Peri-literary communication games of high school students

Aim and methodology

Knowing high school students’ widespread use of Internet websites for educational purposes, a series of interviews was conducted. The aim of this research was to analyse relationship between the use of the Internet by the students and the level of their interpretation, communication and social competency skills.

The interviews were conducted with seven students of public and one private high school in Kraków, Łomża, Myślenice, Opole and Szczecin between June 2014 and April 2015 in form of individual or pair interviews. During the pair interviews, respondents felt more comfortable, filling in their partner’s statements or polarizing each others positions. The second grade of high school was chosen for this research and the middle one in case of parallel grades (i.e. b from a, b, c grades). Two students were picked from the middle of the students’ roll.

The hypothesis was: high school student’s passive attitude towards Internet resources correlates with their poorly developed interpretation, communication and low social skills, while co-creation of Internet databases advances these skills.

* Ph.D. (habilitated), professor of National Education Commission Pedagogical University, Kraków, Institute of Polish Philology, Department of Media and Cultural Research, ul. Podchorążych 2, 30-084 Kraków, anna.slosarz@up.krakow.pl


The interviews revealed attitudes towards resources available on the Internet; and the formal features of the interviews exposed the levels of respondents’ communication skills. While transcripts of interviews were being prepared for publication, material selection was conducted in cases e.g. repetitions or self-corrections. Names of schools, places and dates of interviews were not assigned to the respondents in order to ensure their anonymity.

Student 1 (male)

The interview with Student 1, who attended class with expanded courses in mathematics and physics, took place a few days after the so-called tape affair, disclosed on the 17th June 2014 by “Wprost” magazine, where interlocutors had been treated instrumentally. Therefore, recording the interview could have mentally blocked the respondent due to negative connotations he might have formed about recording, especially in that he could perceive the topic of the interview embarrassing. Conversation was, therefore, carried out on the school grounds by his friend, aiming at increasing the comfort of the respondent.

The interviewer read provided questions aloud to the interviewee. She did not ask any probing questions, and did not refer to answers provided by the interviewee. Therefore, the interview was not expanded.

“Do you know these websites?³ Which ones do you use to learn and to prepare for Polish language and literature lessons? Or maybe you are familiar with different ones?”

“Of course, I had the honour of visiting this kind of the Internet sites. From among sites mentioned here, I recognize Wolne Lektury.pl, Bryk.pl, Ściągga.pl and Wikipedia. But I simply did not stumble across any of the remaining ones”.

“Thank you. What exactly do you use these websites for? For what purposes do you occasionally visit them?”

“I think that when I have to deal with some more difficult, or more complex, reading material then sometimes... simply in order to better understand an extract or the entire work, I read specific analyses of the text. This helps me to prepare for the lesson.”

“What was the most important or the most interesting thing that you found on these websites?”

“It happens often that the authors of these... of all these analyses present different opinions on a particular matter, and although they are contradictory, I find them very useful for writing, for example, essays. I have a better look at the situation”.

“And how do your friends utilize these websites?”

³ At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee printed logos of Internet sites: Bryk, Język Polski.pl, Kulturalna Polska, Polski na 5-tkę, Scholaris, Ściągga.pl, Serwis Humanistyczny Hamlet, Szkoła.net, Ściągawa.pl, Streszczenia.pl, Ściągga Online, Wikipedia, Wolne Lektury.
“It’s difficult for me to say. In all sorts of ways. As far as I know, most people only copy the texts; they do not seem to... Yes, they use ready essays. They are not too much as if... eager to get to know exactly what something means”.

“Which Internet resources are the most useful to you for Polish language and literature learning?”

“I think that when it comes to matters of... talking about Polish language and literature in general – for example, some concepts, terms, or just the rules of grammar – then it is “Wikipedia”, because only there one can find information presented in a form of a theory”.

“And which of the Polish language and literature Internet sites do you find most useful for revision?”

[swallowing saliva] “From those which I’ve just mentioned, for revisions [I use] Bryk.pl and Ściąga.pl.

“And to familiarize yourself with the reading materials?”

“To familiarize myself with the reading materials... I think Wolne Lektury, because full texts are available there”.

“And how about learning about language?”

“Wikipedia”, as I said before”.

“Thank you”.

“Thank... You are most welcome”.

Analysis of the interview with Student 1.

1. Social skills: Recording the student’s opinions about using the Internet resources in a way unacceptable by his school aroused a sense of danger in Student 1. His colleague, understanding this, signaled to him that short answers were sufficient by saying “Thank you” in response to his first answer. She established an untrue contact with the interviewee. She felt uncomfortable in the role assigned to her and with which she was unfamiliar. She lacked competence, and did not want to facilitate her colleague in revealing what he was not prepared to. As a result, he presented socially agreeable knowledge. He did not support his opinions with examples of his own actions and practices.

2. Language skills: The phrase “I had the honour of visiting this kind of Internet sites” (said seriously) at the beginning of the interview, indicated that Student 1 tried to talk with his friend in an official way and therefore gave a fake response. He found the communication pattern of the interview difficult, just as much as his colleague conducting the interview. He used the words “as if” and “just” as time fillers, buying time to find more adequate words. The phrase “I have a better look at the situation” (meaning: “I have a better insight into the situation”) indicated that he lacked phraseological patterns, which was the result of not reading enough. The assurance of reading analyses was insincere, because the sites she mentioned proved that it was more about accessing summaries and essays.
3. **Way of using Internet resources**: passive. *Student 1* listed just four websites: social (*Wikipedia*), run by an association (*Wolne Lektury*) and two commercial ones (*Bryk.pl*, *Ściąga.pl*). He treated resources available on those websites as a source of structured information, which is why he valued *Wikipedia* and *Wolne Lektury*. He also appreciated the different points of view:

It happens often that the authors of these... of all these analyses present different opinions on a particular matter, and although they are contradictory, I find them very useful for writing, for example, essays. I have a better look at the situation.

Distancing himself from essays available online, which are being copied by his colleagues, indicated the dominant way of Internet resources used for educational purposes in his environment.

4. **Interpretation and language skills**: *Student 1* perceived reading materials as significant cultural objects, and that it was his duty to become familiar with them, but it required more knowledge (about concepts, terms, principles) than he possessed. So, he searched for this knowledge online. He also understood the science of language to be a theory: “concepts, terms, or just the rules of grammar”. That is why he concluded that one can learn from *Wikipedia*.

5. **Social and communication skills**: *Student 1* assumed the role of the respondent; and the interviewer confirmed that that was his role. He spoke briefly and treated the interview as an interpersonal game. He listed only four sites which can be interpreted as an inferential indicator of not paying attention to their names or as an attempt of limiting the number, so as not to look as a regular user of many sites of little value. It can be assumed that he tried to hide the fact that he had not read many of the reading materials. In this way, he represented other students as well. The Internet sites and the way in which they were utilized, as mentioned by him, turned out to be the same as those mentioned by other interlocutors.

6. **Reception**: *Student 1* treated the conversation with his colleague as a kind of a favour to her – it was a satisfying activity for him, which strengthened his sense of being a gentleman. During the interview he did not show any resistance, which can be viewed as a symptom of apparent contact with the interlocutor.4

The passive attitude towards the Internet resources in case of *Student 1* correlated with his poor interpretive and social-communication skills.

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**Student 2 (female)**

On the same day, the same student interviewed *Student 2*, who attended the same grade as *Student 1*. Again, the interview was not expanded; the interviewer *ticked* subsequent questions showing no interest in the answers provided by her colleague.

“Do you know these websites? Which ones do you use to learn and to prepare for Polish language and literature lessons? Or maybe you are familiar with different ones?”

“So, the most popular are well-known *Wikipedia* and *Bryk.pl* and *Ściąga.pl*. But these are not reliable sources and it’s better to just use them as inspiration rather than to copy text”.

*[turning the page and swallowing saliva]* “And what exactly do you use these websites for? For what purposes do you use them occasionally?”

“To discern the topic, and to look for inspiration for writing an essay, and to look for some concepts; I mean to look for sort of dry knowledge, which is difficult to be found in books, while...”

“And what was the most important or the most interesting thing that you found on these websites?”

“I just think that, simply, some knowledge, some information about the authors, about their bibliography and information about books”.

“How do your friends utilize those and similar websites?”

“I think they just go easy and copy the text as it is, without making sure if it is really correct”.

*[swallowing saliva]* “Which Internet resources are the most useful to you for Polish language and literature learning?”

“I think things which cannot be found in the textbook, for example something about the author, about the book itself, how it came about, and, in general, characteristics of the main heroes, and the summary”.

“And which of those Internet sites do you find most useful for revision?”

“For example, the Internet site *Polski na 5-tki... Polski na 5*, where there are [laugh] different essays and you can test your knowledge”.

“And to familiarize yourself with the reading materials?”

“In *Streszczenia* you can sort of... summarize everything that you have learned and to collect information in its entirety”.

“And to learn about language?”

“I think *Wolne Lektury*.”

“Thank you.”

“Thank you.”

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6 At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee logos of Internet sites as in reference 4.
Analysis of the interview with the Student 2.

