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The Vision of Sculpture as Defined in Conversations with a Deafblind Person

SUMMARY

This article aims at describing a piece of art created by a person with simultaneous visual and hearing impairment. It is an attempt to show how the picture of reality is conveyed through the sculpture. It also indicates an individual and specific approach to the world and creative imagination of a deafblind person.

The basic method of studying the creative process were discussions with the dabbling deafblind artists about the world and individual phenomena of reality, about the act of creating a sculpture, as well as their experiences accompanying the act of creation and its finalisation, when it was time to assess their piece of art. Various methods of communications were used to interview the artists (sign language, fingerspelling, gestures and others), which allowed to place the method in the field of cognitivism.

The article consists of the most vital conclusions of the author's research concerning creative possibilities as well as knowledge of the artists about particular phenomena. The key to such a model of analysis is the notion of a sign as defined by semiotics (Morris and Peirce).

Key words: deafblind people, language, sculpture, creative process, mind, vision of reality.

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In the hereby research the interviewer adjusted to the abilities of the interviewees communicating their messages either with sign language, fingerspelling or gestures (in the case of artists with complete sight loss the message was signed

into their hands or their hands were used to sign), occasionally the Braille alphabet as well as ethnic language (in the case of people with slight hearing impairment).

The proposed method falls into the category of cognitive research tools. They are used to enter the minds of deafblind artists in order to describe the rules for conceptualising a piece of art, discover the motives behind its creation and reveal the artists' assessment of their work.

It does not go unnoticed that the key to the proposed model of the creative act analysis is the concept of a sign developed by semiotics (Morris and Peirce 1974). For, if we assume that a sculpture is a "sign", then we should, as in the case of every semiotic sign, notice its semantics (which results from the relationship established between the sculpture and the phenomena it refers to), its syntax (established between a sculpture and other sculptures; in the case of deafblind sculptors the field of comparison should be the so-called naïve sculpture) and pragmatics (which results from the relationship between the sculpture and its creator, as well as the sculpture and its audience¹).

It seems that hearing and sight impaired people, who remain in their subjective world of experiences, acquire their own way to project the phenomena of reality, giving them certain forms, enriching them with experiences and emotions that they recognise.

It is also assumed that a sculpture is always a projection of knowledge about reality and its phenomena conveyed through a form selected by the artist: a form in which the artist's experiences and emotions are inscribed.

In order to assess the act of creation of a deafblind person a cognitive research was conducted to establish which fragment of sculptor's knowledge generates a phenomena created in sculpture. It is an attempt to establish the following facts: the level of knowledge about the phenomena, the source of this knowledge and the motive of taking up the particular subject. Moreover, the description of the creative process of the deafblind people presents the activities performed by the artist while working on his sculpture. The artists' interpretation of their own sculptures and creative act, as well as their assessment of the works are taken into account here. The description of each sculpture includes also components of the present author's own assessments of the consecutive creative processes. A classification of the analysed sculptures according to the way they portray reality is

¹ In the centre of the proposed model is the semiotic sign, that is the sculpture of a deafblind person. The sculpture enters into a pragmatic relationship through its contact with the creator – a deafblind sculptor and the audience – the critics of the sculpture, as well as the observer of the act of creation. The semantic pattern is established by the relation between the sculpture – the piece created by a deafblind artist and reality, perceived as a symbolic, iconic or simultaneously symbolic and iconic pattern. The syntax, finally, is set by the relationship between: the sculpture of an artist, other sculptures of the deafblind creators and sculptures in general, especially the sculptures classified as the so-called "naïve art" (that is created by non-professional artists).

also proposed. It divides them into iconic, symbolic or simultaneously iconic and symbolic sculptures. The sculptures selected from each category, are then also analysed according to the categories proposed by the history of art to describe the “naïve” sculptures (Niestorowicz 2007).

Adopting Herder-Humboldt’s thesis that it is the language that constructs the image of reality in the human mind (Grabias 2005), this study will present an analysis of the creative act and the sculptures by the deafblind, taking into account the perspective connected with the level of linguistic competency as well as the level of sight and hearing loss of the participants of the research.

The study material comprises of sculpture created at the plein-air workshops for the deafblind artists in Orońsko. Subject to the author’s observation were the sculptors, the effects of a creative process as well as the creative process itself.

