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# LANGUAGE

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## SOME REMARKS ON SYNCHRONIC DESCRIPTION OF ASSIMILATION PROCESSES

0. Assimilation is a very common phonological process. In generative phonology assimilation is described in terms of assimilatory rules which are a subset of phonological rules. Although in particular phonological systems assimilation processes often exhibit certain idiosyncratic features, the rule which describes the phenomenon of assimilation is a universal rule. If a rule is meant to describe assimilation it must be formulated in such a way as to show the directionality of the process, i. e. that the value(s) of some feature(s) of one segment is (are) changed to agree with the value(s) of that (those) feature(s) in the neighbouring segment(s). Of course there are various types of assimilatory rules and not all of them are equally common. Some rules are attested again and again in phonological systems some are extremely rare. Palatalization of consonants, and in particular of velar and dental stops, before a nonlow front vowel or glide is a fairly common type of assimilation. In general, this process conforms well to the universal rule of assimilation which predicts that feature values of non-vowels assimilate to those of adjacent vowels rather than conversely (Schachter 1969 : 342,5). It has been possible to state this particular type of assimilation metatheoretically because of very wide spread occurrences of palatalization of consonants in a great number of actual phonological systems. A common feature of all Slavic languages are consonant alternations which are effected by palatalization processes, e.g. in Polish and Russian velar and dental stops alternate with palato-alveolar or dental affricates. In Old French velar and dental stops were also affricted in a palatalizing context and then de-affricted to strident continuants. The earlier stage of this process is reflected in English and the affriction of dental stops before the front glide (j) is in Modern English productive across word boundaries.

The present paper gives a short critical account of some very important and somehow unresolved issues that emerge in connection with any generative treatment of palatalization of consonants. The discussion below is concerned with : (i) the question of universal constraints on feature combinations versus a relatively large number of varying outputs

of palatalization processes across languages, (ii) the inadequacy of the current phonetic feature framework, and the binary feature of height in particular, in writing rules of palatalization, (iii) the status of the process of spirantization as an assimilatory rule. It appears that further modifications of the standard approach to palatalization processes can be made. These will accomodate not only the possibility of exploring the notion of markedness in explaining some palatalizations but also the use of different feature specification for dental obstruents. The latter makes it possible to formulate a very general assimilatory rule that accounts for the softening of both velars and dentals before a high front nonconsonantal segment as well as before the mid vowel /e/. Then special marking conventions for the feature "palatal" in consonants and vowels can be introduced for the purpose of evaluating the processes under consideration as natural changes.

1. Within the current framework of generative phonology the processes that bring about alternations of the kind mentioned above are most conveniently expressed as a series of one step derivations. A rule is formulated which brings about the most essential change such as fronting of velars and raising of dentals before a nonlow front vowel or glide, and it then triggers the adjustment of features of release and stridency as predicted by the Universal Marking Conventions. Each step in the derivation involves a change in one feature only and because the Universal Marking Conventions are said to reflect a universal constraint on feature combinations, the 'automatic' adjustment of features ono-by-one in a matrix may have the same effect as a certain set of extrinsically ordered rules (cf. Chomsky & Halle 1968:419,31, Chwalibóg 1979). However, not all of many well attested instances of palatalization can be accounted for in this way and the question of why certain 'unnatural' feature configurations are persistent in certain languages remains unanswered.

2. Another important problem which at present is far from being solved is the inadequacy of the present phonetic feature framework which makes it impossible to show that the fronting of velars and raising of dentals have a lot in common and the rule ought to be stated in its most general form, i.e. include the context which is a high nonconsonantal segment as well the nonlow vowel /e/. If we write the rule as (1)

$$(1) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha back \\ \alpha high \\ -sonor \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ +high \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ -low \\ -cons \end{bmatrix}$$

we fail to explain why a dental is raised to a high position before the mid vowel /e/. Once again the inadequacy of having a binary feature of height becomes apparent.

MacCawley (1971:8) in his well known argument against binary features of height in $\alpha$ swiching rules of Vowel Shift suggests that this feature should be represented by numerical values.

| | [0 high] | [1 high] | [2 high] |
|---|---|---|---|
| MacCawley Chomsky & Halle | $\begin{bmatrix} -high \\ +low \end{bmatrix}$ | $\begin{bmatrix} -high \\ -low \end{bmatrix}$ | $\begin{bmatrix} +high \\ -low \end{bmatrix}$ |

We may try to apply a similar gradation of the feature "high" to represent the point of articulation in dentals, palatals and velars,

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [0\ high] & [1\ high] & [2\ high] \\ \begin{bmatrix} +anter \\ +coron \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} -anter \\ +coron \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} -anter \\ -coron \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

and write the rule which raises dentals as (2).

$$(2) \quad [0\ high] \rightarrow [1\ high] / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} [n\ high]\ n > 0$$

Although (2) is an assimilatory rule, it is not very useful because it cannot be collapsed into one schema with the rule which fronts velars.

Another suggestion concerning the inadequacy of binary features of height, which we shall mention here in connection with the raising of dentals, is the one given by Wang (1968:702). He observes that mid vowels can be specified as either [+high] or [-high] depending on their function in a phonological system. In English front mid vowels function as [+high] in that /e/ palatalizes certain preceding consonants, so the mid vowels in English should be represented as [+high], which is accomplished by a redundancy rule, [+mid] → [+high], to be applied in phonological derivations whenever applicable. It is now clear that the best one can do in a case like this is to fiddle around with the features of height without shifting the position of a vowel within the phonological space. For those who want to have a share in this game there is still a fair chance to suggest a slightly different notation. Our simple proposal is to replace the feature [+high] by the feature [-low] and reformulate rule (1) as (3).

$$(3) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha back \\ -\alpha low \\ -sonor \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ -low \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ -low \\ -cons \end{bmatrix}$$

Though within the phonetic feature framework of Chomsky & Halle dentals are specified as $\begin{bmatrix} -back \\ -low \end{bmatrix}$ there does not seem to be much harm done by representing them as $\begin{bmatrix} -back \\ +low \end{bmatrix}$ on the basis that there is no other class of cosnonants that are $\begin{bmatrix} -back \\ -high \\ -low \end{bmatrix}$ apart from dentals (i.e. dentals which are [+mid] are not opposed to any other class which are [+low]). On phonetic grounds, our specification of dentals as [+low] can be justified by the fact that the body of the tongue is not raised above the neutral position in dental articulation. Although our proposal does not in principle differ from that of Wang, rule (3) need not be preceded by any redundancy rule, and it should be also noted that Wang's proposal to represent the mid vowels as either "high" or "mid" involves different use of primary and distinctive features of vowels, while ours is concerned with secondary and redundant feature specification for consonants. However, a similar redundancy rule must apply after the application of rule (3) if we want the Universal Marking Conventions to

account correctly for the naturally adjusted outputs of velar/dental palatalization processes, i.e. the class of strident affricates.

3. It has already been mentioned that languages may exhibit variations in the outputs of the rule of velar/dental palatalization, e.g. Polish k → č, g → ǯ (ž), k → c, g → ʒ, (x → š(s)), t → c, d → ʒ; Russian k → č, g → ǯ, k → c, g → ʒ, (x → š), t → č, d → ǯ; French k → s, g → ž, t → s, d → ž; English k → s, g → ǯ, t → č, d → ǯ, t → s, d → z; but the features that they have in common can be easily traced. Namely, all the segments effected are either strident affricates or de-affricted stridents. The Universal Marking Conventions predict that when velar or dental stops get palatalized it is natural for them to become a palato-alveolar affricate /č/ or /ǯ/, further modifications being brought about by later rules such as spirantization (features of release) or assimilation to adjacent palatals (features of place). The fact that the output of a natural velar/dental palatalization rule is always a nonanterior strident allows for further generalization, namely, introducing the feature "palatal" as a cover term that refers to a specific configuration of features that has been brought about as a result of automatic adjustments of features in a matrix according to the universal constraint.

$$(4) \quad [\text{u palatal}] \to \begin{cases} [+\text{palatal}] & / \begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{strid} \\ +\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \quad (a) \\ [-\text{palatal}] & (b) \end{cases}$$

Rule (4a) is a redundancy rule since there are no segments having the same feature specification and differing only in the feature [±palatal]. When permitted to apply to the outputs of palatalization rules, (4a) evaluates the naturalness of the change.

One may question the idea of having a special marking rule for the feature "palatal" as highly superfluous since exactly the same effect of evaluation is achieved by the (non) application of Chomsky & Halle's linking rules XXIIa, XXIIIb, XXVIa, XXVIIc (1968: 419,31), which after all have to apply, whenever possible, to effect the desired values [−anter/+strid]. But (4a) helps us to capture some significant generalization when we take into account the context in which dentals and velars palatalize. A marking convention for the feature "palatal" in vowels can be formulated as in (5).

$$(5) \quad [\text{u palatal}] \to \begin{cases} [+\text{palatal}] & / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \quad (a) \\ [-\text{palatal}] & (b) \end{cases}$$

The mid vowel /e/ often behaves like a high vowel in that it has a palatalizing effect upon the preceding consonant. Therefore it can be grouped together with /i/ to form a class of palatal vowels. But the marked staus of /e/ is different from that of /i/ because /e/ is now marked for the feature "palatal" (cf. Chomsky & Halle 1968:409, where /e/ is marked for the feature "high"). There are two universals of rules of assimilation: (i) feature values of non-vowels assimilate to those of adjacent vowels rather than conversely; (ii) unmarked

feature values assimilate to adjacent marked values rather than conversely (Schachter 1969: 343, 46). The two statements of generalization are ordered, i.e. generalization (ii) takes precedence over generalization (i) but does not exclude it. In other words (ii) is not relevant to the kind of processes that generalization (i) is proposed to explain (Schachter 1969: 347). This means that not all assimilatory processes involve assimilation of [u F] to [m F] value. Palatalization before /i, j/ does not involve assimilation to marked features, but palatalization before /e/ does. The two general statements about the processes of assimilation evaluate the feature [+palatal] as a natural feature in consonants followed by either /i, j/ or /e/. This sort of evaluation could not be performed if we tried to compare the palatalization before /i, j/ and /e/ in terms of the unmarked or marked status of the feature [+high] which is a secondary feature in consonants and it does not figure in the specification of the final product of velar/dental palatalization rules. Finally, we conclude that the cover term "palatal" is useful in that it allows us to express some further generalizations about the naturalness of palatalization processes.

4. Another problem that emerges in connection with the rules of palatalization is the status of the process of spirantization as an assimilatory rule. Again, it is a fairly common phenomenon that strident affricates effected by palatalization of velar and dental stops get de-affricted. In a synchronic description of English the spirantization rule applies to the underlying dental stops /t, d/ as well as to the dental affricate /c/ derived from the underlying velar stop /k/, i.e. it turns /t/ and /c/ into /s/, and /d/ into /z/, e.g. par /t/+i+al → → par/s/+i+al, → [pa:šl], divi/d/+ion → divi/z/+ion → [divižn], elektri/c/+ity → → [ilektrisiti] (—from the underlying representation /elektrik+ity/). Skousen (1975:18) remarks that it is no accident that this rule must be extrinsically ordered to derive /k/ → /s/ since it mirrors the historical development of the nonvoiced velar stops from Gallo-Roman to Old French (cf. Pope 1952:125-132). On the other hand it has been demonstrated that the spirantization of English /t/, /d/ can be accounted for universally, i.e. by means of a phonetically plausible rule and the Universal Marking Conventions (cf. Chomsky & Halle 1968:431); incidentally this rule, though it also came to English through French, does not mirror any historical development. Of course diachronic changes are not taken to be an ultimate criterion in postulating the synchronic order of phonological rules, none-the-less, if we try to infer from a synchronic description that dental stops spirantize as readily as affricates do, we may arrive at some false predictions. To illustrate our argument let us compare the segments which spirantize in Polish, Russian, French and English. Because spirantization is thought of as a kind of weakening (i.e. noncontinuants become continuants) we can relate the point at which a consonant is produced to the relative strength that can be associated with each point of articulation within the coronal region (cf. Foley

| | stops | | affricates | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| voice | − | + | − | + | − | + |
| anter | + | + | + | + | − | − |
| | t | d | c | ǯ | č | ǯ |
| relative strength | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | |

1972). In Polish the voiced nonanterior affricate /ž/ 'weakens' to /ž/, in Russian both the voiced anterior and nonanterior affricates /ʒ, ž/ weaken to /z, ž/. Thus we observe a certain kind of hierarchy in which noncontinuants become continuants. If a language spirantizes a noncontinuant marked 2 for the feature of relative strength, then it also spirantizes the noncontinuant marked 3 for the same feature, as in Russian. The same obtains for French where c → s, therefore we also have ž → ž. But it is not the case in English that we have weakening of 3 because we have weakening of 1 and 2. The reason why /ž/ does not spirantize in English lies in the fact that this rule as well as the rules of velar/ dental palatalization, is not a rule of English phonology. We must exclude dental stops as segments directly susceptible to spirantization if some sort of generalization about this rule is to be made. On the basis of the data presented above we may postulate a tentative universal of the process of spirantization. If a language spirantizes a nonvoiced affricate, it also spirantizes a voiced one, but not vice versa. Both /c, ʒ/ were weakened in Old French (Pope 1953 : 126, 30), but in Slavic languages only voiced affricates became de-affricted. This implicational statement does not obtain for English because only the rule that changes /c/ to /s/ was borrowed from French and not the one which changes /ž/ to /ž/.

Is the spirantization rule an assimilatory rule? In the rule which spirantizes /t, d/ and /c/ before a high front vowel or glide there is nothing of assimilation. It is apparent that the synchronic rule such as formulated in Chomsky & Halle (1968 : 229) is a telescoped rule, which in the derivation by-passes an intermediate stage of the change that took place in the development from Late Latin to Gallo-Roman, viz. t→c, d→ ʒ (Pope 1953 : 130, 1). It must be repeated here that synchronic rules are not meant to mirror phonetically initiated diachronic processes, but even if they were meant to, a lot of extrinsic restrictions on their applicability could not be avoided. Original historical phonetic rules were very general, they applied across morpheme boundaries as well as within morphemes. Not all synchronic rules are statable merely in phonetic terms. The rules of velar/dental palatalization as well as the spirantization rule are restricted in English so that they apply to a specific class of segments and only in stem final position before certain derivational affixes, and it only so happens that the ordering of the rules reflects in this case the historical chronology of the phonetic changes. But if the spirantization rule is to be looked at as an assimilatory rule, which moreover should be comparable across languages, we must limit its input segments to coronal strident affricates, whose features assimilate to the intervovalic context rather than to some features of the following vowel, in that they become [+continuant]. We also suggest that the term de-affriction is more appropriate for the assimilatory process thus defined.

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EWA CHWALIBÓG

# PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES AND MARKEDNESS IN NATURAL VELAR/DENTAL PALATALIZATION RULES. EVIDENCE FROM ENGLISH AND POLISH

1. Palatalization of velar/dental stops and continuants is one of the most frequently attested phonological processes that played an important role in the development of sound systems and, synchronically, affects large areas of word formation and inflectional morphology in many languages. A considerable amount of discussion about palatalization processes in generative phonology has centred round the problem of formal expression of the rules which account for the phenomena. It has been commonly observed that although the segments which are susceptible to the process under consideration form a natural class by definition, the actual feature specification of the input segments and still worse the segments which constitute the output of the process cannot be captured by an explicit formal notation which would both describe correctly the segments involved and show the similarities of palatalization of dentals and velars. Generally, the alternations which result from this process are velar and dental stops or continuants alternating with palato-alveolar affricates or fricatives respectively. The attempts to handle such alternations fall into three categories:

(i)  an analysis in terms of Jakobsonian features "grave", "diffuse" and "strident" (Kiparsky 1968, Andersen 1969, Leed 1970, Koutsoudas 1974),

(ii)  an analysis in terms of SPE cavity features and the feature "strident" (King 1969, SPE : 224—231, Hyman 1970, Schane 1974),

(iii)  an analysis with the use of the notion of markedness (SPE : 419—431).

Since the formulation of rules according to either the first or the second type of analysis proved extremely difficult and complex, some rules of velar and dental palatalizations are simply written in terms of the segments involved (e.g. Lightner 1972).

1.2. In earlier generative descriptions the distinction between a velar and a palatal and

also between a dental and a palatal is indicated by means of the features "grave" and "diffuse" respectively. Thus the rules which turn velars and dentals into palatals (palato-alveolars) before a front vowel or glide have the form of either (1) or (2).

$$(1)\quad \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ -diff \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -grave \\ +strid \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ -back \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(2)\quad \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ +diff \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -diff \\ +strid \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ -back \end{bmatrix}$$

It has soon been noticed that the feature "diffuse" is quite unsuitable for describing palatalizations, which are universally classed as assimilations, because (a) the change of [+diffuse] /t/ into [-diffuse] /č/ before /i/ which is [+diffuse] looks like dissimilation rather than assimilation (McCawley 1967 : 525), (b) rules like (1), (2) do not reveal assimilatory processes at all since they do not show that the consonants agree with the following vowel in some intrinsically important way (Lightner 1968 : 198). McCawley suggests that high vowels should be classed together with velars and palatals by means of the common feature [+high] because it is easy to give a uniform articulatory characterization of [+high] segments. Namely, "they are segments whose primary constriction or closure is above the line drawn from the rear of the alveolar ridge to the uvula" (McCawley 1967 : 525) whereas a uniform articulatory description of [+diffuse] segments is impossible. This otherwise reasonable suggestion to substitute the feature [+diffuse] by [+high] does not solve the problem and some serious inadequacy of description still remains. Nevertheless the feature [+high] has been widely used in writing rules of palatalization in such a way as to indicate the generality of the process. Some of these rules can be hardly justified considering the criteria generally acknowledged in generative phonology. For example Hyman's rule for palatalization of consonants in Nupe (Hyman 1970 : 62)

$$(3)\quad [+cons] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ +high \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -back \\ V \end{bmatrix}$$

is also a curious type of assimilation for the reasons so obvious that they need not be explained here.

The difficulty to write rules of velar and dental palatalization in such a way as to show that they reflect one kind of change consists in the fact that it certainly is not only the feature of height which is involved. It is rather the degree of displacement of the point of articulation from the target position towards the centre of the hard palate, i.e. advancement for velars and retraction for dentals. A rule like (4)

$$(4)\quad [-voc] \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} [-back] / [\overline{+back}] \\ [+high] / [\overline{-high}] \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ -back \\ -low \end{bmatrix}$$

considerably obscures what is believed to be a simple process of assimilation as it seems rather unlikely that a consonant should become [+high] before all front vowels which

are [-low] (cf. Fromkin 1970 : 35). However, it accounts correctly for fronting of velars before a nonback vowel or glide. Fromkin considers a retrieval of the traditional feature "palatal" to be used as a cover term for the features of place of articulation for nonlow front vowels, palatal and palatalized consonants, so that a rule like (4) can be simply stated as (5) (Schachter, Fromkin 1968 : 91).

$$(5)\quad \begin{bmatrix} -voc \\ +cons \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{Palatal}] \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +voc \\ +\text{Palatal} \end{bmatrix}$$

The obvious disadvantage of using the feature [+Palatal] is that it intolerably obscures the phonetic results of the rule when applied to labials, dentals and velars (Fromkin 1970 : 37).

1.3. The whole discussion which is concerned with the adequacy of various feature frameworks in the description of palatalization processes has its roots in the fact that the distinction of point and manner of articulation does not play a role in Chomsky & Halle's formalism of phonological rules : e.g. SPE Velar Softening and Spirantization rules. The former changes /k/ into /č/ which is subsequently converted to /c/ by the same rule. The latter applies to dental stops as well as to /c/ effected by the first rule. This rule also accounts for the change of voiced /g/ into /ž/. The second rule applies to both voiced and nonvoiced /t/, /d/, but only to nonvoiced /c/. If we write the rule

$$(6)\quad \begin{Bmatrix} k \rightarrow s \\ g \rightarrow \check{z} \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{Bmatrix} i \\ e \\ j \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} (a) \\ \\ (b) \end{matrix}$$

as Chomsky & Halle do, we collapse two unrelated processes. The output of (6a) is $\begin{bmatrix} +coron \\ +anter \\ +contin \end{bmatrix}$, while the output of (6b) is $\begin{bmatrix} +coron \\ -anter \\ +del. rel. \end{bmatrix}$ in the identical environment. And what is even more inconvenient is the fact that changes described in such a way cannot be related to similar processes in phonologies which exhibit some differences in the outputs of the rules of velar palatalization; e.g. Italian k∼č, g∼ž, Polish k∼č, k∼c, g∼ž, g∼ʒ, g∼ž, French k∼s, g∼ž alternations. If we write the rules in steps, e.g.

$$(7)\quad \begin{aligned} k &\rightarrow č \rightarrow c \rightarrow s \\ g &\rightarrow ž \rightarrow ž \\ g &\rightarrow ž \rightarrow ʒ \end{aligned}$$

we capture the naturalness of the process.

1.4. The markedness approach results from an attempt to reconcile the inadequacies of the kind mentioned above. In the analysis which uses the concept of markedness (SPE : 419—431, Lightner 1972 : 152) the palatalization rule can be formulated to derive nonstrident /k', g', x', t', d'/ which then undergo the application of marking conventions as linking rules that supply the desired feature values in one step automatic derivations.

1.5. The present paper takes up the problem of formal expression of rules accounting for the alternations of velar and dental obstruents with their palatal counterparts in English and Polish. The analysis of the data is first carried out in terms of SPE Phonetic features and is then contrasted with the analysis which makes use of marking rules. In the concluding sections of the paper the implications of the markedness approach are evaluated against some pieces of external evidence such as physiology of speech production or sound change.

2.1. The well known data from English can be briefly outlined as follows. The non-voiced velar stop /k/ is found to be alternating with either the dental fricative /s/ or the palato-alveolar fricative /š/; the voiced velar stop /g/ alternates with the palato-alveolar affricate /ǯ/. The dental stops /t/, /d/ alternate with either the dental or palato-alveolar fricatives /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/ or the palato-alveolar affricates /č/, /ǯ/. The dental continuants /s/, /z/ alternate with their palato-alveolar counterparts /š/, /ž/. According to SPE analysis (SPE : 224 - 230) the rules which account for these alternations are:

(1) Velar Softening

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{contin} \\ -\text{anter} \\ \langle -\text{voice} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{coron} \\ +\text{strid} \\ \langle +\text{anter} \rangle \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\quad} (+) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} \text{(a)} \\ \\ \text{(b)} \end{matrix}
$$

(2) Spirantization

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{coron} \\ +\text{anter} \\ -\text{sonor} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{contin} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ive} & \text{(a)} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} [-\text{seg}] & \text{(b)} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ -\text{strid} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} y \\ \Sigma \end{Bmatrix} & \begin{matrix} \text{(c)} \\ \text{(d)} \end{matrix} \end{matrix} \right.
$$

(3) Palatalization

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\quad} + \langle \# \rangle \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix}
$$

It can be noticed that the alternations in question are morphologically determined since the conditioning environment for the Velar Softening and Spirantization rules to apply is a front vowel or glide preceded by a formative boundary /+/; however, velars also 'palatalize' before a front vowel in morpheme internal position. It should also be added that the rules apply to a restricted number of words, namely, those of Romance origin.

e.g. (1a) reli/g/+ion → reli[ǯ]ion, /g/imnasium → [ǯ]imnasium, /g/eneral → [ǯ]eneral
(1b) electri/k/+ity → electi/c/+ity
(2a) corro/d/+ive → corro/z/+ive (→ corro[s]ive by a later devoicing rule)
(2b) par/t/+i+al → par/s/+i+al, divi/d/+ion → divi/z/+ion
(2c) democra/t/+y → democra[s]y, toleran/t/+Σ → toleran[s] (Σ → Ø by a later rule)

(2d)applies to the output of (1b): electri/c/+ity → electri[s]ity.

In the case of Palatalization rule the change is effected before the front glide /j/ initial in a grammatical formative, but it is also a rule of low phonetic assimilation of word final coronal obstruents to the following glide /j/ across word boundaries (3a) applies to /s/ derived by (1b) and (2d), e.g. electri/s/+ian → electri[š]ian; /s/, /z/ derived by (2b) e.g. par/s/+ial → par[š]ial, divi/z/+ion → divi[ž]ion; to underlying /s/ e.g. Ru/ss/+ian → cluster simplification → Ru[š]ian; and to underlying stem final /t/, /d/ e.g. fac/t/+/ju/al → fac[č]ual, gra/d/+/ju/al → gra[ǯ]ual and also as a phonetic detail rule to word final /t, d, s, z/ as in *don't you, did you, miss you, is your*... etc.

2.2. What in English is assumed to be two steps in one process, i.e. /k/ → /č/ → /c/, which ends up in the dental spirant [s], is not the case in Polish. The surface realizations of underlying Polish /k/, /g/ are such that they must be derived by separate rules, which however should apply in the order mentioned above. English underlying nonvoiced velars precede obligatorily through all the three stages in the derivation, whereas in Polish underlying stem final velar stops undergo only the first stage of velar palatalization in some derived forms and in other forms they are susceptible to both stage one and stage two. Diachronically, there is of course a sharp distinction between the so called First Velar Palatalization and Second Velar Palatalization (cf. Kiparsky 1968 : 197—200, King 1969 : 172, 3, SPE : 420, 30) since those velars which had undergone First Palatalization were not subject to Second Palatalization. Synchronically, the alternations /k ∼ č/, /g ∼ ǯ/, /k ∼ c/, /g ∼ ʒ/, /x ∼ š/, /x ∼ s/, all of which take place before a front vowel (or glide[1]) must also be handled by two rules that can be collapsed into the following schema:

$$
(4) \quad
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{obstr} \\ \langle -\text{contin} \rangle \end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{coron} \\ +\text{strid} \\ \langle +\text{del. rel.} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\[4pt]
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \\ +\text{strid} \\ \langle +\text{del. rel.} \rangle \end{bmatrix}
\end{array}
\right\}
\Bigg/ \underline{\quad} +
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{array}{l} (a) \\[20pt] (b) \end{array}
$$

It appears that (4a) and (4b) must be disjunctively ordered and the rule does not explain why the underlying stem final /k/, /g/ change to /č/, /ǯ/ in some forms and to /c/, /ʒ/ in others[2]. The same holds true for the underlying velar continuant /x/ of course. Examples of forms derived by (4a) and (4b):

(4a) /reNk+iny/ → rę[č]ny[3] 'manual', /smak+iny/ → sma[č]ny 'tasty', /någ+iny/ → *no-[ǯ]ny (adj) 'pertaining to feet', /norveg+eka/ → *norve[ǯ]ka 'a Norwegian' (fem), /mnix+eka/ → mni[š]ka 'a nun', /vwox+eka/ → wło[š]ka 'an Italian' (fem)

---

[1] The exact feature composition of this segment is not relevant here (see SPE : 423,4).