1. Social skills: The awareness that the interview was being recorded and the fact that it was conducted on school premises made Student 2 cautious, including the declarative phrase: “these are not reliable sources and it’s better to just use them as inspiration, rather than to copy the text as it is provided there”. She presented socially agreeable knowledge, and did not support it by providing her own observations or experiences. She established apparent contact with the interviewer.

2. Language skills: spontaneous (“as it is” repeated twice), reconstructive and not always correct (confusion between the words “biography” and “bibliography”). Student 1 played with the communication pattern of the interview in a peculiar way. She avoided using verbs in the first person, she spoke impersonally: “to discern, you can summarize your knowledge, you can sort of... summarize everything that you have learned and to collect information in its entirety”, because she did not want to talk about the way she used the Internet resources. She replaced the word “cheating” with the contextual euphemism “copying”, which specifies the way students use discussed resources. The slip of tongue when she said Polski na 5-tki (A’s+ Polish; plural) instead of Polski na 5-tkę (A+ Polish; singular) may suggest that she would like more resources to better meet the needs of students focused on obtaining high grades for their papers, tests, essays, etc. Her linguistics can be interpreted as an inferential indicator showing her lack of satisfaction with the Internet resources which are used as educational ones.

3. Way of using Internet resources: passive. Student 2 expected organized information on biographies, as required during classes, genesis of the text, characteristics of heroes, which indicates that she used Internet resources while working on longer texts. Searching for conclusions, summaries and essays indicated that she hardly critically appraised searched resources. She was poorly oriented to the structure of websites: she believed the site Wolne Lektury contained resources on Polish language studies.

4. Interpretational and linguistic skills: Student 2 perceived literature as a mental exercise which required memorizing and connection with biographical contexts, historical and literary concepts etc. She lacked understanding of language studies; therefore, she associated it with the Wolne Lektury website.

5. Social and communication skills: Student 2 welcomed her role as a respondent. She followed her colleague, the interviewer, which was clear when she did not finish providing an answer to the second question, on her colleague’s signal. She did not try to expand the dialogue as she avoided talking about an uncomfortable topic. Instead of speaking about her use of Internet resources, she talked about the most popular websites, distancing herself from their content. She tried to act as a user critically appraising Internet resources; and she treated the interview as an opportunity for interpersonal play.

6. Reception: Student 2 did not wish to talk honestly. Laughter in the final phase of the interview revealed her tension and the distance she took to the role she was given. Frequent swallowing of saliva by the colleague asking questions was a somatic indicator of anxiety which Student 2 also experienced, and which was the effect of the unusual situation. Consequently, the researcher moved away from assigning students the role of interviewers.

The passive attitude of Student 2 towards Internet resources correlated with her poor social and communication skills.

Student 3 (male)

In a class with extended courses in mathematics and geography, a male and female were found in the middle of the students’ roll names, but the male asked to be released from participation in the interview. Participation in the study was voluntary, so the next student from the roll was invited to take part in the interview i.e. Student 3. Interviews were conducted in the school corridor. Students sat on a bench, each on one side of the interviewer, who kept a copy of the questionnaire and a Nokia 1680 Classic phone, used as a recorder, on her lap. Student 3 took a seat on her left side, closer to the class’ door, to which he returned shortly after the interview ended. The other student sat on the opposite side of the interviewer and listened to her colleague’s responses. Questions were asked in the order listed in the questionnaire.

“Which of these websites listed here are known to you? And which do you use for learning Polish language? And maybe you know different ones?”

“Ściaga.pl, Streszczenia.pl, Bryk.pl (but I do not know if I use them), Wikipedia, Kulturalna Polska. And I think these are all sites I am familiar with. I do not always pay attention to the sites’ names”.

“In that case, what exactly do you use these websites for?”

“To help me in doing tasks... for example, when I have a more difficult assignment to do, and I do not know, for example, where to start or what it is about, then I just try to type [search term in the search engine] and check how have others interpreted it”.

“Or maybe you remember a specific assignment that you prepeared in that way?”

“The last assignment was about the poem, but I just do not remember which one”.

“In that case, what was the most important or the most interesting thing about Polish language, you found on these websites?”

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8 This shows his unwillingness to act as an interviewee. He probably did not want to disclose details of his use of online resources perceived as educational websites.

9 At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee logos of Internet sites as in reference 4.
“Some commentaries or interpretations of, for example, some poems – and before that, I had not thought that they could be interpreted in those ways”.

“Can you recall what text that was about?”

“Recently, when we were working on Przedwiośnie (The Coming Spring), I did that…”

“So for the novel, not for the poem?”

“Yes; for the novel but for the poems too; depending on the assignment we have to do”. 

“But earlier you talked about the poems; therefore, I am very interested to know what poem: modern or antic?”

“I think these were modern poems, because we were discussing the interwar period; they were from that period.”

“And do you remember who wrote that poem? Przyboś, Staff?…”

“It is possible it was Staff; it was poem titled Wysokie drzewa (Tall trees); I think.”

“O, cóż jest piękniejszego, niż wysokie drzewa... (Oh, what is more beautiful than tall trees) ... – yes?”

“Yes”.

“Perhaps you know how your friends use these websites?”

“It seems to me that they use them in a similar way as I do. But sometimes I think that they can also use them just more for sort of educational purposes, to learn more about something on Polish language and literature or on some other subject, for example on the interwar period, to find out, revise something in this subject. 

“So mainly they use them before tests or matriculation examination?”

“Yes. I think so”.

“And which resources are most useful to you when you learn Polish language and literature: texts, essays and commentaries, films, or the opportunity of making contact with others or asking questions? How do you use them?”

“I think it is mostly about essays and commentaries”.

“Indeed; from the names of the portals you mentioned, it seems that the commentaries are the most important to you. And which of these or other websites are most useful to you for revision, which for familiarizing with reading materials and which for learning about the language?”

“For familiarizing myself with reading materials, I think Streszczenia.pl, but similar to this are also websites such as Ściąg. – they can also do, because there, one may find different interpretations of a given fragment, for example some character or explanation of an author’s intention on what topic the book was intended to be”. 

“And for revisions?”

“I think that Wikipedia could be useful for this purpose, because there is a lot of information on a given topic. I think.”

“And have you ever used these websites for learning grammar, stylistics, to do language studies?”

“Rather not. No. Definitely not.”

“They are not useful to you for this purpose?”
“No”.
“Thank you very much for your time”.
“Thank you.”

Analysis of the interview with **Student 3**.

1. **Social skills**: **Student 3** had authority over his classmates, which became obvious when he was collectively chosen to participate in an interview. He was the first to answer the questions, which showed his dominant position in relation to his female colleague.

2. **Language skills**: grammatically personalized, but devoid of individuality. **Student 3** boldly spoke in the first person: “I do not know, I use, I have, I try, I check, I do not remember, I had not thought, I use, I think”. He also identified himself with his colleagues: “we were working on, we have an assignment to do, we were discussing”. He treated the communication pattern of interview as an opportunity for cooperation.

3. **Way of using Internet resources**: passive. **Student 3** perceived the resources of Internet sites seen as educational, much like a library. He looked for information that he could utilize for understanding poems discussed at school; he treated poems as riddles to be solved. In his opinion, the aim of interpretation was to guess hidden meanings. The assignment of understanding the poem *Wysokie drzewa (Tall trees)*, to which he devoted a lot of time, he considered to be completed and so he forgot about the poem altogether. He mentioned only five websites because he had not paid attention to their names. He compared interpretations to seeking direction in attempts to understand the texts, and even to explain “an author’s intention”. He was willing to rank websites according to their size and classification of resources. He categorized Leopold Staff’s poem from 1932 as a contemporary one, having been influenced by the media feature of updating information. This can be seen as an inferential indicator for expecting systematic updates of resources on websites regarded for educational ones.

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10 On educational Internet sites dedicated to Polish language studies, currency becomes abused as an indication of updating of meanings of the texts. Conrad’s *Jądro cienności (Heart of Darkness, 1899)* was described as being contemporary; *Ostatni Dzwonek*, http://jc.ostatnidzwonek.pl [accessed on 31.12.2017].

11 Time of publication, which after 24 hours turns into a date, can be automatically assigned to resources published on the Internet. The Internet does not contain any texts posted earlier than a dozen or so years ago. What is published, therefore, may seem to have been written recently, almost being created live (the user expects from the Internet updated information, and the updating of the post changes the date of publication). Texts that are not being updated, and which were published, for example, during a previous year, sometimes instead of publication date contain words “dawno temu” (*long time ago*), only after the cursor is placed on those words, the date of publication appears.
4. Interpretative and linguistic skills: Student 3 perceived literature, and in particular poetry, in terms of riddles to be solved, i.e. requiring discovering the one and only correct, although hidden, meaning which could be interpreted in many different ways. He tried to utilize mainly text-based commentaries. He did not understand the need to learn about language.

5. Social and communication skills: Student 3 embraced the role of the respondent assigned to him. He tried to answer all questions comprehensively. At the same time, he was interested in the functioning of the voice recorder and displayed his knowledge and showed kindness when it was checked to see whether it was recording correctly, acting as a leader during the interview, demonstrating his ability to control the environment and becoming a node in the network. He represented himself and his colleagues.