In the hereby research the interviewer adjusted to the abilities of the interviewees communicating their messages either with sign language, fingerspelling or gestures (in the case of artists with complete sight loss the message was signed into their hands or their hands were used to sign).

“The Tower of Babel” is a sculpture that has been chosen for a detailed analysis. The author of the sculpture is a prelingually deafblind person, thus possessing the bases of ethnic language. Born on the 8th of January 1940. Sight problems started at the age of four. Participant of all plein-air sculptural workshops in Orońsko. He communicates with signs from the sign language, fingerspelling for deaf people signed through touch and tactile alphabet of the deafblind (created by G. Kozłowski) and the regular letter alphabet written on a hand. He has a slight ability to speak. The contact with Mr Kowalczyk is easy; he is open and eager to talk.

In the opening part of this chapter research material is presented according to the following pattern:

A) The image of reality in the minds of the deafblind artists and its projections in sculpture:

- The knowledge about a phenomenon of reality and the sculpture
- Artist’s interpretation of the sculpture
- Artist’s emotions in the sculpture
- Assessment of the act of creation

B) Sculptures of the deafblind according to their depiction of reality:

- Iconic sculptures
- Symbolic sculptures
- Simultaneously iconic and symbolic sculptures

C) Sculptures of the deafblind and other sculptures (the analysis takes into consideration sculptures selected form each group of participants):

- Analysed sculptures as compared to the “naïve” sculpture.

Table 15. Cognitive research – establishing the level of knowledge about reality (sculpture's title: *The Tower of Babel*)

Question	Interviewee communicative behaviour	Notes
a) Establishing the level of knowledge about the phenomenon of reality		
The interviewer "signs" the question into the artist's hand.	The interviewee signs and talks throughout the entire conversation.	He understands the message perfectly. He speaks in an unclear manner, with single words only. Sometimes he constructs grammatically incorrect sentences. He supports his attempts at communicating with words with gestures. Combining those two forms of communications he is able to convey a clear message. The contact with the sculptor is very satisfactory, because he is a communicative person, who is eager to talk with others.
Tell me what you will sculpt.	"I make the <i>Tower of Babel</i> to heaven. To God – it connects people with God"	The interviewee decided to make a tower that will reach the sky. This tower (of Babel) will connect people with God.
What will be the title?	<i>The Tower of Babel</i>	
Tell me about your sculpture. What will it look like? What do you imagine it to look like?	"The <i>Tower of Babel</i> tall to the sky. To God. Stairs from the bottom and there are the stairs. Five stars. It is the way. Stairs end with stars. I don't know until when yet, I will see. I make the stairs round. Round, round stairs. On top five stairs in five stars. Stairs in heaven to God. Stairway, people walk in heaven to stars. It connects people with God."	The description of the sculpture is accompanied by energetic hand movements. The interviewee demonstrates what his sculpture will look like. He has the awareness of the form of the sculpture he will be working on. <i>The Tower of Babel</i> will be tall enough to reach the sky. The stairs will go from the very bottom along the tower to its top. It will represent human road to God. On top the stairs will be divided into five parts, which will lead to five stars. Stars which reach God will connect people with God. The interviewee does not yet have a clear vision of the ending. At this stage he only has a vague idea, which he still needs to think about.
Will your sculpture be happy or sad?	"Happy, not sad, devil. Happy with God."	

c.d. tab. 1

Will it be pretty or ugly?	“Pretty.”	
Will your sculpture be good or bad?	“Not bad, good.”	
b) Establishing the source of knowledge about the phenomena		
Where did you learn about <i>The Tower of Babel</i> ?	“I make a tower to heaven, to God. Tomek said Babel.”	The interviewee is sculpting a tower reaching out to heaven which is to connect people with God. He heard the word “Babel” from his colleagues at the workshops. He does not know the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel. He does not even know what the Bible is.
What does <i>The Tower of Babel</i> mean?	“A tall tower reaching to the sky. I don’t know what is Babel. Babel people with God. I make a tower to heaven. Tomek said Babel.”	
Do you know what the Bible is?	“I don’t. Kurowski said <i>The Tower of Babel</i> , the Bible. He is lying. The Bible hasn’t got Babel.”	
c) The motif of taking up the subject		
Why do you want to sculpt <i>The Tower of Babel</i> ?	“Long time ago I made a happy combination. Similar. I wanted to make a tower to heaven. It is tall, God is in heaven.”	The interviewee made <i>Cheerful Composition</i> , which has inspired him and he has decided to make a tower to heaven to reach God.
Why do you like sculpting?	“God made Adam and Eve from clay. I also use clay. When God made Adam – it was sad. Eve – it was happy. I make happy from clay.”	The interviewee has the opportunity to use the same material in his art that God used creating Adam and Eve, which pleases him a lot.