[2] It should be added that the alternations derived by rule (4) are attested not only before derivational or inflectional suffixes but also in a small number of derivational formatives whose internal structure has not been yet clearly described and they will not be considered here.

[3] The phonetic symbols are given only for the segments relevant to the present discussion.

(4b) /reNk+e/ → rę[c]e 'hands' or loc. sing. of *ręka* 'hand', /năg+e/ → no[ʒ]e loc. sing. of *noga* 'leg', /vwox+isk+i/ → wło[s]ki 'Italian'.

What is noticeable in the derivation of the forms with the underlying voiced velar /g/ by (4a) is that the rule produces a wrong output if the segment in question is not preceded by a spirant, e.g. *[noʒnɨ] instead of [nožnɨ] (cf. [m̂ažǯić] *miażdżyć* 'to squash' derived from the same stem which underlies [m̂azga] *miazga* 'squash'). A rule is necessary that turns a voiced strident noncontinuant into its continuant counterpart, i.e. /ǯ/ → /ž/, as it is highly improbable that /g/ should be directly turned into a continuant if the processes under consideration are believed to be related[4]. Thus the output of (4a) undergoes the Spirantization rule in an automatic fashion (cf. the derivation of English /s/ from the underlying /k/).

(5) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-contin} \\ \text{-anter} \\ \text{+coron} \\ \text{+voice} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\text{+contin}] \: / \: V \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad\quad} \\ \text{+strid} \end{bmatrix}$

Unfortunately this rule has no 'memory', i.e. there is no way to indicate in the rule itself that it only affects those /ǯ/'s which are derived from /g/'s. The fact that the rule does apply to underlying /g/ preceded by a spirant must be accounted for by a constraint on syllable final obstruent clusters in Polish, i.e. the only possible type of syllable final obstruent cluster is a fricative-stop sequence (Andersen 1969 : 558).

The problem becomes slightly more complicated if we assume the surface [+anterior] reflexes of the underlying velars to be derived in successive changes like (6)

(6)    k → č → c
       g → ǯ → ʒ
       x → š → s

as has been assumed in SPE analysis of palatalization of velars in English, because there is no means of distinguishing between the forms which are subject to (4a) and those which proceed further through the application of (4b) except by referring to morphological categories, which however would be a mistake in a description that is supposed to account for the naturalness of the process.

2.3.1. Palatalization of dentals in Polish is still a bit more of a problem. Although it is perfectly regular and symmetrical with respect to the voiced and nonvoiced members of the alternations it involves at least two processes: (i) change of dental stops and continuants into the palatal (alveolo-palatal) affricates /ć/, /ǯ/ and fricatives /ś/, /ż/ before a high front vowel respectively, and also strangely enough (ii) change of dental stops into dental affricates /c/, /ʒ/, e.g.

(i)   la[s] 'forest' ∼ le[ś]ny (adj) 'pertaining to the forest', mró[z] 'frost' ∼ mro[ż]ny 'frosty', ko[t] 'cat' ∼ ko[ć]i (adj) 'pertaining to the cat', ró[d] 'breed' ∼ ro[ʒ]ina 'family'

---

[4] There is no evidence available from the diachronic study of lenition, cf. West Slavic /ǯ > ž/ vs. East Slavic /g > γ/ (Andersen 1969 : 555).

(ii) patrona[t] 'patronage' ~ patrona[c]ki (adj), gró[d] 'town' gro[ʒ]ki 'of town'

The overwhelming majority of derivational and inflexional morphology in Polish involves the processes of palatalization and it is not the aim of this paper to investigate all such cases. The analysis below is only tentative and is based on those occurrences of 'palatalized' dentals where the character of the underlying phonological representation of the affix which has a palatalizing effect is unquestionable, i.e. it has already been investigated elsewhere (Gussmann 1974, Laskowski 1975) or the palatalizing context is transparent in the surface representations. No claims are being made about the underlying shapes of morphemes which are neutral to the application of the rules of palatalization.

Alternations of type (ii) seem to be somewhat 'unexpected'. If palatalization of dentals is defined as a shift in point of articulation towards the hard palate, only the examples of (i) show the directionality of the process. Before any rule accounting for the examples in (i) or (ii) is formulated, it is necessary to specify the kinds of articulation within the coronal region.

|        | dentals | palato-alveolars | (alv. palat) 'palatals' |
|--------|---------|------------------|-------------------------|
| anter  | +       | −                | −                       |
| coron  | +       | +                | +                       |
| distrib| −       | −                | +                       |

It should be noted that the feature [±distributed] is used as a relative feature (cf. SPE : 312, Rubach 1976 : 31) to provide a distinction between coronal palato-alveolars and palatals. This distinction consists in the length of the zone of contact which extends towards the direction of the airflow in the production of the palatals /ć, ӡ́, ś, ź/. A rule can be formulated to account for the examples of (i) :

$$(7) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{-sonor} \\ \text{+coron} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-anter} \\ \text{+strid} \\ \text{+distrib} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\quad\quad} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{-back} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-cons} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule appears to be in many respects unsatisfactory. First of all it is too general. As illustrated by the examples in (ii) the dental stops /t/, /d/ also alternate with the palato-alveolar affricates /c/, /ʒ/, so the rule turns incorrectly all occurrences of /t/, /d/ into /ć/, /ӡ́/. The situation is still more complex because we do find dental stops alternating with palato-alveolar affricates in Polish but only when they are preceded by a spirant, e.g. (iii) po[st] 'fast' ~ po[šč]ą 'they fast', gwi[zd] 'a whistle' gwi[žӡ́]ą 'they whistle'.

2.3.2. Given this sort of data one naturally expects that palatalization of dental stops in Polish must be in some respect similar to the process that has already been described for English. If palatalization of dentals is believed to be a natural and universal kind of assimilation one must assume that dental stops universally become palato-alveolar affricates in a palatalizing context but the actual surface realizations of the segments in

question are language specific. In a system with four points of closure for stops (i.e. /p, t, č, k/) the point between the closures for /t/ and /k/ is usually occupied by the palato-alveolar /č/ (SPE : 422) and palatalized velars as well as dentals tend to shift towards this point. In the examples of (ii) the shift in point of articulation towards the original dental region is probably due to some additional factors after the front vowel has been dropped. There appear to be three processes at work, for which the following rules can be formulated :

(8) Anterior Palatalization

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{obstr} \\ +\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \\ \langle +\text{contin}\rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{strid} \\ \langle +\text{distrib}\rangle \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}^5
$$

(9) Strident Palatalization

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{strid} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{distrib}] \bigg/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(10) Strident Assimilation

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{strid} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{anter} \\ \langle \beta\text{distrib}\rangle \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{anter} \\ \langle \beta\text{distrib}\rangle \end{bmatrix}
$$

Rule (8) turns the underlying /t, d, s, z/, into /č, ӡ́, ś, ź/, before a high front vowel which is later on deleted. Subsequently the later rule (9) turns /č, ӡ̌/, and also /š/ derived from the underlying /x/, into /ć, ӡ́/ and /ś/ respectively. The reason why (8) and (9) have to be kept apart is that the latter affects $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix}$ spirants only in those contexts where the palatalizing vowel, which we mark here as /ī/, is never deleted. The other palatalizing vowel, which we mark as /ĭ/, has already been dropped at the point in the derivation where rule (9) applies. The rule of strident assimilation by which stridents assimilate to the place of articulation of the following strident (or palatal) is fairly operative throughout the Polish phonology and plenty of examples of both deep and surface assimilations can be given in support of its unquestionable status (cf. Gussmann 1976, Rubach 1976a, 1976b), e.g. po[st] 'fast' ~ po[šč]ą 'they fast' ~ po[śc]i 'he fasts', ja[zd]a 'a ride' ~ je[ž ӡ̌]ą ~ 'they ride' ~ je[ź ӡ́]i 'he rides' ja[sn]y 'bright' ~ ja[śń]i 'bright' nom. pl. pers. masc.

It is shown below that this rule applies after the vowel /ĭ/ has been dropped so that a spirant can assimilate to the place of articulation of the strident in a suffix which follows it. Examples of derivation :

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5 Actually the rule is more general. It affects all [+anter] consonants in Polish in the specified environment (see Gussmann 1974).

| | /mnix+ĭ/ | /kot+ĭ/ | /patronat+ĭsk+/[6] | /post+e+ĭ/[7] | /post+e+ĭ/ | /las+ĭn+/[8] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| UR | | | | | | |
| readjust. r. | — — — | — — — | — — — — — | post+ĭ | post+ĭ | — — — — |
| Vel. Palat. | mniš+ĭ | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — |
| Anter. Palat. | — — — | koč+ĭ | patronač+ĭsk- | posč+ī+ | posč+ī | laś+ĭn+ |
| ĭ drop | — — — | — — — | patronač+sk+ | posč+ | — — — | laś+n+ |
| Strid. Palat. | mniś+ĭ | koć+ĭ | — — — — — | — — — | posć+ĭ | — — — |
| Strid. Assim. | — — — | — — — | patronao+sk+ | pošč+ | pość+ĭ | — — — |
| cluster simpl. | — — — | — — — | patronao+k+ | — — — | — — — | — — — |
| SR | [mniśi] | [koći] | [patronacki] | [pošč̃õw̃] | [pośći] | [leśni] |

2.3.3. It has been mentioned above that the feature [±distrib] is taken as a relative feature and is used for descriptive convenience in order to distinguish between different kinds of stricture within the coronal region. It can be argued that the status of this feature is rather dubious. It is introduced in SPE ( : 313, 4) to account for 'subsidiary' articulations such as occur in 'soft' dentals in Polish or retroflex dentals in some African languages. The distinction between distributed and nondistributed segments is provided on the basis of the difference in the zone of contact which has its obvious acoustic consequences. It also provides a distinction between labials which are [+distrib] and labiodentals which are [-distrib], but there are other feature distinctions between these two classes that in this case make the distinction in the length of stricture only peripheral (SPE : 314). One cannot be very happy about the fact that [±distrib] has been used as a distinctive feature in phonological descriptions, since the term that covers different articulatory events is not quite descriptively adequate. If it is only used for the sake of descriptive convenience why should one not try other features, which may turn out equally convenient or even more economical! The result of palatalization of either dentals or velars is always a strident. Although the class of stridents that result from the process of palatalization comprises segments with different points of stricture, all the segments have been classified as [+coronal]. The palatal stridents /ć, ź, ś, ż/, are taken to be [+coronal] on the basis that the coronality extends up to the palatal region (cf. Rubach 1976 : 31). We shall argue, however, that the specification of Polish palatal stridents as $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{coron} \\ +\text{distrib} \end{bmatrix}$ is not the right one. It is true that the primary stricture is made in the coronal region and the secondary stricture occurs in the palatal region, but because the secondary stricture is of the same degree as the one in the coronal region, we shall argue that the area of contact or stricture for /ć, ź/ or /ś, ż/ respectively is that front part of the tongue which does not involve the apex (cf. Wierzchowska 1971 : 192). Thus the segments in question are [+distrib] (on the basis of the length of the zone of contact) but [-coronal]. The latter can be used to distinguish palatal /ć, ź, ś, ż/ from palato-alveolar /č, ž, š, ž/ which are [+coronal] so that the feature [±distributed] can be dispensed with for this purpose, and consequently rules (8), (9), (10) can

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[6] The actual realizations of the vowel ending which is appended to this suffix depend on the gender and they do not concern us here.

[7] For the morpheme boundary division see Laskowski 1974. The affix /+ĭ+/ is followed by the 1st pers. sing. or 3rd pers. pl. present tense ending.

[8] See footnote 6.

be re-written with this feature replacing the feature [+distributed]. The distinction bet-
ween palatals and velars is provided by the feature [± strident].

| | dentals | | palato-alveolars | palatals | velars |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| anter | + | + | − | − | − |
| coron | + | + | + | − | − |
| strid | − | + | + | + | − |
| | t | c s | č š | ć ś | k x |

We also observe that if the zone of contact for [+distrib] /ć, ś/ is said to extend from
the coronal to palatal region then by no means does it extend in the direction of the
airflow! The SPE definition of this feature is not quite correct and its status cannot be
justified on articulatory grounds. As shown in the table above it is possible to distinguish
three points of articulation within the class of Polish stridents by means of the features
which relate to primary articulations, viz. [±anter], [±coron]. That this is not merely a fea-
ture saving procedure is also supported by the fact that the change of coronals into non-
coronals reflects the directionality of assimilation, i.e. raising of coronals before a high
front vowel is viewed as the change in point of articulation along the parameter which
refers to the front part of the tongue.

2.3.4. The question of how to determine the point of articulation in segments with
a subsidiary striceure that does not exceed the primary one is far from being solved in a sa-
tisfactory way (cf. Jakobson, Fant, Halle 1953, Ladefoged 1971, Anderson 1976). The
possibility to employ the same features for both primary and secondary articulations
has been proposed by Anderson (1976 : 10). He observes that this procedure leads to
a surprizing prediction that there should be phonetically indistinguishable segments which
are yet characterized as distinct on the basis of their underlying representations. In other
words he suggests that "some descriptive phonetic parameters cannot be determined
directly from an inspection of the phonetic substance, but only from the consideration
of alternations and related forms" (Anderson 1976 : 1). However, it does not seem plau-
sible that the Polish palatal /ś/ can be specified in terms of different values for the feature
[±coronal] as a consequence of its being derived either from the coronal continuant /s/ or
the noncoronal (i.e. velar) continuant /x/. Although some facts of low phonetic assimilation in
Polish may suggest that it is natural for a velar continuant to become a spirant when fron-
ted, cf. [jakixś] → [jakix'ś] → [jakiśś] → [jakiś] 'some' gen. pl., there is no evidence that
the phonetic [ś] in [mńiśi] is derived directly from /x/ and it does not seem reasonable
to treat /ć, ś/ derived from dental coronals as coronals with secondary high articulation
and /ś/ derived from /x/ as a noncoronal. (cf. Old Polish [mńiši] and Mod. Polish [mńiśi])

2.3.5. It can be successfully argued that the distinction between primary and secondary
strictures for coronals should be reserved for the expression of detail rules of palataliza-
tion in Polish. There are alternations in Polish which result from the application of a low
phonetic palatalization rule whose frequent effect are palatalized coronals [t', c', s', č', š'].
These alternations are brought about when words are put together in an utterance but

some occurrences of [t', c', č', s', š'] are morpheme internal, e.g. [t'iara] 'tiara', [d'jabew] 'devil', [d'iana] 'Diana', [č'ile] 'Chile', [ǯ'in] 'gin', [s'inus] 'sine', [az'ja] 'Asia', [š'iva] 'Shiva', [ž'igolo] 'gigolo', and across word boundaries, e.g. [kot' i p'es] 'a cat and a dog', [koc' jego] 'his blanket', [koš' jabwek] 'a basket of apples' etc. The rule which introduces these palatalized consonants is part of Polish phonotactics and has been worked out in detail in Rubach (1976a : 34). The rule is very general and applies within words as well as across word boundaries.

$$(11) \quad [+\text{cons}] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} ([-\text{seg}]) \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

On the basis of the above observations we conclude that in describing palatalization of dentals and velars in Polish the segments which are a result of deep rules are adequately described in terms of primary features, whereas those which are effected by detail rules must be in additon specified either for the feature [+high] which relates to the subsidiary palatal stricture in the articulation of coronals or the feature [-back] in fronted velars, which, however, is no tconsidered to reflect any kind of subsidiary articulation (cf. SPE: 308)

3. The Universal Marking Conventions (UMC's) of Chomsky & Halle, by means of which some combinations of phonological features in a matrix can be interpreted as more natural or expected, when permitted to apply to outputs of phonological rules are assumed to account for the naturalness or unnaturalness of phonological processes. Phonological rules to which marking conventions are linked must be restricted to have only one feature to the right of the arrow, since the remaining features that specify the naturally correct output of a rule are universally predictable by virtue of their linkage to the marking conventions. The marking conventions relevant to the present analysis are:

XXII

$$[u \ \text{anter}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} [-\text{anter}] \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{0.5cm}} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{coron} \\ \alpha\text{contin} \end{bmatrix} & \text{(a)} \\ \\ [+\text{anter}] & \text{(b)} \end{cases}$$

XXIII

$$[u \ \text{coron}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} [-\text{coron}] \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{0.5cm}} \\ [+\text{anter}] \\ [+\text{nasal}] \end{bmatrix} & \text{(a)} \\ \\ [\alpha\text{coron}] \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{0.5cm}} \\ -\alpha\text{back} \\ -\text{anter} \end{bmatrix} & \text{(b)} \\ \\ [\div\text{coron}] \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{0.5cm}} \\ +\text{anter} \\ \{[+\text{nasal}]\} \\ \{[m \ \text{contin}]\} \end{bmatrix} & \text{(c)} \end{cases}$$

XXIV

$$[\text{u contin}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} [+\text{contin}] \ / + \underline{\hspace{1cm}} [+\text{cons}] & \text{(a)} \\ [-\text{contin}] & \text{(b)} \end{cases}$$

XXV

$$[+\text{contin}] \rightarrow [+\text{del. rel.}]$$

XXVI

$$[\text{u del. rel.}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} [+\text{del. rel.}] \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ -\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix} & \text{(a)} \\ \\ [-\text{del. rel.}] & \text{(b)} \end{cases}$$

XXVII

$$[\text{u strid}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} [-\text{strid}] \ / \ \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ +\text{sonor} \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} \text{(a)} \\ \\ \end{matrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ -\text{anter} \\ -\text{coron} \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} \text{(b)} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \\ [\alpha\text{strid}] \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \\ \alpha\text{del. rel.} \\ \begin{cases} [+\text{anter}] \\ [+\text{coron}] \end{cases} \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} \text{(c)} \\ \text{i} \\ \text{ii} \end{matrix} \end{cases}$$

3.1.0. When the rule of Velar Softening in English becomes restricted so that only one feature appears to the right of the arrow, UMC's show that the remaining features are implied by the feature actually changed in the given environment, i.e. they are supplied by the appropriate marking rules which specify correctly the change attested. Such changes are natural changes. When linking rules do not apply correctly, the rule in question cannot be stated in a simple way, i.e. more features are required to the right of the arrow. This means that the rule deviates from a 'natural' phonological rule and therefore requires some 'correction' specification (SPE : 420, Lightner 1968 : 193).

3.1.1. In the section below the outputs of two very simple assimilatory processes such as fronting of velars and raising of dentals before a front nonlow vowel or glide are examined with respect to the applicability of marking conventions. R (1). Fronting of velars, i.e. /k → k'/ (English)

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ -\text{contin} \\ \langle -\text{voice} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ \langle +\text{anter} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \ / \ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{matrix} \text{(a)} \\ \\ \text{(b)} \end{matrix}$$

Marking conventions are now checked against the output of the rule if they apply correctly. The feature actually changed by the rule is exluded from the check. If this check turns out positively the features specified by a linking rule are assigned (cf. Vennemann 1972 : 232)

OUTPUT                                          LINKING

$$\begin{Bmatrix} k \\ g \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-back} \\ \text{-anter} \\ \text{-coron} \\ \text{-contin} \\ \text{-del. rel.} \\ \text{-strid} \end{bmatrix}$$

anter : excluded
coron : [+coron] by XXIIIb
contin : applies vacuously
del.rel. : [+del. rel.] by XXVIa
strid. : [+strid] by XXVIIc$_{ii}$

By means of UMC's linked to the output of R. (la) we derive $\begin{bmatrix} \text{+coron} \\ \text{+del. rel.} \\ \text{+strid} \end{bmatrix}$ /č/ and /ž/. The

derivation shows that when a velar is fronted it becomes a palatal or nonback /k'/ and it also explains why other features change too. They become adjusted in such a way as to reduce the complexity of the segment. The palato-alveolar stop /č/ is less marked (its complexity = 2) than the palatal stop /k'/ (complexity = 4). The apparent advantage of deriving palatal affricates from underlying velar stops by means of the application of linking rules is that the formulation of the basic rule does not only involve fewer features than the notation used within the theory which does not use the notion of markedness, but it also reveals the naturalness and directionality of the assimilatory process.

The next step in the derivation consists in the application of the second part of the rule (1b) which turns /č/ into /c/, i.e. into $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-contin} \\ \text{+anter} \\ \text{+coron} \\ \text{+strid} \end{bmatrix}$ which is now susceptible to the Spirantization-

rule. Spirantization is a simple process involving a change of one feature when it applies to /c/.

R (2)    $\begin{bmatrix} \text{-contin} \\ \text{+coron} \\ \text{+anter} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\text{+contin}] \Big/ \Big[ \underline{\quad} \Big]_{\text{+strid}}$

R (2) produces exactly the desired effect and no linkig rules need apply but one has still doubts whether the occurrence of the end product of the derivation has been at all explained. The only implication of the markedness approach is that altough the optimal consonant is [-contin] in a position other than morpheme initial before a stop, the phonological status of /s/ in terms of segmental complexity is less marked than that of /c/.

3.1.2. The basic rule involved in the spirantization of dental stops converts /t, d/ into /θ, ð/. The check on the output of the rule against the marking conventions produces:

OUTPUT                                          LINKING

$$\begin{Bmatrix} t \\ d \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+contin} \\ \text{+anter} \\ \text{+coron} \\ \text{-del. rel.} \\ \text{-strid} \end{bmatrix}$$

anter : inapplicable
coron : inapplicable
contin : excluded
del. rel. : [+del. rel.] by XXV
strid : [+strid] by XXVIIc$_i$

The effect is such that we gain in simplicity. The rule is now statable in terms of a single feature change, the linking rules apply properly, no 'correction' specification is required. But does the rule reveal any assimilatory process? The status of the Spirantization rule is slightly different from that of palatalization as it does not involve change in point of articulation. The application of linking rule XXVIIc$_i$ only explains that when dental stops are weakened it is more natural for them to become strident. (Recall the less marked status of /s/ than that of /θ/, i.e. /1 : 2/.)

3.1.3. How does the analysis in terms of markedness handle the palatalization of dentals? The rule restricted to one single feature to the right of the arrow reads:

$$\text{R (3)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{anter}] \Big/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$$

The rule will directly derive /š, ž/ from /s, z/ but in the case of dental stops the change in stridency will not be accounted for by the linking rules, since the relevant rules are blocked. Chomsky and Halle (SPE : 429) observe that actually it is not a change in point of articulation which is involved. Palatalization of dentals can be viewed as a process of assimilation in which the position of the tongue for dental articulation is assimilated to the high position of the tongue which is characteristic of the following glide. The rule is restated as R (4)

$$\text{R (4)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{coron} \\ -\text{sonor} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{high}] \Big/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$$

so that the change in point of articulation and stridency can be accounted for by means of linking rules.

OUTPUT | LINKING
---|---
$\left\{\begin{matrix} t \\ d \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \\ -\text{contin} \\ -\text{del. rel.} \\ -\text{strid} \end{bmatrix}$ | anter : [-anter] by XXIIa<br>coron : XXIIIb applies vacuously<br>contin : inapplicable<br>del. rel. : [+del. rel.] by XXVIa<br>strid : [+strid] by XXVIIc$_{ii}$
$\left\{\begin{matrix} s \\ z \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{high} \\ +\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \\ +\text{contin} \\ +\text{del. rel.} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix}$ | anter : [-anter] by XXIIa<br>coron : applies vacuously<br>contin : inapplicable<br>del. rel. : applies vacuously<br>strid : applies vacuously

The motivation of the application of the linking rules XXIIa, XXVIa, XXVIIc$_{ii}$ consists in the assumption similar to the one which underlies the application of linking rules XXIIIb, XXVIa, XXVIIc$_{ii}$ to fronted velars. When dental stops palatalize it is most natural for them to turn into strident palato-alveolars as it is equally natural for fronted velars to turn into strident palato-alveolars. The less marked status of the segment effected also holds for /č/ vs. /t'/.

3.2.1. Does the analysis in terms of markedness help to solve the problem of palatalizations in Polish? Following the procedure which has been demonstrated by the analysis of the English data we state the first stage of Velar Palatalization as fronting.

R (5)  $[\text{-anter}] \rightarrow [\text{-back}] / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-back} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-cons} \end{bmatrix}$

OUTPUT

$$\begin{Bmatrix} k \\ g \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-back} \\ \text{-anter} \\ \text{-coron} \\ \text{-contin} \\ \text{-del. rel.} \\ \text{-strid} \end{bmatrix}$$

LINKING

anter : inapplicable
coron : [+coron] by XXIIb
contin : inapplicable
del. rel. : [+del. rel.] by XXVIa
strid : [+strid] by XXVIIc

$$/x/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-back} \\ \text{-anter} \\ \text{-coron} \\ \text{+contin} \\ \text{+del. rel.} \\ \text{-strid} \end{bmatrix}$$

anter : inapplicable
coron : [+coron] by XXIIIb
contin : inapplicable
del. rel. : applies vacuously
strid : [+strid] by XXVIIc

The next step in the derivation will be the application of the Spirantization rule changing the voiced palato-alveolar stop /ǯ/ into its continuant counterpart. It is quite noticeable that the Spirantization rule applies obligatorily and 'automatically' to the outputs of Velar palatalization both in Polish and English despite the different values of the feature "voiced", and one may ask if it is natural or unnatural for a noncontinuant strident to become a continuant in the intervocalic position. It is very tempting to try to supply the feature [-contin] by means of linking rules, at least for the voiced segment, so that the Spirantization rule will be prevented from applying to occurrences of /ǯ/ other than those derived from the underlying /g/. But on the other hand there are well attested pieces of evidence in support of the naturalness of the process of spirantization, viz. lenition in the history of Slavic languages : /g > γ/ in Bielorussian and Ukrainian (Kiparsky 1968a : 5, 6), /ǯ > z/ in Russian (Lightner 1972 : 13) and Polish /ǯ > ž/ (Andersen 1968 : 558); also in Spanish, Finnish and a number of other languages. Although according to SPE UMC's the optimal consonant is a nonvoiced [-contin], in a context dependent feature combination, i.e. between two vowels [-contin] strident can be assumed to be less natural.

The UMC's of SPE do not offer any formal account of the desired value of the feature [+contin] in an intervocalic context.

