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XVII



WROCŁAW 1991
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ANGLICA
WRATISLAVIENSIA
XVII

*With Appreciation,
to Professor Jan Cygan
on the Occasion
of His 60th Birthday*

WROCLAW 1991
WYDAWNICTWO UNIwersYTETU WROCLAWSKIEGO

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The present volume of *Anglica Wratislaviensia* includes 14 essays all dedicated to Professor Jan Cygan on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The Editorial Board of *Anglica Wratislaviensia* has decided that the most appropriate way to honour Professor Cygan, and commemorate his birthday, is to present him with a collection of scholarly essays, necessarily in the series *Anglica Wratislaviensia*, whose General Editor he has been for so many years.

The contributions to the present volume of *Anglica Wratislaviensia* come from Professor Cygan's numerous friends, colleagues, and students, both from Wrocław and other parts of Poland. I take this opportunity to thank them all warmly for contributing to this volume.

March 1987

M. P.

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The Wrocław Scientific Society;

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The Linguistic Society of America;

The International Association of University Professors of English;

Societas Linguistica Europaea

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GLOTTALIZATION IN PRESENT-DAY RP, A DYNAMIC APPROACH

The aim of the present paper is to provide an in-depth analysis of one of the most prominent phonetic changes affecting RP consonants during the 20th century. The development in question is the spread of the glottal stop. An attempt is made to predict what effect the process might have upon the allophonics of the fortis plosives in English as well as upon the whole system of distinctive features relevant in the classification of all contoidal segments in the language.

1. THE PHONETIC CHANGE

It seems that the glottal stop is becoming more and more popular in English. Christopherson (1952:156) is of the opinion that [ʔ] has established itself so firmly, at least in the speech of RP speakers under forty, that it should be reckoned with in the teaching of English as a foreign language.

Many speakers use the glottal stop rather regularly between two vowels the second of which is usually accented (Gimson 1970:168, Jassem 1983:280). [ʔ] prevents a hiatus of two vowels belonging to different syllables in place of a vocalic glide which joins them, e.g. *co-operate*, *ge-ometry*, *re-action* [kəu'ʔopəreit], [dʒi'ʔɒmətri], [ri'ʔækʃn]. This usage of the glottal stop can be extended to cases where the second vowel is weakly accented, e.g. *day after day* ['dei'ʔɑ:ftə'dei], or is not accented at all, as in *re-arrange*, [ri'ʔə'reindʒ].

The glottal stop in its delimitative function is also used by RP speakers instead of an intrusive /r/ at a point of vowel hiatus, as in *Shah of Persia*, *law and order*, *drama and music*, etc. It may appear where a regular linking /r/ would be expected, e.g. *later on*, *far off*, *four aces*.

An initial accented vowel is occasionally reinforced by the preceding glottal stop so as to carry special emphasis, e.g. *It's [ʔ]empty*, *I haven't seen [ʔ]anybody*. Actually any vowel initial in an accented syllable may be so reinforced: *it's un[ʔ]teatable*.

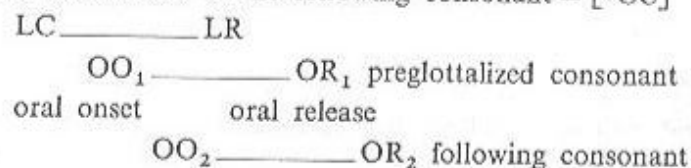
It is increasingly typical of the fortis plosives /p, t, k/ to be glottalized in certain positions in RP (Gimson 1970:169, Wells 1982:260). The reinforcement of /p, t, k/, during which the glottal closure coincides with or slightly precedes the oral closure, takes place between an accented vowel and another consonant as well as utterance-finally after a vowel or a continuant consonant. Word final and intervocalic /t/ is also affected by this tendency.

Some RP speakers tend to replace word final /p, t, k/ by [ʔ] when a consonant follows. /t/ seems to be particularly susceptible to that change, especially when the following consonant is homorganic, i.e. /t, d, tʃ, dʒ/ *hot climate, sit down, that chair, great joke*, etc., also before a homorganic nasal, /w, j, r/, non-homorganic plosives, less frequently before /m/, /l/ and fricatives, e.g. *witness, that one, not you, outright, football, catgut, Scotland, nutmeg, nutshell, great zeal, out there*, etc. Before /h/ the glottal stop is rare, e.g. *not here*, before syllabic /n, l/, as in *cotton, little*, [ʔ] for a preceding /t/ is not accepted in RP. /p/ and /k/ are also sometimes replaced by the glottal stop. This happens, however, only to /p/s and /k/s which are followed by homorganic consonants, e.g. *back-garden, book-case, cap-badge, soap-powder*. All other instances of [ʔ] in place of English plosives are considered substandard.

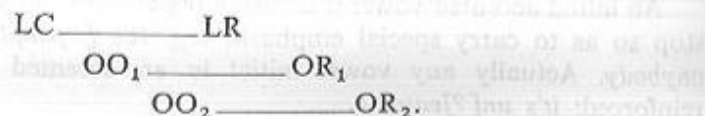
2. PHONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1. Glottalization vs glottalling

In the discussion of the phonemic status of [ʔ] it seems wise to begin with the basic differentiation between what Wells (1982:323) calls (pre-)glottalization and what he means by glottalling. The former involves the glottal reinforcement of fortis plosives which slightly anticipates the oral closure. Roach's (1982) examination of laryngeal-oral coarticulation in glottalized English plosives presents the relationships between laryngeal and supralaryngeal closures and releases in the case of consonant clusters with the first element glottalized. The expected temporal associations are as follows: preglottalization in the context of the following consonant = [ʔCC]



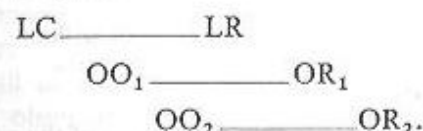
If the two consonants are homorganic, the OR₁ of the preceding one coincides with the OO₂ of the following consonant:



The time from LC to OO₁ was found to vary according to the magnitude of the articulatory movement needed to complete the oral closure. For /p/, for instance, in the forms [Vp(C)#] the LC-OO₁ interval is conspicuously shorter if the preceding vowel is /u:/, for /k/ it is so when it follows /i:/. LR was found to precede OR₁ but the variability in LR-OR₁ interval was considerable.