c.d. tab. 1

Artist's assessment of his sculpture		
How do you find your sculpture?	"Pretty."	
And other sculptures?	"Kaczor good, Koza good, but this is the best." (He mentions surnames of his deaf-blind friends).	The interviewee likes other sculptures (by Mr Kędzior and Mr Koza), find his sculpture the most attractive.
How tall is your sculpture?	"Tall tower, it is about 2 m 64."	
Is your sculpture sad or happy?	"Happy."	
Did your sculpture come out exactly like you planned?	"Good sculpture. Different in the end. Different. Different clay, stones, sand, hard, it broke."	The top of the sculpture, that is the concept of a hand, was changed. What is more, the interviewee does not like the clay, which at some point in time became very hard, full of sand and stones.
Do you like your sculpture?	"It's hard, difficult to make, but I like it. It's normal to make it long, I like it."	
Is your sculpture good or bad?	"Not bad. Good. It was a clever idea. I am satisfied."	

c.d. tab. 1

<p>What is your tower like? Describe it.</p>	<p>“It is tall in heaven. It ends with the right hand of God. Because Christ is on the right. The right hand of God, a priest says. On the fingers there are the stairs. The road. Saint people walk it. The right hand to heaven. Saints walk on the right hand. The devil is at the bottom. In the middle normal people walk towards God.”</p>	<p><i>The Tower of Babel</i> is tall. It reaches the sky. It ends with the right hand of God. The interviewee knows the prayer “The Apostles’ Creed”. He associates the tower leading to God with the words of this prayer. Because of their similar sound in Polish, the interviewee interprets the verb “I believe” as “tower”. The top element of the tower – the motif of the right hand of God is also inspired by the same prayer: “I believe in God, the Father almighty, (...) I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, (...), he is seated at the right hand of the Father (...)” This way it was revealed in the example of concrete thinking “the tower to God” (instead of belief in God) and “the right hand of God”. Therefore, we can assume that the interviewee was making a sculpture which ends with the right hand, and the motif of this sculpture was the prayer. On the fingers of the hands there are stairs, the paths of the saints. There are more stairs below. The stairs which do not reach the right hand, symbolise the paths of common people. At the very bottom, underneath the base of the sculpture, there lives the devil.</p>
<p>What would you change in your sculpture?</p>	<p>“Small fingers, it’s not good. Uneven, bad. Syposz says no, but God has even.”</p>	<p>The interviewee would like to make an even, anatomically perfect hand with long fingers. As <i>The Tower of Babel</i> was chosen to become the statue “the logo” of the plein-air sculptural workshops for the deafblind, the instructors did not agree to the artist’s idea, as the Biblical Tower of Babel was not finished. The author’s idea of the tower is, however, entirely different. To him it is the right hand of God, perfect in its form, as he says: “God has even.” The top element of the sculpture is not in line with the author’s original concept and is a result of a different idea of the instructors, for whom the source of the sculpture was the Biblical Tower of Babel. Whereas, the artist was inspired by the prayer “The Apostles’ Creed”, which is perfect.</p>

a) The image of reality in the mind of the deafblind person and its projections in the sculpture

Cognitive research (establishing the level of knowledge of the deafblind sculptor about reality and his assessment of his sculpture and the act of creation).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCULPTURE AND THE ACT OF CREATION BY THE ARTIST