3.2.2. Returning to the procedure of checking the output of the palatalization rules against the marking conventions we must now see what sort of modification the fronted velar stops /k', g'/ must undergo to yield the desired result, i.e. /k ~ c/, /g ~ ʒ/ alternations. In order to effect strident coronals which are [+anter] we must assume that the velars in question have already undergone all the modifications necessary to produce

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \end{bmatrix}$$ affricates (SPE : 425). This naturally suggests a simple rule:

R (6) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \\ +\text{del. rel.} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{anter}] \ / \ \underline{\quad\quad} \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}$

| OUTPUT | LINKING |
|---|---|
| $\begin{Bmatrix} č \\ ʒ \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{anter} \\ +\text{coron} \\ -\text{contin} \\ +\text{del. rel.} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix}$ | anter : exluded |
| | coron : inapplicable |
| | contin : inapplicable |
| | del. rel. : inapplicable |
| | strid : XXVIIc vacuous |
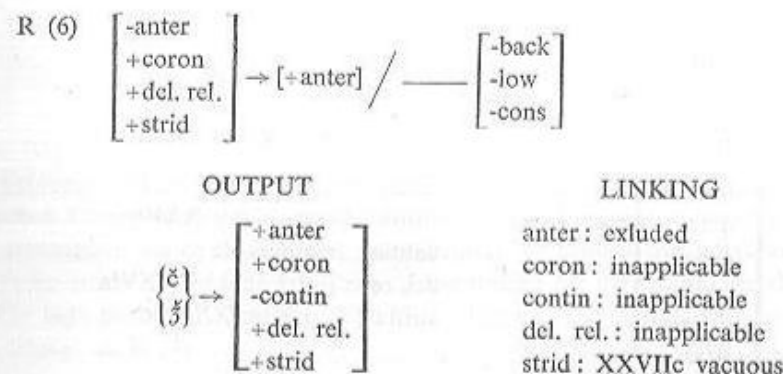
It appears that R (6) correctly converts /č/ and /ʒ/ to /c/ and /ʒ/ and although it does not involve any linkage to marking conventions the vacuous application of the convention for [u strident] only confirms the plausibilty of these segments in the environment specified in the rule.

3.2.3. The rules of dental palatalization under the markedness interpretation are as follows. There is a rule which raises dental coronals in exactly the same way as it has been demonstrated for English, so that the linking rules supply the desired feature values for /č/ and /ʒ/. However, the system does not work in deriving the palatal counterparts of /s/ and /z/ which would be incorrectly turned into the palatoalveolars /š, ž/ by conventions XXIIa, XXVIa, XXVIIc. Thus the rule deriving /ś, ź/ from the underlying /s, z/ deviates from a natural dental palatalization rule in that it requires 'correction' specification, i.e. the feature [+distrib] or [-coron] to the right of the arrow (cf. Russian alternations s ~ š, z ~ž.) Similarly UMC's cannot be used in deriving /ć, ʒ́/, //ś, ź/ from /č, ʒ, š, ž/ so the rules of Strident Palatalization and Strident Assimilation must apply to the outputs derived by linking rules in the order given in 2.3.2.

4. It seems now appropriate to point out the possible advantages of the markedness approach to the analysis of the phonological behaviour of underlying velar and dental stops. Apart from the trivial observation that rules which require 'correction' specification produce segments that are of more complex nature (e.g. the complexity of /ć/ equals at least 4 or 5, while that of /č/ or /c/ equals 2) and are less common, the analysis in terms of marking rules linked to to the basic rule, (i.e. the one which brings about the most

essential change), makes it possible to state the palatalization processes under description in terms of phonetically plausible assimilation rules. Because assimilation is a natural process in the physical realization of utterances it is absolutely correct to write abstract phonological rules in terms of assimilation. It appears that by exploring the notion of markedness we not only gain in simplicity of the rules but also it has been possible in each case to indicate that the basic feature involved in the structural change is the one which assimilates the consonant to the following glide or vowel.

4.1. How does the formalism of markedness theory accout for the basic and universal facts of the palatalization of velars and dentals? Let us first compare in what respect the two kinds of analysis differ. Within the theory which does not recognize the notion of markedness the rules of Velar Palatalization in English are conjunctively ordered, i.e. (1a) is followed by (1b) in the forms where the conditions of the structural description of (1b) are met. (1b) is followed by the extrisically ordered Spirantization rule. The rules of Velar Palatalization in Polish are disjunctively ordered for the fact that the two kinds of shift in the point of articulation for both voiced and nonvoiced velars are realized in surface representations, i.e. forms which undergo (4a) are not subject to (4b) and vice versa. It is also very undesirable that we have to put an extrinsic condition on the segments derived from the underlying /k/ and /g/ in English and Polish respectively, with respect to their susceptibility to the Spirantization rule. As to the feature notation that has been used in this analysis it is evident that it fails to capture the similarities between the intrinsic content of the palatalizing segment and the segments effected by the rules, hence the rules cannot be written in terms of assimilation. Needless to say, such rules do not explain anything. It should only be added that the same complexity of description and the inadequacy of feature notation obscures the directionality of assimilation in the palatalization rules formulated for dentals.

4.2. The analysis which makes use of the concept of markedness shows that the basic change in the processes under consideration is universally constrained by the phenomenon of assimilation as well as the intrinsic content of phonological features. It is phonetically plausible and therefore natural that velars become fronted before a nonback vowel and dentals are raised before a high or nonlow vowel or glide. The other universal and phonetically conditioned fact about assimilation is that when a feature is introduced by a rule into a segment, the segment may become so adjusted as to aquire all other specifications which are implied by that feature and universal constraint. Because UMC's are said to reflect universal constraints on feature combinations it is not necessary to have special rules for such adjustments of features — they are universally predictable by the metatheory. To what extent does the formalism of markedness theory make such facts predictable? It has been already mentioned that the system works well in so far as the basic changes are concerned. The universal fact about the palatalization of velar and dental stops, which has been attested, is that, however, the change originates with the shift in the point of articulation it triggers the features of release in the way by which the segments involved become [+strident]. It has been observed that only some part of the English and Polish data examined in section 3 can be correctly accounted for by the linking rules. Within the framework which does not use the concept of markedness the rules of Velar and Dental palata-

lization are ordered without reference to any universal conventions, although the con-
trastive analysis shows that at least early rules must be intrinsically ordered. The marked-
ness approach naturally accounts for the intrinsic ordering of the early rules, i.e. /k, g/ →
→ /k', g'/ → /č, ž/ but other changes are left to be accounted for by sequential ordering
of the remaining rules. The rules still need to be extrinsically ordered and an extrinsic
condition on the segments which undergo spirantization processes also remains. However,
the spirantization rule itself becomes simpler and more general so that it does not require
placing the feature [+strid] in the structural change for the stops /t, d/. There are two
other advantages of using the markedness theory for the purpose of the present analysis;
it has been possible to show the basic similarity in the palatalization of velars and dentals
(sec. 3.1.2.), and it has allowed for the sequential ordering of Velar Palatalization rules
in Polish instead of an ad hoc solution with disjunctive ordering.

4.3. Apparently marking conventions show that natural processes can be accounted
for universally, since they are statable in phonetic terms. Consequently, provided with
the correct set of features certain explanations offered by marking conventions may reflect
the physiologically constrained phenomenon of assimilation. But on the whole, the expla-
natory power of an analysis in terms of markedness is rather weak for a number of reasons.
First, the formal character of the approach makes it possible to prevent the application
of any particular UMC as a linking rule by making the rules more complicated (e.g. dental
palatalization in Polish). Second, linking rules are used to apply at any point in a deriva-
tion (cf. Anderson 1974 : 291). The attested facts of low phonetic assimilation of con-
sonants to the following high front vowel or glide in Polish call for restricting the power
of linking rules, since the rules do not differentiate between the natural phonetic tenden-
cies which have become autonomous in a language and are part of its phonology and
those which reflect the effect of coarticulation. For example the natural adjustment
of /t', d'/ to /č, ž/ before /j/ is productive in English as a low phonetic phenomenon. Be-
cause there is no restriction on the application of linking rules, we could expect /k, g/ to
become /č, ž/ across word boundaries or the Polish dental stops which are fronted before
/j/ or /i/ across word boundaries to behave like the English dental stops do. This deficiency
of markedness theory comes from the fact that the UMC's are designed to capture the
relation between segmental constraints and phonological processes in a formal way.
This formalism works well so far as it provides statements about the properties that a lan-
guage has but it by no means explains why a language has such and no other property
(cf. Anderson 1974 : 293). By examining empirically the structure of individual processes
in languages it should be possible to arrive at some ways which would prevent the applica-
tion of linking rules in more natural terms than by formal complication of the basic rules.
It seems right to believe that language specific deviations from basic and natural changes
can be appropriately explained in terms of constraints on 'targets', which can either prevent
the occurrence of most natural changes or trigger some sort of adjustment of features
other than predicted by the current theory of markedness. Given an unnatural configura-
tion there are more or less natural ways of explaining it and formalism is certainly not
a natural way of doing it.

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HENRYK KAŁUŻA

# A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
## OF TEMPORAL SYSTEMATIZATIONS IN THE ENGLISH INDICATIVE MOOD

A highly developed system of tense forms in English coupled with a debatable existence of their aspective values testifies to the general linguistic regularity about reverse frequency of these grammatical categories, viz. the more temporal forms the fewer aspective categories (Gołąb et al. 1970 : 59). In this respect Polish stands in opposition to the English language.

Apart from numerousness the greatest difficulty of the English temporal system lies in its failure of coinciding the linguistic category of "tense" with the extra-linguistic reality of "time". The very latest grammar by R. Quirk (et al. 1972) regarded as a "milestone in the history of English grammar... the comprehensiveness of which (1120 pages) is comparable with Otto Jespersen's monumental *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*... and whose description of contemporary English is unique" (Lee 1974 : 83) also fails to advance this problem.

Its chapter devoted to "Time, Tense, and Aspect" (Quirk et al. 1972 : 84) starts with this diagram of "the universal concept of time with three divisions":

```
    past time            present time          future time
 ──────────────────────────╳──────────────────────────────►
```
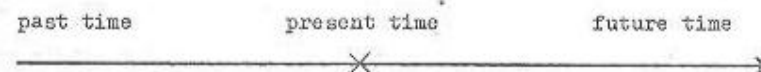
Then follows a description of tense functions more or less vaguely referring to time by means of such terms as "eternal truths", "current relevance", "future-as-a-matter-of-course", "habitual statement", etc., etc..

It is the typical traditional approach which always results in too many overlappings and inconsistent rules.
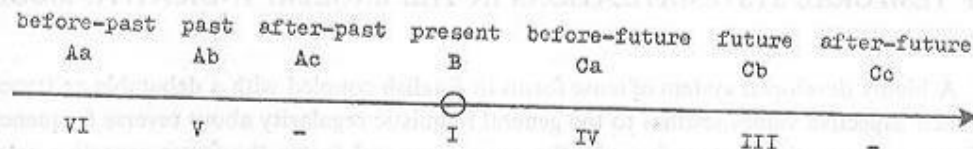
Before we attempt a systemic solution of the problem let us have a look at the in-

vestigations into time and tense carried out by other scholars. Their main effort has concentrated on the explanation of 32 tenses in the English indicative mood (Palmer 1965 : 56, 105). These 32 forms signalling time, aspect, mood, and voice, when subordinated to the category of time, may be reduced to the following eight tenses :

(I) the present simple which also stands for the same "present" in the progressive form, active and passive, i.e. altogether four different forms similarly :

(II) the present perfect
(III) the future simple
(IV) the future perfect
(V) the past simple
(VI) the past perfect
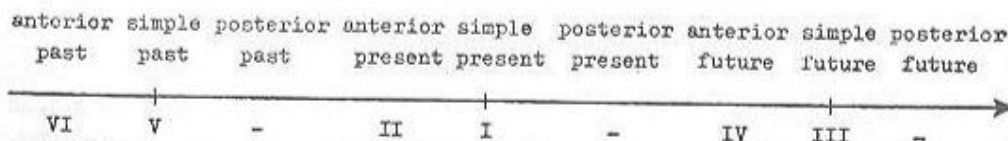(VII) the future-in-the-past
(VIII) the future perfect-in-the-past

The first notable attempt to coincide these tenses with the extra-linguistic reality of time was made by Otto Jespersen (1924 : 256). He conceived time as a unidirectional line with seven temporal points on it arising from the three basic divisions, viz. past /A/, present /B/, and future /C/. His presentation is as follows :

```
before-past   past   after-past   present   before-future   future   after-future
   Aa          Ab        Ac          B            Ca           Cb          Cc


   VI          V          -          I           IV           III          -
```

On this time line the present simple is accommodated at B, the future simple at Cb the future perfect at Ca, the past simple at Ab, and the past perfect at Aa. Ac and Cc remain redundant although, at the same time, there is no room for the present perfect (II), the future-in-the-past (VII), and the future perfect-in-the-past (VIII).

A further defect of this presentation is lack of temporal correspondence between VI and IV. Both the past and the future perfect refer to achronological time whereas in the diagram, from the viewpoint of B, the past perfect is achronological and the future perfect — chronological, i.e. in the direction of the arrow, on the right hand side of B.

The imperfections of Jespersen's seven-point time line inspired Hans Reichenbach (1947 : 287, 298) to produce a line with "nine fundamental forms in such a way as to distinguish the present perfect from the simple past". He achieved it by expanding Jespersen's present point B into a "three-place structure", like this:

```
anterior   simple   posterior   anterior   simple   posterior   anterior   simple   posterior
  past      past       past       present   present   present     future    future    future

   VI         V          -          II         I          -         IV       III         -
```
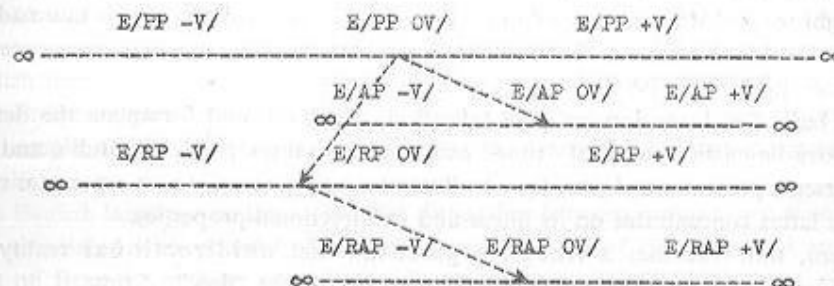
In this way Reichenbach managed to accommodate the present perfect correctly as another achronological tense corresponding to the past perfect, but again he failed in finding room for VII and VIII in spite of three redundant temporal points.

There also remains the same inconsistency between the achronological VI (and II), and the chronological IV.

The attempts made by Quirk, Jespersen, and Reichenbach are enough to prove that it is impossible to present consistently on one time line the temporal relationships among the eight tenses under discussion.

An entirely new concept has been advanced by William E. Bull (1960 : 31). When inquiring into the temporal system of Spanish he produced a four-segment time line which, according to him, should hold for all known languages. They only differ in "the degree of redundancy", i.e. the regularity with which they fill up Bull's temporal points.
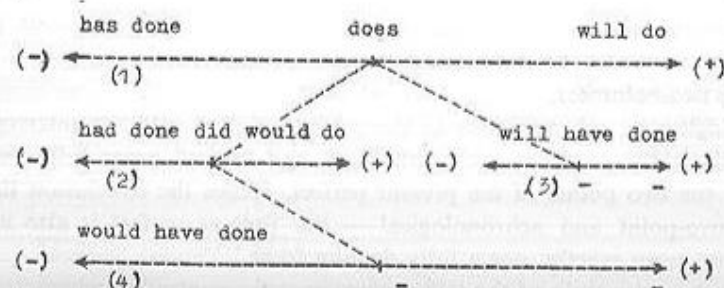
The four segments called "axes of orientation" are each marked with three vectors and presented as follows :

```
E/FP -V/            E/PP OV/            E/PP +V/
∞ ----------------------------------------------- ∞
                        E/AP -V/    E/AP OV/   E/AP +V/
                  ∞ ------------------------------- ∞
E/RP -V/        E/RP OV/            E/RP +V/
∞ ----------------------------------------------- ∞


                  E/RAP -V/   E/RAP OV/   E/RAP +V/
                  ∞ ------------------------------- ∞
```

Bull starts with the axiom that "since every activity of man ... (or Event E)... may be an axis of orientation, all activities of man take place at PP (the prime point)" (Bull 1960 : 21). These PP points are marked on the first segment or "the primary axis" with "zero vector (OV)" indicating the prime point itself, "minus vector (—V)" to the left of OV, and "plus vector (+V)" to the right.

From the viewpoint of PP the second axis represents events that are anticipated (AP), the third axis refers to events recalled (RP), and the fourth concerns the events that are recalled at PP as having been anticipated at RP; thus they become RAP events.

With Bull's approval P.S. Tregidgo (1974 : 94, 107) adapted his diagram for the English tense system. The four axes of orientation are here called (1) present, (2) past, (3) future, and (4) future-in-the-past respectively. The eight tenses have been placed on them in the following way:

```
          has done           does            will do
(-) ←----------------------------------------→ (+)
         (1)

      had done  did  would do          will have done
(-) ←----------------------→ (+)  (-) ←------------→ (+)
         (2)                            (3)  -      -

      would have done
(-) ←----------------------------------------→ (+)
         (4)
```

The accommodation of all the tenses in Bull's diagram is a notable scientific achievement if compared with the previous attempts which failed to do so.

And yet it reveals many shortcomings, the most striking one being its failure to illustrate consistently temporal relationships between perfect and non-perfect tenses: the future perfect and the future perfect-in-the-past are put on the lines different from their non-perfective counterparts. This contradicts J. Kuryłowicz's general linguistic principle (1971 : 558) according to which "in English, French (and other Romance languages) the basic contrasts on which their verbal systems are built are the contrasts between the forms expressing anteriority, and the forms which do not do so (i.e. they express non-anteriority or simultaneity" (my translation H. K.)

A limited scope of this theoretical article prevents us from exemplifying actual uses of the eight tenses listed on page two in order to arrive inductively at their more adequate places on the time line. To do it we shall avail ourselves of our general experience of the tense usage in the English indicative mood.

As a basis for discussion we shall take Bull's diagram, and formulate the definition of the extra-linguistic reality of "time" expressed by tenses partly on Bull's and partly on Jespersen's presentations. The former illustrates time primarily as a segmental concept while the latter concentrates on its linear and unidirectional properties.

In sum, time becomes a linear, segmental, and unidirectional reality. Such a definition coincides with our subjective perception of the "flow" of time.

Present time, or more exactly, the present moment of speaking provides the primary axis of orientation for all other events (Buehler 1934 : 31). It is a twofold conception :

(a) a mathematical abstract point 0 with no dimension on the time line (l'actualité noncale), and

(b) a dimensional segment (l'actualité toncale) (Pichon 1940 : 177) immediately orientated to and containing 0.

For the sake of simplicity we confine ourselves to concept (a) and expand it to past and future events as well.

Bull places the present perfect and the present simple on the same present segment of time. So what is the difference between their "presentness"? We can distinguish three oppositions here. In contrast to the one-point present simple representing a present time event, the present perfect marked before it must involve two points of time, viz. the present moment of speaking as temporal immediate reference, and the actual occurrence of the event itself at some other point before it.

From the viewpoint of the unidirectional concept of time the present perfect then becomes an achronological tense. This temporal characteristic arises as a logical consequence of its two-pointness.

It is un-English to ask questions in the present perfect with the interrogative word "when". Similarly the common uses with "for" and "since" never fully determine the exact time of the two points of the present perfect. Hence the conclusion that — apart from being two-point and achronological — the present perfect is also a temporally indefinite or, more exactly, not a fully definite tense.

Following the same train of thought we arrive at the contrastive characteristics of the present simple. Its marking as one point on the chronological line makes it chronologi-

cal itself. Actual usage with definite adverbials of time as well as questions with "when" prove that it is a definite grammatical form.

In spite of its universality covering sempiternal, habitual or repeated events which qualify the definiteness of the present simple, it is — at least — a definable tense.

All in all, the two tenses contrast in every way except for being present. They are:

<div align="center">

two-point — versus one-point

achronological — versus chronological

indefinite — versus definite.

</div>

Bull's accommodation of the future simple on the present segment of time is fully justified by the present semantic values of "shall" and especially "will" meaning present command and willingness respectively. It is only comparatively recently that these verbs have been undergoing a rather inconsistent process of grammaticalization towards meaningless auxiliaries indicating futurity. The result is that "there is no obvious future tense in English corresponding to the tense parallel for present and past" (Quirk et al. 1972 : 87).

The future simple, being a one-point tense, shares the temporal characteristics of the present simple, and contrasts with the future perfect in the same way as the present perfect versus the present simple does.

The English language makes a clear-cut distinction between present time events immediately associated with or referred to the present moment of speaking, and events that are cut off from, or without immediate reference to this moment.

The past simple is such a tense usually indicating when in the past an event actually took place. Bull places it on a separate segment reserved for past forms.

As a one-point on the past time line the past simple again shares the three distinctive features of the present and future simple and, at the same time, it serves as immediate reference point for the past perfect which contrasts with the past simple in being two-point, achronological, and indefinite.

The future-in-the-past, the typical form of indirect speech utterances when future events are interpreted from a past viewpoint is another one-point, chronological, and definite tense contrasting with its perfect counterpart in the three ways.

The above definitions of the eight tenses representing all the possible temporal circumstances of the 32 forms in the indicative mood in English prompt a new accommodation on the time line.

We shall divide Jespersen's unidirectional arrow into a present and a past segment. The perfects on each segment will then be marked with a dotted achronological arrow
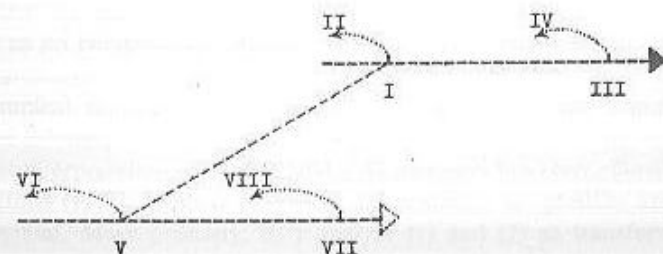
starting at each non-perfect tense and pointing to some indefinite pastness in the direction opposite to the direction of the time arrow (see p. 37). The hyphenated line joining the present and the past segments shows that the present simple constitutes the primary point of temporal orientation for all tenses : present and past.

This new diagram places all the eight grammatical tense forms without redundancy and in a consistent way illustrating similarities and contrasts between the perfects and the non-perfects in accordance with Kuryłowicz's principle. In each case we can see the same three-element contrastive characteristics covering not only the four perfect — non-perfect pairs under discussion but also the remainder of the 32 indicative-mood forms that exist in English.

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MICHAŁ POST

# ON THE SO CALLED FUNCTIONAL COMPARATIVES IN ENGLISH

## 1. METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

1.1. The term Functional Comparative (FC) has been coined by Campbell and Wales (1969) for TOO/ENOUGH sentences of traditional grammar. They have observed that FCs differ from regular comparatives in that the function specified by their infinitival complement implies the STANDARD of COMPARISON, while in the former, which they call DESCRIPTIVE, the standard is expressed by a nominal concept. For example (1) and (2) are FCs:

(1) John is too short to touch the ceiling,
(2) Peter is tall enough to touch the ceiling,

whereas (3) and (4)

(3) John is bigger and stronger than Peter,
(4) The river is as deep as it is wide,

are descriptive comparatives.

To our knowledge apart from Campbell and Wales's paper, only two other works refer to TOO/ENOUGH sentences as comparatives. Jespersen (1933 : 226) suggested that in some linguistic expressions comparison is implicit. Thus, we have a latent comparative in *too* which means "in a higher degree than enough". A similar view is found in Quirk et al. (1972 : 774), who consider *too* and *enough* a pair of comparative expressions, which convey the contrasting notions of sufficiency and excess. Although Campbell and Wales claim that the sentences like (1) and (2) "exhibit the same set of semantic and formal relationships as do comparative sentence with -er/more... than and as...as" (1969 : 249), their only argument for the classification of (1) and (2) as comparatives is the suggestion concerning implicit standard of comparison. The three works are similar in that none of them states precisely what and how is compared in TOO/ENOUGH sentences.

A different interpretation of TOO/ENOUGH sentences has been offered by Lees (1960) and Huddlestone (1971). In their proposals, the sentences in question are related to the purpose adverbial. More precisely, they analyze (1) and (2) as transforms of sentences

containing *for* — purpose adverbial. However, we are not convinced of the validity of their claim. (1) does not assert that John is short "in order" to touch the ceiling; he is short and "therefore" not able to touch it.

1.2. Another problem with FCs concerns the nature of the relation of the infinitival complement to the main clause. Jespersen (1966 : 342) holds that in TOO/ENOUGH sentences the infinitive may be considered as an appended explanation. In more recent works we find suggestions which have apparently been motivated by the observation that the modifiers *too/enough* are closely connected with the complements following the adjective. Thus, in Lees's paper (1960 : 218-219) *too* and the following complement comprise a discontinuous syntactic component attributive to the descriptive adjective, while in Huddlestone's analysis (1971 : 150, 162) the infinitival complement is a part of the degree modifier to the predicative adjective. Recently, Bowers (1975) has suggested that the infinitival complement and the modifiers originate from the specifier of an adjective phrase (5) :

(5)
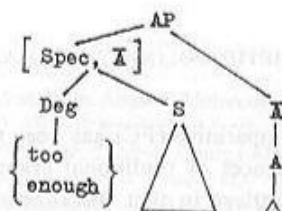


1.3. Generally, transformational grammarians derive FCs from two underlying source sentences (cf. Lees 1960, Huddlestone 1971, Bolinger 1961). In Lees's and Huddlestone's analyses the complement sentence is governed, in the deep structure, by the *for* — purpose adverbial. Accordingly, sentence (1), in their analyses, would have the following underlying source :

(6)   John is too short for N ⎫
      John touch the ceiling   ⎬ ⇒

Bolinger, in his paper (1961 : 367-8), claims that a negative transformation should be implied in one of the source sentences, underlying TOO sentences, and shows that *not* must be introduced earlier in the transformational history and *too* later. He suggests the following derivation for (1) :

(7)   John is short               ⎫
      John cannot touch the ceiling ⎬ ⇒

One of the rules is "delete negative and add *too* plus infinitive.

ENOUGH sentences are derived from two affirmative underlying clauses by an obligatory addition of *enough* in the generated sentence. The modifier *enough* does not appear in the source sentence. A sentence like (8)

(8)   Peter is tall enough to touch the ceiling,

is derived from (9)

(9)   Peter is tall              ⎫
      Peter touch the ceiling   ⎬ ⇒

Bolinger's proposal is superior to those of Lees and Huddlestone in that it accounts for negative and positive implications in TOO and ENOUGH sentences, respectively. However, both approaches must be rejected on semantic grounds : neither (6) nor (8) implies that Peter and John are tall and short, respectively[1].