6. Reception: Student 3 was perceived positively thanks to his competent involvement in the problems of the immediate environment.

Student 3’s knowledge on communication technologies and conscious participation in the communication process correlated with his highly developed social and communication skills, but his interpretation skills were poor.

Student 4 (female)

Student 4 witnessed Student 3’s interview. The corridor was empty, so no one else was a witness to the interview. The interview was recorded with a voice recorder built into the Nokia 1680 Classic mobile phone. The questions were asked according to the layout of the questionnaire, a copy of which was available during the entire interview; on its first page there were printed logotypes of numerous websites.

“Do you know these websites?”

“I know Bryk.pl, Ściąga.pl, Wikipedia. I also visit Ostatni Dzwonek. It is especially needed for reading materials.”

“What exactly do use these websites for? For what purposes do you utilize them, especially Ostatni Dzwonek?

“Ostatni Dzwonek – for working on reading materials. I will give an example: Wesele (The wedding) is a difficult reading and having read it I did not really understand what it was all about. But after reading the summary on Ostatni Dzwonek I understood it better than I had initially.”

“What did you read first: Wesele or Ostatni Dzwonek?”


At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee logos of Internet sites as in reference 4.
“First I had read Wesele. And only then I read Ostatni Dzwonek.
“Did it happen to you to read a summary first, and only afterwards the full text? Because some reading materials are much longer than Wesele ...”
“Yes, it happened that I have read some of the commentaries first and then I read the full text; and again later on, if there was something I had not known, it happened that I read summary.
“And what the reading it was?”
“Przedwiośnie”.
“Well; indeed, that is a long novel. But you have already read Lalka (The Doll) too. Was it also a challenge?
“Yes, but it happened that just at that time we had a lot of time for reading; when there was time off school or something like that.”
“I understand. I am interested in what you read first: a commentary or Lalka?”
“The full text, and only then the commentary.”
“What was the most important or the most interesting that you found on these websites?”
“Commentaries on the poems. Grób Agamemnona (Agamemnon’s Tomb), for example, is a difficult poem. I read commentary to a poem then, when I read a poem again, at least I better understand what it is about, what are the stylistic means, and what they are used for.”
“Did you read these commentaries before the class or after the class?”
“After the class”.
“So, it means that you were yet consolidating your knowledge because you had an assignment to do?”
“Yes, I mean the assignments in the textbook, listed under the poem. When one has read the commentary, one understands better the whole assignment and how to address it.”
“How do your friends utilize those websites?”
“In a similar way: when someone has a paper to prepare, then they use these websites, because, at least, there are explanations available, one does not have to spend time on thinking about it. And then it is easier to present it. When I do the assignment, I also look at how someone else has done it before me, for example in case of Grób Agamemnona.”
“And what Internet resources are the most useful to you when you learn Polish language and literature? Which one do you use? Do you only refer to commentaries, as you said? Or do you sometimes take part in some communication, discussions

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on Polish language and literature topics, for example in discussion groups or on Facebook? Maybe you watch some movies or look at photographs?”

“In case of larger readings, I sometimes read summary and sometimes I watch movie based on it.”

“And what movie did you watch?”

“I recently watched Granica (Boundary) and I just noticed that the movie is very different to the book.”

“And when it comes to summaries, which ones did you read? Give me an example.”

“I read the summaries on Granica, Przedwiośnie, Wesele – because I could not understand them, and I read another one... Dziady (Forefathers’ Eve) part III.

“Indeed, Dziady is a difficult text. And which websites do you find to be most useful for revision before tests or the matriculation examination?

“For the tests’ purposes, I found a website with commentaries on Młoda Polska epoch. I am unable to say what site it was, but it contained summaries and commentaries of all works from this epoch.”

“However, you do not remember the name of that site?”

“No. But on there, one can find summaries and commentaries on all literary periods and, in my opinion, it is good – that all these things are collected on one site.”

“And for familiarizing yourself with reading materials?”

“Streszczenia.pl are definitely good, because one can find summaries and descriptions of the characters there.”

“And did you use any of these Websites for language studies?”

“No.”

“Thank you very much for your time.”

“Thank you very much.”

Analysis of the interview with Student 4.

1. Social skills: Student 4 witnessed her colleague, Student 3 being interviewed; during her interview, she mentioned similar websites. She focused on Ostatni Dzwonek, which was not mentioned by her colleague. She praised it for its encyclopedia-like order of information. She complemented her colleague’s answers, supporting him and backing him up.

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15 On the website Ostatni Dzwonek, under Opracowania lektur (Commentaries to reading materials) on the left hand side, there is information available on each of 54 reading texts, in order: Author, Title, Literary type, Literary genre, Creation date, Creation place, First edition, Literary period, Time of action, Place of action, Main characters, Issues addressed, Translations – and on the right hand side links to commentaries on the work available on the portal, citations, and bibliography including academic publications, essays, hard copy summaries and materials available on the site. The easy navigation, lack of comments and relatively small number of advertisements make the layout clear and user friendly.
2. **Language skills**: personalized. *Student 4* perceived the interview as a communication pattern requiring revealing the truth about self. Under the influence of *Student 3*, she used verbs in first person: “I know, I visit, I will give, I did not [really] understand, I understood, I have read, I read, I do not know, I understand [better], I do, I look, I watch, I watched, I [just] noticed, I could not understand, I found, I am unable to say”. Use of those verbs can be interpreted an inferential indicator of passive attitude and lack of self-confidence.

3. **Way of using Internet resources**: passive. *Student 4* treated work of others as exemplary and valued online resources not only for providing information (“if there is something I do not know”), but also for suggesting “how to address” the questions from the textbook, for helping her to understand difficult reading texts and saving her from “spending time on thinking about it”. She mixed the terms “description” and “characteristics”, among others because characters listed on the site Streszczenia.pl were presented under category “Characters” (not “Characteristics”). Therefore, the expression “description of the character”, about which she learned in elementary school, replaced word “characteristics” which she practiced in gymnasium.

4. **Interpretative and linguistic skills**: *Student 4* perceived literature as collection of texts difficult to read, understand and remember, and also as verbal commentaries on them. Therefore, she found reading and analysing those texts exhausting and depressing. She did not see the need to learn about language.

5. **Social and communication skills**: *Student 4* did not step out from her role of the respondent. She was passive and did not try to influence the flow of the conversation. She functioned in the realities of a hierarchical society. She represented herself and to some extent her acquaintances. She did not feel comfortable in her role; she had difficulties talking freely. Hence, it can be assumed that she was sincere.

6. **Reception**: *Student 4* made the impression of a helpless person, overwhelmed by an excess of learning, giving up her right of forming her own opinion.

In case of *Student 4*, passive attitude towards Internet resources correlated with poor interpretive, social and communication skills.

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16 The word “characteristic” appears in the header of the page devoted to the protagonist. However, the header is separated from the text by advertisement, which disturbs the perception of the title which contains the hero’s first and last name, the word “characteristic” and the title of the book. Similarly, in the well-known to both students website Ściągą.pl texts are assigned titles, in which the genres of expression not always are specified.


18 A. Engel-Bernatowicz, Ibid.
Student 5 (female)

Interviews with Student 5 and Student 6 were conducted on the day when a number of their colleagues participated in school sports competitions, and only about half of the students were present during the class. The grade had extended courses in biology, mathematics and English language, providing them with the perspective of securing an attractive job in fields such as medicine, biotechnology, IT or modern technologies.

The interview took place in a room situated behind the classroom. The classroom’s spatial arrangement gave the impression of hierarchical relations: the teacher was situated behind the desk, in front of the window, and the female students were seated on school benches, opposite their teacher.

The interview questions were read from a printed copy of the questionnaire, bearing the logos of some websites on its first page. They were frequently referred to during the interview. The interview was recorded by the use of a voice recorder built into the Nokia 1680 Classic mobile phone.

“Which of these websites – and maybe different ones – do you use for preparation to classes in Polish language and literature?”

“Actually, it all depends on what I am to prepare myself for; because when it is about some reading texts with which I am not familiar or which I failed to get from the library, then I make preparations basing on some websites, in this case Wolne Lektury, among others. However, when I am to interpret something, then I refer to Bryk, or perhaps to Ściągi, but keeping significant distance to their content, because I know that people post the strangest things on there. These publications are a sort of hint for me, I do not treat them as a solid information.”

“You said the strangest things. Do you remember what so strange was posted there?”

“It is difficult to say, but not always posts are correct and not always interpretation is correct, so I try to avoid referring to them.”

“I understand; so, you say Wolne Lektury, Bryk and Ściąga.”

“Sometimes I also use Wikipedia, to learn more about the author of a given work, to better understand problems, which they could have included in their text by hid it. “What exactly do these websites serve you for? You mentioned interpretation. For what purposes do you use them?”

“Well, as I said, when I may have a problem with the independent interpretation of the text, because not always I am able to correctly understand everything, for example, stylistic means included in a particular way”.

“Will you give me an example, where did you look for these stylistic means? Was it for a poem?”

19 At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee logos of Internet sites as in reference 4.
“Yes, mainly in case of poetry, because I have a terrible problem with the interpretation of poetry. I hate poetry, I am most comfortable with prose.”