The prototype for the four-metre *Tower of Babel* created in 1998 was *The Tower of Babel* made at the workshop one year before. It was over 3 metres tall. What differentiated it from the four-meter tower was the top element. On top of the tower created in 1997 there was a form, which really resembled stars. The tower from 1998 is finished with, as the creator calls it, “the right hand of God” and it was constructed by two completely deafblind people, namely Henryk Kowalczyk and Stanisław Koza. The sculpture was chosen to be the statue and the “logo” of the sculptural workshop for the deafblind, therefore, some assistance provided by the instructors was necessary, as it had to be technically impeccable. *The Tower of Babel* was constructed from two parts. The bottom part was made by Stanisław Koza, the upper one – by the author of its concept, Henryk Kowalczyk. The base of a sculpture required high technical skills and precision. Precision and inquisitiveness are traits that characterise S. Koza. Henryk Kowalczyk’s working style, on the other hand, is more impressionistic, flexible and creative. The artists had agreed on a plan of the sculpture as well as the fact that one would be constructing the part up to 2 metres and the other from the height of 2 metres up to 4. The sculpture is 4.5 metres tall, what indicates that the plan was exceeded. As mentioned before, the authors were modelling the sculpture on the last year’s version of the tower, the shape of which, in the form of an irregular shapely octagon, was created by H. Kowalczyk. In the process of work he created a system of stairs bypassing the inside corners, in order to protect them from the risk of being damaged in transport. These stairs are directed outwards on the sides. The top of the sculpture is more mature and bigger than in the original.

The input of Mieczysław Syposz (one of the instructors of sculpture) cannot go unmentioned. His assistance was essential and it resulted from the fact that it is extremely difficult for a deafblind person to re-scale the human hand (the top part of the sculpture) into the size of 4.5 metres, with the assumption that the end result should be an architectural rather than anatomical form. This measure required the experience of vision. What is more, with sculptures of this size, which ought to be transported, fired and ultimately placed in a park, where they will be exposed to rain or snow – the technological process must be impeccable.

From the very beginning, the artist had a vision of the sculpture, which was maturing throughout the entire act of creation. Instead of stars, which were to be

the crowning touch of the work, and, according to the creator, connect people with God, a caring hand of the Creator was made.

The symbolic layer of the sculpture conveys an entirely different message to the author than to people with vision, who unambiguously associate *The Tower of Babel* with the Biblical story. The artist, however, had not known that story, he had not even known what the Bible was. He heard the word “Babel” for the first time from his colleague at the workshops. The concept of *The Tower of Babel* was inspired by The Apostles’ Creed, the statement of Christian faith, which goes as follows: “I believe in God, the Father almighty, (...) I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, (...), he is seated at the right hand of the Father (...).” This way the “tower to God” (Polish “wieża”, instead of faith “Polish: wiara”) and “the hand of God” (the right hand of the Father) have revealed itself in the example of concrete thinking. The interviewee, therefore, created a tower, on top of which he planned to place the right hand, and the main motif of the sculpture was the prayer. On the hand’s fingers he placed stairs, the paths of saints. The stairs placed below, the ones that do not reach the hand of God are paths of common mortals. At the very bottom, under the sculpture’s base, there lives the devil.

The artist indented to create an even, anatomically impeccable hand with long fingers. However, as *The Babel of Tower* was chosen to become the statue and the “logo” plein-air sculptural workshops of the deafblind, the instructors did not consent to the artists’ concept remembering that the Biblical Tower of Babel was not completed. The author had opposed such solution for a long time. He could not comprehend how the right hand of God could not be a perfect form. To quote the exact words of the artist: “God has even.” The end result, therefore, does not comply with the author’s intention and represents the alternative idea of the instructors, for whom the source of inspiration was the Biblical Tower, whereas the author was inspired by the perfect right hand of God from the prayer “The Apostles’ Creed”.

ARTIST’S EMOTIONS IN THE SCULPTURE

The author is truly pleased with his work. He says it is pretty. The fact that his idea was chosen to represent the deafblind art and become its “logo” makes Henryk Kowalczyk feel appreciated. He realises that his *Tower of Babel* is the most popular with both the workshop’s visitors as well as his deafblind colleagues. He is perceived as the “star” of the workshop. He likes being appreciated. However, there is one detail he would change in his sculpture. He wishes to finish the fingers of the “right hand of God”, so they are anatomically perfect.

The interviewee likes the sculptures of his colleagues from the workshops. He says: “Kaczor good, Koza good, but this one the best.” He purposefully men-

tions the works of S. Koza and K. Kędzior, however, it is his own sculpture he likes the most. He is also satisfied with the lower part of *The Tower of Babel* made by S. Koza.