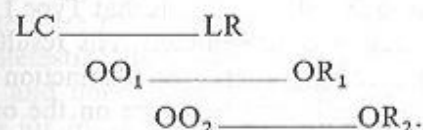
A significant difference was observed between plosive-plus-plosive and plosive-plus-fricative clusters in the relationship between LR and OO₂. The two articulations may be diagrammed:

for plosive-plosive sequence



where LR coincides with OO₂;

for fricative-plosive sequence



where LR precedes OO₂ by a considerable interval.

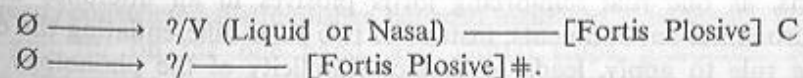
Glottalling, on the other hand, implies either that the glottal closure is retained till after the separation of the relevant supraglottal articulations or that it replaces fortis plosives (Wells 1982:323). Bare [ʔ] is also heard for underlying /t/ before other stops, less commonly before nasals, fricatives, /r/ and /w/.

2.1.1. Glottalization

2.1.1.1. Fortis plosives

Glottalization is typical of a considerable number of RP idiolects, but it has not been extended on the whole RP speaking community yet. It seems that without some regularizing an exhaustive and precise description of the phonological environments in which glottal reinforcement occurs is not possible, as speakers are not quite consistent in their distribution of the glottalized fortis plosives.

The most general conditions appear to be as follows:



In RP pre-glottalization occurs in preconsonantal position when fortis plosives are preceded by a vowel, a liquid, or a nasal and before a pause

whatever the vowel or continuant consonant preceding the voiceless stop (Gimson 1970:168). In accordance with the above general statement one may draw more subtle contextual distinctions:

(a)	—— Pause	Stop!	Quite!	Look!
(b)	—— obstruent or nasal	stop talking stop knocking capsule, topmost	quite good not mine nights, nut- meg	look down blackmail looks
(c)	—— non-syll liquid or non-syll voc ¹ .	stop worrying hopeless	quite likely mattress	look worried equal

Roach (1973:11–21) suggests that the choice of the particular environment for the glottalization rule is not a matter of random decision. He distinguishes between two types of /p, t, k/-glottalization which appear to correspond to the b and c environments. Roach's observation is that Type 1 and 2 (or b and c) are very often mutually exclusive in one idiolect. His results seem to agree with Higginbottom's (1964) findings where the distinction is set out between plosive-liquid and plosive-semivowel sequence on the one hand and plosive-syllabic nasal sequence on the other. Roach's Type 3, i.e. a, may cooccur with Type 1 and 2, or it may appear independently. The above classification is intended by the author to present certain tendencies. One may find a few instances of type overlapping in some idiolects or such cases where a Type 1 (or Type 2) speaker does not glottalize in some contexts suitable for Type 1 (or Type 2, respectively). Generally, however, Roach's findings imply that a Type 1 speaker is unlikely to glottalize in an environment appropriate for Type 2, though he may not use all contextual possibilities allowing Type 1 glottalization.

In the light of Roach's (1973) study the glottal reinforcement appears to be a very peculiar change the mechanisms of which are contrary to well-known natural language tendencies promoting innovations, such as the principle of least effort or the drive towards regularization. The trend is to the articulation involving more articulatory complexity and effort (two occlusions instead of one). Moreover, the change is not into one uniform type of glottalization, but into two types with mutually exclusive distributions for different speakers. It seems that eventually the two types of glottalization will coalesce in all RP idiolects, as one rule reinforcing fortis plosives in all utterance final and preconsonantal environments, instead of two rules differentiating the contexts for the rule to apply, leads to greater simplicity of the phonology.

¹ The (c) environment does not involve the non-syllabic vocoids as members of the diphthongs.

Glottalized [ʔp, ʔt, ʔk] may count as positional allophones of the phonemes /p, t, k/. In view of Kim's (1970) theory of aspiration Roach (1982:5) formulates the thesis that aspirated and glottalized allophones of /p, t, k/ are in complementary distribution. On the basis of his experimental research Kim (1970:109–111) concludes that aspiration is a function of the glottal opening at the time of release. The length of aspiration is equal to the time it takes from the open glottis to close for the vibrations of the following vowel. Thus the wider the glottis the longer the intervening period between the release and the onset of voicing. An aspirated plosive found in utterance initial prestressed position requires a considerable opening of the glottis before the release of the plosive. Fortis plosives in other positions (such as prepausal, intervocalic or in s- and -j clusters) will not have the glottal opening.

Roach's (1979:5) observation is that in those cases where wide glottal opening occurs during plosive closure — glottalization is never found. Thus aspirated and glottalized allophones of fortis plosives are in complementary distribution.

/p, t, k/ in s- clusters are neither aspirated nor glottalized. Kim (1970:113–114) attempts an interesting hypothetical phonetic explanation of that fact. Since /s/ is voiceless and does not require the closing of the glottis — the opening of the glottis for /p/, /t/ or /k/ can proceed simultaneously with the oral articulation of /s/. The glottis opens to the same degree and for the same interval for /p/ of /sp/ as it would for utterance initial /p/. Thus it will begin to close by the time the closure for /p/ is made. At the moment /p/ is released the glottis has become so narrow as to allow immediately the voicing of the following vowel. Obviously no aspiration occurs.

It seems that for the increasing number of RP idiolects the fortis plosives have 3 positional allophones with respect to the manner of articulation: 1 – aspirated in prevocalic prestressed position, 2 – glottalized in utterance final position and in the [V(L or N) — C] environment, 3 – non-aspirated and nonglottalized in other positions.