1.4. In what follows, we shall be concerned with the semantics of TOO/ENOUGH sentences. In particular, we wish to establish the semantic structure underlying them, and to specify the deep source of *too* and *enough* modifiers. Our paper presupposes, as the general frame of discussion, the theory of generative semantics. The main assumption of the majority of generative semantists is that semantics and syntax are united in deep structure. In such approaches there are no pure syntactic categories and syntax is considered a formalization of semantic description[2].

## 2. SEMANTIC RELATIONAL STRUCTURE IN TOO/ENOUGH SENTENCES

2.1. Syntactic structures have relational meaning (cf. Klemensiewicz 1971). To establish the relational meaning in TOO/ENOUGH sentences let us consider the following pair :

(10) The stone is too heavy for me to lift it,
(11) The river is deep enough for us to swim.

(10) asserts that lifting cannot be performed and the failure to do so is due to the stone's weight; (11) asserts that we can swim and it is due to the river's depth. It seems that (10) and (11) exhibit the same type of underlying relation of CAUSE and EFFECT since respective EFFECTs i.e. failure in (10) and the success in (11), expressed by the complements, are attributed to appropriate CAUSEs i.e. the stone's weight and the river's depth.

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[1] Bolinger's analysis is a subject to still another criticism. Doc. Krzeszowski drew my attention to the fact that the proposed deep structures fail to be unique representations for *too* and *enough* sentences respectively. From (7), for example, one can also derive sentences like the following :
  (a) John is so short that he cannot touch the ceiling.
  (b) John is short and he cannot touch the ceiling.
  (c) John cannot touch the ceiling because he is short.
which can hardly be said to be synonyms of (1). (9) can similarly be treated as the deep structure also underlying the following constructions, none of which is synonymous with (8)
  (a) Peter is so tall that he can touch the ceiling.
  (b) Peter is tall and he can touch the ceiling.
  (c) Peter can touch the ceiling because he is tall.
[2] Our analysis has been confined to a discussion of simple types of TOO/ENOUGH sentences, viz. those with single adjectives functioning as surface exponents of various measurable properties. The fact that English has also other means of expressing them (a, b, c, d) does not invalidate our final conclusions.
  (a) He smokes too many cigarettes to live long.
  (b) He smokes too much to live long.
  (c) He gives parties too frequently for his friends to enjoy them any more.
  (d) He speakes clearly enough to be understood.

If we now examine the following pairs of sentences:

(10) a. The stone is too heavy for us to lift.

   b. The stone is heavy so that I cannot lift it.

(11) a. The river is deep enough for us to swim.

   b. The river is deep so that we can swim.

we notice that (a) and (b) members of the respective pairs differ semantically. In (10a) it is the appropriate degree of the weight of the stone that prevents us from lifting it. In (11a), it is the appropriate degree of the depth of the river that enables us to swim, while in (10b), it is the mere fact of the weight of the stone that prevents us from lifting it, and in (11b), it is the mere fact of the depth of the river that enables us to swim. The conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that the CAUSE adjective can be somehow scaled. This fact is of great importance in CAUSE since the appropriate degree of intensity of the adjective makes CAUSE efficient.

Kalisz (1975) suggests that CAUSEs in sentences like (10a) and (11a) have the following semantic structure:

(12) The stone is heavy to the extent.

(13) The river is deep to the extent.

and the entire sentences have the following semantic structure:

(14) The stone is heavy to the extent.

   It causes

   We cannot lift it.

(15) The river is deep to the extent.

   It causes

   We can swim.

For the generation of such sentences he proposes the following rule: Adjective → → (EXTENT). EXTENT means that adjective is scaled.

The immediate shortcoming of this proposal consists of the vague concept of EXTENT. It is obvious that the EXTENTs in (14) and (15) have different values which should not be left unspecified if the proposed semantic structures are to account for the total meaning of (10) and (11). We suggest this be done at a level deeper than that posited by Kalisz.

2.2. In recent linguistic literature a sharp line between asserted and presupposed meaning has been drawn. Although the theoretical function of the concept of presupposition is not very clear, it has become the common central claim that (a) the distinction between assertion and presupposition is relevant for semantic description and (b) that the job of semantic description is to associate sentences with their assertions and presuppositions. It has not been settled, however, in what form presuppositions should be given in semantic descriptions, though several proposals have been put forward. (cf. Lakoff 1970, Muraki 1974). In our treatment of TOO/ENOUGH sentences we shall follow the presupposition-assertion approach to semantic description. The definition of the concept of presupposition and the mode of representing it has been adopted from Õim (1973 : 370-373).

2.2.1. According to Õim, presuppositions, taken by themselves, are messages that precede or have preceded the proper assertion of the sentence. That certain information is presupposed means that this information should already be contained in the corres-

ponding argument-structure, before the new information carried by the message should operate upon argument structures that already contain the presupposed information.

Presuppositions are always connected with definite arguments: they present material that is contained in arguments. It may be said that every presupposition is a presupposition about a certain object namely about one of the objects about which the corresponding sentence asserts its new information. In other words, presuppositions form the identifying description of the object referred to by the corresponding argument.

Õim proposes the general form of argument-structures the representation of which is illustrated by (16)

(16)



Here x is a referential index and S is the sentence, or a conjunction of sentences, which presents the presupposition(s) about x.

2.3. Now, we shall attempt to establish the set of assertions and presuppositions in the following TOO sentences.

(17) The river is too deep for the boy to wade.

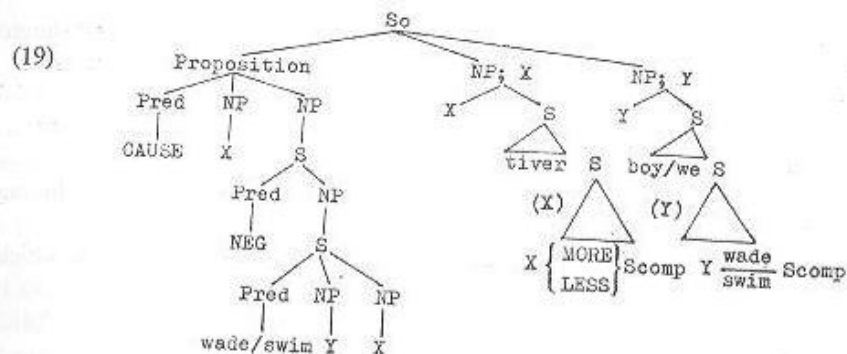(18) The river is too shallow for us to swim.

The meaning of (17) involves, among others, the denial that the boy can wade the river, and his failure to do so is related to the river's depth. Is is also asserted that the river's depth is such that wading cannot be performed. In view of what was said about presupposition, it is claimed that there is a depth at which the boy can wade rivers. Another relevant presupposition is that the claimed depth has some minimum and maximum point, beyond which the action specified by the infinitival complement is not possible. We conjecture that the river's depth in (17) is MORE than the maximum limit, which explains why the boy cannot perform the act of wading. We might say that the upper limit functions here as the STANDARD of COMPARISON.

The analysis of (18) yields, among others, a denial that we can swim in the river, the failure being due to the river's depth, and an assertion that the river's depth is such that swimming cannot be performed. Relevant presuppositions here are that we require an appropriate degree of depth in order to be able to swim, and that this required depth should have some upper and lower limit. In (18) the river's depth is LESS than the lower limit, and this is why we cannot swim.

In accordance with the above, an approximation to the semantic representation of (17) and (18) would be something like (19).

It follows from our representation that CAUSE (x) in sentences like (17) and (18) has the structure underlying comparative constructions. The two types differ, however, with respect to the relation involved: MORE in (17) and LESS in (18).

(19)

So
Proposition          NP; X          NP; Y
Pred    NP    NP        X              Y
               |        S              S
CAUSE   X     S      tiver  S      boy/we  S
        Pred   NP    (X)            (Y)
        NEG    S     X { MORE / LESS } Scomp  Y (wade/swim) Scomp
        Pred  NP  NP
       wade/swim  Y   X

2.4. Now, we may turn to the discussion of the ENOUGH sentences. A common view is that *too* and *enough* are related through negation. Thus an affirmative assertion with *enough* carries a positive implication, as in (20). An affirmative assertion with *too* falsifies the complement, as in (21).

(20) She is old enough to do some work. ⊃ She can do some work.
(21) She is too old to do any work. ⊃ She cannot do any work.

The negative force of *too* is additionally shown in the use of a non-assertive form like *any*. The above seems to suggest the absence of NOT predicate in the semantic representation of ENOUGH sentences. The question is to define the relation (s) of comparison in them.

2.4.2. It is obvious that the action denoted by the infinitival complement can be performed only when the degree of the property expressed by the focal phrase is equal to the STANDARD, which, in turn, implies that we should have to deal with the relation of EQUALITY in ENOUGH sentences. The plausibility of this claim seems to be confirmed by a presupposition-assertion analysis of the following examples.

(22) The stream is deep enough for the boy to swim. ⊃
                              The boy can swim.
(23) The stream is shallow enough for us to wade. ⊃
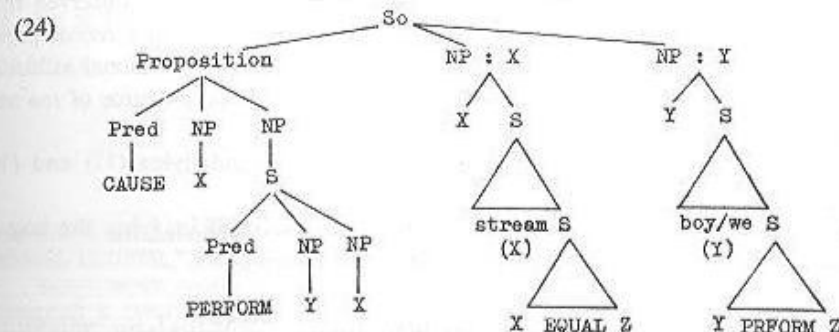                              We can wade.

The meaning of (22) involves affirmation that the boy can swim, the success to do so being related to the stream's *sufficient* depth. The relevant presupposition here is that the depth at which the boy can swim in streams has a maximum and a minimum point, beyond which the action in question is not possible. To account for the positive implication we suggest that the stream's depth in (22) is EQUAL to this minimum degree.

Sentence (23) asserts that the success to wade the stream is also due to the stream's *sufficient* depth, and it is presupposed that the depth at which we can wade has an upper and a lower limit, too. As in (22), the fact that the stream's depth is EQUAL to the minimum degree of the presupposed depth explains why the act of wading can be performed.

If our reasoning is correct, then *enough* means that there is a certain minimum point of intensity at which the action is still possible, and that the degree of the property named by the head phrase reaches this point.

Another inference which can be made at this point of our discussion is that the CAUSE

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in ENOUGH sentences has a comparative structure founded on the relation of EQUALITY. And if the suggestion concerning the absence of NOT in the propositional structure of ENOUGH sentences is valid, then the approximation to their semantic representation would be like the structure (24)

(24)

So
Proposition               NP : X         NP : Y
Pred    NP    NP          X    S          Y    S
CAUSE    X    S         stream S       boy/we S
        Pred  NP  NP     (X)            (Y)
       PERFORM  Y   X    X EQUAL Z     Y PRFORM Z

where : PERFORM stands for meaning rather than a particular lexical item, and Z stands for the minimum degree of the presupposed property.

2.5. We are also in a position here to make a generalization about the nature of TOO/ENOUGH sentences. The material presented above indicates that they pertain to sentences exhibiting CAUSE and EFFECT relation. If we assumed that the EFFECT in TOO/ENOUGH sentences is [+Efficient] viz. a failure in TOO sentences, and a success in ENOUGH sentences, we might opt for treating them as clauses of result *par excellence*.

The fact that CAUSE in TOO/ENOUGH sentences has the structure underlying comparative constructions explains why they exhibit certain properties in common with -er/more...than and as...as comparatives. At the same time it is conspicuous that the relation of result is superior to that of comparison, and not the other way round.

### 3. DEEP SOURCE OF SURFACE *TOO* AND *ENOUGH* MODIFIERS

3.1. In various approaches to the problem of *too* and *enough* adverbs we observe the emphasis on their function rather than on their origin, which is altogether not surprising if one recalls a typical traditional definition of the adverb : "the adverb is a part of speech which serves as a modifier of a verb, adjective or another adverb or adverbial phrase" (Lyons 1968 : 325). Hence, in Grzebieniowski (1964), for instance, *too* and enough *are* considered as adverbs of degree and quality, functioning as modifiers. A similar view is held by Quirk et al. (1972) who treat *too* and *enough* as intensifiers. In a more recent work by Backlünd (1973), *too* and *enough* are labelled as adverbs meeting and not meeting the demand of a subsequent verbal. Their function is to express that the degree of the idea denoted by the head phrase is or is not suitable to meet the demand of the following verbal.

Due to recent developments in the field of linguistics, the emphasis has shifted from function to origin. Several proposals concerning the origin of various types of adverbs have been offered.

A universally recognized, in traditional grammar, similarity of syntactic and semantic functions of adjectives and related adverbs has first led to the establishing of a theory according to which adverbs are derived from deep structure adjectives (Chomsky 1965). According to the interpretive semantic model, adverbs are generated in the base and interpreted by a variety of projection rules (Jackendoff 1972). Harman (1972) observed that surface adverbs are the exponents of various types of deep predicates. In a recent paper by Zabrocki (1974), a suggestion is put forward that the so called "propositional attitude" is relevant for generating modal adverbs. In our discussion of the deep source of *too* and *enough* adverbs we shall dwell upon Harman's proposal.

3.2. At some point in the derivation the following strings underlying (17) and (18) would be generated:

$$[_S [_{NP} \text{ the river} [_S \text{which is MORE is DEPTH than } S]_S]_{NP} \text{ CAUSE} [_{NP} [_S [_{NP} \text{ the boy}$$
$$[_S \text{who can wade } S]_S]_{NP} \text{ NOT WADE}]_S]_{NP}]_S$$

and

$$[_S [_{NP} \text{ the river} [_S \text{which is LESS in DEPTH than } S]_S]_{NP} \text{ CAUSE} [_{NP} [_S [_{NP} \text{ we} [_S \text{who}$$
$$\text{can swim at } S]_S]_{NP} \text{ NOT SWIM}]_S]_{NP}]_S$$

Our suggestion is that the surface adverb *too* is founded on three elementary predicates (RELATION) (CAUSE) (NOT). The first predicate is lifted out of the comparative clause. The justification which we can give for our proposal is a semantic one. The degrees of the property named by the head phrase in (17) and (18) are not just MORE or LESS with respect to the appropriate STANDARDS (upper and lower limit), but they are MORE or LESS to the degrees which prevent from performing the function stated by the infinitival complement. Additionally, our suggestion accounts for the inherent negation of surface *too* and negative implication of TOO sentences.

3.2.1. Since we have distinguished two relations of comparison in TOO sentences, the suggestion is that *too* has two variants represented by a. and b. respectively:

     a. MORE CAUSE NOT meaning "too high a degree"

     b. LESS    CAUSE NOT meaning "too small a degree"

Hence, there is a serious reason to introduce $TOO_1$ and $TOO_2$ at a more shallow level of derivation, corresponding to (a) and (b) respectively.

3.3. The absence of NOT in the predicative structure of ENOUGH sentences together with the proposal concerning the type of the relation of comparison in them seem to imply that the surface adverb *enough* originates from a single deep source. If this suggestion is correct, then the modifier in question is founded on two elementary predicates (EQUAL) (CAUSE) meaning equal to the degree that makes the function stated by the infinitival complement still possible. The evident advantage of this proposal is that it accounts for positive implication in ENOUGH sentences.

## 4. SUMMARY

4.1. Two types of English adjectival constructions with infinitival complements have been considered in this discussion: TOO sentences such as (10) and ENOUGH sentences such as (11). On the basis of the evidence surveyed here, it seems that:

(1) TOO/ENOUGH sentences pertain to sentences exhibiting CAUSE and EFFECT relation. CAUSE in these sentences has the structure underlying comparative constructions, which explains why they display certain properties with regular comparatives.

(2) Surface modifiers *too* and *enough* are the exponents of certain deep predicates: viz. *too* is founded on $\left(\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{MORE} \\ \text{LESS} \end{matrix} \right\}\right)$ (CAUSE) NOT: *enough* is founded on (EQUAL) (CAUSE).

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MICHAŁ POST

# SEMANTICS AND SYNTAX OF JUST ONE CONSTRUCTION OF PROPORTIONATE AGREEMENT IN MODERN ENGLISH

## I. BACKGROUND

The present paper is a part of an upcoming work on comparison constructions of equality in English. One of the problems we had to face was to delineate between the constructions in question and other syntactic structures. In what follows, we discuss one syntactic construction of the English language which is exemplified by (1) and (2):

(1) The more I thought of her, the more I missed her.

(2) The more money he makes, the more he wants.

In our opinion, it should be subsumed under the class of equatives. Sentences of this type are usually grouped together with constructions like (3) and (4):

(3) As he grew older, (so) he became more cautious.

(4) As time went on, (so) their hopes began to wane.

Both types are referred to as constructions of proportionate agreement (cf. Curme 1931, Poutsma 1914, Quirk et al. 1972). Formally, sentences like (1) and (2) are marked by the occurence of two *the*'s (henceforth TT), followed by an adjective inflected for comparative degree. In the other type, the subordinate clause is introduced by *as* (henceforth AS), the main clause by optional *so*.

The order of our discussion will be the following: first, we shall try to find out what semantic information is encoded in TTs. Then, we shall propose a semantic relational structure underlying them. Finally, the derivation of TTs from the proposed logical structure will be discussed. In passing, we shall comment on the claim that ASs and TTs are, semantically, the same type of construction.

## II. THE SEMANTICS OF TT CONSTRUCTIONS

To begin with, let us look at the surface exponents of TTs; i.e. *the...the* correlatives. The reason for which we propose to do this is that their nature sheds light on the semantics of these constructions.

Grammarians generally agree that in modern usage *the* + comparative in TTs has a distinctly adverbial function indicating degree or ammount (cf. Curme 1931 : 147, Jespersen 1940 : 509 vol. 7, Zandvoort 1968 : 224). They also argue that neither of the *the*'s is a development of the old definite article (cf. Jespersen 1940 : 509 vol. 7, Curme 1931 : 297, House & Harman 1946 : 289-290). Jespersen holds that one of the *the*'s is a development of py, the Old English instrumental of the determinative pronoun *that*. The other *the* originates from the relative pe. In Curme's opinion the *the*'s are the Old English double determinative. The first *the* is a determinative, i.e. neuter instrumental case of the determinative pæt. The second *the* is a demonstrative pæt. House & Harman maintain that the *the*'s in Old English were the instrumental case of the demonstrative pæt — *that*. In Jespersen's interpretation (1940 : 509 vol. 7) the two *the*'s mean "by how much" and "by so much", respectively, while in Curme's they have a meaning akin to "in that [degree] — in that [degree]". House & Harman (1946 : 289-290) propose "by that much — by that much", to render the meaning encoded in the *the*'s. Accordingly, a sentence like (2) originally was.

(5) In that [degree] : he makes more money, in that [degree] he wants more (Curme 1931 : 296).

The first instance of *the* in (2) is a determinative, pointing to the following subordinate clause. The second instance of *the* is a demonstrative, pointing back to the preceding subordinate clause. In other words, the two *the*'s point to the explanatory subordinate clause.

Two conclusions seem to follow from these preliminary considerations, namely, that we have to do with grading in TTs, and that the relationship between the degrees of qualities encoded in the two constituent clauses is that of equality. This idea is explicit in Curme (1931 : 296), when he proposes square brackets with DEGREE. It is also evident in House & Harman (1946 : 290) when they explicate the sentence like (6).

(6) The wealthier he grew, the stingier he seemed.

As he seemed stingier in the degree in which he grew wealthier. The correctness of our conclusion concerning grading in TTs is additionally supported by the form that the adjective assumes ; both, in the subordinate and the main clause the adjective is inflected for comparative degree.

In discussions of the constructions in question, grammarians emphasize their dynamic character. Jespersen (1940 : 380 vol. 5) says that TTs indicate a "parallel increase in two interdependent cases". In Zandvoort's opinion (1968 : 224) what they express is "that two qualities increase or decrease at an equal rate". It is plausible then that in sentences like (1) and (2) one has to do with the decrease or increase at an equal rate, of two qualities, cases, propositions etc. Each of the mentioned grammarians points out these facts.

In keeping with the above, we suggest that there are two scales involved in (6) ; i.e. the scale of wealthiness and the scale of stinginess. Sentence (6) asserts, among other things, that his being wealthy has a degree, and his being stingy also has a degree. These degrees, however, are not constant values but are subject to change ; i.e. any change on the first scale is accompanied by a change on the other scale. If we now represent the increase of wealthiness as on imaginary movement along the axis of wealthiness, from point to point, then each of the degrees of wealthiness would have its corresponding degree of stinginess,

Graphically, this might be represented as in (7)

(7) "wealthiness"                    "stinginess"

$$
\begin{array}{c|c}
x_n & y_n \\
x_{n-1} & y_{n-1} \\
x_1 & y_1 \\
x & y
\end{array}
$$

Before, we suggested that the relation of equality holds between the degrees of two qualities involved in TTs. Thus, using the terminology of Bartsch & Vennemann (1975), we might say that the numerical value of measure function of wealthiness at $x_1$ is equal to the value of this function in $y_1$, the value of the measure function at $x_2$ is equal to the value of this function at $y_2$, ... the value at $x_n$ is equal to the value at $y_n$. It would seem then that at every point along the two axes we have the relation of equality holding between the corresponding values of measure function. In terms of logic, we might express this fact as follows

(8) $\quad f^M_W(x_n) = f^M_S(y_n),$

where : $f^m$ = measure function ; $x_n$ & $y_n$ = any corresponding points along the two dimensions.

(8) is evidently a semantic relational structure underlying sentences with the positive form of the adjective and the *as...as* phrase. There is, however, a considerable difference between *as...as* sentences and TTs, namely, the former express states, while TTs denote actions or processes in their change. This means that the value of the measure function at any $x_n$ and the corresponding $y_n$ is larger than the respective values at $x_{n-1}$ and $y_{n-1}$[1]. We think then that it is not that the relation of equality holds between each $x$ and its corresponding $y$, but rather that the quantitative increase of two qualities, measured at any of the corresponding points along the dimensions involved is equal.

The relation of equality remains constant under one condition only ; i.e. the degrees of qualities increase at an equal rate. In other words, asserting the proposition of (6) presupposes an equal, as to the rate, change in the two interdependent cases described in the main and subordinate clauses, respectively.

It is plausible that, semantically, TTs are more than just comparison constructions founded on the relation of equality. That we are right in our claim becomes obvious when one recalls the function of the second term of comparison (standard S) in comparative constructions.

It is always the case that the degree of a property possessed by a referent of the focus phrase is specified relatively to some standard, usually a well-known point of reference. In TTs, S is defined by the subordinate clause, and its degree changes. Since S in TTs determines the degree of the main clause quality in a peculiar way ; i.e. a change of S is always followed by a quantitatively equal change encoded in the main clause, we suggest that one has to do with cause-result relationship in TTs.

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[1] In Topolinska (1975), we found an interesting suggestion to consider TTs a conjunction of comparative structures of the type *more than in the preceding stage*.

However, we have to emphasize the fact that the relation of cause does not hold between the events described in the two constituent clauses; it is not the event described in the subordinate clause that brings about the event described in the main clause, but the increase of the degree of S causes a quantitatively equal increase in the degree of quality defined in the main clause. If this is true, then we are dealing with two semantic relationships in TTs, namely, cause-result and equality. Consequently, the semantic structure which we would like to assign for TTs is something appriximate to (10):

(10)
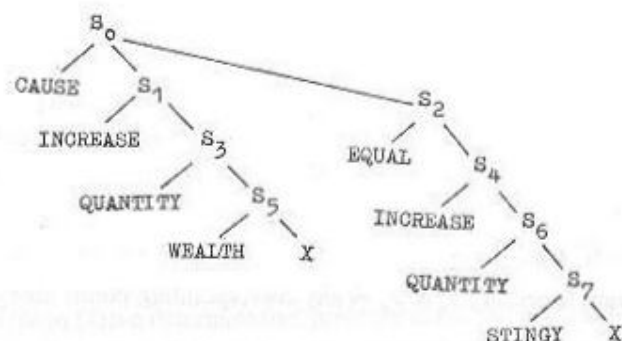


Now, we will comment on Zandvoort's proposal (1968 : 224) to label TTs as Comparatives of Contrast. Zandvoort gives the following sentence to justify his view:

(11) The longer I think of your proposal, the less I like it.

Structurally, (11) is similar to other TTs we have discussed above; i.e. we find a comparative in both clauses preceded by a the. Semantically, (11) differs from (10), for example. In (10) it made sense to have predicates INCREASE in the sentential arguments of CAUSE, indicating growth of degrees; in (11), it seems that we should have INCREASE in the subordinate clause, and DECREASE in the main one. (11) asserts that the duration of my thinking increases in the same degree in which the degree of my liking decreases.

One should not be surprised to find TTs with the DECREASE predicate in the subordinate clause, and INCREASE in the main clause:

(12) The less he sleeps, the more restless he becomes.

Naturally, we also find constructions with the DECREASE predicate in both clauses:

(13) The less he sleeps, the less effective his work becomes.

Very often sentences are ambiguous as to which of the predicates is found in their semantic structure. Consider for example the following:

(14) Science is like a sea...the more you drink, the more thirsty you are.

The main clause can be interpreted as an INCREASE and/or DECREASE reading; i.e. the more you drink, the less your thirst gets satisfied for the DECREASE reading, and the more you drink the more your thirst grows, for the INCREASE reading.

The above examples seem to indicate that Zandvoot's label is justified only for a certain group of TTs, namely, those constructions which are based on the INCREASE-DECREASE or DECREASE-INCREASE predicates, as exemplified by (11) and (12). Comparatives of Contrast appear thus to constitute a semantic subclass of TT constructions.

So far, we have attempted to show that TTs are a special case of comparison clauses of equality. Now, we want to examine the semantic properties of AS constructions, our ultimate aim being to ascertain whether they are also equatives. For this purpose, we propose to consider the following sentences:

(15) As he grew older, he became more cautious.

(16) As I weakened, my antagonist gained strength.

(17) The mother was the second daughter in a large family, that grew more numerous as pounds grew fewer.