“Do you visit, for this purpose, these websites before or after the class?”

“If I have homework to do, after the class; because if I am to write an essay, I do it after the class. Generally, I do not prepare for Polish language and literature classes, because I have biology and mathematics to learn, while I am good enough in Polish that, in general, I am quite easily able to learn it and in fact I do not pay too much attention to it.”

“You attend class with extended course in biology and...”

“Yes, yes. Then, Polish language and literature classes are not in the centre of your classmates’ interest”.

“As far as I am concerned, I am very interested in Polish language and literature classes, although I do not focus too much on it while I am at school, because more important for me is to pass the matriculation examination...”

“What was the most important or the most interesting thing that you found on Polish language and literature websites? I guess that it was some kind of interpretation of a poem. Am I right?”

“No, for me the most interesting are so-called analizatornie (the centres for analysis).20 I am not sure if you have heard about them, madam?”

“No, I have not; but I will definitely find out about them”.

“A group of people, called analysers, search for contemporary novels published on the Internet; they analyse each text, piece by piece (I also made some comments), point out silly errors (stylistic, linguistic or even logical) in a rather amusing and easy to follow way, which makes much easier memorizing some things. Thanks to them I learned, for example, that oboje (both) can refer only to a woman and a man, obaj only to two men, and obie to two women – and other such things.”

“Indeed, some people often use pronouns erratically. Let’s put these matters aside, however. How do your acquaintances use Polish language and literature websites?”

“I assume that in preparation for writing essays, doing their homework. I do not think that they would use it for anything else.”

“Do you mean that most likely they do not use them for communication purposes, as for example in case of that analizatornia (the centre for analysis)?”

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20 Under this term are understood blogs specializing in reviews. For example, on the websites of Niezatapialna Armada Kolonasa Wazona (Kolonas Wazon’s Unsinkable Armada) (http://niezatapialna-armada.blogspot.com [accessed on 9.12.2018] and Przyczajona Logika Ukryty Słownik (Lurking Logic, Hidden Dictionary), http://przyczajona-logika.blogspot.com [accessed on 31.12.2018] selected fragments of literary blogs are commented. Commentators point out errors to selected authors in a humorous way; especially stylistic, compositional, logical, factual errors, using, beside humorous and witty verbal comments, also graphics, animations and movie clips.
“No” [laughter]
“And not for deepening their knowledge on the language?”
“It depends who.”
“Which resources were most useful to you when you were learning Polish language and literature?”
“Wikipedia, thesauruses which allow one to broaden their vocabulary and hence to avoid repetitions, and, of course, the Internet encyclopedias, where I can find a specific definition of a given word in case when I am not sure if I can use it in a given context.”
“But there are many of those, which ones do you visit then?”
[Long silence] “I do not know its address; perhaps the one, on which one of the professors (I am unable to recall his surname) solves language problems.”
“Could it be Jerzy Bralczyk?”
“Might be. I cannot remember. The site is run in such a way that the professor provides answers to questions asking if the word is correct or not – in order to avoid making silly mistakes.”
“So, for reviews...”
“I do not do reviews.”
“Then to learning about the reading texts, the larger ones, that is...”
“I have already mentioned Wolne Lektury, and Wikipedia.”
“And to learn about language?”
“I do not learn about language. I simply do not learn Polish language.”
“Thank you very much – this is the end of the interview.”
“Thank you very much.”

Analysis of the interview with Student 5.

1. **Social skills:** From among their classmates, Student 5 achieved a B (good), the highest grade in Polish language and literature classes for that semester. She was the first of the two selected to participate in the interview; she was bolder, more dominant than the colleague she was paired with. She spoke loudly, gesticulated and addressed both her listeners – the interviewer and her female colleague who was sitting behind her on the school bench writing her answers in preparation to interview, and not participating in the interview. It was clear that the hierarchical arrangement of the classroom did not have any effect on her: she was sitting in a chair designed for a student who was talking to their teacher; the teacher could be

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21 The PWN’s Poradnia Językowa (Language Center), http://poradnia.pwn.pl gives the opportunity to ask questions which are answered by professors Mirosław Bańko, Jerzy Bralczyk and Jan Grzenia (PhD). One can post a question from the Zadaj Pytanie Prof. Jerzemu Bralczykowi (Ask Jerzy Bralczyk a Question) website to which he humorously answers during a three-minute audition Słowo o słowie (One word about a word) broadcasted by Radio Niepokalanów.
seen on the background of the window, behind the desk, acting as a social barrier (the teacher was replaced by the interviewer on that occasion).

2. **Language skills**: creative. *Student 5* treated the communication pattern of the interview as an opportunity for self-expression. She analysed and advanced her communication skills. However, she did not consider it to be learning Polish language and literature (she merely took it for advancing her knowledge, and not for developing skills) but rather as a kind of fun, an interpersonal game and an opportunity to enhance her own image. Her frequent use of the neologism “analizatornia” reflected actions of frequenters of such sites on the Internet to which *Student 5* referred the term.

3. **Way of using Internet resources**: active. *Student 5* showed a similar distance to the educational resources of the Internet as she showed to learning the Polish language. A free and witty distortion of websites’ names (“Bryka” [dray] instead of “Bryk” [crib], Ściagi instead of Ściaga) can be interpreted as an inferential indicator of linguistic creativity and the distance the student had to their content. “Analizatornia” allowed her to observe language games and gave her an opportunity for participation, which she considered to be elitist entertainment; entertainment intended for brilliant, intelligent people with a good sense of humour. She used the Internet not as a source of information but as a tool of communication (participation in texts analysis, ability to get an advice on language use) helping in self-realization, a source of fun and taking joy in the effects of joint creativity, as well as a means of earning respect among others.

4. **Interpretational and linguistic skills**: *Student 5* perceived literature as a series of messages whose meanings were in part unclear to her, especially when ambiguity was involved, often unintentionally by a novice author. She took great pleasure in language games and interpersonal play resulting from this. She interpreted learning about language as broadening vocabulary, avoiding repetitions, learning the meanings of words in order to improve one’s own communication skills, all of which she did not associate with learning at school.

5. **Social and communication skills**: *Student 5* utilized the interview for expressing her own personality. She was able to ask rhetorical questions and thus influence the course of the interview. She also controlled it on the technical side i.e. she showed interest in the voice recorder while it was being started, and, together with the interviewer, paid attention to it, checking to see if it worked well. She represented herself, distancing herself from her peers and seeking sources of subjectivity in online communities. She established partnerships characteristic to the Internet society. She did not, however, accept hierarchical relationships characteristic of school.

6. **Reception**: *Student 5* aroused confidence as a tall, smiling girl with striking, dyed-blonde, shoulder-length hair, arranged in a casual hairstyle, giving her a mature look.
The participation in Internet discourse, was correlated in the case of Student 5 with influencing the course of the interview and with highly developed communication and social skills.

**Student 6 (female)**

The interview with Student 6 student took place after the interview with Student 5, and after Student 5 had returned to the classroom. It was registered using a voice recorder built into the Nokia 1680 Classic mobile phone. The questions were asked according to the order printed in a copy of the questionnaire that accompanied the interview.

“This of these sites\(^{22}\) are you the most familiar with; and maybe you know different ones?”

“The most familiar I am with the Bryk.pl, Ściąga.pl, Wikipedia, Polski na 5-tkę and Streszczenia.pl.”

“No other websites, apart from these, did stick to your memory?”

“No; because I do not even pay attention to their addresses.”

“In that case, what exactly do these sites serve you for? How do you use them? For what purpose?”

“When I have an assignment to do, then I check possible interpretation of a given work, if I am to interpret it, and I take example from those readily available essays. But I do not copy them word for word; I try to see what others have noticed and to support it with my own words.”

“So, mainly for the essays?”

“Yes.”

“What was the most important or the most interesting thing that you found on these websites?”

“Just such tips, how to write an essay so there would be no stylistic errors,\(^{23}\) what the form should it have... There was an example of a written essay and various things were highlighted in it, for example, there was a metaphor, trope and such...”

“Do you mean that in the text of the essay there were metaphors?”

“All sorts of things were there. They quoted and simply provided explanations.”

“On what site did you see it?”

“I did not pay attention to the sites’ names.”

“How do your acquaintances utilize these websites?”

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\(^{22}\) At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee logos of Internet sites as in reference 4.

\(^{23}\) The truth is that teaching how to avoid stylistic errors would be difficult, but indeed, some owners of supposedly educational websites, containing resources on Polish language, post tips on writing essays and other written exercises.
“Most often before the tests, in order to recall some things. On some site there is information gathered about the entire epochs, and when we have such a cross-cutting essay to write, to refer to the whole epoch, then they review their knowledge. They also use essays.”

“For reviews and for writing essays?”

“Yes.”

“Which Internet resources are the most useful to you when you learn about Polish language and literature? Information, communication with others, texts, essays or lesson plans, or maybe something else?”

“Most often the essays or if somewhere there is film adaptation of the reading texts available, because it often happens that we do not have time to finish reading full text and in such cases film adaptations help a lot.”

“And which one did you watch for this purpose?”