In terms of distinctive features glottalization should be interpreted as a plosive with the laryngeal features [– spread, +stiff], whereas aspiration might be characterized as a [+spread, –stiff] plosive. These two features, or actually two pairs of features: stiff vocal cords/slack vocal cords, spread glottis/constricted glottis were proposed by Halle (1972). The stiff/slack opposition was originally meant to account for high and low pitch. But in obstruents it refers to the voicing/voicelessness contrast (Sommerstein 1977:106). The pair spread/constricted distinguishes between aspirated consonants, voiceless vowels and /h/ on the one hand, and glottal stops, glottalized sounds, ejectives, implosives, vowels pronounced with creaky voice on the other.

The allophonic statement presented above may hold good for the whole RP system, in which glottalized pronunciation still seems to function as a free

variant in the realization of the contextual allophones of the fortis plosives, other variants being, for instance, slightly aspirated or slightly affricated varieties of /p, t, k/ for the final allophones, viz. [p^h, t^h, k^h] or [p^ʔ, t^ʔ, k^ʔ] (Wells 1982:323). Glottalization, however, appears to be on the increase and is most likely to affect all idiolects within RP. Then the interpretation of [ʔp, ʔt, ʔk] regarding them as regular positional allophones would have systemic significance.

2.1.1.2. The affricate

The affricate /tʃ/ presents a phonologically interesting case as it is unique in being glottalized in intervocalic position. The rule for /tʃ/-glottalization must thus differ from those for the phonemes /p, t, k/ unless /tʃ/ is treated as two phonemes /t/ and /ʃ/. Higginbotham (1964:141) for instance, adopts the biphonemic analysis of the affricate on account of its reinforcement possibilities. If [tʃ] is regarded as a sequence of /t/ + /ʃ/ there no longer exists a single intervocalic consonant susceptible to glottalization, which is anomalous, but instead a fortis plosive followed by a fricative, which constitutes a perfect context for the glottal reinforcement.

Roach's (1973) attempt to find a common formula for preglottalization in RP seems to be quite unjustified. He introduces position in the syllable as the crucial environmental determinant of the occurrence of the change. The alleged advantage of the requirement that the consonant liable to glottalization cannot be syllable initial is its general applicability, as Roach finds it valid for all the glottalization types (see above), i.e. for Type 2 (c) and for the affricate Type — obligatorily, for Type 1 (b) redundantly because the set of plosive-plus-consonant clusters involved in Type 1 glottalization could not be initial in English syllables.

Roach's thesis is that only syllable-final /tʃ/ is glottalized. He treats syllable-final position as the precondition for the affricate reinforcement and at the same time repeats after O'Connor (1952:217) that preglottalized /tʃ/ should be regarded as a marker of syllable structure. His argumentation must be considered circular. Glottalized /tʃ/ is supposed to belong syllabically to a preceding vowel, whereas non-glottalized is presumed to adhere syllabically to a following vowel. Pre-glottalization is to serve as a marker when syllable boundaries are not easily determinable, e.g.:

kerchief /k3:tʃi:f/ — no glottalization, consequently the syllable division proposed by Roach is /k3:/tʃi:f/,

Churchil /tʃ3:ʔtʃil/ — glottal reinforcement, hence /tʃ3:ʔtʃil/.

Roach's analysis must be rejected if not for other reasons (e.g. taxonomic) at least because of the phonological indeterminacy of syllable boundaries.

It seems that the best solution is to give up the objective of systematic uniformity, recognize /tʃ/ as one phoneme and consequently regard preglot-

talized [ʔtʃ] as a category separate from preglottalized fortis plosives (Andrésen 1968:11). The phoneme /tʃ/ has a glottalized free variant in intervocalic and final position. The change being in progress, the free reinforced allophone is likely to become a regular positional variant.

2.1.2. Glottalling

T-glottalling falls within the current mainstream RP in preconsonantal position excluding syllabic contoids (the contexts b and c). Utterance final T-replacement, though heard occasionally, is still classified as substandard.

It seems that as an independent segmental phoneme of the language the glottal stop should be ruled out. /t/ and [ʔ] do not contrast either preconsonantly or utterance finally. Actually, in many cases they alternate freely. Thus there appear to exist strong grounds for grouping them together, though the criterion of phonetic similarity is not satisfied, as from the articulatory point of view they are phonetically strikingly dissimilar (the difference in the place of articulation).

It may be argued that the glottal stop cannot be interpreted as an allophone of one phoneme, /t/ for example, as /p, t, k/ prove to be in multiple complementation with respect to [ʔ]. The awkward phonological problem is how to phonemicize [ʔ]. The contexts where the glottal stop varies freely with /p, t/ and /k/, cannot be uniquely determined. [ʔ] replaces /p/ only if a bilabial contoid follows. But it may be heard for /t/ exactly in the same context, viz. *football* [fuʔbɔ:l] vs *cap-badge* [kæʔbædʒ]. Similarly, both /t/ and /k/ may be replaced by [ʔ] when followed by a velar, viz. *catcall* [kæʔkɔ:l] vs *bookcase* [buʔkeis]. Overlapping in the same context, i.e. complete overlapping is not admissible within the tradition of American Structuralism.

Yet, though glottalization sometimes applies to /p/ and /k/ in the same environments as it does to /t/, usually the articulatory gesture for the labial or velar stop is still audible, whereas no alveolar gesture is necessary (Ladefoged 1975:46, Wells 1982:261 — "the potential of some kind of labial or velar gesture").

The solution suggested in the present paper is to regard [ʔ] as the complete replacement of the oral articulation only in the case of /t/. Consequently, [ʔ] is interpreted as a free variant occurring alongside [t] and [t] preconsonantly. Wells (1982:46) suggests that the incidence of [ʔ] in that position may be conditioned by social and stylistic factors. In the same style both [t] and [ʔ] may occur equally often and apparently at random, but in a more formal style [t] is likely to prevail over [ʔ].