Conceptually, we are dealing with two axes in (15 - 17), as in the TTs. (15) asserts that the movement along the axis of age towards the positive extreme is accompanied by a movement along the axis of cautiousness. Thus, we may paraphrase (15) as follows: the increase in the grade of his advancement in years is accompanied by an increase in the grade of his being cautious. In this respect the ASs are similar to TTs; i.e. they denote an increase/ /decrease in two interdependent cases.

Let us now examine the relationship obtained between the propositions expressed in the subordinate and the main clauses. It seems to us that the link in (15-17) is that of time. That is the change in the two cases takes place simultaneously. It is highly improbable, if not impossible, to assign causative interpretation to the above sentences. Thus, in (15) the referent of the surface subject is said to have undergone a parallel growth of age and cautiousness; in (16) two parallel, though reverse processes are described; i.e. gaining and losing strength. The temporal link is even more clear in (17) where it would be absurd to maintain that there was a cause-result relationship between the decrease of money and the increase in the number of family members. Thus, in ASs we probably have to do with a temporal relationship between the propositions of constituent clauses. Although the degrees of qualities expressed in these clauses do increase in a parallel fashion, there is nothing in the surface structure of ASs to imply that the change in both cases is quantitatively equal, as was the case with TTs.

Accordingly, the surface markers as...so should be interpreted as a temporal conjunction indicating simultaneity of change in both propositions rather than as a conjunction of degree. We suggest that as...so mean something like "at the time [x changes] — at this time [y changes]". Consequently, we propose to have a two-place predicate PARALLEL in the uppermost clause of the semantic representation of AS constructions, denoting the simultaneity of change in the constituent clauses. In keeping with our interpretation, we posit the following semantic structure for ASs:

(18)
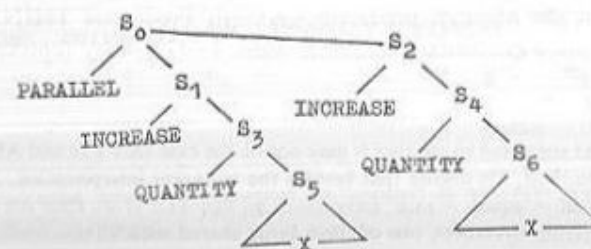
In conclusion we want to say that the apparent reason for which TTs and AS have been classified together is that they express change within interdependent cases. Semantically, however, they are two distinct types. Considering the relational meaning of TTs and ASs, we propose to include the former in the class of equative constructions, while the latter in the class of temporal clauses[2].

### III. DERIVATION OF TT EQUATIVES

What follows presupposes the theoretical framework referred to as generative semantics (GS). Adherents of this variant of transformational grammar recognize three levels of derivation; i.e. the level of logical structure (LS), the level of intermediate structure (IS) and the level of surface structure (SS). (cf. Frantz 1974). LS is the deepest level of a derivation where all semantic content is organized into trees with three kinds of nodes: proposition or S, predicates or V, and arguments or NPs.

The IS comprises the whole sequence of stages. Within this sequence, though not at any single point, the arguments and predicates of the LS start to become differentiated and begin to acquire various derived parts of speech, such as V, N, Adj and Adv. The logical arguments become derived NPs or other categories which are subsequently derived from them (nominal adj).

The third level of a derivation is the SS, understood here in the sense of Standard Theory (Chomsky 1965).

In contrast to Standard Theory, GS allows for the lexical insertion rules to be applied at various stages of the derivation; i.e. they replace portions of a tree that terminates in semantic material by a complex of syntactic and phonological material (cf. McCawley 1968, 1974).

We shall now discuss the derivation of the sentence which we consider a typical instance of a TT construction based on the predicates INCREASE and DECREASE respectively. We believe that the proposed LS and the route of derivation outlined below are basically the same for all TTs.

For a sentence like the following;

(19) The more I think of your proposal the less I like it.

the LS as in (20) seems to be appropriate. It should be remembered that the posited LS reflects the semantic aspects of TTs, which have been pointed out before.

It follows from our diagram that surface constituent clauses originate from two sentential arguments of the abstract predicate CAUSE. Predicates THINK and LIKE are decomposable into more elementary semantic units. In (20), they represent semantic com-

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Doc. Krzeszowski suggested to me that it may not be the case that TTs and ASs originate from distinct semantic representations. He argues that besides the temporal interpretation, ASs can be assigned the comparative "at — an — equal — rate" interpretation, like TTs. If so, then AS constructions will be derived from two underlying structures, one of them being shared with TTs.

(20)
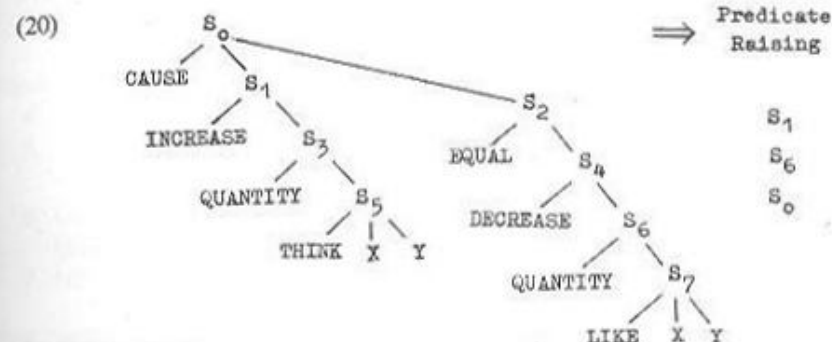


plexes which underlie the surface verbs *think* and *like*. QUANTITY is a predicate denoting quantity, degree etc. Both processes denoted by *think* and *like* respectively, are modified only to their quantitative aspect, rendered by this predicate.

The first rule to be applied to our LS is the well known predicate raising, which applies thrice; i.e. to $S_1$, $S_6$ and $S_0$, yielding the following intermediate structure:

(21)
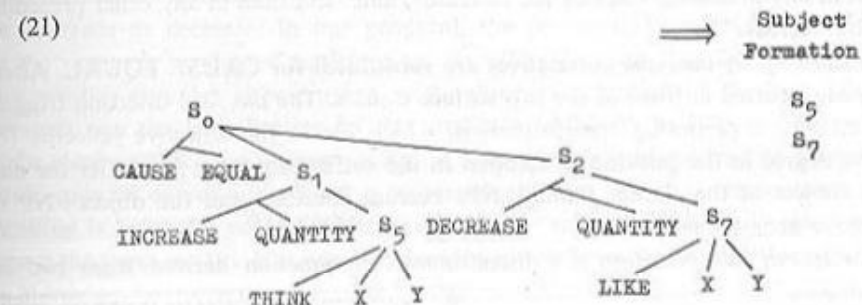


Next, the subject formation rule adjoins subject NPs in $S_5$ and $S_7$ to the left of their verbs, forming "new" S nodes:

(22)
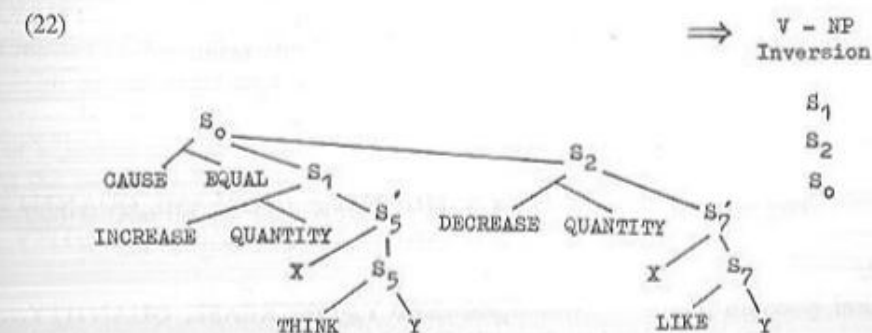


The last prelexical rule, which we suggest be applied is V—NP inversion, transforming (22) into the following tree:

(23)



At this point of the derivation the first lexical items are inserted. Thus, on the first cycle, the complex predicates THINK and LIKE receive lexical representation.

On the second cycle, lexicalization of the comparative complex (INCREASE QUANTITY) occurs. Having selected transitive verbs *think* and *like* for surface predicates, one has to indic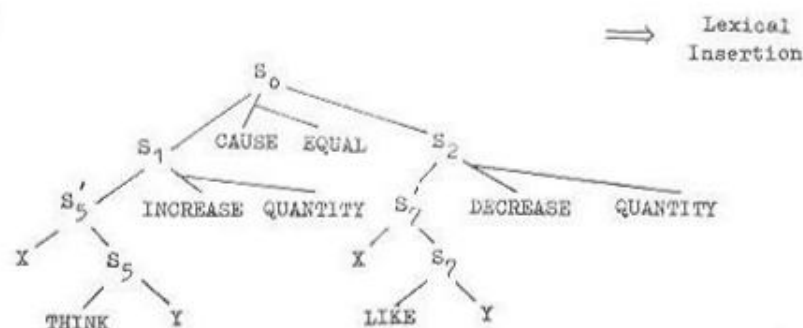ate in English their quantitative increase and decrease by means of the simple adjectives *more* and *less* respectively. Comparative forms of these adjectives mean here "more than in any preceding stage of the increase", and "less than in any other preceding stage of the decrease".

On the third cycle, *the...the* correlatives are substituted for CAUSE EQUAL. Afterwards they are inserted in front of the two surface clauses. The *the...the* insertion triggers off the comparative preposing transformation, which places the adjective inflected for comparative degree in the position it occupies in the surface structure; i.e. after *the* and before the subject of the clause. Finally, NPs become specified and the object—NP of *like* undergoes pronominalization.

*The...the* in our interpretation is a discontinuous conjunction derived from two semantic predicates. The historical origin of the *the*'s evidences that EQUAL is one of them. The only support for incorporating CAUSE we can offer is that such a proposal accords with our intuition. The increase in the two cases is not just *as...as*, but the change in the main clause is conditioned by the change in the subordinate clause; i.e. it is a result of the change in the subordinate clause.

In table I we present the derivation of (20) in a more explicit manner.

Table I

⫽X THINK Y⫽ INCREASE, QUANTITY
⫽X LIKE Y⫽ DECREASE, QUANTITY

First Cycle
1. Lexical insertion      ⫽X think Y⫽ INCREASE, QUANTITY...
     ⫽X like Y⫽ DECREASE, QUANTITY

Second Cycle
2. Comparative complex      ⫽X think Y⫽ more...
      lexicalization      ⫽X like Y⫽ less

3. S boundry deletion      X think of Y more...
     X like Y less

Third Cycle
4. *The...the* substitution      CAUSE EQUAL → the...the
5. *The...the* placement      the⫽X think of Y more
     the⫽ X like Y less
6. Comparative complex      the⫽more X think of Y
      preposing      the⫽less X like Y
7. NP attachement      the⫽more I think of your proposal
     the⫽less I like it
8. Word boundry deletion      the more I think of your proposal,
     the less I like it.

Now, we want to comment on one detail of our derivation, namely, the lexicalization of the comparative complex.

We have pointed out several times that in TTs we have to do with quantitative change, hence two predicates QUANTITY and INCREASE to indicate this. The former shows that the change is quantitative, not qualitative. The latter specifies the type of change; i.e. increase or decrease. In our proposal, the comparative complex is realised as one of the comparative degree markers: *-er*, *more/less*. It seems that the lexicalization of the comparative complex is contingent on the prior lexicalization of the lowest S, or, more precisely, on the lexicalization of he predicate in this S. In (19) we selected transitive verbs *think* and *like* for surface predicates, so that their increase and decrease in quantity could only be expressed in English by means of *more* and *less*, respectively. However, thinking is a mental process which lasts in time, so one could easily make its durative aspect the focus in (19). If it were so, then the lowest S would be something like ⫽X think of Y long⫽. Once adjective *long* is selected to indicate the duration of thinking, its comparative degree has to be formed synthetically, according to the known rule of English regulating the formation of comparative degree; i.e. add *-er* inflection to one or two syllable adjectives/adverbs. In short the realization of the comparative complex in TTs is done in the following ways. For verbs in the lowest S, the comparative complex complex is realized in the surface structure as more or less, depending on the change predicate:

(24) a. The more he contemplated the thing, the less he liked it.

    b. The more he stuttered, the less we understood him.

For adjectives and adverbs, either *-er* or *more/less* is selected, the choice being dependent on the number of syllables:

(25) a. The noisier they were, the more impatient their mother grew.

    b. The longer he stayed, the more sullen he became.

## IV. CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this paper was to discuss the semantics and syntax of TTs. This, hopefully, explains a rather sketchy and marginal treatment of AS constructions. In fact, much of what has been said about them may seem unsupported, but a thorough analysis of ASs lies beyond the scope of this paper.

Crucial to our discussion of TTs was the historical source of *the...the*. Their origin indicates that TTs are an instance of comparatives of equality. Since the relation of equality in TTs holds between constantly changing degrees of properties defined in their constituent clauses, we regard them as dynamic equative constructions. Depending on the change predicate in the constituent clauses, two semantic types of TTs can be distinguished: 1. Symmetric TTs, based on INCREASE-INCREASE or DECREASE-DECREASE predicates, and 2. Asymmetric TTs (Comparative of Contrast in Zandvoort 1957) based on the DECREASE-INCREASE and INCREASE-DECREASE pairs. We have also suggested that TTs display an interesting interplay of two semantic relationships; i.e. equality and causality. The first permits us to subsume TTs under the class of EQUATIVES in a broad meaning of the term. The second apparently points to treating them as causative constructions as well. However, the latter proposal seems untenable. TTs are not causative in the standard sense; i.e. involving two events, one caused by the other. It is rather the degree of the focus property that is specified causatively in them.

As far as the derivation of TTs is concerned, the outlined route should be treated as tentative. We believe that it is basically correct, but to ascertain whether it is really so, more data would have to be examined.

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## LITERATURE

JULIUSZ K. PALCZEWSKI

## H. G. WELLS — THIRTY YEARS AFTER

1976 marked a double H. G. Wells anniversary: born on September 21, 1866, the writer died on August 13, 1946. The place of his birth was a dismal London suburb, at that time Bromley in the county of Kent, and he was brought up in penury and want, his health in constant threat and danger from tuberculosis. On the threshold of a common teaching career he was left hopeless and apparently without prospects after failing in the final examinations at the South Kensington Normal School of Science in London (now the Imperial College of Science and Technology). Driven into authorship by mere circumstances, as it were, he rose to an eminence any writer or non-writer could wish for himself during his lifetime. Eulogised, feted, named a superman in the street — as early as in 1902 Arnold Bennett proposed, less jocosely than it might at first perhaps seem, the setting up of a special fund to maintain him in the capacity of professional prophet. But, as in so many cases before him, his reputation suffered a relapse after his death, or even earlier — towards the end of his life; in the 1940's and 1950's it almost seemed that he was doomed to something like oblivion. And as late as in 1966 Zygmunt Kałużyński in a programme broadcast by Polish TV to commemorate Wells's birth centenary described him as "the last outdated optimist and disappointed utopian of the 19th century stamp".

The situation was beginning to change in the 1960's. More and more works and critiques began to appear which were rediscovering Wells as the father of modern negative or black utopia or anti-utopia, counter-utopia, dystopia, cacotopia as it is severally known to be called. In fact most of the 20th century negative utopia, science or pseudo-science fiction and prophecies of doom can be traced back to one or another of Wells's scientific romances or so-called imaginary histories (Hillegas 1967). Significantly, critics would also uncover archetypal mythology, layers upon layers of symbol, meanings within meanings in multidimensional strands revealed in sudden bursts and flashes of illumination. (Bergonzi 1961, Parrinder 1970, Raknem 1972).

The revaluation of Wells is primarily due then to the writer's scientific romances which were beginning to delight and puzzle the fin-de-siècle reading public and critics.

*The Time Machine*, his first work of merit, long since a great (though short) classic of science fiction and a minor one of all literature, Wells had been writing for seven years, altering and reshaping at least six times before it became the accomplished work of art as we know it today. All the finest traits of Wellsian craftsmanship are there: intellectual verve, imaginative and visionary power, attention to detail which reduces distances, both temporal and spatial, to mere insignificance, exoticism of the habitual, and that peculiarly overpowering plasticity of the unknown.

Wells was anxious to remain upstage and to follow up the initial impact with more output. He was in a hurry to do so and haste had left distinctive traces on his subsequent constructions and plots. *The Invisible Man*, *When the Sleeper Wakes* and a number of shorter pieces are indisputable illustrations of this with their oblique settings, shifting perspectives, deflections, twists and bounds.

Wells had cast a cosmic spell on a pre-cosmic age. We very nearly feel the limits of his emotional engagement in the following prophetic passage: "We can still keep our feet upon the earth that made us. But the air no longer imprisons us, this round planet is no longer chained to us like the ball of a galley slave... In a little while men who will know how to bear the strange gravitations, the altered pressures, the attenuated unfamiliar gases and all the fearful strangeness of space will be venturing out from this earth. This ball will be no longer enough for us; our spirit will reach out... Cannot you see how that little argosy will go glittering up into the sky, twinkling and glittering smaller and smaller until the blue swallows it up. They may succeed out there; they may perish, but other men will follow them... It is as if a great window opened" (*The World Set Free*, p. 282-283). But the movement is a two-way one, to and from the earth. In *The War of the Worlds* there is an invasion from Mars, a weirdly terrifying universal war, a conquest and a last-minute rescue from the most unexpected quarters — the earthly bacteria against which the Martian organisms prove defenceless. The solution is an undoubted testimony to the author's perspicacity and inventive brilliance, and the haunting realism of the book revealed itself fully when it occasioned a widespread panic among the American public during the memorable Orson Welles broadcast of 1938.

In *The First Men in the Moon* the movement is outward, as the title itself indicates. Two space travellers reach the earth's satellite in a fantastic spaceship constructed from some antigravitational matter and find a lunar society grotesquely overspecialized and with a corresponding contraction of spiritual and emotional values strongly reminiscent of the later anti-utopia of the Aldous Huxley brand.

All these works, as well as those that have not been mentioned here, but which belong to Wells's initial phase of writing, have not merely an external, "cosmic" reference, but are clear warnings of the dangers inherent in the spontaneity of human evolution both in its biological and technological aspects. Henceforward "Adapt!" will become the writer's unyielding watchword and dramatic cry of his ecology which found its most poignant expression perhaps in the conclusion of *The Outline of History* where he says that "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe".

The two different phases of Wells's writing, the initial "pessimistic" and the subsequent "optimistic" one may be consequently said to logically follow one upon the other. While for some dozen years preceding the First World War Wells indulged in the novel of ordinary middle-class life in the Dickensian manner, to which a weighty section of present-day criticism persists to attach much importance and value, but which does not seem to represent the intrinsic Wells, he simultaneously embarked on the grand undertaking of confident utopian prophecy.

The *Anticipations* written at the dawn of the twentieth century and meant to be a concrete horoscope for it was the first attempt in this field. Some of those predictions proved remarkably true, from minor ones such as the military tank, bus-coach, lorry, multilevel motorways, flyovers and central heating to weightier considerations of economic integration literally (because geographically!) identifiable with the present-day European Economic Community. The anticipation of the atomic bomb together with a full-length description of its effects, though made chronologically at a later date, namely on the eve of the First World War /!/, must also be mentioned in this connection.

Alongside the prophecy there came great designs, blueprints for renewal and change. Sometimes the change is altogether miraculous, as when a comet brushes past the Earth leaving fumes which remould human thinking and feeling (*In the Days of the Comet*). It is rather less fanciful, but not, indeed, much less naive in *The World Set Free*, where universal understanding and harmony result upon a conference of the world's rulers and leaders following the shock of an atomic war.

Wells's philosophy of history comes into fuller view in *The Outline of History* and its smaller counterpart *A Short History of the World*. Integrating factors conditioning the past as well as implicit in the future are shown at work there. The integrating factors are several: economic integration proceeds on the basis of advancing technology; social integration is effected by general educative processes; political integration is promoted by the idea of the World State. The human element is obviously underscored — the actual champions and executors of progress in all the mentioned domains, namely, inventors, scientists, educators, prophets, monarchs, sovereigns and popes, a growingly conscious body of "voluntary nobility" or "aristocracy of the spirit" instrumental in shaping man's ultimate lot. The past echoes in this connection the solitary figures of Aristotle, Roger Bacon, Galileo Galilei, Buddha, Confucius, Philip of Macedon — these as well as people of lesser stature thwarted by and struggling against the limitations of environment; the future, more favourably ordained, evokes multitudes of others, this time an organized host of scientific research and social management embracing the whole planet, as in *The Shape of Things to Come*. What is so characteristic in Wells is that the driving forces of the past and of the future operate within a single framework, only there is a difference of circumstances in the future which brings about an overall release of latent human powers.

That was the general setting, and in accordance with its pulsating flexibility the roads to the future are tortuous and twisted — and that is where the experimental spirit of Wells's utopia becomes manifest. Unlike his predecessors he wrote not one, but a number of utopias, each, though not distinctly so, a phase and a proposition by itself. Turning now

from the outer to the inner aspect we observe that this utopian world is not avowedly perfect. It tends towards constant improvement, not absolute perfection, its forerunners' habitual goal. The author is altogether aware of the human impediments on the way and does not try to disregard or to elude them : the spirit of competition and even of aggression, the contrariety, obduracy, inconstancy and emotionalism native to man. Though of course he does recognize the traditional utopian prerogatives of freedom from economic convention, social habit and political fragmentation.

To the question put at the beginning, "Is Wells being revalued now?" it seems that in the light of what has been said so far we are fully entitled to give the answer "Yes". Apart from the aesthetic merits already mentioned, the stress on the rising stratum of experts in science and technology in a machine age having an ever greater say in human affairs ; utopia conceived not only as something elastic and dynamic, but also concretely experimental, liable when necessary to exchange one definite set of ways and means for another (as in *The Shape of Things to Come*) ; the priority of wider interests and motives shaping the contemporary human scene and the emergence of a world community — all these are undeniable manifestations of a modern outlook and show that the word "prophetic" was not merely a vainglorious label lavished by the man on himself with the aid of a handful of loving admirers.

Hardly more can be said in a brief sketch like this. One thing, however, is increasingly certain : H. G. Wells cannot today be reduced to the antediluvian status as was wont with some critics a quarter of a century ago. He had an intense feeling for the realities of the modern world, although he sometimes fell short of their deeper implications. Still, by the merits of both his artistry and social insight, he will not fail to be incorporated in the central body of contemporary thought and letters.

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## THE RECEPTION OF GRAHAM GREENE'S RELIGIOUS NOVELS IN POLAND

The general opinion divides Graham Greene's fiction into religious, humanistic (mainly Greene's later novels which denote a certain kind of change in his interests) and entertainments — though Greene has lately been rather dissatisfied with the latter term. For the majority of Greene's readers entertainments are those books in which moral problems are placed somehow in the background (if at all), and the stress has been shifted to humorous or thrilling action. Since it is hardly possible to find similar problems concerning all of religious or humanistic novels which have been subjected to a rather detailed and specific critical examination, it seems advisable to follow the division into the three major groups. Besides the way of examining books validates the distinction into religious and humanistic novels.

This paper will deal with the criticism of the four major Catholic novels : *The Heart of the Matter* written in 1948, published in Poland in 1950 ; *Brighton Rock* 1938/1957 ; *The End of the Affair* 1951/1957 ; *The Power and the Glory* 1940/1967, respectively. They are listed here according to the dates of their publication in Poland and some critics complained about the order of their being translated. For Greene's best novel, *The Power and the Glory*, was presented to Polish readers as if it were the last chronologically. This caused a certain confusion as to the general impression of Greene's development and his literary activity as a whole. Such an order also caused unfavourable remarks about the editors of Greene's novels. The reviewers stated that the readers should have been prepared for Greene's novels, and excluding *The Confidential Agent* printed in instalments in "Słowo Powszechne" 1948, *The Heart of the Matter* was the first novel to be published and to direct the attention to the writer. Yet this novel needs a certain kind of knowledge not only about the literary activity of the author, but also about the central Catholic ideas. Thus the year 1950 when *The Heart of the Matter* was printed in this country, marks the beginning of the never ending debate about Graham Greene and his steadily growing popularity.

As a rule, discussions of *The Heart of the Matter* start by determining the theme or the main problem of the novel. There is hardly any disagreement as to that, the reason being evident: most of the articles were printed in Catholic magazines and almost each critic approached the novel in religious terms. As early as 1948, getting ahead of the Polish translation, M. Morstin-Górecka pointed out in "Tygodnik Powszechny" that Greene's interests are focussed on a saint and a sinner, both figures being at the "heart" of Christianity. She also observed that Greene is apparently obsessed by the idea of pity and responsibility.

J. Święcicki in "Przegląd Powszechny", 1951, approached the problem from a broader perspective, saying that the very title of the novel signalizes the central problem of contemporary man — a conflict in man's soul between the love for God and the love for God's creature. God is here presented in two ways: once He is the Deists' God who does not care for what he has created, and at other times He is the God-man suffering for each sin committed by human beings here on earth. Often man's attitudes and actions towards other creatures happen to disagree with God's will and this causes a tragical situation — a man always hurts somebody, either God or his creatures, the situation from which death is the only way out. Święcicki (1951 : 376, 377) is the only critic to trace similar motifs in Polish and world literature. He points out the parallels to be found in Kasprowicz's *Hymns* and Żeromski's prose, though the period that made most of that conflict was Romanticism: Mickiewicz's *Dziady* and Słowacki's *Lilla Veneda*. The reviewer is well aware of the basic difference: it was Poland's specific historical situation in that time that caused the rebellion against God, not because of the sufferings of an individual, but of the whole nation. To Święcicki the problem present in *The Heart of the Matter* is a "softened Promethean struggle". It is not a violent outburst against God for His allowing all the misfortunes, but a heart-rending grudge that man cannot trust God. In a classical Promethean struggle pride was a dominant feeling; in contemporary Promethean struggle it is an encompassing pity, uncontrolled by reason. The conflict between Scobie and God has two planes: one more personal, private; the other — universal which is the suffering of an innocent (especially child). This motif — Święcicki adds — is present in humanistic literature and has been dealt with by Galsworthy, and even earlier by Shakespeare.

Another motif, explicit in *The Heart of the Matter*, as mentioned by Święcicki, is that of despair. Scobie experiences the feelings of Judas grieving after the betrayal of Christ. In Polish literature this problem is prominent chiefly in the period of modernism.

A similar approach to leading ideas in that novel is displayed by J. Zdrój in "Tygodnik Powszechny" (1951 : 5), who stressed, first of all, the problem of the existence of evil, especially as it is directed against innocent creatures — and the problem of sacrilege.