Assessment of the Act of Creation

Henryk Kowalczyk constructed the second part of the four-metre Tower of Babel, was over 2 metres tall. He decided that the sculpture would have the shape of an irregular shapely octagon. In the process of work, following his instructor's advice concerning the technology of sculpture production, he designed the system of stairs passing the inside corners and exposed on the outside. On top of *The Tower of Babel* there is, as the author calls it, "the right hand of God." This part of the sculpture was not constructed by Mr Kowalczyk on his own, but the input of the instructor was considerably smaller than of the artist.

It could be noticed that the artist remained focused and engaged in his work throughout the entire creation process. Kowalczyk had a clear vision of what the sculpture should look like from the very beginning, which he was consequently following. Persuaded by the instructors, he agreed to change the top part of the sculpture, although he did not do it without any protests. From the perspective of its construction process, *The Tower of Babel* is quite a bold sculpture. There are very few professionals who would dare to construct such a tall, empty inside shell, without any additional support. *The Tower of Babel* was carefully thought out by its creator. There are no unnecessary elements. In the creation process the author turned to his intelligence, intuition, concentration and attentiveness. While sculpting, the artists were balancing on the verge of the impossible. He leaned the separate elements of the sculpture off plumb as far as he was able to, risking the collapse of the entire construction. Due to the artist's long experience and conscious use of his craft the sculpture remained stable.

b) Henryk Kowalczyk's *The Tower of Babel* from the perspective of its portrayal of reality

H. Kowalczyk's sculpture can be perceived as symbolic. The work presents an expressive abstract composition, on top of which there is an open hand. It can be said with utmost certainty that some elements of the work are based on nature, they are not, however, the icon of reality. The artist has arranged the mentioned elements in an unconventional way, creating a sculpture of admirable spatial form.

The symbolic level of *The Tower of Babel* conveys a deep meaning. For us, able to see, it goes without mention that we are looking at the Biblical tower symbolising the human desire to be equal with God, which, as we all know, ended in a disaster, hence the unfinished part of the sculpture. For the author the symbol-

ism of his sculpture conveys an entirely different message. It is, indeed, a tower to God, as the author calls it, the road of a man towards God, in whose right hand every human being can feel safe and fulfilled.

c) The studied sculpture as compared to “naïve” sculptures.

The sculpture *The Tower of Babel* by H. Kowalczyk cannot be compared to “naïve” sculptures. Firstly, it is an abstract work, whereas folk artists around the world create figurative art. Secondly, this work, with its carefully thought-out and unconventional concept, with such a backbreaking architectural construction, can be compared to professional art. To prove this fact, it should be noted that a photograph of *The Tower of Babel* was presented in an album presenting the works of top Polish artists.

Composition-wise, the work in question has traits of a simple form, that is harmony or symmetry. Its author, however, does not keep it static, introducing elements of dynamics and expressiveness. Other traits associated with the simplicity of form that is the natural shape and deformation, are not used in this work (Jackowski 1997: 18; Hohensee-Ciszewska 1976).

H. Kowalczyk’s sculpture is without a doubt harmonic. Carefully thought-out elements of the mass complement each other and constitute a harmonious form of a unique shape. The impression of harmony this monumental mass creates in the audience is intensified by its symmetrical pattern, defined by the mirror-reflection effect achieved by arranging the elements of the composition symmetrically on both sides of its axis.

Although the sculpture in question stands on a vertical base, it is characterised by a dynamic arrangement achieved by the author through the use of diagonal, wavy and billowing elements. The sculpture in question has an organic shape (mirroring the nature) of fluid, wavy contour resembling calcareous rocks carved and polished by wind and water. The audience associates this artistic measure the architectural concept by A. Gaudi used in the organic design of the Sagrada Família Cathedral in Barcelona, the design imitating the natural limestone. The organic shape of the sculpture in question diverts from the simple form convention.

A work of an extremely proportionate construction is an example of a closed-arrangement sculpture, with no possibility to “add” new motives. The intricate arrangement of the elements, stairs that are built in the sculpture following a rhythmical pattern, as well as the variation of textures of the work evoke a unique play of lights and shadow. It demonstrates the immense sculptural intuition of the author, who, as the completely deafblind person cannot admire the effect of the work he himself has created, that is the pattern of light on his three-dimensional form. The work of H. Kowalczyk is a unique architectural form, which can be compared with sculptures created by a professional artist. The author’s creative imagination,

consciousness and the power of expression are truly astonishing. The work by H. Kowalczyk proves that sensual limits are possible to overcome.