[ʔ] with the appropriate articulatory gesture is identified with that type of glottalling in which the glottal stop masks the release stage of the oral closure. The labio-glottal stop [pʔ] should be associated with the phoneme /p/, whereas [ʔ] with the relics of velar articulation, i.e. [kʔ], should be assigned to /k/. It

In terms of acoustic features:

$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{compact} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$
--	---	---	---

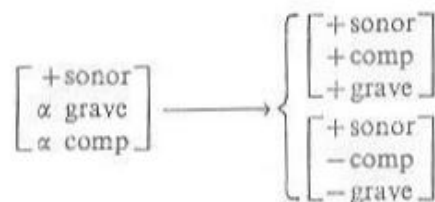
In terms of articulatory features:

$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{peripheral} \\ +\text{anterior} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{periph} \\ +\text{ant} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{periph} \\ -\text{ant} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{periph} \\ -\text{ant} \end{bmatrix}$
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In three-class system the articulation of the middle member in the series gets dispersed. This is the case with the nasal series in Italian, where the phoneme /n/ has very dissimilar allophones with respect to their intra-oral location:

lab /m/	dent /n/	pal /ɲ/	vel [ŋ]
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$

The problem is how to collapse the discrepant allophones of /n/ into one distinctive-feature representation characterizing the phoneme as a whole. The classificatory solution proposed here is to borrow the idea of the alpha variable from generative phonology. The /n/ phoneme with the dental and velar variants may be marked [+son, α comp, α grave]. The symbol α is a variable ranging over the values + and -. The segment is either positively or negatively specified for both features, or in other words the specification for gravity must agree with the specification for compactness. The phoneme /n/ is characterized as either [+sonor, +comp, +grave], i.e. [ŋ], or as [+sonor, -comp, -grave], i.e. [n].



English /t/ seems to occupy an equally unstable position, as it is also the middle member in the series:

/p/	/t/	/k/
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{grave} \\ -\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{grave} \\ +\text{comp} \end{bmatrix}$

/t/ has a very peculiar allophone, viz. [ʔ], remarkable for its locational dissimilarity to the other variants of the phoneme. As a segment articulated

outside the oral cavity [ʔ] does not possess any supralaryngeal features. Actually the glottal stop may be regarded as a configuration typical of a voiceless stop minus supralaryngeal articulation.

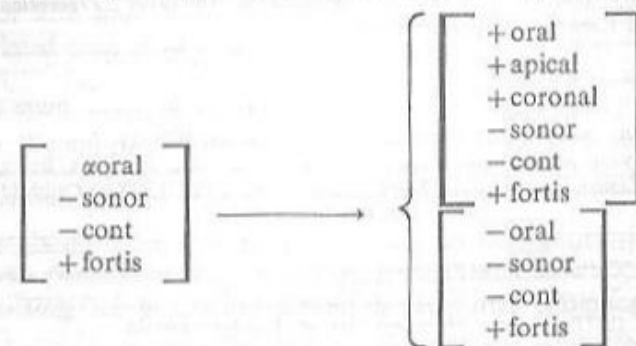
It seems that Lass' (1976:153-154) 'bi-gestural' theory of articulation may become useful for handling the problem of /t/. Lass interprets every segment as bi-gestural, i.e. characterized by two articulatory configurations: laryngeal and supralaryngeal. The two gestures carry two different kinds of linguistic information: categorial (voice, voicelessness, etc.) and locational (back, round, palatal, etc.). Distinctiveness is specified by the supralaryngeal configuration for most segments.

[ʔ]², however, is a sound for which both the categorial and the locational components are realized only laryngeally. It is, as Lass (1976:153) calls it, a 'pure category' of voiceless stop. The glottal stop is thus defective in lacking the locational intra-oral parameter.

Lass (1976:153-154) introduces the feature [$\pm$ oral]³, which is to differentiate between the segments with supralaryngeal articulation ([+oral]) and those with only laryngeal stricture ([-oral]). This means that if a segment is marked [-oral] its matrix lacks specification for the locational feature. If it is [+oral] one must determine the supralaryngeal features to identify the segment. The above regularities may be captured by the alpha variable convention:

[+oral] $\longrightarrow$ [+locational feature]	[α oral] $\longrightarrow$ [α locational feature]
[-oral] $\longrightarrow$ [-locational feature]	

Whereas /h/ (see Lass 1976:156-163) as a 'pure category' of voiceless fricative would be specified [-oral], all the other phonemes of English would be marked [+oral] and /t/ might be represented as [α oral]:



² /h/ is also the sound with the two subcomponents, categorial and locational, realized by the laryngeal gesture (Lass 1976:156-163).

³ The feature [$\pm$ oral] does not stand in opposition to [$\pm$ nasal]. Nasality is in fact an 'oral' feature.

The phoneme /t/ is realized either as [t] or as [ʔ].

It is postulated here that the feature [$\pm$ oral] should be added to the classificatory matrix of the English contoids. As for the remaining features relevant in the classification of all contoidal segments in the language Sommerstein's (1977:112) set has been chosen for the reasons explained in *Modern Phonology* (1977:92 - 113).

	p	t	tʃ	k	b	d	dʒ	g	f	θ	s	ʃ	v	ð	z	ʒ	m	n	ŋ	l	r	h	ɹ	ɻ	ɹ̥	ɹ̥̥
syll	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
sonor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cont	-	-	±	-	-	-	±	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
fortis ⁴	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
oral	+	α	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(locat.f.)	+	α	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
lab	+	(-) ⁶	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
apic	-	(+)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
cor	-	(+)	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
high ⁵	-	(-)	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
back	-	(-)	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

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⁴Sommerstein (1977:112) uses the feature [$\pm$ voice]; [$\pm$ fortis] has been preferred as an abstraction more accurately corresponding to the phonetic facts.

⁵Sommerstein (1977:112) uses integers 1, 2, 3, 4 with respect to [height] in consonants.

⁶The brackets () are to be erased if the value for α is +.

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SCHWA AND SYLLABIC SONORANTS
IN A NON-LINEAR PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH

Schwa is a ubiquitous phonetic element in English both as far as the frequency of its occurrence in the modern language is concerned and also because of its unrelenting historical presence. As every student of the history of English knows, the schwa vowel has been ready to grab the place vacated by other vowels in the language system since the time of the earliest records (and, in fact, even earlier than that). Despite its phonetic omnipresence — or possibly because of it — the phonology of the vowel has continued to present a challenge to linguists and their theoretical models*.