“Zemsta (Revenge) by Fredro, Pan Tadeusz (Sir Thaddeus) and Wesele (The Wedding).”

“Which sites do you find most useful for revision?”

“Wikipedia, because there are also epochs brought together in quite a good way and the authors [who created in those epochs] are also described.”

“And to familiarize yourself with the texts?”

“Most often I search for a summary or I search for the full text and I read it there – sometimes it happens that I fail to borrow a book.”

“What website helps you with this?”

“Streszczenia.pl, but there are also sites where full text of a reading texts are available, but I do not pay too much attention [to their names].”

“And to learn about the language, about style, about what a noun is etc?…”

“Mostly definitely... I think, such [information] is available on Bryk, what is what and how to [change its form].”

“Thank you very much”

Analysis of the interview with Student 6.

1. Social skills: Student 6 seemed to have a contrasting personality to Student 5: she was petite, her hair was arranged tightly, she spoke quietly and without conviction, she rarely looked at the interviewer. She did not answer Student 5 when Student 5 addressed her. One could get the impression that she felt dominated by Student 5. She also formed her opinions in line with those she read on the Internet: “I try to see what they have noticed and to support it with my own words”.

2. Language skills: personalized. Student 6 treated the interview as the need for revealing the truth about herself. Initially, she used verbs in the first person: “I do not pay [any attention], I have an assignment, I check, I am to interpret, I do not copy, I try, I search, I read, I fail”. This can be interpreted as an inferential indicator of the inability to deal with an excessive amount of information. As the interview progressed, she moved away from talking in the first-person.
3. **Way of using Internet resources**: passive. *Student 6*, when using Internet resources on Polish language and literature, searched for examples of written expression and encyclopedic knowledge, but she did not check the source (she did not even check the names of sites she visited). While she searched for unambiguous information, explanations and facts, she became helpless in the face of metaphorical language. Consequently, she replaced reading long texts belonging to the national classics by watching their film adaptations. Although full texts are available in libraries, on Wolne Lektury and on Polska Biblioteka Internetowa (The Polish Internet Library) websites, and the prices of books in bookstores are relatively low, *Student 6* utilized the Streszczenia.pl website for familiarizing herself with the reading materials. Her attitude resulted from her lack of ability to deal with information, which was not presented in an orderly, logical manner on the Internet, but to the contrary was additionally expanded.

4. **Interpretational and linguistic skills**: *Student 6* perceived literature mainly as a collection of texts that were difficult to read, which were more easily understood in the form of film adaptations and summaries, while grouped under a particular literary epoch. She reduced language studies to descriptive grammar (“what is what and how to”).

5. **Social and communication skills**: *Student 6* represented a passive conversation style. She had difficulty recalling, for example, names of websites; sometimes it was difficult for her to express herself, therefore, she was credible.²⁴ She embraced the role of the respondent and activity expected from the interviewer. She represented herself and her acquaintances. She perceived interpersonal relationships as hierarchical.

6. **Reception**: *Student 6* made the interviewer impatient because she seemed to be depressed with her own helplessness in the face of school expectations. Her poorly developed skills in interpersonal communication clearly contrasted with those presented by *Student 5* a moment earlier.

The passive attitude towards informational resources of the Internet, in case of *Student 6*, correlated with poorly developed interpretive, social and communication skills.

**Student 7 (female)**

*Student 7* attended a class with extended courses in humanistic and linguistic studies, in a high school where tablets were used during classes. The interview took place at one of the tables at a school café, deserted during school classes. It was recorded by the use of a professional H6 Handy Recorder and during the interview a colour printout of logotypes of websites regarded as educational sources was readily available.

²⁴ A. Engel-Bernatowicz, Ibid.
“First of all: which of these websites do you visit?”

“Most often, I visit Wolne Lektury, Polski na 5-tkę, Wikipedia and Ściąga.pl.”

“I see. I understand that you also use materials which are created at your school.”

“Yes.”

“Which of the school materials ones do you use?”

“As far as the school ones are concerned, I naturally use courses prepared by our teachers.”

“Which course do you specifically remember?”

“I remember the latest course in German language, in which we learned grammar of modal verbs; we were repeating them and were systematizing our knowledge.”

“And when it comes to the Polish language and literature?”

“When it comes to the Polish language and literature, I best remember course on modernism.”

“On modernism? You are in class...”

“...with extended course in humanistic studies.”

“...in the second grade; which means that you have already finished with modernism, have you?”

“Only now we are starting modernism.”

“Then it means that reading compulsory texts is still ahead of you. So, what exactly do these websites – on modernism or other ones – serve you for? Do you write assignments basing on the materials posted on them? Or maybe you do exercises? Or perhaps you use them for revisions?”

“Most often, as in case of Wolne Lektury website, I use them to download text to my iPad; that is, to my work tool. Ściąga, or Wikipedia serve me for expanding my knowledge, which I learn in class, or to find clarification on some problems, if I no longer can remember. And often they are also big help in completing assignments.”

“Well, of course. So, it means that this way you consolidate your knowledge. And do you sometimes view some readily available assignments?”

“Yes; that too.”

“On what website?”

“On the website... on Wikipedia, because on Wikipedia there are sometimes links to this type of assignments.”

“To what assignments, for example?”

“I do not remember now.”

“There are links there to other websites or to books, articles, and I am asking you for an example of readily available assignment, similar to those available on Ściąga, or on Bryk.”

“Well, yes, on Ściąga there are topics for essays and the last one I saw was one on... «When it comes to life, is it better to be guided by reason or a passion?»”

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25 At that point the interviewer showed the interviewee logos of Internet sites as in reference 4.
“Was there just one essay there or more?”
“One only.”
“What was the most important or the most interesting thing that you found on these websites? What really interested you?”
“I was most interested in the way in which everything on all those websites was written, because the language was simple, and easily understandable.”
“Are you talking about Wikipedia?”
“I am talking about Ściągą and about the essays that are on there. The way, in which people explain the topics. Everything is explained, not in colloquial language, but in language easy to understand. It was not an academic language but everyday language.”
“I understand. And what interested you most on the school websites?”
“On school websites, when it comes to the courses for example, I was most interested in the fact that they were made first of all in a way easy to understand and met student’s needs. There is not too much information provided there. They are put in order, concise and they cover everything of some importance.”
“I did not have time to view the courses which your professor prepared. Are there many lessons available there?”
“A lot.”
“How many?”
“There are usually one or two classes in a week during which we use those materials in the classroom. But it often happens that we devote one lesson in a week to work only through a given course. It had been planned, let’s say, for seven weeks. And we go simultaneously through the textbook and the course, because they complement each other. School courses cover extra-curricular material; prepared especially for us, additional one, which complement the curriculum.”
“So, you have assignments, texts provided there...”
“...and some information, too. When Nietzsche’s philosophy was discussed, it was complemented with extracts and description of how everything looked like.”
“I understand that that was the most important thing to you.”
“Yes. Because it was so easy to follow and so readily understandable.”
“What was the most interesting thing for you? What did you experience? What surprised you?”
“When I started working at this school (I joined only the high school), during integration camp each of us underwent course on using the iPad. That was the most interesting thing for me, because I learned then what I would use for the next three years. I have not come across anything like this before. There were various applications in use. For example, there was an assignment: we had to take pictures of the object in which we lived and prepare multimedia presentation on it, with the use of the very iPad. I found it to be the most interesting.”
“How do your acquaintances use Polish language and literature websites? You surely have some acquaintances outside of school, if only in your former high school.”
“They use websites such as Ściaga or Bryk and they use them in a way, that they copy the essays which can be found there, modify sentences or change order of words.”

“And which website do they use to familiarize themselves with reading materials? Would that be, for example, Streszczenia.pl?”

“As to discussing reading materials, there is website klp, as far as I know; summaries can be found there. So, they use those.”

“What about acquaintances from your current school? How do they use courses prepared by your teachers?”

“I am sure they use them in some way, because it is much easier to find information or assignments in courses prepared especially for us, rather than on websites or in the textbook; because [in our courses] everything is gathered in one place and is at hand. Information on the websites is incomplete; besides, it not always is in agreement with information provided during classes.”

“Which Internet resources are the most useful to you when you learn Polish language? What do you look for in public resources: texts, movies, podcasts, games, mobile applications?” [loud telephone conversation in the background]

“On those I look for texts, I search for definitions of unfamiliar words…”

“I guess you visit Wikipedia for this purpose?”

“Yes, or online dictionaries. On Ściaga and Bryk websites, there are examples of essays which I read and I try to get out of them at least a beginning, small piece of what I would like to write. I have not found any games there so far; I did not play any games yet. But sometimes one can find there also some movies on correct pronunciation.”

“On which website?”

“I saw them once on Bryk.”

“It’s interesting. I have not come across that. And what about mobile applications?”

“I use mobile applications on iPad. Such as dictionaries, among others.”

“You said you download full reading texts.”

“Yes. But it serves more like a website. We also have an application which is one of our work tools and is called iBook... iBooks – into this application we can download reading texts and use them whenever we want.”

“So, it is your library. Not school library, but yours, personal.”

“Yes. Exactly.”

“And tell me about podcasts? Recordings, talking books? They are available for download from Wolne Lektury.”