A shift of emphasis can be seen in W. Ostrowski's article, also in "Tygodnik Powszechny" (1955 : 1). Professor Ostrowski assigns the primary importance to the fact that faith "without trusting God's ways" is not enough. A person who does not trust God fully may eventually slide into deadly sins; in Scobie's case it is a sacrilege and suicide, but even these might be forgiven by the great mercy of God. There is a hope for everybody.

E. Kocwa (1953 : 3) would deny the latter. For her the significance of this book lies in Scobie's unsatisfactory faith which finally must have led to disaster.

G. Bidwell (1952 : 10) and B. Czeszko (1958 : 6) offer different interpretations. They consider the process of moral deterioration to be the chief idea of the novel. As Bidwell said,

> This process of moral decline is presented by Greene as the victim's road toward salvation. The author wants to convince the readers that each subsequent step is necessary for the good of Scobie's wife and of his mistress whereas in reality the policeman is looking for the way to cut off all the ties between himself and others. For a realistic reader he is a wretch of the corrupt capitalist society while Greene wants to show him as a victim of hostile circumstances. But such an interpretation is unacceptable either in the light of logic or ethics [1952 : 10].

Czeszko compared Scobie to Lord Jim. In his opinion both Scobie and Jim were doomed to death in order to secure the peace of their fellow creatures — in *The Heart of the Matter* it was Scobie's wife, "a devoted horrid hag" and his mistress Helen. Scobie also "secured eternal peace for his third fellow creature, his servantboy Ali". So there is a feeling of guilt in a sense similar to that of Conrad's novels. A man dies when it seems that his torment is higher than his guilt. He dies in the sight of the indifferent world. God deals with that world rarely and with reluctance. It is strange that Greene's God kills. "He is rather like Jehovah — full of intellectual perversion, delighted by suffering. One yearns for Conrad after reading *The Heart of the Matter*" (1958 : 6). This appears to be an isolated view, the majority of critics read the novel differently.

There is only one article where the author is blaming Scobie strongly. Mrs. Kocwa (1953 : 4) calls Scobie first of all a bad Catholic which is the cause of his tragedy. His chief fault is that he had always tried to find easy ways, easy solutions. He wanted to find peace and disregard troubles. He was just indolent. The words "pity" and "responsibility" were misunderstood by him. He was just a weak man trying to defend himself by these words. The worst thing is his being a Catholic. Religion offers to a man a great chance which might change into a danger when it is ignored. A man renouncing what his nature tempts him to do must feel bitterness to God for binding him until he understands that God has come to him to make him free. But Scobie did not understand that simple fact. His tragedy is a warning for others to use religion properly, to give to God the whole heart, not only a half of it.

Most critics stress that Greene demands from people the real belief in God. Zdrój, (1951 : 5) suggests that sin might even be changed into a new value. It could be a shock stimulating one to think about his inner life, to mend one's ways. God allows sin to exist because He can find something better in it.

Slightly different is the stress put by J. Stoczek (1953 : 4). For him "the heart of the matter" of Catholicism is a dialogue with God, the experience of supernatural life, while for W. Żukrowski (1950 : 3) it is God's mercy that is the most significant. The latter critic agrees that Scobie was a bad Catholic, but he can also see Scobie's goodness as well as his weakness. The pity that Scobie so often experiences is understood by him in mundane categories. According to Żukrowski Greene has underlined the consequence of sin. A world without God is the world directed against us. As Mrs. Kocwa did before, Żukrowski considers the novel to be a great warning. A new addition made by the latter reviewer

is that he calls for attention to the fact that Greene was able imaginatively to handle and actually to give a new shape to an old and overused theme. Nobody has shown the eternal triangle in this way, i.e., without trimming.

He also takes into account the scenery of the action, stressing the economy in presenting the outward world. Żukrowski accounts for it, saying that nothing can cover up the things that happen inside heroes. Even a slightly sensational action is far less interesting than the inward experience of the characters (particularly the protagonist's) so carefully observed and presented. The scenery sometimes reinforces the heroes' moods and actions. Sweat and heat, rain and wetness, insects and boredom penetrating the life all the time could have somehow amounted to an excuse for Scobie's peaceful resignation.

Most commentators state that Greene does not solve the problem he has raised: the existence of evil and suffering in the world is being left unaccounted for. It is a weak point of the book. But the novelist also wants to convince the reader that God's mercy is really unlimited. This is often regarded as an unnecessary defence of Scobie's actions and an attempt to make him sympathetic. As it always happens with a good novel, the discusion has provided a spectrum of different opinions which seem to corroborate the view that in *The Heart of the Matter* "Greene has reached the highest level of artistic value" (Ostrowski 1955 : 7).

In comparison with *The Heart of the Matter*, the response to the publication of *Brighton Rock* was far less spectacular. Actually there are only three articles dealing with the novel. Two of them reveal certain similarities, one is completely different.

Z. Łapiński said in "Tygodnik Powszechny" that "only a sensitive man can provide a hidden vibration of the heart in a criminal intrigue without breaking the dramatic speed" (1958 : 4).

Czeszko (1958 : 3) remarks that after reading some novels by Greene he is able to detect the scheme of his works. Greene is concerned with a man becoming implicated. Once this process is finished — he dies. The death is known to, and connived at, by God who is looking for an instrument to bring it about. In *Brighton Rock* an agressive and energetic woman is made such an instrument. It is not easy to comprehend Greene's Catholicism in this novel. He seems to say that "everything is terrible, but be quiet, God knows what He is doing and we cannot judge His mercy". Such opinions are apparently too much simplified.

Święcicki in *Homo Dei* (1960 : 328) appears to be the only critic who seriously examined the novel. He starts his article by observing that it is a pleasant surprise to watch how a thriller changes into a philosophical novel which is the case of *Brighton Rock*. The effect of it is an interesting fragment of contemporary reality drawn by a good observer and uncommon artist.

Pinkie, the hero of the book, is for Święcicki an original and fresh character, a man who consciously chose the way of crime and its consequence, as he had been brought up in a Catholic family. Święcicki does not call Pinkie's enemy and destroyer "a horrid hag", he refers to her as a new Sherlock Holmes, apparently an original contribution of Greene. The problem presented is similar to that of *The Heart of the Matter* as Greene underlined that even such evil, corrupted creatures as Pinkie was, might be saved by God's mercy

if they use their chance. Being himself a priest, Święcicki cannot accept the statement at the end of the book, in the priest's story as told to Rose. A good Catholic cannot even think of a choice between the creator and the creature. Rose made the mistake and she was, in a sense, punished for that. Thus a cruel truth she had to face at the very end, after Pinkie's death, has at the same time become her liberation. Święcicki finishes his criticism by saying that "he who has not descried that hidden meaning has obviously missed the most important point of the novel".

*The End of the Affair* was translated and published in Poland prior to *The Power and the Glory* though the latter had been printed in England eleven years earlier. Since the object of this paper is to present the reception of Greene's religious novels in Poland, this peculiar chronology seems to be of primary importance. Some articles had been written before the translation appeared and their authors used different titles from that which was finally given to the translated novel. When the book had been published in Britain, the majority of critics stated that Greene's novels tend to become more and more involved in religious problems. Nowadays it stopped to be true as we have such novels as *The Quiet American* or *The Comedians* where the problems of faith disappeared, if not altogether, then at least receded. Yet in comparison with the three other "religious novels", *The End of the Affair* introduces divine elements to the highest extent.

Almost all of our reviewers agree that the main problem of the novel is that of love and of God's unlimited mercy. J. Dobraczyński (1952 : 1) observed that Greene wanted to present a radical change within the souls of common people living in typical English conditions and being unaware of the existence of God. "Even a sinful love, when it is ready for sacrifice, may become the first step towards gaining God's mercy — and even towards sainthood" — these are the words of W. Ostrowski (1955 : 7).

W. Makomaski (1958 : 7) formulated the central problem in different words. According to him Greene tried to show the relationship between God and man and God's influence upon man's fate. This relationship is projected on the background of love motif.

There are certain differences concerning the meaning of the book. All reviewers are unanimous in distinguishing between Bendrix's and Sarah's view of love; the former was regarding his relationship only in sexual terms, while for Sarah it was really a great feeling. She loved him even more than her own happiness. Unbeliever as she was, being in a tragical situation she started to pray. One must find there a trace of God's will, who has chosen her out of millions for His tool. When she realised it was only her imagination which had caused her to make a vow, she wanted to withdraw, but she could not. After two years of fighting God has won the battle.

All the same, one has to realize certain inconsistencies in the book. Again Makomaski (1958 : 7) says that this relation between God and man (i.e., Sarah) cannot convince the readers, for Greene resorts too often to the Highest authority to solve the problem. The same critic also notices that the presentation of God differed from that, for example, in *The Heart of the Matter*. In *The End of the Affair* God is represented as a severe judge who does not understand or love his own creatures.

Neither is C. Westwood-Mosurska (1954 : 3) satisfied with that God, who, she believes,

need not have struggled for "a lost soul" i.e., Sarah, after the revelation that she had been baptised in her childhood.

There is a strong opposition against Sarah's pretended sainthood. The attempt to make her a saint by introducing doubtful miracles substantially weakens the effect of the story. Greene's subject, as Ostrowski (1955 : 2) remarks, was very difficult to handle and, unfortunately, its treatment convinced neither the readers nor the reviewers. The writer has chosen too simple a way to illustrate his point. All critics have declared in their articles that this novel is virtually a failure. Fortunately, Greene himself admitted in one of the interviews that he had never regarded this novel as good; he rather treated it as a kind of excercise in the first-person narrative which he was to exploit later on with such a success in *The Quiet American*.

Nevertheless there were attempts to find good points in this novel as well. M. Czerwiński stated:

> It is difficult to find another book in which there would be so much scandal and which would be so close to trash and causing at the same time so much pleasure while reading. One thinks after reading it that there are few authors who write in such a realistic way about real and valuable feelings [1658:3].

Also Dobraczyński (1952 : 3) believes that even such failures are valuable as Greene wanted to do something really difficult. Nobody has tried to write in England a realistic Catholic novel before him. So in this respect he is a pioneer. *The Heart of the Matter* was a successful attempt whereas *The End of the Affair*, being an attempt to consider too wide a problem, could not have ended in a similar way. But Greene is always, also in this novel, true to himself: "a simple affair has changed into love, for him even the most wicked love is only an echo of one real love — the love of God" (Dobraczyński 1952 : 3).

*The Power and the Glory* is regarded as the best of all Greene's novels. It is often placed among the highest achievements in European literature. Actually the first Polish translation appeared abroad in 1956, the book being issued by Instytut Literacki in Paris. The final version is a modification of this first translation.

There is almost a universal consent as to the theme of the novel. Z. Dolecki (1967 : 8) writes that the book is about sin and mercy, damnation and salvation as enriched by different forms of love in man's soul. The problem was formulated similarly by Czeszko (1967 : 800) who says that it is a novel of martyrdom and devotion, while K. Mętrak (1967 : 9) calls it a story about hunting for a priest. To M. Sawicki (1967 : 6) Greene appears to be trying to check the value of the church and the people serving her.

The opinions concerning the interpretation of the novel are also more or less concordant. Commentators stress that one of Greene's most persistent motifs — the relationship between antagonistic heroes: a persecutor and his victim, is also present here.

Dolecki (1967 : 8) distinguishes three planes of the dramatic conflict: the first creates the social, political and geographical background, the second which is more inward, provides a psychological explanation of the two main characters whose actions are to a greater or lesser extent determined by their complexes. For the priest it is the complex of being unworthy, of lacking strong will. For the lieutenent these are complexes from

his childhood — the poverty of his relatives and the humiliation and injustice he had suffered. The important fact is that the persecutor has no personal grudge against his victim. As Sawicki (1967 : 6) puts it, it is the persecution itself and not people involved that is the most significant. Mętrak (1967 : 9) describes it as a clash of two equally valid reasons with the reservation that the priest knows much more about the nature of man, as he himself is a fallen man.

The third plane, the most important one, the nucleus of the drama — is love i. e., the love existing in both characters though it takes different forms in each. Dolecki (1967 : 8) actually compares the lieutenant to the characters created by J. P. Sartre. The lieutenant's love for people is dominated by the existentialist and subconscious feeling of inability, while the priest's love is completely different, being well aware of imperfection of the world and of man, it has its metaphysical sources. That is why he always chose the course of action that was connected with his obligation as a priest even though he had to struggle with his human reasons. In that he is powerful. Czeszko (1967 : 800) also agrees with that view, saying that Greene would not have been himself if he had presented a hagiographic story of martyrdom. More than that : hagiography, an awkward piece of the church didactics and bigotry have become an object of his merciless sneer. It was made possible chiefly because Greene "put himself on the side of man" (Sawicki 1967 : 6 and Kazimierczyk 1967 : 149). The novelist views man with realism and love, recognizing his opposing qualities : good and evil, love and hatred, heroism and fear, sainthood and sin, beauty and ugliness, which are almost inseparable. Greene teaches us how to distinguish in Christianity the things which are worthy from those which are not important.

Kazimierczyk (1967 : 149) compares the atmosphere of the novel to that of Malraux's fiction, the basic difference being that for Greene a man can get out even from the deepest abyss, because he is never alone. Also Mętrak (1967 : 9) tries to compare Greene to other Catholic writers ; he chooses Bernanos who was equally keenly aware of all those "dark" powers existing in man. Greene can see Hope that is being offered by Christianity to everybody who believes in God. So there is no tragedy in his works, while it does exist in Bernanos' novels.

Czeszko (1967 : 800) mentions that Greene was very much criticised, especially in France, after the novel had been published, which proves that even Catholics are not always able to understand his books. One must possess sensitivity and tolerance

The important fact is that all Polish reviewers indicated the imperishable value of the novel. Kazimierczyk put it like that: "It is irrelevant whether we remember those 'dark sides' of our souls for the sake of the love for God or for the sake of love for people" (1967 : 149). Dolecki expressed it similarly:

> The value of the book is found in the fact that it attacks both stereotypes, the conventional ways of thinking of Catholic readers and some of the notions current among non-Catholics as well. It is an exceptionally wise and mature novel" [1967 : 8].

Greene's books and particularly his religious novels have earned him an international reputation. His ideas and attitudes presented troughout his work are so humanistic, universal and true to life that everybody regardless of the sex, age and education finds some-

thing interesting in his novels and each critic can judge his fiction in his own, special way. Since all his religious novels, which are often said to be the major novels of his, involve the problem of faith, faith has become the starting point of almost all critical judgments, both at home and abroad.

The essential point in his works underlined by majority of critics from different countries, is the doom of man's existence. Greene believes that the way out of the "waste land" of our times is to trust God, though his preoccupation is chiefly with the fall of man and with the possibility of redemption. In general his Catholic novels explore the problem of good and evil and show Greene's own attitude, often original and convincing, to the established moral codes which are proved by him to be artificial, one-sided and limited. That is why some commentators cannot accept his views, cannot understand his way of looking at God and Man. These find his books untrue and even subversive. At the same time it is frequently stressed that he is a novelist first and foremost, not a theologian.

Then the reviewers inquire whether the way out Greene has suggested is convincing and meaningful both to Catholics and non-Catholics, the common opinion being that even if the problems he was presenting in his books were connected with religion, they were also stimulating and interesting for unbelievers. While evaluating *The Power and the Glory* from a secular standpoint K. Mętrak noticed:

> It may be strange that the aversion to a man's nature comes to us from a Christian conscience. It is not important where the warning comes from, if it is a humanistic warning. For us, directly not involved in the tragedy of the priest as a priest, it is an expression of human suffering. The tragedy of the priest is identical with the tragedy of us all. [1967 : 9].

The critics often challenged Greene's asking incessant questions, his presentation of the struggle with the "man within" in the souls of the characters he has created. Z. Starowieyska-Morstinowa suggested using the term "a Christian writer" in relation to Greene, instead of "a Catholic writer", since a Christian writer is different from all others in this that "apart from the visible reality he has before his eyes, he also means the invisible unearthly reality, which often makes his novels more tragic than others are" (1963 : 4). Her view is supported by T. Wróblewska who cannot accept the label "a Catholic writer" as applied to Greene. If one can speak at all of Greene's Catholicism as seen in his works, one should find a new notion for this peculiar brand of Catholicism. This becomes evident while confronting Greene's novels with those of Mauriac, Bernanos or Julien Green. Graham Greene tends to search for the limit of human responsibility for man's activities.

No doubt then that Greene has created a new way of approach to a human being in Catholic literature. A characteristic feature of his novels, mostly religious ones, but not only, consists in building a situation in which evil and goodness coexist both in the world and in human nature. His real heroes are sinners with the awarness of sin from which they cannot escape. This accounts for their way of living being marked by signs of sad resignation. A man cannot cope with his own nature that betrays him. But though his characters cannot rely on the nature of man, they can and they do believe in God. As B. Czeszko remarked (1967 : 800), Greene seems to say that it is not important what one may be, it is important if he can hear this Voice which will call everybody in one moment in his life, and no more.

The significant fact is that each reviewer admits that Greene has contributed a great deal to the world's literature, by not only introducing a new kind of literary genre which professor Ostrowski called "a popular detective story broadened out by a new feeling of moral responsibility" (1955 : 7). What is more Graham Greene has been presenting deep problems of faith, first and foremost, to non-Catholic readers. And this is an indisputable achievement.

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# DISCOURSE AND THE PATTERN OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN PINTER'S *NO MAN'S LAND*

Pinter's latest play *No Man's Land*[1] is, so far, his most controversial and puzzling work. Not a single critical study or interpretation of this play is yet available[2] but the first night reviews of *No Man's Land* vary from overwhelming praise to severe accusations or even dismissal. Robert Cushman from *The Observer* ("Mr Pinter's Spoonerism", 27 April, 1975 : 32) is of the opinion that the play which "might have been a synthesis of the two main currents in his [Pinter's] work looks more like a frayed rehash", while Michael Billington from *The Guardian* ("Old Vic. No Man's Land", 24 April, 1975 : 10) writes that "although plenty of plays from *Sweeney Agonistes* to *Outward Bound* have tried to pin down that strange sense of reaching out into a void, I can think of few that have done it so concretely, funnily and concisely as Pinter's... It is in no sense a dry man-nerist work but a living theatrical experience full of rich comedy in which one speech undercuts another..." Milton Shulman, on the other hand, describes the play ironically as "the quintessential recipe for a Pinter play. Take a sprig of menace from *The Birthday Party*, peel a bit of claustrophobia from *The Room*, strain the word-play from *The Care-taker*, garnish with a touch of nostalgia from *The Homecoming* decorate with bits of silence from *The Landscape* and hand over to Peter Hall to simmer lovingly at a subsidised theatre. No one should be surprised that such a concoction has a familiar taste" ("Word Game Made for Two", *Evening Standard*, 24 April, 1975 : 19). Felix Barker (*Evening News*, 24 April, 1975 : 8) titles his review "Pinter Rubbish so Masterly" and admits that he has "only the vaguest inkling of what it is about". John Barber ("Richardson and Gielgud in Fine Partnership", *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 April, 1975 : 15) and J. W. Lambert (*Drama*. Summer 1975. Plays in Performance: 37-39) doubt whether *No Man's Land* will prove to be one of Pinter's major works. The majority of reviewers blame the play for being

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[1] The play as directed by Peter Hall was first presented by the National Theatre at the Old Vic, London, on 23rd April, 1975 with Ralph Richardson as Hirst and Sir John Gielgud as Spooner.

[2] No critical study was available when the materials for this paper were gathered in spring 1976.

obscure and elusive (Shulman) or even impossible to explain for the lack of any clues (Arthur Thirkell, Felix Barker).

The basic difficulty in understanding *No Man's Land* lies in the strange nature of the relationship which exists or develops between two major characters in the play, Hirst and Spooner. The function of two remaining characters Foster and Briggs is also crucial for an understanding of the play.

The present paper is devoted to the analysis of the structure of *No Man's Land* by means of tracing the relationships that arise among the characters of the play. In choosing the approach to the subject and the method of work I am heavily indebted to Austin E. Quingley's recently published book *The Pinter Problem* (1975) which by means of linguistic analysis provides a new insight into four of Pinter's plays: *The Room*, *The Caretaker*, *The Homecoming*, and *Landscape*. The basic assumption of Quingley's approach is that "The language of a Pinter play functions primarily as a means of dictating and reinforcing relationship" (52). According to the author

> the development of relationships is Pinter's central concern, then it follows that the major structural unit of his work will coincide with major units of progress in these relationships [...] the thematic structure of a Pinter play thus centers upon a series of juxtaposed duologues, each of which is heavily dependent for interpretation on its place in the sequence [...] The sequential juxtaposition of a series of duologues is Pinter's way of organizing our perception of change in a relationship so that we may perceive the fact of change, the location of change and ultimately, the significance of change. [1975 : 73, 74, 75].

This method of analysis of change in the relationships will be followed in the present paper on *No Man's Land*.

The setting of the play is a large room in Hampstead, comfortable and well furnished, with all the details indicating an elegant, wealthy, and cultivated household. Heavy curtains drawn across the window almost throughout the whole play isolate the people inside from the external space. The most pronounced thing about this setting is the abundance of various spirit bottles on an antique cabinet in the centre of the room.

The stage functions as a pattern of life of the host of the house, Hirst, who is apparently a man of wealth and position. Two large mugs standing on the bookshelf may indicate that somebody else is living in this house.

Following Quingley's pattern we can divide the play into several sections based on duologues[3]. All sections in *No Man's Land* are linked by the fixed place (Pinter's typical device), several recurring motifs, and the constant presence of Spooner, a contemporary of Hirst whom the latter brings home for a drink one summer night after they met in a local pub.

## Act I

### Section I — Spooner and Hirst, pp. 15-35

The contrast between Hirst and Spooner is indicated immediately in the stage directions since Spooner's "very old and shabby suit, dark faded shirt, a creased spotted tie"

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[3] The term duologue is not restricted to a conversation between two characters only.

(15)[4] clash with his host's impeccable dress and indicate his, at least financially, lower status. His speech, however, is that of a cultivated and probably well educated man.

The first conversation, if conversation it is, is a polite exchange of meaningless expressions. They keep a "conversation" going but nothing is communicated. It is just a means of avoiding an awkward silence. Soon it becomes evident that Hirst is the one at ease, he does not really care if they keep talking or not, while Spooner gradually becomes more and more outspoken, as if afraid that once his flow of words stops he will have to leave. His uncertainty is also reflected in the position he assumes in the scenic space, he remains standing all the time while Hirst is comfortably seated in his armchair. It is paradoxical that with Hirst obviously in command of the situation Spooner is talking about strength[5]. He is clearly maneuvering for position, trying to impress Hirst as a sophisticated intelectual but does not hesitate to use crude methods e.g. flattery. Soon it becomes clear why Spooner wants to win Hirst's favour since having looked about the room he states "What a remarkably pleasant room. I feel at peace here. Safe from any danger" (17). We are in the familiar ground of Pinter's territorial struggles which pervaded his early plays until 1968. Yet Spooner is more intelligent than his predecessors (e.g. Davies from *The Caretaker*). He anticipates Hirst's possible reaction and assures his host that he is not going to stay long in his house. He also insists upon the fact that he rejects people's friendship, that being alone is a happy state of affairs for him but it produces the effect contrary to the one he probably desires. Specially in view of the later development of the play, of Spooner's frantic attempts to insinuate himself in Hirst's household as a friend or as a member, Spooner's words seem to reveal his deeply hidden complex. Afraid to admit how much he lacks human friendship, love, later also, family bonds, he prefers to pretend in front of the others and even to deceive himself that his loneliness is his own choice. He may be afraid to admit his need of an intimate relationship because it is painful territory which once revealed may become an easy target for those who might want to hurt him (as it actually happens in the play) and there he can be wounded very deeply.

So far Spooner does not want Hirst to think that he needs sympathy, pity or help. He preserves a degree of independence from Hirst, claiming that his personality is not to be changed to suit somebody else. Several repetitions occur in this long speech, Spooner tries various tactics but Hirst remains always aloof, he does not contribute anything to the conversation. As it often happens in a Pinter play those who feel insecure or ill at ease try to hide their fright or uncertainty behind a flow of words. Spooner ignores the true relationship between Hirst and himself, behaves as if Hirst's attitude to him were quite friendly and by means of his speech he tries to confirm a relationship which does not really exist. At the same time Spooner does not want to fall into the position of complete submission so he stresses his independence. The last sentence of this long speech is a question addressed directly to Hirst "Do you often hang about Hampstead Heath?" (19). This is the first explicit demand for concrete information about Hirst. Hirst, however, does not get trapped. His answers remain short, incooperative, uninviting. Hirst,

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[4] Pages in brackets refer to the *No Man's Land* edition as published by Eyre Methuen, London 1975.
[5] It is the first time when "strenght" which is to become a motif recurring in Spooner's speech is mentioned in the play.

although completely indifferent, is nevertheless very well aware of Spooner's endeavours. When Spooner says that he has not got enough information about Hirst the latter answers "You mean because I've said so little?" (19). Though Spooner is the one who all the time tries to diminish the distance between himself and Hirst he says "when you can't keep the proper distance between yourself and others, when you can no longer maintain an objective relation to matter, the game's not worth the candle" (19). As it has happened before, his verbal statement contradicts all his previous attempts; he wants to build up an image of himself which has no basis in reality.

In the next exchange Spooner supplies more information about himself, he introduces himself as a poet and finally as a free man (21). This last statement seems to be crucial since for the first time Hirst reacts and really enters the conversation "It's a long time since we had a free man in this house" (21). What Spooner said must have touched something very vital for Hirst because starting with this remark their relationship as exhibited in the language certainly changes. From the perspective of the whole play the statement gains deeper significance since it can be related to Hirst himself as he turns out to be imprisoned in every possible way: in space, in his actions, in his world — a no man's land. Spooner, however, fails to see the importance of Hirst's remark, his mind is set on something else, he wants to draw out of Hirst some detail that might help him to alter their relationship thus what he notices in the above quoted sentence is the word "we" and he presses Hirst to reveal who else is living in the house, who uses the mugs which are standing on the bookshelf. Spooner is afraid that somebody might be an obstacle in his endeavours to win Hirst's favour, to win a place to live in a comfortable household. But Hirst is careful not to give any answers. It is the first time he has to be on guard. Thus in this conversation Spooner and Hirst are on a more equal footing, one is inquiring the other remains alert.

This altered relationship is clearly visible in the distribution of duologues, their utterances are more balanced in length. Spooner no longer tries to win Hirst by talking him into the new relationship, it is Hirst now who asks the questions. Several utterances indicate a change of situation/roles, the statements Hirst makes echo those made by Spooner at the beginning of the play. This time Spooner's answers do not disclose anything about him until he tells a story of an encounter with a Hungarian émigré which, as he puts it, has changed his life because he received a response from him, a response from another human being. Still afterwards Spooner returns to asserting his independence by talking about his strength which he derives from the fact that he has never been loved.