As is well-known, Bloomfield banished schwa from the inventory of phonemes in (American) English preferring representations either with syllabic sonorants or with some full (unreduced) vowel phoneme. Syllabic consonants were postulated even in cases where the schwa vowel is required phonetically (Chao 1934/57:44); the full vowels in the unstressed syllables of words like *cautious*, *business*, *sofa*, *parrot* etc. (Anderson 1985:268-270) were vigorously rejected by Bloomfield's students and followers as an illicit introduction of morphophonemic information into the phonemic interpretation. The post-Bloomfieldian tradition uniformly recognized schwa as one of the simple phonemes in English; the Jonesian school in Great Britain likewise treated /ə/ as a separate phoneme with minimal pairs like *allusion* /ə'lʊ:ʒn/ — *illusion* /i'lʊ:ʒn/ clinching the point. The advent of generative phonology confirmed Bloomfield's results without necessarily endorsing his methods.

Chomsky & Halle (1968:126) recognize a rule of vowel reduction whereby lax, unstressed vowels emerge as [ə]. Consequently /ə/ does not appear in

* I wish to thank Aidan Doyle and Heinz Giegerich for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

underlying representations and is excluded from the underlying inventory of English segments (p. 176–177). It is also characteristic that Chomsky & Halle depart from their usual practice of formulating rules in terms of distinctive features and simply use the symbol /ə/; in footnotes (1 p. 59, 7 p. 245) they recognize contextual modifications of this vowel which they leave aside, regarding it as low-level variation. The fact that schwa is not specified in terms of distinctive features presumably means that *n*-ary rather than binary feature values would have to be used, and this accords with its phonetic nature as a central vowel. The evidence which prompted the vowel reduction rule is overwhelming: numerous instances of alternations between schwa and some full vowel can only be described if the full vowel is entered phonologically and the schwa derived from it, a typical irreversible alternation when one sound is systematically related to two or more sounds. Thus in English (RP) schwa regularly alternates with short vowels (1a) or with lengthened vowels, which may also be realized as diphthongs, (1b), e.g.:

(1a)	e ~ ə	dext[ɛ]rity	—	dext[ə]er
		sentential	—	sentence
		torrential	—	torrent
		fundamental	—	fundament
		systemic	—	system
	æ ~ ə	centr[æ]lity	—	centr[ə]lization
		palace	—	palatial
		fragile	—	fragility
		morality	—	moral
		ɔ ~ ə	h[ɔ]stile	—
	symbolic		—	symbolism
	atomic		—	atom
	monstrosity		—	monstrous
	ʌ ~ ə		col[ʌ]mnial	—
(1b)	ou ~ ə	harm[ou]nious	—	harm[ə]ny
		colonial	—	colony
	juw ~ ə	sulph[juw]ric	—	sulph[ə]r
	juw ~ ʌ / ə	Lillip[juw]tian	—	Lillip[ə / ʌ]t
	iə ~ ə	myst[iə]rious	—	myst[ə]ry
		managerial	—	manager
		funeral	—	funeral
		o: ~ ə	mem[o:]rial	—
	editorial		—	editor
	dictatorial		—	dictator
	ə: ~ ə		mod[ə:]rity	—
		dra[ɑ:]ma	—	dr[ə]matic

Thus, for example, *atom* must be represented phonologically as /ætəm/ with the first vowel realized fully and the second reduced in the noun *atom* ['ætəm], and with the reverse situation obtaining in the derived adjective *atomic* [ə'tomik].

The existence of systematic alternations is a necessary and sufficient condition for deriving schwa from some unreduced vowel. There are numerous instances, however, where no alternations are available and in such cases Chomsky & Halle resort to the expedient of using the V symbol, e.g. in the final syllable of *gymnasium* (p. 231), *decision* (p. 235), *miser*, *rosary* (p. 228), *often* (p. 211), and presumably also in *mountain* even if the form is represented as /mūntən/ in the derivation on page 208 etc. While the symbol V clearly means that the exact feature composition is irrelevant to the point at hand, this is not a valid answer for the SPE view of phonology in general since obviously underlying segments must be exhaustively classified by distinctive features. With non-alternating morphemes the selection of appropriate distinctive feature composition must be arbitrary, i.e. given the fact that at least four short vowels alternate with schwa in English it makes no difference whether we enter *often* as /ɔftən/ or as /ɔftən/, /ɔftən/ or /ɔft ʌ n/. Indeed, Bloomfield's difficulty with the second syllable of *parrot* or *sofa* is back with us since nothing forces us to accept one choice rather than its alternative. The number of similar examples of indeterminacy is too great to allow even a partial listing but the basic point is clear: given [ə] in the first syllable of *offend* and *afford*, what grounds have we got for distinguishing them phonologically? Obviously none. Assuming that they are phonologically identical, then what grounds have we got for selecting one of the four vowels which all qualify for the phonological source of the surface vowel? The answer is regrettably the same as above.

Chomsky & Halle (1968:85, fn 34) mention briefly another source of the schwa vowel in English, namely syllabic sonorants; these have the neutral vowel inserted before them in word-final position. Thus in *monster* the final schwa is epenthetic and does not appear in *monstrous*, *monstrosity* whereas in *Homer* the final schwa results from the reduction of underlying /e/ seen on the surface in *Homeric*¹. Thus the Chomsky & Halle solution involves reduction of a full vowel to schwa, the insertion of schwa before sonorants and finally the questionable mechanism of an unspecified vowel (V) whose derivation is not made clear (does it undergo vowel reduction or is schwa inserted into its place?).

¹ The existence of such alternation contrasts argues decisively against some attempts (Johansson 1974, Vogel 1986) to derive the so-called linking /r/ RP along with the intrusive /r/ via a rule of insertion (disputed by Gussmann 1980: 34 ff, Mohanan ms.). One can postulate a rule inserting /r/ after, among other things, /ə/ either by endorsing an extremely concrete model of phonology or by disregarding the phonological regularities affecting English vocalism.