The aim of interviewing the deafblind artists and observing them at work was to establish their level of knowledge about the world and the way they conceptualise this knowledge in sculpture. Therefore, what had to be established were: the scope of knowledge about the phenomena that is the sculpture's motif, what differentiate this knowledge from the projection constructed through ethnic language, as well as the source of this knowledge (Niestorowicz 2007). Both the analysis of the interviews as well as the observation of their creation act proves the initial thesis of this work, namely that a person completely deprived of sight and hearing, and therefore enclosed in the world of their own experiences, perceives reality in an individual manner.

Deafblind people are not entirely deprived of access to intersubjective knowledge determined by culture. They often acquire fragmentary information, which then form truly surprising images in their mind. In the process of establishing the knowledge of a deafblind artist we learn that the sculpture, which for us, people without disabilities but with a lot of cultural knowledge about styles, is perceived differently than it has been intended by the artists. It seems that the art of those sculptors, who operate on fragments of intersubjective knowledge, acquired throughout their life with different means, is governed by two contradictory tendencies: symbolic projection and realistic truth².

The work of art, as it was mentioned before, is always determined by the artist's subjective knowledge, the inter-subjective knowledge conveyed by culture and, especially by the language, as well as by their technique. Acquiring knowledge is closely connected with human cognitive functions. The choice of a motive can also be conditioned by the sculptors' attitude towards the world related to their system of values.

² The completely deafblind H. Kowalczyk is the creator of the over two metres tall sculpture, which he entitled *The Tower of Babel*. It reaches the sky, according to the author and ends with a hand of the Creator himself. The intricate layout of stairs symbolise the paths a man takes to find God. Only the saints reach the hand of God.

For people without disabilities *The Tower of Babel* symbolises the Biblical parable. The artist, however, made a tower to heaven, which will connect people with God. He heard the word "Babel" from his colleagues at the workshops. He did not know the Biblical story. In fact, he did not even know what the Bible was. He did, on the other hand know the prayer "Apostles' Creed", which he associated with the expression "a tower to God". The artist interpreted the declined verb "wierzę" (Polish: to believe) as the noun "wieża" (a tower), because they have the same sound in Polish.

The finishing element of the sculpture – the motif of the right hand of God, also derives from this prayer: "I believe in God, the Father almighty, (...) I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, (...), he is seated at the right hand of the Father (...)." As it can be seen the direct interpretation of the words of a prayer, resulting from the understanding of the text, was captured in the sculpture.

If, relying on the works of S. Grabias³, we assume that people filter their experiences through language and perceive the reality in the categories of the language, then all values extracted from human behaviour are in equal sense cognitive values. In fact, we do get to know reality assessing it in emotional,⁴ aesthetic, vital, moral and transcendental categories. For deafblind people sculpture is their narration about the world and themselves, i.e., narration that reflects their physical capabilities and emotional experiences.

The deafblind people are also eager to create non-figurative sculptures. It is abstract art that brings them the joy of organising elements in unusual compositions. "An interesting composition, explains H. Kowalczyk, because anything is allowed. Composition is quantity, variety, beauty and the head is even." Because abstract sculpture means complete artistic and interpretative freedom, while portraits limit this freedom to some extent.

Deafblind people usually live in isolation and solitude. They have very limited access to "the dialogue between the man and the society." The world of a deafblind person belongs to them in its entirety, and the possibility to create, for example the workshops organised in Orońsko, becomes the only available path of reaching that world.

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³ S. Grabias: *Język...*, op. cit., p. 184.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 183. S. Grabias based his typology of values on the concepts by R. Ingarden and J. Puzynina:

- I. Transcendental values.
- II. Existential values:
 1. Vital connected with the self-preservation instinct.
 2. Sensual, which help interpret reality in the categories of physical and psychological sensations.
- III. Cultural values:
 1. Moral.
 2. Cognitive – concerting the knowledge about the world.
 3. Aesthetic.
 4. Social – accordance with the social norms or the lack of adaptation to these norms.

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