“No. I definitely prefer to read.”

“I understand. But why? Have you ever tried to listen to the texts?”

“I have, but when I read, I know that I expand my vocabulary, I understand a lot more and I am able to remember a lot more. I find reading also much quicker than listening.”

“Do you prefer to read electronic or hard copy books?”

“Hard copy.”

“Why?”
“Because then I have contact with the book, I can feel the paper, I can smell it, touch it. And that is a real book, not just a piece of electronic equipment.”
“But in an e-book you can find a quote more easily, don’t you?”
“You know, madam, to say the truth, one can deal with everything, because when I find something interesting in a book, then I will bookmark the page or I will mark the place in some other way. I read shorter texts on iPad, of course, because it is more convenient for me. But when we worked through Lalka (The Doll) some time ago, I had a hard copy of the text. It was much easier to read.”
“I agree with you. In an electronic book, all pages look the same, and contrary to as it seems, it is much harder to come back to the quote.”
“Yes, that’s true. In there, you can mark the page in some way, but it is much harder to find something.”
“Which text did you read as an electronic copy?”
“Łagodna (A Gentle Creature) by Fyodor Dostoyevsky.”
“Tell me, which websites do you find most useful for revisions?”
“It seems to me that Ściaga is the best for revisions.”
“What in particular did you revise?”
“Romanticism. The whole epoch of Romanticism and a part of Positivism.”
“And to familiarize yourself with the reading texts?”
“Definitely Wolne Lektury, because there is a very large selection of books.”
“You mean full texts. Don’t you read about reading texts?”
“When it comes to reading about texts, if anything, then summaries and those only on Kulturalna Polska.”
“And learning about the language? For example if you have problem with grammar, stylistics, and dialectal issues...”
“You know, madam, I think Polski na 5-tkę.”
“Why? What interesting did you find there?”
“There, I found information about dialects. Some time ago we had an assignment to do in Polish language and literature classes for which we had been divided into groups. Each group was to prepare an essay on some dialect or jargon. I chose to work on fishing jargon. And on Polski na 5-tkę website I found sample vocabulary and such a detailed information, and where this dialect comes from...”
“I think that you are a very good student.”
“Yes, I had an A (very good) for the end of the first semester.”
“Is it thanks to the students like you that your school is in the ninth stanine?”
“I think that I might contribute to that in some way.”
“Thank you very much for your time.”
Analysis of the interview with Student 7.

1. **Social skills**: Student 7 showed a high level of trust and did not limit the content of the discussion; she readily gave examples, which were easily cognitively accessible to her. She accurately clarified problems being discussed and testified that the opinions she presented were not declarative. Her answers supported her school.

2. **Language skills**: Student 7 treated the interview as an opportunity for self-promotion. She repeatedly referred to the tablet as “my work tool” and used it for different applications. This can be interpreted as an inference index indicating her satisfaction with being a student in a school where such device was used. She used the name of the device precisely, calling it “iPad” (not “tablet”). She identified with other students and even with her teachers, saying: “we learned, we were repeating, we devote one lesson, we work through, each of us, we lived, we also have an application, we can download reading texts, we had an assignment”. While formulating her answers, she began by repeating the key words of the question, making sure that she understood it correctly. It helped her in formulating her thoughts and gave her time to find suitable examples. Thanks to this, her opinions were characterized by a high rate of verbal fluency (with simultaneous good diction) and a precise link to the topic being discussed.

3. **Way of using Internet resources**: active. Student 7 participated in creating Internet resources with the use of her tablet. Efficient in using digital tools, she was able to situate Internet resources in wider contexts, and thus to assess their usefulness and credibility. She critically appraised sources of information: she knew what was available on public websites, but she did not trust those sites, giving priority to information which she received during classes. She expected clearness, good selection and the logical organization of information from those who disseminate information, which is why she highly valued courses designed by teachers from her school. She paid attention to the names of websites she visited and was familiar with the layout of their resources.

4. **Interpretational and linguistic skills**: Student 7 perceived literature as a collection of texts in which one can occasionally find “something interesting”, able to be comprehended, expanding her vocabulary, and embedded them in contexts of the epochs. She associated language studies with finding the meaning of difficult words and learning correct pronunciation, as well as with dialects.

5. **Social and communication skills**: Student 7 was familiar with communication technologies. She comfortably discussed functions of her tablet. During the interview, the school café was deserted, and even when its attendant engaged in a loud telephone conversation, Student 7 did not find that distracting, because she treated conversation as something natural. Therefore, she did not raise her voice,

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26 On both the Polish version of Apple’s website and the school’s website the term “iPad” is used consistently.
and the professional equipment eliminated background noises, which in this situation had a positive effect on the conversation as an activity of daily life. There was no need to look for another place or to ask for silence due to an important conversation\(^{27}\) being held. Student 7 represented self and her school community.

6. Reception: Student 7 deserved recognition when, in a positive light, she presented herself and her school. Being aware of the need for competing in the social environment of conflicting discourses, she presented her own view convincingly.

Participation in the creation of the Internet resources correlated, in the case of Student 7, with taking advantage of social and communication roles in order to enhance self-image.

**The manner of using websites regarded for educational ones**

The interviewed students treated the Internet resources as a kind of “shared external memory”:\(^{28}\) they visited a number of portals, but did not always pay attention to their names; therefore, they also did not pay attention to the credibility of the authors of the posts, the communication intention etc. All of the students mentioned Bryk.pl, Ściąga.pl, Wikipedia websites; four students mentioned Wolne Lektury and Streszczenia.pl; three – Polski na 5-tkę and film adaptations; two – Kulturalna Polska. Ostatni Dzwonek, are so-called “analizatornia” (centre for analysis), thesauruses, online encyclopedias, advice on language usage, and resources prepared by the teacher were each mentioned by only one student. These findings are convergent with those published by Rafał Machul & Eryk Orłowski, who reported that the most popular websites among secondary school students were Wikipedia and Ściąg.pl, followed by Bryk.pl.\(^{29}\)

The Internet was most commonly seen as a library, i.e. a source of factual information. Almost all of the interviewed high school students used Polish-language resources passively, and the digital form was more attractive to them than books. Only two students used the Internet actively: Student 5 co-created resources and exchanged views, treating the Internet as a communication tool for sharing one’s expert knowledge and demonstrating one’s skills; therefore, she regarded herself to be an active member of the online society. Student 7 did as well, utilizing online exercises prepared by her teacher and preparing her own materials for publication.

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\(^{27}\) K. Stemplewska-Żakowicz, Metoda wywiadu w psychologii, w: Wywiad psychologiczny. 1..., p. 82.


High school students were interested in the number of possible interpretations which could inspire them in formulating their own opinions about texts. Students pointed out difficulties in understanding poetic language. Respondents were inclined to treat the poem in terms of an assignment to be done, a rebus or a riddle to be solved, assuming that there was only one correct interpretation, however hidden from their layman’s eyes.

Such attitudes may be interpreted as part of strategy in preparation for an external matriculation examination, perceived as requiring standardized knowledge assessed according to rigid criteria. However, it should be noted, after Dorota Heck, that this is also the result of understanding the subject of Polish language and literature as an introduction to philology, understood in a positivist way (that is in the spirit of Gustave Lanson, the author of the synthesis Historia literatury francuskiej [History of French literature] written under the influence of Emil Durkheim’s sociology) as a science exploring the historical meaning of a work of art, therefore, aiming at things such as “establishing the original (or in a sense literal) meaning of the text in the home context of its creation and first publication.”

It was expected that the results of such research should be objective, verified, and may be consolidated and disseminated by “bibliographies, dictionaries, and compendia, usually, of compilation in nature.”

Meanwhile, philology of the twentieth century has come closer to criticism and rhetoric; it examines the meaning of texts in various contexts. That is why, in the twentieth century, Wincenty Grajewski defined philology as follows: “a comprehensive study of language, literature and culture.” Therefore, linking Polish didactics to publishing on the Internet is theoretically justified.

The Internet sites were a source of information for respondents and helped them in understanding reading materials, especially poetry, as well as more complex texts. They visited the Internet resources on Polish language and literature mainly outside school hours, therefore those resources were used mainly for doing homework. Only students who used tablets in the classroom spoke about downloading full texts of reading materials, and most likely utilized them during classes, similar to the resources prepared by their teachers.

30 G. Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française, Librairie Hachette et Cie, Paris 1893.
31 D. Heck, Filologia i (jej) interpreatacje [Philology and (its) interpretations], Dolnośląskie Wydawnictwo Edukacyjne, Wrocław 2012, p. 30.
32 Ibid.
The answers to the question about the methods of using online resources by the respondents showed that students treated them as categories of authoritative commentaries and ready-made essays, as a collection of user-friendly interpretive examples and as a source of factual material. Therefore, they valued sites with easy-to-follow layouts. Respondents sought information, summaries, cross-sectional studies useful for revisions and learning about reading texts. The second reason for visiting websites was seeking help in writing assignments. Downloading full reading texts happened marginally. General information, interpretations, summaries, completed assignments and texts were mainly sought at sites considered educational ones.