Before offering an interpretation of schwa as it emerges in some recent developments in phonological theory we must note that the rule of vowel reduction can hardly be viewed as a simple process affecting short, unstressed vowels. For one thing, there does not seem to be any reduction of the high front vowel /i/ in the first (2a) and second (2b) syllables of words like:

- (2a) rigidity, disharmony, debate.
 (2b) hamlet, typist, passive, stupid, passage, parish;

There is no trace of reduction of the final lax /i/ in *appoplexy*, *silly*, *ready*, *democracy*, either; in RP, furthermore, the tensing of that vowel found in other dialects is highly unsystematic (Wells 1982:257–258). This would mean that the rule of vowel reduction would have to exclude /i/ or, possibly, high vowels. There are, however, numerous words with non-high unstressed short vowels where vowel reduction similarly fails, e.g.:

- (3) æ p[æ]stiche, syntax, canteen, caftan
 ɔ apɪc[ɔ]t, alcohol, Montana, kudos
 e mayh[e]m, content, pellucid

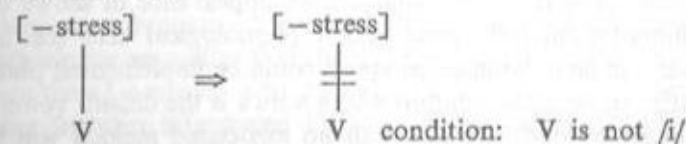
Examples like these², and also the famous pair *astronomy* with reduced [ə] in the first syllable vs *gastronomy* with [æ], clearly indicate that the factors conditioning vowel reduction are poorly understood at present and that the rule must be studied in its own right (see Fidelholtz 1975 for an attempt to connect the process with word frequency).

No matter what factors may influence the context(s) where vowel reduction applies, there still remains the question of what is involved in the process itself. In the past, it was viewed as a feature changing operation whereby short unstressed vowels lost their featural identity and merged as /ə/. This was consistent with the approach to phonology where phonological representations consisted of concatenated symbols (segments and boundaries). Following the autosegmental framework (Halle & Vergnaud 1980, 1982; Clements & Keyser 1983; Steriade 1982) we view representations as comprising separate tiers; at the minimum these should contain the skeleton of consonantal and vocalic slots and the melody of distinctive feature specifications. The tiers are independent in the sense that rules may affect one of them without affecting the other but they are connected by association lines, which introduces a certain amount of interdependence. Vowel reduction could be viewed as an operation affecting the melody; alternatively, however, and this is what we claim is actually happening, vowel reduction can be viewed as a two-stage phenom-

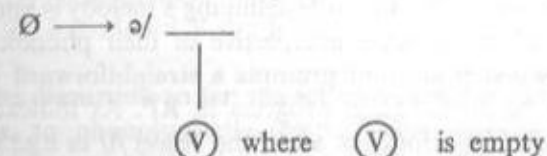
² Phonologists working within the metrical tradition would regard some (all?) of these examples as words with two feet (Selkirk 1980) or with [+stress] [+stress] (Lieberman and Prince 1977) but it hardly needs to be stressed that this kind of treatment is largely diacritic.

enon. The first part is a rule of delinking, i.e. the association line between the melody and the skeletal slot is severed; this results in skeletal slots having no melody associated with them³. A later rule belonging to the so-called default rule system (Archangeli 1984) fills in the feature specification for /ə/ for all empty vocalic slots.

- (4a) the delinking rule⁴



- (4b) the default schwa insertion rule

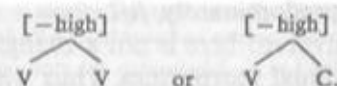


The two-step non-linear approach to vowel reduction has a number of advantages over the earlier accounts. First of all, non-alternating schwas do not need to have any melody associated with them in underlying representations – they are, quite simply, empty V slots. The late schwa insertion rule introduces the required vocalic melody. Furthermore, as mentioned above, we need a rule that introduces a vowel word-finally between an obstruent and a sonorant (e.g. *monster*); this vowel is realized as schwa when the sonorant happens to be /r/ – otherwise the sonorant is itself syllabic with no vocalic phonetic realization (e.g. *[litə/]) or the schwa may optionally appear (e.g. *spas[ə]m*, cp. *spasmodic*). The vowel insertion is the insertion of a V slot:

- (5)
- $$\emptyset \longrightarrow \text{V} / \begin{array}{cc} [+obstr] & [+sonor] \\ | & | \\ \text{C} & \text{---} & \text{C} \end{array} \#$$

³ This possibility is hinted at by Halle & Mohanan (1985:82); cp. also Anderson's (1982) analysis of the French schwa and, with reference to English, Rowicka (1986).

⁴ The delinking rule crucially involves two tiers (i.e. the melody and the skeleton) hence, following the linking constraint developed by Hayes (1986), it can apply when a [–high] autosegment is exclusively associated with a V slot – this prevents the rule from applying to long vowels, i.e. to configurations:



Since the sonorant /r/ does not become syllabic word-finally in RP – we discuss syllabic sonorants below – the V slot, being unassociated, is the target for default schwa insertion.

Thus we find schwa in three distinct cases: in place of an underlying full vowel (e.g. *atom* – *atomic*), corresponding to underlying empty slots (e.g.: *along*, *about*, *obscure*, *nation*) or corresponding to an inserted V slot (e.g.: *monster*, *rhythm*, *cylinder*). On the linear analysis the appearance of schwa corresponding to a phonological full vowel and a phonological zero (i.e. insertion) is a coincidence – in fact, the inserted vowel could be implemented phonetically as /i/ for example. In an interpretation where schwa is the default vowel in English, it is to be expected that a V slot with no associated melody will be assigned schwa in every case; in other words, whether the V slot is empty underlyingly or whether it is made empty due to a rule delinking a melody is immaterial since the default rule fills all empty slots irrespective of their phonological origin.

Finally our two-step account prompts a straightforward interpretation of what appears to be a change in progress in RP. As indicated above vowel reduction (our delinking) does not affect the vowel /i/ in e.g.: *squeamish*, *ratify*, *Catholicism* etc. In a great number of cases, however, that vowel is replaced by [ə] which Gimson in the Introduction to Jones' *Dictionary* (Jones 1981: xvi) regards as a trend "firmly established among middle and young generation RP speakers". He lists several cases where this change is particularly common: *-ity* is now more frequent as [əti] than [iti]; likewise *-ate* of *chocolate*, *fortunate*, *-let*, *-ret* of *bracelet*, *claret*, *-ily* of *angrily*, *family*. In other cases the variant with [ə] is gaining ascendancy as *-ess* in *hopeless*, *goodness* or the feminine *-ess* in *duchess*, *waitress* where /is/ "remains a dominant pronunciation, with /əs/ as an increasingly frequent variant". The inflectional endings *-(e)s*, *-(e)d* are predominantly *-iz*, *-id* in RP, but this is not necessarily the case in other British dialects.