The two motifs, that of strength and that of consciously chosen loneliness which have appeared separately earlier in the play are combined in a way which reveals more about Spooner's character. The strength, which he claims to possess, is seemingly derived from his choice not to be loved. He thus associates loneliness with strength (a popular concept in literature) and that is how he chooses to imagine himself and how he would like others to see him. Admitting one's urge for affection is a weakness according to Spooner, it also makes one vulnerable to attack. What he truly desires is human contact but since it would prove his weakness he has to hide it. Spooner's next utterance provides the reason for his complex, which turns out to be rooted in his past. His mother hated him or, at least he believed her to. There may even be here a hint of the Oedipus complex: Spooner sees

his mother as "a terribly attractive woman in many ways" (27), and when he adds that "Her buns are the best" (27). The image evoked is at once maternal and sexual.

The way in which Spooner talks about himself after he has finally introduced himself to Hirst is his next attempt to impress his host. He describes himself as "a staunch friend of the arts" (27) inviting young artists to his house and commenting on their poetry. The question whether what Spooner says is true or false is not relevant, his aim in delivering this oration is to establish a common ground with Hirst and the images he creates should, according to him, appeal to Hirst. The pastoral image of his family life which Spooner presents once more points out to his frustrated need of personal relationship, the need that he tries so hard to suppress. This time Spooner seems to be successful, maybe Hirst had once lived like that and the speech has rung a familiar note for him. The atmosphere obviously becomes less tense and Spooner can relax (he sits down at last) while Hirst for the first time admits some kind of affinity with Spooner. He "did the same" (28), he also had a cottage and gave his visitors tea on the lawn. Spooner realises that Hirst has revealed something about himself and that there is a common ground where they can communicate. Once Spooner discovered Hirst's nostalgia for the past life, which will never return in spite of his attachment to memories, he laid bare his host's sensitive territory.

This situation brings to mind Pinter's statement pronounced in his speech at the Seventh National Student Drama Festival in Bristol (Evergreen Review No 33, Aug. Sept. 1964 NY, "Writing for the Theatre" 80-82)

> I am not suggesting that no character in a play can ever say what he in fact means. Not at all. I have found that there invariably does come a moment when this happens, when he says something, perhaps, which he has never said before. And where this happens, what he says is irrevocable and can never be taken back [82].

Thus what follows in the play is the interaction after the irrevocable has been said, after the major change has occurred. Having acquired so much Spooner attempts to gain more, to find out more about Hirst's past, about his youth. Hirst, by now, has realised that he has laid himself bare for an attack and refuses to say anything but Spooner is not discouraged and keeps probing "Tell me then about your wife" (30). Spooner's speech becomes more tense, rhythmical; he uses terms from cricket but the effect is that of sexual imagery, he is inquiring about Hirst's most private and intimate experiences in his married life. At the same time he teases Hirst with all the charms that his own wife possessed. Suddenly Hirst tries to counterattack implying that Spooner's wife left him. Spooner nevertheless feels his position strengthened and resumes his assault questioning the existence of the thing which as he has found out Hirst cherishes most — his past. He impairs the validity of Hirst's memories thus questioning the sense of his whole life at present. Hirst tries to protect his position by being rude, he even attempts physical attack by throwing his glass at Spooner. He misses but Spooner goes on ridiculing him and refers to his host's other weakness — his drinking. Hirst is no longer able to defend himself and describes his situation as hopeless "the last lap of a race... I had long forgotten to run" (32). After a few more insulting remarks Spooner stands up to make an important anouncement "Heed me. I am a relevant witness. And could be a friend" (33), which implies that it may be safer for Hirst to have Spooner as a friend. It is the situation in which Spooner

dominates and he does not allow Hirst to forget that he has lost something of the past that he has treasured so deeply. Hirst makes a great effort to speak and defines his condition and his state of mind "No man's land... does not move...or change...or grow old...remain...forever...icy... silent" (34). He lives in a vacuum, in a state of death in life, in a world where no change is possible, no new relationship is allowed because everything is frozen in time forever. Thus although a major change has occured in the Spooner/Hirst relationship yet Hirst warns Spooner that any real permanent change in his world is virtually impossible. Hirst's spiritual collapse, the fact that he has revealed so much and became dominated by Spooner is accompanied by his physical collapse and exit from the room on all fours.

The recurrent motifs which appeared in this section will prove significant for the play as a whole. These are the motifs of friendship, love, family feelings, strength and above all the theme of solitude and freedom.

### Spooner alone

Between sections I and II Spooner is alone for a short period of time. He looks about the room, then surveys it closely. So far, he is in a way victorious, though Hirst has warned him that his victory is only apparent, but suddenly the sound of the closing door is heard. "Spooner stiffens, is still" (35) we read in the stage directions. His position is not sure yet, the battle is going to involve more people.

### Section II, Spooner, Foster, and Briggs (who enters a moment later), pp. 35-43

Foster, a man of thirty who enters the room, addresses Spooner without hesitation but also without hostility. He claims that the host of the house is his father which, considering his way of speaking, seems rather doubtful (on the stage Michael Feast who plays this part speaks with a cockney accent). When Spooner introduces himself as a friend of their host Foster dismisses him immediately as "not typical" (36). As soon as Briggs enters (a man of forty, casually dressed, stocky) they make a joint attack on Spooner, ridicule any possibility of friendship as existing between the two elderly men. The initiative obviously passes to Foster and Briggs who hardly allow Spooner to say a sentence. Again the distribution of power in the relationship among the characters is reflected in the technical aspect of the play, in the distribution of utterances. Foster and Briggs seek to diminish Spooner by suggesting that with his social position he cannot possibly be a friend of their master. They also cast doubt on his honesty in general. Never openly accusing him of lying they repeat Spooner's statements thus questioning their truthfulness. Soon they simply rule him out from the conversation (37-39) and even if one of them asks Spooner a question the other answers instead of Spooner. In spite of their apparent self-confidence they are obviously worried about Spooner's presence in the house. He may constitute some kind of danger to them, especially that in spite of his poor dress he belongs or had originally belonged to the same class to which their host belongs and being his contemporary he may be chosen as a companion by Hirst. That would certainly alter if not imperil their status in the house. Spooner, silent for a few minutes, seizes the first

chance to speak and starts talking about his stay abroad. Unlike Foster, who when travelling is interested in sensual pleasures, Spooner talks about art, about the aesthetic experience he had when staying in Amsterdam. He tries to build up differences between himself on the one side and Foster and Briggs on the other. He presents his world as that of interest in art, good paintings, gracious women, the kind of world to which Hirst also belongs. From this position he can attempt to win Hirst and he can also remain immune to Foster's and Briggs's offences.

### Section III, Spooner (silent), Hirst, Briggs and Foster, pp. 43-47

At this point Hirst enters and relates his dream of water and somebody drowning. His condition in life is similar to that of somebody in his dream. He is gradually drowning in alcohol, in the circumstances he accepted, in his memories. He does not recognize Spooner, he says that his true friends look at him from his album[6]. Since Hirst entered the room Spooner is constantly ignored by the remaining three, he does not utter a word. His situation suddenly becomes threatening. Hirst refuses to admit any link that could exist between them, what is more he speaks about his gratitude to Foster and Briggs. Saying "What would I do without the two of you?" (45) he excludes Spooner from the company. Briggs's answer to that comes as something unexpected "You'd crawl to the bottle and stuff it between your teeth" (45) but it is only a natural reaction in Pinter's world since by his previous remark stating how much he depends upon them Hirst has put himself in a subservient position. It is certainly a further revelation of the nature of the relationship that exists between the three inhabitants of the house. Hirst cannot even react to this offence and he returns to talking about his dream which this time is a more pronounced statement of his condition "I'm suffocating. It's a muff. A muff perfumed. Someone is doing me to death" (46).

### Section IV, Spooner, Hirst (almost silent), Briggs and Foster, pp. 47-50

After a long scene in which he was completely silent Spooner's first words turn everybody's attention to him. "It was I drowning in your dream" (47). Spooner tries to enter Hirst's dream, his life and this time it is a violent and painful intrusion. It is again accompanied by physical action: Hirst falls to the floor and they all go to him. Foster immediately senses the danger of Spooner's statement and does not try to hide his hostility. "Bugger off" (47), he says. Hirst who manages to stand up wants to be left alone, to have a possibility of free choice, refuses to be pushed and manipulated, he is even ready to face the truth which is suggested by his using Hamlet's line "Unhand me" (47). Now it is Spooner who outlines the division between himself and Hirst and the rest of the company

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[6] The recurring motif of the photograph album appears for the first time. The motif clearly suggests Hirst's situation, his life fixed and frozen orientated towards the past. His best friends are ghosts from the past preserved at some moment, long ago, he has no interest for real life and real people. The idea of a photograph as if stopping life at a certain moment is relevant for the situation in the play.

while Hirst remains completely silent and allows Spooner to take care of him. Briggs and Foster have no choice, they are terrified, try to interfere, and finally Foster comes out with a concrete threat, "...we could destroy you without a glance, we take care of this gentleman... Listen, Keep tidy. You follow? You've just laid your hands on a rich and powerful man" (49). In this struggle for Hirst both sides use the same tactics. Spooner relies upon the past, upon their common experiences as the representatives of the same generation, Foster and Briggs claim that there is no room for Spooner in the elegant world to which Hirst belongs. Tension is growing and a possibility of physical attack arises, Briggs "moves to Spooner and beckons to him with his forefinger" (50).

### Section V, Spooner, Hirst and Foster, pp. 51-52

A sudden shift in this power game occures unexpectedly. Hirst actively enters the fray. Immediately he regains his position of master which he has given up before, he simply starts giving orders to Briggs and Briggs leaves. Hirst as if taking Spooner's side, takes him under his protection saying "I know you from somewhere" (51). Foster's fear is manifested in his retreat to such primitive methods as appealing to Hirst's sympathy. By talking about Hirst's financial adviser he once more points out to Spooner that he does not belong to Hirst's world, to the sphere of life in which the help of financial advisers is necessary.

### Section VI, Spooner (silent), Hirst, Briggs and Foster, p. 52

With the return of Briggs the situation changes utterly. Briggs uses vulgar language and is determined to lead Hirst out. Now he is the one in command and although Hirst makes the last attempt by saying about Spooner "I know this man" (52) he is taken out of the room.

### Section VII, Spooner and Foster, pp. 52-53

Foster and Spooner remain alone in the room and Foster threatens the unwelcome visitor not only verbally as he did so far[7] but also physically by switching off the light. The sudden black out at the end produces a strong effect and emphasises Spooner's dangerous situation.

## Act II

### Section VIII, Spooner and Briggs, pp. 59-68

Physical threat to Spooner continues in the second act, he was locked in the room all night. When Briggs comes in offering him food Spooner defines it as an offer of alms, he is given breakfast with champagne which had been prepared for Hirst's financial

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[7] It should be noted that throughout the play Foster usually chooses to threaten by verbal means while Briggs is the one who sometimes goes as far as physical action.

adviser who did not turn up. The conversation between Spooner and Briggs is apparently polite but familiar notes of threat are also heard.

Specially the already famous account of trying to find one's way to Bolsover Street in London sounds like an ominous warning for Spooner. The labyrinth of little streets, crescents, lanes, mews and courtyards is dangerous and one may easily get lost for ever. The image which is symbolic of the world in which Hirst lives functions as an admonition for Spooner who tries to enter this intricate maze.

Briggs asks Spooner questions which seem to be quite innocent but his aim is to humiliate and ridicule the other man. Spooner is not browbeaten, however, and he faces Briggs boldly continuing to use his old trick of trying to dazzle him by presenting himself as an artist and intellectual. Briggs manifests his distrust of anything Spooner is saying and when finally he hears Spooner confess "I am a poet" (63) his disbelief and mockery are clearly seen in his answer "I thought poets were young" (63). With Spooner's answer "I am young" (64) it is evident that the particular topic is secondary, what is crucial is being the dominating power in the conversation and being able to impose one's private reality on one's partner. This does not work with Briggs whose attitude remains contemptuous. His next utterance contains a more open attack "Finish the bottle. Doctor's orders" (64) and the word "orders" is repeated when Spooner asks why he was locked in the room. Briggs openly ridicules Spooner saying after a pause "It must be wonderful to be a poet and to have admirerers. And translators. And to be young. I'm neither one nor the other" (65). Spooner, we know from the stage directions, is in his sixties while Briggs is in his forties. Spooner still persists in trying to impress Briggs, explaining that he is in a hurry as he is on the board of a poetry magazine. Spooner does not show much interest when Briggs informs him that Jack Foster is a poet and that he needs a patron. His automatic answer sounds like a standard formula from a magazine which advertises for poetry or short stories. But when Briggs says, as if casually, that Hirst is also a poet Spooner is really excited. It takes him a few seconds (pause in the text) to realize the importance of what he has heard.

In this section Spooner is provided with information that, he is hoping, might guide him to more successful maneuvers in his dealing with Hirst. As soon as he finds out that Hirst is a man of letters he becomes aware that there exists a concrete territory which he may try to use either as a common ground or a battlefield in his struggle to establish himself in Hirst's household.

Brigg's motivation in providing him with this information is not so clear, yet it may be understood as being well thought over by Briggs since he has warned Spooner before not to try to enter their privacy. Since Spooner is careless enough to underestimate this advice, Briggs with all his cruelty, which he has displayed earlier in the play, may be now wishing to play a game in which Spooner from the very start is going to be a victim. The information he gives is the first move in the game in which Spooner will have no choice but to lose.

### Section IX, Spooner (present) and Briggs (on the telephone), p. 68

When the telephone rings it sounds like an ominous sign of some greater power entering the stage. Briggs's only words are "Yes, sir" (68) and he leaves. The unknown order

from nowhere is always frightening. Throughout the whole play Spooner is always present on the stage and although he does not always participate actively in the conversation he can always hear what the other characters say. This is the only instance when he is completely excluded from the situation, since he is, in a way, physically cut off (in all other cases his presence was merely ignored). This time, more then ever, he is deliberately confused and made to feel awkward.

### Spooner alone

When he is alone for a moment Spooner states that such a situation is not new to him he has a sense of dejà-vu.

### Section X, Spooner, Hirst, Briggs (occasionally present, never verbally participating), pp. 68-79

Hirst's entrance is in itself a great surprise since he is in perfect condition, fit and alert. More than two pages are taken by his long monologue. In the meantime Briggs comes and leaves without saying a word while Spooner, also silent, never leaves the room. Hirst immediately assumes the posture of a master, he orders Briggs around. He greets Spooner as if he has known him very well, he calls him Charles, then Charles Whetherby. He calls everybody different names (Briggs is referred to as Denson and Albert). Having assumed the position of the dominating partner he is able (or at least tries) to impose different identities upon people by calling them different names. By giving Briggs typical servants' names he tries to establish the distance between himself and his servant. He refers to his and Spooner's days at Oxford and then touches the matter which has already proved to be Spooner's sensitive point — his family life. He describes how he once seduced Spooner's wife Emily. Although there are a few pauses in his speech Spooner remains silent perhaps shocked at first but then as if preparing a counterattack. Finally Hirst invites him into a conversation/game by asking him a direct question "You did say you had a good war, didn't you?" (71) which is a distorted echo of the conventional question "Did you have a good time?" For some time they keep the conversation going, passages of stichomythia remind one of a pingpong match, nobody misses but now it is Spooner who prepares an attack on Hirst by referring to his past and accusing him of immoral behaviour. He fully accepts the rules of Hirst's game, he even makes use of the same argument Hirst has used against him : of the fact that he claimed to have been his wife's lover. There is no point questioning where the objective truth lies or whether the facts they mention have ever occurred in the past. It is a power game and the one who outtalks the other, especially when using the other's arguments becomes the dominant partner and can dictate the relationship. Hirst is losing ground and he even mentions a possibility of taking an imaginary physical action against Spooner. Then Spooner changes the territory and attacks Hirst as a poet who cannot use certain metrical forms. After this insult Hirst breaks out of the convention he established himself and returns to reality. It is interesting though that he carries his ire against Spooner from the game to reality "This is outrageous! Who are you? What are you doing in my house?" (79). This is safer territory where he is master

and host and he can even call for assistance. He assumes an attitude of contemptuous pity towards Spooner and this leads him to self-pity because though he is apparently talking about Spooner he is in fact referring to himself. Drinking, which seemingly destroyed all the moral ardour Spooner once possessed, is actually the process which occurred in Hirst's case. The recurring motif of change in time returns in Hirst's speech. Hirst is obsessed with this problem, the world around him is changing while he desperately wants to remain the way he was (maybe he changes people's names because according to him they change constantly). In the following part of his speech he addressed Spooner directly as if inviting him to see various things in his house. Seemingly friendly, he is, in fact, patronizing and contemptuous "I might even show you my footstool" (78).

The last section of Hirst's long speech is again devoted to the problem of change, or rather lack of change, to the state of being fixed and frozen in time. Friends from his past, from his photograph album are fixed there forever, never change, their emotions are "trapped". Hirst is one of them : enclosed, his emotions trapped never to be released. But what he longs for deeply in his heart is human contact, tenderness. Paradoxically he wants the same as Spooner but they cannot communicate since they both try to build relationships not by means of mutual agreement but by means of battle. There is no escape from Hirst's photograph album, it is a no man's land, no change is possible but there is constant yearning for something different "No. Deeply, deeply, they wish to respond to your touch, to your look, and when you smile, their joy...is unbounded" (79).

Thus this section, very crucial in the development of the Hirst/Spooner relationship, starts as a power-memory game initiated by Hirst and aimed to bring Spooner to the position of subservience. Spooner, however, proves to be a skilful partner and takes over the game using Hirst's own methods. Infuriated, Hirst returns to his safer position of a superior master and contemptuously makes some pseudo-concessions. Spooner does not wish to disclose his thoughts, remains silent and Hirst starts to open up to him, revealing his yearning for a contact with another human being, his emotions deeply buried and waiting to be discovered.

### Section XI, Spooner, Hirst, Briggs, Foster (later), 79-84

Worried that his employer has said too much and that Spooner's position is strengthened Briggs denies that there are any emotions in those who are fixed forever, thus also in Hirst himself. They are "blank dead" (79). His reaction to Hirst's speech comes like a stroke of the sword. He emphasises the fact that there is no way of crossing the barriers that exist between Hirst and the rest of the world. He also reminds Hirst of his own presence and his role. In the quick exchange between Briggs and Hirst which follows, Briggs questions Hirst's position as a master, he does not want to fulfil his orders but he also does not agree to be dismissed. He wants to prove that Hirst is dependent upon him but Hirst turns to Spooner for help, asks him to bring him a bottle and Spooner is ready to serve him. Hirst's reaction to Briggs's rebellion is very quiet and he immediately returns to his private territory — his memories and obssessions.

The situation with Foster is similar to that with Briggs. Foster also tries to impose his will on Hirst, he does not want to lose the control and influence he possesses over him. Three times he repeats that it is time for Hirst to go for a walk, but Hirst refuses. Instead, he manifests his interest in Spooner and reminds Briggs that he is only a servant. When Hirst says that he has a critical essay to write Spooner sensing a chance for himself in Hirst's more favourable attitude offers himself as a secretary. This is probably Foster's job and he is far from giving it up. Spooner, however, is carried away imagining his future activities which implies an intimate relationship which might prove dangerous for Foster, Briggs and Hirst himself.

This section contains Hirst's rebellion against Briggs and Foster, against their guard and control of him. Hirst tries to reestablish his independence and superiority, but as he mentions the duties he has as a literature critic his independence is immediately in danger since this is the territory which Spooner tries to invade.

### Section XII, Spooner (hardly speaks), Hirst, Foster, Briggs, pp. 84-88

In the next portion of conversation Foster, Briggs, and Hirst ignore Spooner completely he is not allowed to utter a word. Hirst's life must remain the territory never to be entered, his past cannot become a common ground for communication between him and Spooner. "Those faces are nameless" says Foster and Briggs adds "And they'll always be nameless" (84). Hirst himself does not want to be disturbed in his isolation "There are places in my heart...where no living soul... has...or can ever...trespass" (84). Spooner's isolation in this scene is not only seen in his not being allowed to participate in the conversation; Hirst makes him feel that he is a stranger in the house, he wants to remain detached and when he asks Briggs to draw the curtains and cut off the light his request is obviously symbolic of his fear of existing reality. Spooner again makes an offer to Hirst that he can help him to resolve certain matters but, in the same way as previously, Foster is the one who reacts. The images he uses picture him as a parasite, a leech living on Hirst, nourished by his intellect unable to cope without his victim. Briggs is more violent, he denies Spooner any personal value and calls him the worst names.

Although Spooner is mostly silent in this section his presence becomes more and more threatening to Foster and Briggs. They try to dominate him and attempt to achieve it first by outtalking him and then they turn to verbal violence (especially Briggs). When Pinter's characters give up subtle verbal games and have to use insulting names it is evident that they feel in danger and can no longer control the situation by more sophisticated methods.

### Section XIII, Spooner, Hirst with Briggs and Foster present, pp. 88-91

In the same way as at the end of Act I, Hirst gives Spooner a chance "Yes, yes, but he's a good man at heart. I knew him at Oxford" (88). The silence which follows these words is full of tension. There is a shift in the power game. But Spooner encouraged so

much by Hirst is dazzled by the upcoming possibilities and chooses a completely wrong way of dealing with his host, he appeals to Hirst's mercy "Let me live with you and be your secretary" (88). Begging makes no impression on Hirst, on the contrary, Spooner's case seems to be lost, his voice sounds to Hirst like the buzzing of a big fly. Spooner does not realize he is going too far. In a long speech which takes almost three pages he asks Hirst for a job, advertizing himself as a perfect amanuensis, imaginative and intelligent companion an honest man of humble character, a good cook and a tender caretaker. There is a pause but nobody speaks and Spooner goes on humiliating himself even more. The silence follows, characters are frozen in their positions, there is no way out for Spooner, he made a totally wrong move. There is no room for mercy or pity in Pinter's world. Positions have to be gained, characters are maneuvered, verbal skill, ability to threaten the partner is what really matters. One who starts begging is automatically lost.

### Section XIV, Spooner (speaks only at the end), Hirst, Foster, Briggs, pp. 91-95

It is Hirst who speaks out after a long silence "Let us change the subject" (91), there is no need to discuss the subject which Spooner raised any longer, it is closed. The apparently absurd talk between Hirst, Foster and Briggs about impossibility of changing the subject refers to impossibility of any change at all. Everything has to remain as it is, they will stay fixed in their postures: Hirst in his chair never ceasing to drink, Foster and Briggs guarding him, and Spooner will remain an outsider, a stranger. It will always be night for Hirst and things will never come into full light.

In his last speech Hirst creates an image which summarises the movement of the play as a whole. He evokes his sense of danger "Someone is following me through the trees" (95) when another human being tried to follow him and enter his territory. He managed to outwit the intruder and by means of verbal games of evasion made him lose his way in the labyrinth of his world (psychological world in which the intruder was trapped because he chose the wrong psychological tricks of appeal). Hirst's dream of water and somebody drowning recurs for the last time. It was a moment of excitement for him, something could have happened it seems to him that he was able to see somebody, maybe a person who needed help. But it was only an instant a short moment of perception, a dream never to be grasped again because this vision was almost immediately blurred and he decided he had been mistaken. He chose not to see, he chose the attitude of non-participation and returned to his isolated world in which there was no room for a true human relationship. Hirst consciously decides to live in seclusion and nothingness, to lead his hopeless existence drowning himself in alcohol assisted by his two servants, guardians, or male nurses.

Spooner is thus ultimately rejected. He lost his battle for his place in the world, he failed to establish any kind of relationship his choice of tactics proved wrong. Hirst however is not a winner either, he returns to no man's land which as Spooner reminds him "never changes, which never grows older, but which remains forever icy and silent" (95). A possibility of change which was open as long as Spooner was there does not exist any more. The expression "No man's land" is used to describe not only Hirst's situation,

not only his existence in a vacuum between life and death but first of all his mental attitude of non-commitment which he did not manage to overcome.

In his final words Hirst accepts this fixed world, he is aware of his position in it, he symbolically seals his decision with a drink, thus accepting and stepping into the world constantly blurred by alcohol.

They will remain both secretly longing for human contact, both unable to create any true and lasting relationship, one living by the memories of his past glory, the other deceiving himself by the dreams of success.

Thus it seems unquestionable that in the case of *No Man's Land* linguistic analysis can help to discover the mechanisms of the play. The shifts in dialogue reveal the alternating changes from dictatorial attitude to that of utter subservience. The topics Pinter's characters discuss are irrelevant, the attitudes that arise during the conversation are crucial. The relationships between utterances in the discourse allow detecting the truth of the characters' motives. Entering linguistic battles, imposing preferred identities upon other characters (Hirst's attempt to humiliate his aids by giving them servants' names and treating them in this way; a number of identities he imposes upon Spooner: a stranger, war-companion, university friend etc.), and assuming different identities (Spooner's willingness to shape his identity according to the requirements of the others) are the moves in a complicated power game which aims at winning the dominating position in a relationship and which ultimately is an attempt to find one's place on earth (Hirst's cosy room and a position in his household constitute the goal of attacks), one's personality within the created social system, one's way of survival both in the material (living on Hirst's money etc.) and spiritual sense (spiritual advantages of Hirst's "nourishing intelligence"). Nowhere in Pinter's work are the battles as technically subtle, and the moves in the game as meticulously patterned as in *No Man's Land*. The play shows Pinter as a master of verbal duels; the ideas, however are not new and have sometimes been treated in a more interesting way in his earlier plays.

The play as a whole makes a circular movement and when the curtain comes down (in fact, after a slow fade) the basic initial situation turns out to have been preserved, nothing has changed in the status quo although the change has been attempted. Nothing changes in the no man's land and what could eventually have brought a change proved to be the reinforcement of the existing situation. The changes attempted are those in the position of the intruder and the intruded. Otherwise the world of the play is fixed and frozen. The apparent progress which finally does not cause any progression is reflected in the movement of the play as a whole and is also explicitly discussed towards the end of the play.

This detailed analysis was also meant to point out numerous repetitions of phrases and situations, recurring motifs and themes and Pinter's predilection for redundancies.

Although the characters in *No Man's Land* function merely as bearers of ideas they represent at the same time certain typically English features and the relationships between them are conventionally English, one might even say characteristic of some specific areas such as Hempstead Heath mentioned in the play. Thus we have late-night pub life, an

elderly, well-off gentlemen, passive and lacking any interest in the outside world, his male servants, a hint of homosexuality (Foster is called a "vagabond cock") the attitude of Briggs towards his master reminiscent of the situation in Robin Maugham's very English novel *The Servant*.

