. Here, the *paper bread* signifies bread, which reminds the taste of paper. In other words, it is tasteless and pale; thus, it is valued as negative in terms of the hedonic criterion and feelings. Therefore, the formula of this judgment is as follows:

Eval (Con.) X (*bread*) is J (*paper*), i.e., Z Whed, feel

Another evaluation refers to tea, which is below the expected temperature (*lukewarm*) and, as Maria suspects, was re-brewed. The lexical evaluation formula is as follows:

Eval (Lex.) X (*tea*) is B Whed, feel

The word *soup* is also subject to evaluative judgment. The noun powder conveys a negative connotative evaluation which stems from the suspicion that the meal was not prepared from natural ingredients; moreover, it smells bad and has an ugly colour. The remark about a dog that did not want to touch the food contributes to the poet's negative feelings in terms of hedonic and aesthetic values, which is illustrated by the following formula:

Eval (Con.) Z (*soup*) is J, i.e., B Wfeel, hed, aest

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The meat is of unknown origin, a morsel of a strange creature, probably horse meat, which can be inferred from the context of the next sentence (*Nobody from the Kossaks family has mounted a horse with a knife and fork so far*), and which is most probably bad in terms of hedonic and vitality values that are accompanied by the feeling of disgust, as is suggested by the exclamation *yuck* (of which we learn from the sentence context, wherein the feeling has a name). As a result, the formula for the evaluative judgment is as follows:

> Eval (Con.) X (*meat*) is J, i.e., B Whed, feel, vit + the feeling of disgust

The next example also illustrates a negative evaluation-based connotation, where processed rice (*tinned*) that is tired (i.e., overcooked and cooled) and too sweet (*sugared*) is valued. The evaluative judgment is as follows:

> Eval (Con.) X (*rice*) is J, i.e., B Whed, feel

The poet mentions bad quality coffee in England on many occasions, e.g.,

> (4) *We were in Savoy where we were served **disgusting** coffee* […] [p. 338, 3 V 1942]

The following formula can express the negative judgement here:

> Eval (Lex.) X (*coffee*) is B Whed, feel

As can be seen in example 5., the axiological charge can also be assigned to word formation constructions with a specific affix (particularly augmentative-pejorative), as in *kaw**sko*** (cf. other nouns with -sko, e.g., *lursko*, Eng. *wishy-washy tea*, *zupsko*, Eng. *soup* + augm suffix., *zębisko*, Eng. *tooth* + augm. suffix, etc.). Adding the augmentative element makes a depreciative, here an unanimated object that is the bearer of a pejorative value, and this leads to the conclusion that an evaluative judgment should have a modified form in what is dubbed grammatical evaluation, wherein X is the bearer of bad features ("B-bearer"):

> (5) *złe **kawsko*** [+augm.] bez *cukru* […] [s. 657, 7 V 1944]
> Eval (Gram.) Z (*kawsko*) is B-bearer Whed, feel

It must be noticed that MPJ wrote a lot about coffee. She loved drinking coffee, just like her father (Zurli, 2015, p. 52); however, the coffee served in England during the war was far beyond her standards, hence so many negative evaluations of coffee can be found in her letters.

The following example illustrates textual evaluation:

(6) *only **chicory** sets the tone and taste* [word order changed] [s. 261, 16 I 1942]

The suspicion of using other ingredients, such as chicory, implies that the beverage is bitter and pungent, which stems from general, extralinguistic knowledge. The formula is as follows:

Eval (Tex.) know that X (= *chicory sets the tone and taste*) is B Whed, feel

The meals served in the hotel did not appeal to the poet, so she complained about the food to her husband:

(7) *We were very hungry* […] *and I rejected loads of **junk**, I still need something, and I starve to death with bread* […] [p. 171, 16 VII 1941]

The noun *junk* meaning an unpalatable, disgusting thing [SJPD 2. pot. a)] is the name of an unanimated object, for which the formula is as follows:

Eval (Lex.) X (*junk*) is B-bearer Whed, feel, vit

Various evaluative lexical devices can be noticed in the examples below:

(8) [in a hotel] *The food (is) **careless**. Yesterday, the fish (was) **bad*** [not fresh] [p. 200, 12 IX 1941]

The evaluative formulae can be expressed as follows:

Eval (Lex.) X (food) is (*careless* =) B Wpragm, feel, aest
Eval (Lex.) X (fish) is (*bad*/*not fresh* =) B Wvit, feel

Products sent in parcels by her husband made a nice diet variety; therefore, they were not left unnoticed in her letters and were positively evaluated, e.g.,:

(9) […] *What **excellent** chocolate you have sent* [p. 236, 24 XI 1941]
Eval (Lex.) X (*chocolate*) is G Whed, vit, feel

(10) […] *cheeses* [sent by her husband] *are **great** and incredibly **fresh*** [p. 213, 13 X 1941]
Eval (Lex.) X (*cheeses*) are (*great*, *fresh*) G Whed, vit, feel

Chocolate was an important dietary element during the war because of its valuable nutritious ingredients. It was especially important for MPJ when she was ill (diagnosed with cancer in 1944). During the period of her disease, her husband sent her nutritious products through their friends, such as eggs, fruit, chicken in aspic, etc., along with the products already mentioned above.

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The next citation is interesting as the evaluative means used here illustrate the grammatical-syntactic type:

(11) **What** [Pol. **Co za**] *scrambled eggs again,* **yellow** *and awfully* **salty** [p. 247, 10 XII 1941]

The syntactic structure **Co za X** ("What a(n) X") is a euphemistic evaluation expressed through an interrogative that encodes emotions. The syntactic scheme used here: **Co za + noun** (cf. cases used in colloquial Polish, e.g., *Co za bałagan!*, Eng. "What a mess!", *Co za okropność!*, Eng. "What a horror!") means that the structure contains constituents that function in interrogatives yet, in fact, they do not play the role of questions but of evaluative judgments, emerging from the context, here: the negative context emphasising the feeling of detestation.

Eval (Gram.) What X (*scrambled eggs*) = X is B-bearer Whed, feel + feeling of detestation

This negative evaluation is completed by lexical devices:

Eval (Lex.) X is (*yellow, awfully* [10] *salty* =) B Whed, feel

Jasnorzewska's experiments with enhancing the taste of tea that were positively evaluated by her are presented below. The term *perfect* is the highest positive intensification marker of the feature *good*; therefore, it can be said that shared values of perfectionism are involved:

(12) *I'm making tea for myself with orange peels, which are* **perfect** […] [p. 256, 10-11 I 1942]
Eval (Lex.) X is G Whed, feel, perf

In the example below, the lexical device *genuine* means made of good flour:

(13) *All the best for the New Year to Mr. Robak Jasnorzewskiewicz. He is expected to be healthy and returning to normal life* […] *in his own human country, where there are* **genuine** *rolls, and the bread is* **daily** *rather than* **imitation***, butter not margarine* […] [p. 312, 21-22 III 1942]
Eval (Lex.) X (*rolls*) are (genuine =) G Whed, feel, vit

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[10] The adverb *awfully* is a marker of (negative) feature intensification. Similarly, the word *very* in example 2.

Example (13) has the syntactic structure X and not Y, where X is G, because daily bread follows the Christian tradition, genuine and not Y. The fake version is a bearer of bad features because it is *imitation*, which deserves a negative evaluation in terms of feelings, pragmatic and hedonic values:

Eval (Gram.) **X** (is G-bearer Wvit, hed, feel), **and not Y** (is B-bearers, Wpragm, hed, feel)

In the next example (14), there is a collection of lexical evaluative devices:

(14) *They give nothing but tinned food three times a day, some* **chopped muck***, a kind of ham or tongue. In the morning, this* **muck** *is fried, at five with a bit of lettuce and chopped, shrivelled radish, and spread on a roll in the evening. A pile of rolls (***grey***,* **hard** *and* **bitter***)* […]. [p. 379, 13-14 VI 1942]

The evaluative formulae are as follows:

Eval (Lex.) X (*muck*) is B-bearer Whed, feel, vit
Eval (Lex.) X (*muck*) is B-bearer Whed, feel, vit
Eval (Lex.) X (*radish*) is (shrivelled =) B Whed, feel, vit
Eval (Lex.) X (*rolls*) are (*grey*, *hard*, *bitter* =) B Whed, feel, vit

The example below introduces some variety to the repertoire of evaluative devices inasmuch as the evaluation is reversed:

(15) **Lunch** [+dim., Pol. *obiadek*]*: soup, brown dissolved powder.* […] *too much of a* **muck***, the milk was again* **artificial***.* [p. 344-5, 8 V 1942]

The reversal of evaluation consists in the grammatical-lexical valuation encoded by *-ek* (in *obiad-ek*) that introduces a diminutive form, which is essentially positively evaluated. From this context, however, it transpires that it encodes the reverse (as it is used ironically), that is, a feeling of aversion. The general feeling denotes negative evaluation regarding the indices encoding hedonic features and feelings. The evaluative formula is thus as follows:

Eval (Gram.) X (*lunch* [+dim.] is B-bearer Whed, feel

As can be seen, the use of affixes does not always realise one and the same mechanism. The other devices evaluate at the lexical level:

Eval (Lex.) X (*muck*) is B-bearer Whed, feel, vit
Eval (Lex.) X (*milk*) is (*artificial*, i.e., not genuine, powder =) B Whed, feel, prag

In the next example, the adjective in bold evaluates negatively (and metaphorically) the quality of the meals served. *Insolent* can also be interpreted as indirectly suggesting the cooks' arrogance and/or their carelessness; hence, a possible feeling of irritation:

(16) *The food is just* **insolent**. [p. 570, 24 IV 1943];
Eval (Lex.) X (*food*) is (*insolent =*) B Whed, feel + feeling of irritation

As already mentioned, Maria was ill, her husband cared a lot about her nutrition, he prepared various meals, e.g., chicken in aspic:

(17) *Ah, what* **aspices**. *This morning I began again the big "Cock-a-doodle-do-Special". It is equally* **great** [...] [p. 814, 21 II 1945]
Eval (Lex.) X (*Cock-a-doodle-do-Special*) is G Whed, vit, feel

The exclamation *ah* is the marker of an emotional reaction to a causative event, that is, savouring the meal prepared by her husband. The exclamation has the function of an emotive operator, which expresses the feeling of satisfaction. It is emphasised by *what aspices*, which is a grammatical (syntactic) structure: **what X**, wherein X can be substituted by another noun, it may be premodified by the adjective *excellent*. This type of syntactic order expresses evaluation, whose value is inherited from the context. In this case, Maria's evaluation is positive:

Eval (Gram.) What X (*aspices*), where X is G-bearer Whed, vit, feel + feeling of delight

7. Summary and conclusions

The material presented in this study was limited to objects denoting food, which was one of the topics MPJ wrote about in the letters to her husband. She paid a great deal of attention to food, probably due to the fact that during the war, good quality food, which she was used to in her family home before the war, was not readily available. From the letters, we learn that coffee and chocolate were particularly important ingredients in her diet, especially during her illness. In 1944, she was diagnosed with cancer, of which she died on the 9th of July 1945.

The axiological evaluation of the food-related fragments in her letters is generally negative and is particularly unfavourable in the case of meals offered in hotels and restaurants. Positive evaluation is present only in descriptions of products obtained from friends, often bought by her husband and served at private meetings.

In the examples analysed above (1-17), a variety of evaluation types can be observed, which comprise: lexical (64% examples), grammatical (word formation and syntactic - 14%), connotative (19%) and textual (2%). Moreover, there are cases where the subject refers not only to axiological norms but also to emotions. These devices represent the so-called emotive operators (see, e.g., *Ah* in (17)). The proportions of evaluation types are illustrated by Fig. 4.
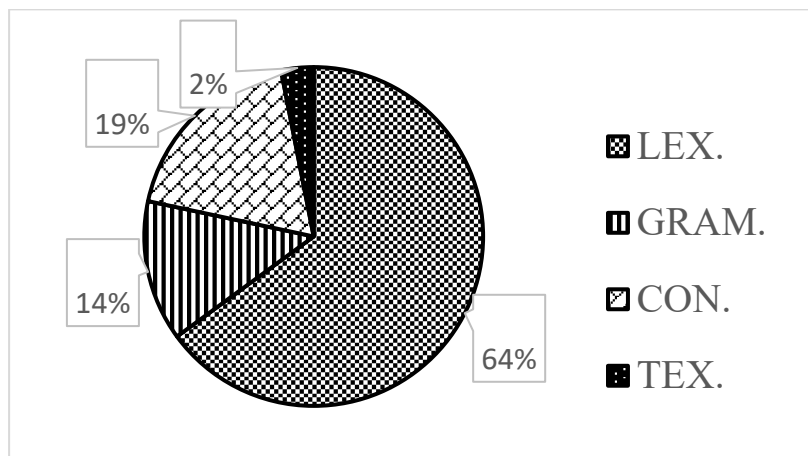