Although, on the basis of examples such as *happ[i]* – *happ[ə]ly*, one might wish to speak about vowel reduction being extended to the vowel /i/, the above survey of facts makes it clear that this is not enough. If we have the reduced vowel in *bracelet*, *scarlet*, then our rule of vowel reduction would have to be extremely complex to exclude it from applying to *pocket*, *target* (because of the different consonants in the onset?); if in *palace* etc. there is an increasing tendency towards /ə/, it would be very costly to encode in the rule the information that it cannot reduce the second syllable of *bellies*, *lillies* etc. Very clearly, placing far reaching constraints on that part of the rule that would affect /i/ amounts to making the rule impossible to state, since it would require reference to individual lexical items – why in *family* is there predominantly /ə/, while in *homily* there is predominantly /i/?

It seems that what is involved here is not a change in the rule but changes in representations of individual morphemes. Thus where earlier there used to

be a V slot associated with the melody for /i/, now we just have the empty slot. The default vowel rule inserts schwa as required⁵. Our approach to vowel reduction provides a ready framework within which the facts can be accommodated: rather than say that /i/ is reduced to /ə/, we can say that individual words restructure their representations. There is nothing surprising about the more frequent words (e.g. *family*) undergoing this restructuring, while the less frequent ones (e.g. *homily*) fail to do so or do so with some speakers only. The failure of these very frequent inflectional endings to undergo restructuring is understandable once we realize that the *-(e)s*, *-(e)d* endings are phonologically nothing more than [+coron, +cont] and [+coron, –cont] respectively with the remaining features introduced by rule. The syllabic variants are due to a rule which introduces a V slot with the associated melody for /i/ between similar consonants. Those dialects that have schwa in inflectional endings differ from RP in that the introduced V slot is empty, hence the schwa default rule is applicable to it.

To sum up the discussion so far: the schwa vowel goes back to phonologically full vowels, to phonologically (empty) slots and to (empty) V slots introduced in the course of the derivation. The melodies of full vowels are delinked in special contexts, which produces another source of empty V slots. Unless affected by other rules all empty V slots – irrespective of their origin – are the target for the default rule which inserts the schwa vowel.

It is perhaps worth noting that the distinction between underlying empty slots and inserted empty slots seems to be justified in word-final pre-sonorant position. We have not found any evidence for this sort of contrast elsewhere in the word. Thus in the relevant position we find a three-way contrast: a full vowel (6a), an underlying empty slot (6b), and inserted empty slot (6c):

(6a) dictator – dictatorial, editor – editorial, manager – managerial, senator – senatorial, censor – censorial, Titan – Titanic, balsam – balsamic;

(6b) danger – dangerous, odour – odorous, venom – venomous, bosom – bosomy;

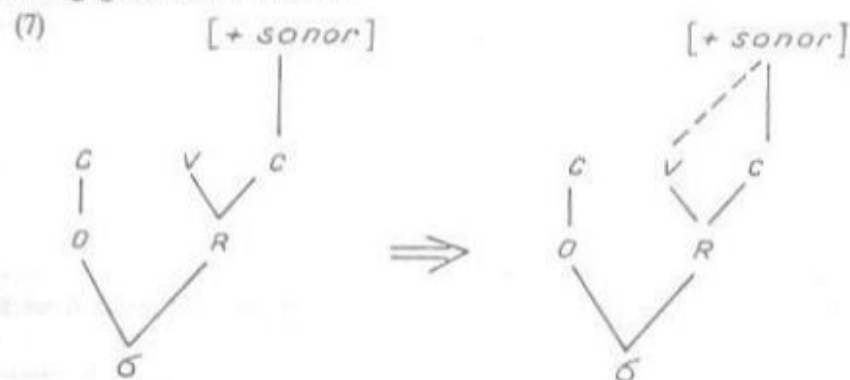
(6c) anger – angry, hunger – hungry, theatre – theatric, metre – metric, cylinder – cylindric, mediocre – mediocrity, monster – monstrous;

In (6a) the melody underlying the surface [ə] emerges when a suffix is added to the base (sometimes the vowel undergoes lengthening); in (6b) the addition of a suffix does not create conditions for vowel emergence but the number of syllables in a word increases by the number of syllables in the suffix (normally just one); in (6c) the addition of a vowel-initial monosyllabic suffix does not

⁵ The only exception to this seems to take place with adjectives ending in /i/ before the adverbial *-ly* ending, e.g. *angry* – *angrily*, *pretty* – *prettily*. Here delinking would have to apply in adverbial forms. Such morphemically conditioned or constrained rules are a commonplace, it seems. Note the failure of final tensing before the suffixes *-ful*, *-ly* in English (Halle & Mohanan 1985: 67).

increase the number of syllables in the derivative (unless, of course, a bi-syllabic suffix is added but then there is an increase of just one syllable). The contrast between (6b) and (6c) can be accounted for if we assign syllable structure to morphologically complex units, i.e. after the application of word-formation rules. The reason why most of these examples involve the final /r/ will become obvious presently when we discuss syllabic sonorants. Here let us note that the insertion of the slot into the word-final 'obstruent plus sonorant' cluster is determined by the general principles of syllabification. Specifically, the sonorant of such a cluster could not be incorporated into the coda of the preceding syllable since it would then follow an obstruent and thus would grossly violate the sonority hierarchy which bars sonorants from preceding and following obstruents in onsets and codas respectively. Furthermore, it seems that the sonorant could not be argued to be extrasyllabic during the derivation and to be made syllabic towards the end of the phonology; this follows from the fact that the obstruent in question is in the onset of the final syllable rather than in the coda of the preceding one – if syllable structure were to be assigned prior to the V slot insertion, words like *metre* or *little* would syllabify /t/ in the coda of the first rather than the onset of the second syllable. Since the consonant in question undeniably belongs to the second syllable and since obviously onset formation follows nucleus formation, the V slot insertion must precede the onset formation. In other words, for the consonant to be assigned to the second syllable, the nucleus must be formed first, hence the V slot must be made available for that purpose.