Thus, the majority of the interviewees regarded sources of information in the form of texts as the most useful; such information included definitions of concepts, biographical information, commentaries to the reading materials, summaries, characteristics of heroes, essays. This finding positively correlates with the opinion formulated by Piotr Czerski characterizing children of the Internet:

> We do not need to memorize unnecessary details [...]. All what we want is an abstract, essence of information, useful for its processing and for linking with other pieces of information. If we needed more detail – it would take us only a few seconds to search for it.\(^{35}\)

Information on reading texts, their interpretations and their summaries were recognized by the respondents as the most interesting and most useful online resources. No student mentioned curiosities or details. This shows the method of obtaining and the general application of obtained information: general rules were searched for and not distinctive features; rules – not curiosities. Neural representations of structures, not single details, are formed in the minds of students. They know that “schooling is not only about [learning] new things or singular facts.”\(^{36}\)

Difficulties with providing examples also prove that the resources available on the most popular sites regarded as educational often do not differ in their structure (structure is irrelevant in case of using an internal search engine anyway). Therefore, Manfred Spitzer’s observation “[b]rains are machines catching the rule; they cannot work differently”\(^{37}\) refers also to the websites. Resources on Polish language and literature available on the Internet are, therefore, treated by representatives of the generation Z pragmatically: they are used to master the structures of compulsory texts, not for deepening their understanding, broadening knowledge or developing skills.

\(^{35}\) Ibidem.


\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 66.
Answers to the question regarding their acquaintances revealed the use of Polish-language resources in ways seen as unacceptable by the interviewees but widespread in their environment, such as copying written opinions or their fragments in order to do the homework or write an essay. Answers to this question revealed respondents’ reluctance to take efforts in repeating a task already completed by someone else and their fear of independent interpretation, which may prove to be contrary not only to the intention of the author, but also to the expected criteria of assessment at school and also at the matriculation examination. In such a situation “when someone has a paper to prepare, then they use these websites, because, at least, there are explanations there, one does not have to spend time on thinking about it” – as Student 4 observed.

The students’ answers showed that they most often refer to text resources. Three students mentioned film adaptations (which they watched instead of reading texts), only one student mentioned dictionaries and encyclopedias. Similarly, only one student spoke about presentations, tables and mind maps (prepared by the teacher). However, Student 5, who discussed her role of a reviewer and an expert in posting comments on verbal and written communication, did not consider that to be a part of Polish language and literature education. Moreover, most of high school students did not link learning with interactive exercises, although interactive tests are available on some sites known to them. This proves that they are well aware of the low educational effectiveness of such interactive materials, which often are incompetently prepared, or used merely for the promotion of products.

Reviewing examples of essays or possible interpretations of poems, often times mentioned by students, allows for working out the rules according to which they are written: “when the principle is applied repeatedly, it transforms from a volatile, overt knowledge contained in the working memory into a skill which we can update at any time.” Comparing examples of expressions, different summaries or characteristics of heroes is, therefore, for users of Internet resources, an experience triggering “changes to plasticity of the cerebral cortex, that is changes in cortical representation in response to experiences.”

The names of the websites visited by students (and consequently their reliability) are of low significance in this case – the user compares available resources and based on their findings determines their usefulness.

This strategy has a lot in common with the analysis and creative imitation of patterns. However, if the patterns are accidental and of varying quality, mental

38 Ibid., p. 68.
39 Ibid., p. 118.
40 A. Dyduchowa, Metody kształcenia sprawności językowej. Projekt systemu, model podręcznika [Methods of developing language skills. System design, model of a textbook], Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, Kraków 1988, pp. 62–85; R. Jedliński, Gatunki publicystyczne
representations may be distorted, far from being able to be justified, for example, by the text. In this way, simplifications, stereotypes and errors, inadequate interpretative strategies and even inappropriate attitudes towards the texts spread, such as the expectation that reading a text will not require any effort, expecting pure entertainment, literal accuracy, unfocused perception, or a cheerful image of the world.\textsuperscript{41}

For students the most useful were texts, then movies, and occasionally dictionaries, only incidentally presentations, tables, and mind maps. This shows students’ attachment to traditional methods of learning, and at the same time characterizes resources available on the most popular websites which meet those expectations, as well as the ways in which classes are run and examinations are conducted.

It is worthwhile to note, therefore, that Student 7, from a school in which teachers prepared e-resources, highly appreciated presentations, tables and mind maps. Teachers, in developing didactic materials, took into consideration the communicative habits of their students and tried to meet their expectations. However, only a joint effort could result in development of sufficient and comprehensive resources.\textsuperscript{42} Hence, even in the initial phase of introducing tablets, high school students utilizing them were more familiar with resources and functionalities available on commercial websites than their peers from other schools.

The answers also showed that resources useful to students are scattered, but commercial entities (\textit{Bryk.pl, Polski na 5-tkę, Ściąga.pl}) and social website \textit{Wikipedia} have arrangements that are easiest to follow. Not a single website run by an institution, association or publishing house was cited as useful for repetition. This reflects the degree of commercialization of online resources regarded as educational ones, and used by students for organizing their knowledge due to the scarcity of official resources and lack of discussion during classes on more valuable study materials, which results in accepting the existing situation, however much treated as taboo. This means that the layout of information is important to Web users, and the most transparent layouts are on commercial sites such as \textit{Ostatni Dzwonek}, which does not even require the use of an internal search engine.

Giving an example of a website specializing in language studies occurred to be difficult to respondents. They referred to \textit{Wikipedia} and to websites useful for

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\textit{w szkole średniej [Journalistic genres at high school], Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warszawa 1984, p. 212.}
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\textsuperscript{42} Such resources are available on one of the Australian state’s website BOSTES, where in accordance with the Australian Curriculum, lists of reading texts, hints on their interpretation (changed every 4–5 years), didactic materials and hyperlinks to contexts, some full texts, information on exams, advice for students, teachers and parents have been posted since the 1990’s. These materials are being developed by representatives of all educational fields.
\end{flushright}
learning about reading texts: *Wolne Lektury, Bryk.pl, Polski na 5-tkę* (each student referred to a different one). One student came across an online language centre. Two were unable to give an example of any website containing resources related to language studies. It shows that students participating in this study rarely used online resources suitable for learning about language and communication.

The student from the school in which tablets were used participated in communication processes in Web 2.0 and Web 3.0 technologies and mastered communication skills required for the interview. She was able to pragmatically use verbal communication skills to achieve her own goals: to influence the course of the conversation, perceiving her own person and her school as nodes in the network. These skills correlated with her active role as an Internet communicator; skills, which in case of other respondents were not so well developed and who, therefore, positioned themselves as consumers of Internet resources, hence, perceived the Internet in Web 1.0 categories.

**Critical incident: communicating and achieving goals**

Critical incidents are, according to David Tripp, relationships of seemingly ordinary, everyday occurrences. However, “they can be turned into positive learning experiences and provide a sound basis for the better understanding of self, practice and the system”⁴³ which may be decisive to a person, community or an educational process. Critical judgment allows for spotting key elements of a given learning process and correcting systemic errors.

The critical incident during the interviews was the moment when *Student 5* discussed the issue of “analizatornia” (*centre for analysis*). She spoke about them with passion and enthusiasm. It was evident that participation in familiarizing herself with the structure of online texts, the highly developed reader’s sensitivity and intelligent sense of humour of other Internet users made her happy. One could get an impression that texts discussed in the “analizatornia” websites were literary pearls which either already are or soon will become bestsellers, the discussion of them attracts experts in contemporary prose, and *Student 5* also posted her comments, and above all she read the books being appraised.

When the interviewer asked *Student 5* about the most interesting resources available on Polish language and literature websites, in return she asked an indirect question: “I am not sure if you have heard about them [the centres of analysis], madam?” She had assumed that blogs specializing in reviewing new publications were not widely known, therefore were elitist and ennobled users by creating

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opportunities for self-realization and providing opinions on others – inclusive of creative people. As a child of the Internet (and not an element of the hierarchical structure), she concluded that being a respondent she had the right to ask questions that would redirect the conversation to the issue she regarded as crucial. The level of development of contemporary Polish society gave Student 5 the opportunity to fulfil her desires; therefore, she strove for self-realization as well as for gaining respect and recognition. According to Abraham Maslow, people pursuing self-realization are at the same time the most individualistic and most altruistic, the most social and most loving of all human beings. Therefore, Student 5 distinguished herself even during the preparation for her interview: it was she who informed the interviewer about potential problems and suggested ways of solving them (some of her colleagues participated in school sports competitions at that time). Other students acknowledged and supported her activities to such an extent that the interviewer asked her if she was the class leader – to which she denied, laughing. The laugh was a way of manifesting her distance from taking on social functions which required time, gaining support of others etc., while she valued her freedom and independence. She was also strongly characterized by “healthy egoism, great self-respect, reluctance to sacrifice for no good reason.”

She had correctly predicted that the “analizatornia” would not be known to the researcher; therefore, she had written down the Internet address of one of them for the interviewer, although she had already been aware that, as a student from the middle of the students’ roll, she would be asked to participate in the interview. Most likely she was not sure whether the opportunity to talk on the subject of the “analizatornia” would arise, and that is why she had provided the full answer in writing, in order to share her passion.