The names Pinter gives to his characters are significant: Spooner represents the idea of spoonerism which actually applies to himself as well as to all other personages of the play (discrepancy between the verbal form of what is said and the information contained in the utterance) while Foster is certainly fostered by Hirst[8].

*No Man's Land* is closely related to Pinter's previous plays, affinities with his, so called, "comedies of menace" (especially *The Caretaker* and *The Birthday Party*) on the one hand and his memory plays (*Old Times*) on the other hand can be easily pointed out. It is to be noted, however, that the affinities occurring in the text are here of a peculiar nature. They are not only consciously intoduced but even strongly emphasised in discourse in Spooner's sense of dejà-vu ("I've known it before..."), when he makes clear references to basic situations in Pinter's earlier plays.

In *No Man's Land* Pinter's territorial battles and his memory games have been combined into one unified whole. The themes are familiar since these are the themes which truly obsess Pinter but the treatment is masterly and fully mature.

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[8] After this paper has been completed Bernard F. Dukore's short study *Where Laughter Stops* (1976) provided additional information as to the meaning of characters' names "In the final scene, the characters remain true to their names. In a verbally caressing manner, Spooner tries to spoon, to court or woo a potential benefactor; he fails. Hirst elects to remain in his frozen hirst, a barren plot of ground, where he is treated with parental-like care by Foster and guarded as if in a brig by Briggs" (1976 : 70). And then in footnote 20, "In a letter to the Times (London), June 7, 1975, p. 13. D. A., Crains perceptively observes 'the possibly significant fact that all four characters in the play are named after prominent English cricketers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The choice does not appear to have been made at random, since three of them, Hirst, Briggs and Foster... (were) left-arm bowlers... and the fourth, Spooner, who in the play is an outsider and claims to be a poet, was a batsman, known for his elegant stroke play'" (1976 : 70, 71). One should add here that Pinter is a real expert on cricket.

EDWARD SZYNAL

## ARTHUR MILLER'S REPUTATION IN POLAND BETWEEN 1946 AND 1966

The name of Arthur Miller was first mentioned in Poland in 1947 when Polish newspapers began to quote foreign opinions on his growing popularity abroad. Beside those incidental insertions, however, no important articles concerning Miller appeared up till 1949, the date of the first production of *All My Sons* — Miller's début in Poland.

In the meantime the literary life in Poland underwent a many-sided reformatory evolution the origin of which can be traced back to the period of war.

Already during the German occupation that destroyed prewar establishment, the leading role in literature was taken over by a group of young and new people who would often combine their professional activities with political ones. Being greatly impressed by the effects of war on people's outlooks and morality they used to confront former values and ideas with what the recent experience forced upon the minds. The home affairs were also far from being settled, on the contrary, they seemed to grow more and more complex. All this demanded a fresh philosophical and historiosophical approach.

Therefore the first years of independence saw great changes in writers' attitudes and creeds. Literature became a stage of violent contests concerning both the appreciation of the recent past and the construction of the hopeful future. The majority of young authors grouped themselves around the most radical magazines among which *Kuźnica* took for some time the leading position.

*Kuźnica* announced its own literary programme conceived as a counterpoint to the pre-war "unintentional creation", surrealism in particular, which was charged of mistaking arts for uncontrollable imagination (or vice versa). Nonetheless *Kuźnica* could not yet present any positive and coherent formula of realism to replace the negation of pre-war trends. The direction in philosophy was materialism; personalism dropped out of the vocabulary, and man's existence was to be seen only through economic and social conditioning. But this was only a blueprint of the desirable literature and its authors knew it.

That is why they still recognized the need for formal experimenting and allowed infiltration of optional techniques into the poetics of realism, provided that the general attitude would be kept constant. Constant should also be the optimism grounded on the materialistic theory of social development.

When the model of realism was being formed modern American literature was scarcely known in Poland: only a few translations of Hemingway and Dos Passos had appeared before the war, whereas the critical production on the subject was almost none. It was only in the first post-war years that more works started to appear, although still in an irregular and fragmentary way, usually in literary magazines. What was published in the States after World War II, gained immediately considerable interest here (owing perhaps to its enormous popularity in France), but some critics, particularly those who strictly observed *Kuźnica's* directions, gave it a rather cool reception. They nominally recognized its artistic originality, welcomed the formal novelty and invention of particular authors but in fact measured its values by the amount of didacticism and criticism directed against the capitalist system. Even such great writers, they said, as Steinbeck and Caldwell, fail to discover the real cause of evil in the world. Accusing fate of disaster they misdirect their protest and add nothing to the improvement of reality. If such radicalism is not shaky — the critics declared — it is at least too feeble to change things. Some writers (Henry Miller) go even as far as to construct worlds sunk in total inertia and fill their books with protest in vain. Still others (Faulkner) choose all kinds of human pathology as objects of their literary introspection. It means inability to undertake a strife against the evil too obvious to be ignored by any conscientious writer. The pessimistic output of young America seems to be a sign of a petty scare in the view of the capitalistic doom. Or, if it is a protest, it is a hopeless one with its fists drooped down.

Opinions like the above, although frequent, were not yet prevailing at that time. Critics differed both in their views on American literature as a whole and in their appreciation of particular works. If this production cannot meet our requirements, its supporters maintained, it is because of different traditions and social backgrounds in either country.

Yet with the passage of time that moderate variety of attitudes melted away, which does not, however, mean that the American literature started to be judged only by *Kuźnica's* standards. On the contrary, the literary programme of that weekly was being gradually distorted, either because its assumptions were misunderstood or due to the pressure upon arts that they be still more explicit in their ideological standpoint.

Finally it was the political situation in the country which strongly influenced artistic activities of those days. Step by step it came to supporting merely the works closely connected with the current ideology while most of the remaining production was simply rejected. Theatre was the first to feel the effects of this policy. As TV system had not yet been established and the film production was still very poor it was just the stage where the process of "mass education" and "art popularization" could be carried on. Therefore theatre repertoires were filled with the so called "retrospective plays", mostly domestic comedies criticizing middle-class morality according to 19 c. patterns. Romantic and postromantic drama was seldom allowed on stage and the works created between the last

two wars were almost completely banned. As to the recent production, most theatergoers were cut off from it. Łódź, Warsaw, Kraków, were rare exceptions that managed to put some new authors on stage, Drda, Lorka, and Arthur Miller being the most important names, on the list.

Such was, roughly speaking, the setting on which to base the reception of Arthur Miller in Poland in the early postwar years and to some extent further on.

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*All My Sons* was first produced in Warsaw, Nov. 19, 1948 by Teatr Wojska Polskiego w Łodzi, the leading stage in Poland at that time. Although the corresponding issue or "Łódź Teatralna" (booklets attached to theatre guides) listed Miller as a "progressive" dramatist, some press reviewers received *Sons* with an apparent disappointment saying they expected it to appear more "revolutionary" in theme and tone. To prove their point they would say the protagonist is not a class representative but an incidental, pathological case, in conflict with the society as a giver of morality. This was the tone in which both the remaining characters and the details of the plot were judged. Even those who warmly received the play finally accused its author of inconsistency and hesitation to openly condemn the capitalist system. There were, however, attempts to soften the assumed criteria of evaluation but they little improved Miller's reputation as a thematically naive writer.

The manner the play was staged, the interpretation of the text, and the quality of the performance provide some most difficult problems to deal with at a distance. The reviewers who were previously unanimous in the general evaluation of the work split into those who claimed that the director inadequately expounded economic and social implications of the plot and those who thought it was overdone at the cost of the author's artistic individuality and counter to his true intentions.

Thinking about the reception of *Sons* in Poland soon after the war one must remember that the evaluation of Miller's play had to be reduced to the preconceived ideological attitude. True, Miller was at that time concerned with the relationship between an individual and a society. But what drew his attention to the theme was (as in many of his plays) the effect of the public issues on the private conscience. Keller, as Miller saw him, is no villainous capitalist competing in a cut-throat world of business for he is too simple-minded to know what he has done. Even if the play does convey a message it is not the one that the Polish reviewers expected: society is not condemned here; society condemns its member who could not make his home of it.

Although the Polish critics mistook the characters for pawns of social conditions they took them rightly for pawns of Miller's dramatic technique. Despite Miller's turn to Ibsen who emphatically stressed the necessity and importance of valid causation, Miller manifested a mechanical theatricality that hardly sustained the illusion of reality and cause-effect inevitability. The action in *All My Sons* relies in its crucial moments on such theatrical devices as a slip of the tongue by Kate Keller, a telephone call by George Deever, or Larry's surprise letter produced in a proper moment by Annie Deever. The charac-

ters lack social depth and psychological veracity (the protagonist seems to have committed suicide only to drive home the thesis). The language of the play is artificial and too obviously didactic (Chris, for instance, often stops being a character to deliver an oration). The reviewers did not omit to point out all these drawbacks of the play.

Such were, roughly speaking, the first contacts of Arthur Miller with the Polish critics and public. Putting aside all disagreement and prejudice one must admit that the interest in American literature in this country, was, via France, growing more and more promising.

A year later the Warsaw performance was restaged in Łódź: *Sons* was also played on some other local stages but none of those productions changed the general attitude to the play. Provincial theatres ended the first period of the reception of Arthur Miller in Poland. The year 1949 dated the beginning of a new political situation which had a strong influence on the whole of the cultural life including theatre production.

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At the meeting in Obory (near Warsaw) which took place in June 1949 and assembled authors, critics, and cultural authorities, a new trend in arts called "socialist realism" was heralded as a model to be followed.

Officially it was announced that artists were free to choose from diverse means of artistic expression. What they had to guard was only the "topical interests of workers' government. Yet in fact preference was given to verism and realism patterned on the Russian the 19 c. arts and literature, Gorki in particular (who was considered a classic of "great realism"). Consequently the plays showing class antagonisms and critical about the economic systems of the past and present soon won priority on stage. The newly created works were required to expose type characters representing desirable patterns of behaviour and beliefs as well as to contain a clear distinction between "good" and "wicked" characters in order to drive the plot into an optimistic conclusion. Formal experimenting was thought extravagance but the main "fault" lay in "cosmopolitism" understood as preference for works, authors, or trends, different from the recommended model.

This explains the absence of Western authors, including Miller, on the Polish stage in the period of the socialist realism. It was only the press that from time to time informed readers about the playwright's literary (and occasionally political) activities.

When the interest in Miller revived around 1955 the author of *Sons* (Miller's fiction and radio scripts were unknown in Poland) had already written four new plays (*Death of a Salesman, The Crucible, A View from the Bridge, A Memory of Two Mondays*) that were gaining him world-wide popularity. Poland was at that time restoring its cultural ties with the West (in 1954 Polish theatres joined the annual dramatic festivals sponsored by Theatre de Nations in Paris) and the criticism of the Western literary output tended to become less severe. On the wave of cultural liberalization a "gifted" playwright soon found a chance to prove on the Polish ground his good reputation. In 1952 *The Crucible* was translated into Polish and published in instalments in *Życie Literackie*; in 1956 *Dialog* reported Miller's views on styles and themes in modern drama. Miller's reports were

soon commented on by Konstanty Puzyna who investigated Miller's understanding of the dramatic forms and styles in the context of the validity of some literary terms in Europe and America. Puzyna attempted to prove that Miller's association of themes with styles (Miller claimed that the family theme evoked the realistic style whereas social matters involved the poetic expression) were incompatible with the European approach, which, if not perceived, might bring about a great deal of misunderstanding and confusion in criticism. According to Puzyna, Miller, having fixed his attention only on the American social patterns that remained unchanged since World War I, failed to discern the revaluation of techniques and categories caused by the revolution of themes in Europe.

Puzyna's study, independent and objective as it was, appeared mind-refreshing after what had so far been said about Miller in Poland. But first of all it had the advantage of being a response to Miller's literary creed stated expressis verbis, and of proving that Miller's production in the field of criticism was of autobiographical and personal value rather than of the theoretical one.

After the eventful October 1956 the cultural policy in Poland rapidly changed. The management of particular stages was handed over to municipal councils, which added to their efficiency in organizing financial help for all ambitious undertakings. Theatres were also free to plan their repertoires independently of central administration. At the same time public funds on culture suddenly increased and theatres had a considerable share in them. The greatest gains however resulted from a good deal of liberty left to each experimenting stage. Within an unusually brief period Polish theatres, hitherto lagging behind the outstanding European ones, became a real centre of stage production; literary and artistic managements were competing in filling repertory gaps. The year 1956 opened a great festival of the most prominent representatives in the world drama of all epochs and genres. Hundreds of new plays were being prepared and many playwrights of all continents had their works staged in Poland before they could be seen in Paris, London, Moscow, and elswhere. First Brecht and Sartre were preferable on the Polish stage to be replaced, in the sixties, by O'Neill and Arthur Miller.

Meanwhile, in 1957, the public of Warsaw had a chance to see *A View from the Bridge* in the interpretation of the National Theatre of Lubljana (Yugoslavia). Soon afterward the Polish Radio emitted *The Crucible* which was mainly recognized for its theme. It is not accidental, the reviewers would say, that nowadays one is so often reminded of witchhunt; the sight of a burning stake animated by literature looms large again and again all around the world.

This was the way Arthur Miller joined the stream of post-October discussions that began to dominate in the public life of those days. Theatre found its peculiar access to the matter through a careful selection of topical plays as well as by a skilful stylization of classics. Thus, for instance, Rosencranz and Guildenstern, Shakespeare's characters, would often be turned into secret political agents and the spires of the concentration camp watch-posts would tower behind the decorations of "Measure for Measure".

*The Crucible* was first produced in Teatr Dramatyczny in Warsaw known for "leading a permanent discussion on the current affairs" and "settling accounts between the modern man and his times".

The first rough opinions on the play showed an apparent tendency to identify its origins with McCarthy's anticommunist campaign. Such attitudes paved the way for easy generalizations and political hints: people would readily compare Salem events to the well known home and European facts of the recent past. *The Crucible* was thematically topical and critics often insisted on viewing it as a political allegory. They noticed however that an enduring topicality of the play lies in the lack of historical and social barriers to the theme. Miller, they said, saw Salem events in a universal perspective that enabled him to treat social evil as an everlasting danger to suppress common sense and the feeling of justice. To watch *The Crucible* after October 1956 meant to be moved by the simple impotence of honest mind against fanaticism that was getting out of control. The real moral of the play, the critics rightly observed, is this: in the social life evil is less occasioned by deliberate villainy than by the abnegation of personal responsibility.

Hardly anybody at that time therefore questioned John Proctor's status of a hero. Those (although not numerous) who contradicted it tried to read the play in existential terms. In literary fiction, they maintained, existentialism often finds its expression in an unexpected revelation of the tragic lurking in the system of appearances in everyday life and providing the man with an illusion of immortality. John Proctor, a simple man, found himself surrounded by issues he could not grasp with his brains. The unexpected situation destroyed his customary behaviour and made him seek truth about himself. All of a sudden the "system of appearances" was gone and the man touched the very heart of human existence.

Nonetheless the producer did not yield to the temptation of being in vogue for all costs. He interpreted the play as a treatise on conflicting moral attitudes and assigned John Proctor the role of a hero choosing to die to sustain human dignity. The scene at the court and the ending of the performance were reported masterly and could be measured by the accomplishment of the most outstanding European productions.

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Soon after *The Crucible* had gained such an enormous reputation in Warsaw its fame was for almost two years eclipsed by *A View from the Bridge* and *Death of a Salesman*, both of which were then sharing an immense popularity all over the country. It was undoubtedly a matter of public demand: *All My Sons* and *The Crucible*, due to their publicistic merits, could occupy people's attention in the periods of political or social upheavals but their popularity was bound to wane when excitement was cooled down by the progress of manysided stability. There was still another reason to diminish the popularity of *The Crucible* and to contribute to that of the two plays. It was a successful spread of existentialism in Poland at the turn of the fifties. The public, fed up with long and dull moralizing, thirsted for novelty; the rise of new philosophy stimulated people's selfconsciousness and revealed the vast areas of thought so far suppressed or underestimated. Accordingly, the great public trial of John Proctor could not equal in popularity the minute, private cases of Eddie Carbone and Willy Loman.

Nevertheless the reviews were not all too enthusiastic about these plays; and it was particularly *A View from the Bridge* that provoked different opinions on its form and artistic values.

After a disappointing New York run the dramatist revised the play adding more realistic details and rewriting most of the dialogue as prose. He developed Eddie's character psychologically and drew him closer to his environment. Alfieri's speeches were shortened, toned down, and rendered more prosaic and personal to better integrate the protagonist with the setting. Finally the one-act piece was lengthened, divided into two acts and as such entered the Polish stage in the sixties.

It was probably for that purpose that Miller tried to utilize Sophocles' technique, adding the chorus-like figure of Alfieri to the plot. Yet just like many of those who think their manifestoes will help them reach their artistic goals, Miller did not but provoke critics to measure his works by the pre-established standards, instead of judging it by its own merits.

If *A View from the Bridge* generated some disagreement in Poland as to its form and artistic values, it was because critics were all of a sudden surprised and confused after what had so far been seen, read, or heard in connection with Miller's name. To say, however, that this puzzled and annoyed rather than excited and inspired, would not be too gross a simplification. The reviewers reproached Miller for showing a mere pretence of art. To his Ibsenic, domestic drama, they said, Miller attached the Greek decoration, in the false assumption that the moral code and the taboos of the primitive community (valid neither to the public nor the commentator himself) will become a theme for a tragedy of the Sophoclean dimension. The critics were right indeed: the motivation of Miller's characters is quite different from that of Sophocles' and the borrowed scenery of *View* is but a maquette imposed on the story of a particular community. On the other hand Miller was praised for what had been recognized his strength long before: the realistic observation. But this was only one aspect of his play.

Miller's eclecticism demonstrated in *View* brought him in Poland the ambivalent epithet of the "playwright of compromise", and the critics pointed back to his earlier pieces as the adequate evidence of his talent.

Therefore, after *Death of a Salesman* had been staged in Poland, the diversities of approach towards Miller's genre disappeared, replaced by the opinion that it is simply a moving and complex play, and a notable technical achievement too. Being faithful to realism, the reviewers would say, Miller, however, broke out of the confinement of place and time to base his play on constant confrontation of narrative planes and tones; to interweave the present with the past and the past with further-reaching retrospections. The technique applied in *Salesman* helped him put forward causation on one side and keep through a rigorous composition on the other. In short, Miller saved his play both from formal insignificance and from the risky borrowings — the critics commented.

Indeed, Miller had succeeded by his own standards, and happily enough, his standards coincided with those of the critics.

*Death of a Salesman*, written in 1947, was produced in Poland only in 1960. Had it been staged some ten years before, *Salesman* might have become a lecture on the perils of capitalism. Yet in the sixties Willy Loman was generally recognized a victim of the

twentieth-century American dream of success, irreversibly lost when the dream failed. Occasionally Loman's fate was also viewed through existential glasses, and an American square-minded fellow tended to change into a European l'homme perdu.

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*Death of a Salesman* closed the little festival of Miller's plays on the Polish stage. The wave of interest in his production died out to be restored (though on a much smaller scale) in 1965, by the dramatist's arrival in Poland and the premieres of his next two plays: *After the Fall* and *Incident at Vichy*.

In the meantime it was only *The Crucible* that occasionally appeared in some local theatres. Unfortunately, the Warsaw success of 1959 was not repeated anywhere, although the critical production on the play as well as on Miller's total work, might provide quite a ground for preparing a refreshing performance. But, after all, further adaptations of *Crucible* belong to the period of stabilization in the Polish theatre. Novelties of world production ceased being a rarity. The rush of experiments was gone, and the gains of the eventful years had entered the list of established techniques. In addition theatre-goers were no more shocked by the themes like that of *The Crucible*. Power excess and the phenomenon of collective fear had already been exploited, both in the European and home literature, almost to the point of being trite. Thus hardly anybody could still be moved afresh by John Proctor's dilemma. On the contrary, Polish art of those days had found a new obsessive idea to explore: that of an intellectual and emotional distance from fear. Dramatists, prose writers and film directors tried grotesque or distortion of reality as the means to annihilate fear. Emotional attitude was replaced by the attitude of an aestheticizing analysis.

No wonder then that on this ground Miller's new plays must have appeared second in theme. Although *Fall* did not directly touch any of the topical Polish problems yet to some critics it resembled a piece from the biographical production of the intellectuals suffering from "historical" complex. However striking this comparison might appear, it does nevertheless indicate a far-going impatience with the literature of confession.

Still it was not the form that the Polish critics so strongly disliked. It was its theme ("theme" standing here for what the French term "sujet" indicates). In the reviewers' opinion Miller's fault lay in his attempt to raise Quentin's middle-class mentality to the dimension of a disintegrated contemporary Everyman. Quentin is uncertain and misty (they said); he indulges in his selfknowledge and "psychoanalyzing" his past. All the same he is trying to settle up a prosperous future for himself. A nondramatic, double-faced individual: conscious of Man's intimate fallacy and seeking a positive solution in his private case to cure up his despair. *Fall* was then listed in Poland as a definite misconception in Miller's literary career. The reviewers called back to *Death of a Salesman* as the best exponent of the playwright's talent, a fine blend of both technique and theme. The psychology and causation of *Salesman* — the opinions said — were, contrary to *Fall*, too simple to turn out efficient. Miller created in fact two Willies: one for the spectator and the other for the character's own comprehension. The former would not exist had the latter been given the selfknowledge sufficient to equal the viewer. That is

why the viewer did not have to identify with the hero to sympathize with him. With Quentin, winking confidentially off-stage he might not have wanted to. The Polish critics then were not very favourable about Miller's newest play for its, as they said, pretence of being more than it is. But the actual values of *Fall* might have been differently read if the author had not ostentatiously supplied some dubious autobiographical material from his own dimmed past. Nevertheless the Warsaw production of the play (in Teatr Dramatyczny) of more than average standard, sustained for quite a long time common interest in Miller as a fashionable author.

*Incident at Vichy* came to Poland too late (Teatr Współczesny, Szczecin, 1966) to gain any considerable recognition here. Indeed, when compared with the abundance of home production of this kind it must have appeared second both in its form and topic (cf. for instance *Niemcy* by Kruczkowski or *Zwykła sprawa* by Tarn). Even if the play was occasionally praised for its dramatic efficiency, its notion of collective responsibility for racial extermination was said intolerable.

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The criticism on Miller toward the end of his heyday in Poland was prolific. The most important literary magazines and periodicals (*Dialog*, *Życie Literackie*, *Teatr*, *Nowa Kultura*, etc.) gave their space to numerous articles, notes, reviews, resumés, and the home production was being completed with reprints from foreign sources on the subject.

The discussion was topical because after eight years' cessation Miller resumed his dramatic production and, naturally enough, began to arouse expectations.

In Poland it was said he did not meet them. Most of the critics conformed to the opinion that what the dramatist wrote "before the fall" far excelled his newest plays. Miller, they admitted, though a follower of the Scandinavian classics in realism, was a highly gifted playwright, able to transplant its merits of veracity onto the modern craft of narration and psychological motivation. Yet he was efficient as long as he maintained the physicality of the world in his plays. Deeply rooted in his environment and its standards of thinking, the dramatist was bound to fail once he ventured an escapade to the unknown terrains of abstraction.

The tide of interest in Miller died out around 1966 but his reputation as a promising author did not decrease so speedily. Up to the present day any new production of Arthur Miller's play has been a considerable theatrical event and a notable public seccess.

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As this brief outline of Miller's career in Poland shows, the author of *Sons*, *Crucible*, *Fall*, has undoubtedly been a controversial figure here. The reasons for disagreements were complex, but for the sake of clarity, they might be reduced to a few simple ones.

First, Miller appeared in this country as a representative of the literature whose tradition and socio-cultural conditioning were familiar only to a selected number of connaisseurs.

Although in the sixties much was being done to bring it closer to common appreciation, most of the critics were still impressed by such names as Beckett, Ionesco, Camus, and Sartre. Perhaps that is why Miller's drama, viewed from the Polish standpoint largely influenced by the French criticism, was so often misunderstood. The reviewers of his plays did not always succeed in distinguishing the product of the author's own genius from what they called eclecticism. The notion of realism, so frequently used in connection with Miller's work, was either overburdened with ill-matched, homemade connotations of the late forties and early fifties, or just hastily identified with Ibsenic realism. The playwright's attempts (in his mature plays) to combine the objectivity of realism with the subjective strenght of some nonrealistic means of expression, were not satisfactorily explained.

Miller's concern about the relations between the individual and the society was often mistaken for the notion of the economic conflict (*Sons*) or the absurdity of human existence (*Crucible*, *View*, *Salesman*). It was somehow overlooked that up to *Misfits* Miller did not in fact change the object of his examination. He studied it from two angles : once the individual sought the morality of the society (*Sons*, *View*), the other time he defied it. (*Salesman*, *Crucible*). This superficial discord in the playwright's preoccupation would sometimes confuse the critics to the point of being unable to notice the actual motivation of Miller's characters : their dependence on the environment and their attempts to find home in it.

It was also for external causes that image of the dramatist in this country has gone into extremities. First Miller was presented in Poland as a starryeyed revolutionary, then a bourgeois mouthpiece, and finally as a defender of the dignity of mankind. These were the times when the producers and publishers demanded hardly any other values but the ones that could be applied in the service of the message. (although the reasons might vary).

It should be recognized that what had been said above about Miller's reputation in Poland is only its fragmentary exposition. The conclusions have been inferred only from the printed material on the subject, published in literary magazines and periodicals. This approach might result in reconstructing only one aspect of the author's reputation, i.e., the one prevailing among literary professionals. Although they were undoubtedly impressed by different productions of Miller's plays, they would still keep to the texts rather than yield to a director's interpretation. Far more interesting, however, might be the investigation of theatre productions and the public response to them. What remains beyond doubt in this respect is that Miller was popular and frequented in the discussed period. There were six Polish premieres of his plays and the total number of stagings went up to thirty eight : six of *All My Sons*, ten of *A View from a Bridge*, seven of *The Crucible*, ten of *Death of a Salesman*, one of *After the Fall*, and four of *Incident at Vichy*.

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ERRATA

| Page and line | Instead of | Read |
|---|---|---|
| $22_{18}$ | surprizing | surprising |
| $23_9$ | no tconsidered | not considered |
| $59_1$ | Raknem 1972 | Raknem 1962 |
| $75_2$ | strenght | strength |
| $92^{18}$ | government. | government." |
| $93^1$ | commented on by | commented by |
| $98^{21}$ | that image | that the image |
| $98^{25}$ | the message. | the message |