Fig. 4. Types of evaluation in percentages

Food was evaluated not only in terms of a source of nutrition, i.e., vital elements ("to eat in order to live"), but also as a source of sheer pleasure ("to eat for pleasure"). Hence, in the MJP corpus, three predominant value types can be observed: vital, feeling and hedonic. The value of feelings always co-occurred with them; the pragmatic and perfectionist values occasionally accompanied the vital and hedonic values (Fig. 5).
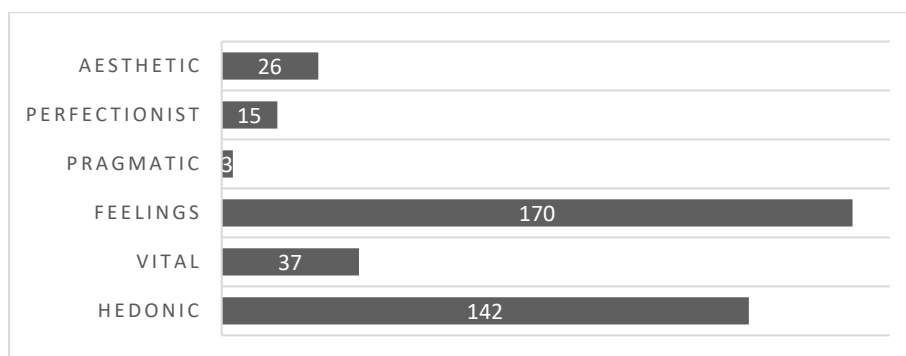

Fig. 5. Categories of values in the MPJ corpus

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The most numerous type of evaluation is the lexical one, and within this group all the categories mentioned above of values have occurred: the category of feelings (42%), hedonic (38,2%), vital (9,8%), aesthetic (4,9%), pragmatic (0,8%) and perfectionist (4%) (Fig. 6).
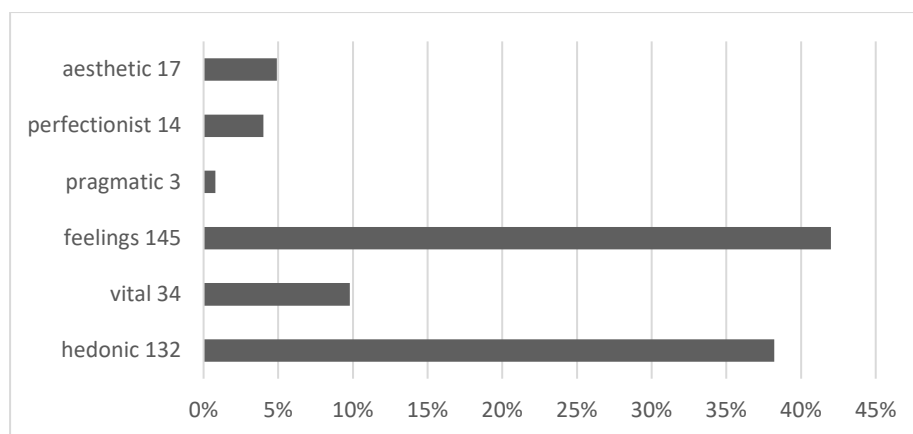

Fig. 6. Value categories in the Lexical Evaluation

The basic formula of an evaluative judgment is X is G/B W (for the lexical, adjectival markers) occurred in modified versions:

- X is G-bearer/B-bearer W (in word formation-based and lexical evaluation with nominal markers);
- X is J, i.e., G/B W (in connotative evaluation);
- Know that X and it is G/B W (in textual evaluation);
- What X (where X is G/B W) and X and not Y (where X is G-bearer W and Y is B-bearer W) (in grammatical - syntactic evaluation).

The analysis presented in this study (limited to just 17 fragments for the illustration of the data and methodology) shows that the axiolinguistic methodology employed in the analysis can be an effective tool in objective linguistic analyses of various texts, epistolary texts included, which can contribute to extended and fine-grained investigations.

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