After reviewing several websites, it was found that the centre of analysis discussed and ridiculed short, several- or dozen-or-so-sentence-long fragments of randomly selected literary blogs, created by amateurs. The participants of the discussion tried to outdo each other in their perceptiveness, ingenuity, showing off their language competence, making intelligent comments and jokes. After analysing a few dozen entries, it was concluded that the effects of their analysis were subjective, not always constructive or informative (rather ridiculing) and scattered to such degree that it was difficult to consider them as independent texts, especially those notes and loose remarks that did not create a compositional sequence and did not make any sense without the reference to the text being commented upon.

In contrast to other respondents, who passively absorbed and reproduced information available on the Internet (looking for truth in metatexts), Student 5 was

45 Ibid.
an active Net user who questioned the original text, constructed and negotiated its meanings along with others. She was fascinated by what people can do with texts, how one can come closer to others in their ideas and to participate in a self-proclaimed expert community. This Internet community focused on jointly created reviews perceived themselves as acting for the common good, making the world a better place; which is equal to satisfying the need for self-realization and is a top motivation as recognized by Maslow.

*Student 5* used “analizatornia” for creating her own image, and in the interview, she came across as a person capable of self-realization. Her individuality manifested in her strong identity, allowing her to communicate efficiently and effectively with others (in the real as well as virtual world), and to achieve her goals.

**Interpretation, communication and social skills of the respondents**

While the surveyed high school students treated Polish language and literature resources available on sites regarded as educational ones reservedly, nonetheless each student was familiar with them. They perceived the Internet most often in Web.1.0 categories, and literature as a collection of important and unchangeable cultural objects, which familiarizing themselves with was their tedious duty, requiring time to read the texts along with some competency, knowledge of plots, biographical and historical contexts, stylistic means etc. The majority of students believed that they were not able to understand the texts based only on their own abilities and what they learned during classes (for *Student 4* and *Student 6* it was such an overwhelming task that they felt depressed). Correct but hidden interpretations, complementary knowledge and information influencing perception were not sought in textbooks or other books, but on websites, whose layout and content were standardized. Students did not pay attention to website names, nor to their creators or owners. On the other hand, they avoided film adaptations because they perceived them as distorting prototypes. Therefore, the interviewees familiarized themselves with the literature from text-based messages, in isolation from intermedia contexts. As a last resort only, they replaced reading texts with film adaptations. Only *Student 7* stated that while reading prescribed texts, one can find something interesting in them and expand their vocabulary. Similarly, only *Student 5* was interested in the ambiguity of the literary messages which she learned about on blogs while performing reviews.

It can be said, then, that the majority of interviewed high school students did not have their own opinion about literature. Literature was perceived as a collection of factographic messages. It was partially due to students’ laziness which made them replace reading texts with perusing summaries on the book and comparing them with other readily available materials, as well as testing their knowledge of unimportant details of the texts (in opinion of some teachers it is a kind of proof that students read texts), atomizing knowledge and focused on memorization of information rather
than verifying the level of their understanding of reading materials, which is much more difficult to measure and therefore to evaluate that knowledge of details. However, the actions of creators of Internet resources promoting the copy-paste culture and also the frequently poor quality of materials posted by them did not prompt students to verify resources of information. This focus on factography made it difficult to improve students’ interpretation, communication and social skills.

The interviewed high school students discovered the most important qualities and features of the literary works by exercising a basic epistemological approach i.e. making comparisons – in this case they compared sites resources and interpretations which they contained. It was an easy way of verifying information, based on which they formed their “constitutive knowledge”\textsuperscript{46} and it allowed them to create meta-information, as understood by Bard and Söderqvist.\textsuperscript{47} This is the way the Polish language and literature Internet resources have been used by students unchangeably for years, which was also mentioned by Rafał Machul and Eryk Orłowski: “[r]elatively large group visits several to a dozen or so websites simultaneously.”\textsuperscript{48}

Whereas, Student 5, attending public high school, and Student 7, attending private school in which tablets were used during classes, utilized Web 2.0 technology by observing how resources are created and also by participating in their creation. By editing resources of the Internet responsibly, those students became conscious participants of the communication process, noticed the competitiveness of discourses, and thus revealed competences related to the rhetorical and persuasive functions of language. They sensibly used their social and communication skills, which is why they were able to influence the course of the interview. Their active participation in communication, however, did not always correlate with focusing on acquisition of knowledge on the subject; for example, Student 5 declared a lack of interest in learning Polish language. Her skills were, therefore, more related “to individual characteristics rather than to what happened at school.”\textsuperscript{49}


\textsuperscript{48} R. Machul & E. Orłowski, Analiza potrzeb użytkowników..., p. 15.

Between students using Internet resources passively and those who contributed to their creation, *digital inequality* was noted, resulting from the differences of using online resources and tools. The possibilities of the Internet were pragmatically and intuitively utilized by students who used information and communication technologies more efficiently, or those who co-created Internet resources; it happened because often times their teachers were more competent in this area and were able to provide them with guidance and support. They used these skills to promote themselves and, in the case of *Student 7*, their private school. The way in which *Student 7* used tablets was, therefore, socially reinforced, which is important in the case of the Internet, which web-like structure causes its importance to increase together with increasing number of its users. Hence, the factors which determine the usage tendency of the Web often include family members, friends or work colleagues who are already using the Net.\(^\text{50}\)

Students used the Internet mostly for finding information, and not for engaging in co-creating its content, just as as their teachers did. According to Krzysztof Krejtz and Marzena Cyryńska's classification they should be regarded as Consumers, while their colleagues, publishing on the Web, should be seen as Creators.\(^\text{51}\)

During interviews, there was a positive correlation noted between the conscious use of the Web 2.0 by the high school students and their purposeful and effective development of interpretation, communication and social skills. The skills of students utilizing and those not utilizing Web 2.0 are listed in the table below.

**Table 1. Communication skills of students participating in the interviews.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utilizing Web 1.0</th>
<th>Utilizing Web 2.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpretational skills</td>
<td>Passive participation in set patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication skills</td>
<td>Taking role of the respondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social skills</td>
<td>Following the interviewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar behavior script</td>
<td>Suspect on trial / prisoner / witness / patient / penitent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own elaboration.

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The small size of the sample does not allow for the generalization of conclusions. The findings could have been influenced by social, family, environmental, peer, personality, health etc. factors. It is advisable to continue this research in other environments in order to verify the hypothesis and the observed correlation, which may serve as a guide for effective Polish language, culture and social education.

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Okołoliterackie gry komunikacyjne uczniów liceów ogólnokształcących

Streszczenie


Uczniowie, którzy zamieszczali w Sieci teksty, umieli zainteresować poruszonym przez siebie tematem. Kreowali wizerunek siebie i otoczenia. Przyjmowali rolę węża w społeczeństwie Sieci, ograniczając zależności społecznej hierarchii.

Mała liczba badanych nie upoważnia do wniosków, lecz zamieszczanie tekstów w Sieci korelowało z wysokim poziomem kompetencji interpretacyjnych, komunikacyjnych i społecznych.

Słowa kluczowe: wywiad, zasoby Internetu, kompetencje komunikacyjne, kompetencje społeczne, pozorny kontakt, społeczeństwo hierarchiczne, zainteresowanie, społeczeństwo Sieci, korelacja
Peri-literary communication games of high secondary school students

Summary

Seven interviews with high school students were conducted in order to establish the relationship between their use of Internet resources and the level of their interpretation, communication and social skills. Respondents, who used the Internet as a source of information, comprehend literature factographically and its adaptations as distortions of the original texts. Their communication skills were poorly developed. They were passive in interpersonal contact. They made only superficial contact with the interviewer, in order to hide the way they really used Internet resources. They perceived the interview as a hierarchical relation, and were subordinated to the interviewer.

Students who posted texts on the Internet were able to get the interviewer engaged in the topic they were discussing. They created their own image and influenced the environment. They assumed role of a node in the network, limiting the influence of social hierarchy.

A small sample does not allow for generalization of findings. Nonetheless, it was found that students who posted texts on the Internet presented highly developed interpretation, communication and social skills.

Keywords: interview, Internet resources, communication skills, social skills, apparent contact, hierarchical society, interest, Internet society, correlation.

Anna Ślósarz, Ph.D. hab., professor of the National Education Commission Pedagogical University in Kraków. She specialises in literary studies, social communication, media studies, didactics of literature and is interested in the functioning of products of the media industry as interpreters of literature. E-teacher, e-methodist. She developed multimedia thematic modules method for teaching the subject Polish language. Member of Editorial Board “Journal of Research in E-learning”, Co-founder and treasurer 2012–2017 of the Polish Society for Media Education, the adviser to the Minister of National Education in the field on teachers’ professional development, participates in the activities of the Association of Academic E-learning, Polish Teachers Association, International Association for Research in L1 Education. Major publications: Interpretanty lektur: produkty medialnego przemysłu. Multimedialne moduły tematyczne jako dydaktyczny instrument (2018); Ideologiczne matryce. Lektury a ich konteksty. Postkomunistyczna Polska – postkolonialna Australia (2013); Media w służbie polonisty (2008); Lektury licealne a kino