From the above it follows that syllabic sonorants can be viewed as a single melody attached to a VC slot sequence⁶. Obviously if syllabic sonorant formation is a single process, it must take place not only after the V insertion but also after the delinking rule, i.e. we would like it to apply simultaneously to words like *brittle* and *brutal* (cp. *brutality*). The process can be given the following general formulation:



⁶ This explains the frequently made observation that syllabic consonants differ in length from non-syllabic ones.

i.e. in a syllable with an unfilled nucleus, a coda sonorant is associated with the V slot.

The interest of the English rule is that there exist individual restrictions on the sonorant as far as its association with the V slot is concerned. For one thing, it is a general rule in RP that the sonorant cannot be /r/, i.e. /r/ is never syllabic word-finally. There are two ways of describing the situation: either we stipulate the restriction as part of rule (7) of sonorant double association or we allow (7) to apply across the board and then an independent rule delinking /r/ in the coda (or rhyme) position will remove it and leave the V slot unfilled so that the default rule can fill it with schwa. We prefer the former solution for reasons of derivational complexity.

As is well-known /r/ does not appear in the rhyme phonetically either because it is reassociated with the onset of the following syllable (if that onset is empty) or because it is deleted if reassociation is impossible (before a consonantal onset or before a pause). If /r/ were to be doubly attached, then both these operations – resyllabification and deletion – would entail the undoing of this double attachment. Consider the relevant portion of *hunger is* vs *hunger (was)* where underlyingly the noun *hunger* contains only one V slot (cf. *hungry*). We disregard the details of the first syllable in the derivations in (8).

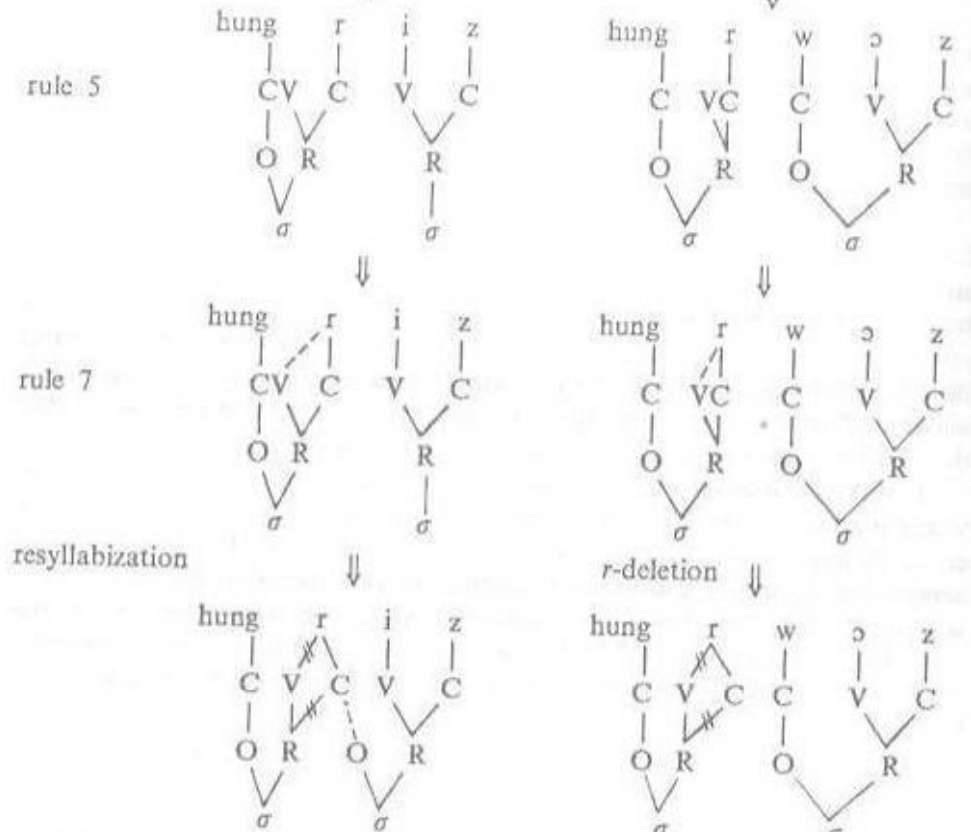
Delinking operates on two levels here – on the level of syllable structure where it performs the operation required by the rule (i.e. it removes a r-coda either by deletion or reassociation) but it also operates on the melody-to-slot association by undoing the results of the earlier association of the sonorant with the V slot. This shows that no double association is involved here in the first place. We thus suggest that rule (7) introducing double association for sonorants exclude /r/: we require that the rhyme final sonorant in (7) be either [+nasal] or [+lateral].

The problem with the three doubly attached sonorants /m, n, l/ is that they undergo rule (7) in different environments with /l/ being most readily syllabic while /m/ is least so. Furthermore the nasals in some contexts resist syllabicity assignment, the result being that the schwa vowel appears in the nuclear position. We must also note that the available dictionaries are not always very reliable or consistent with reference to syllabic sonorants⁷.

We will now look at the three sonorants one by one, starting with the least frequent one, i.e. /m/. The following sample list of words (9a) illustrates syllabic [m] (words marked P have a syllabic variant in Procter's dictionary but not in Jones') while in (9b) syllabic [m] is not allowed and the presence of schwa is obligatory.

⁷ Jones' *Pronouncing Dictionary* (1981) frequently differs from the careful transcriptions provided in Procter's (1983) dictionary. On occasion Jones is inconsistent, e.g. he allows a final.

(8)



(9a) spasm, rhythm, bosom, fathom (P), plasm, chasm, ransom, blossom, lissome, lonesome, wholesome, anthem (P), jetsam (P), handsome (P), balsam (P), buxom (P), hansom (P).

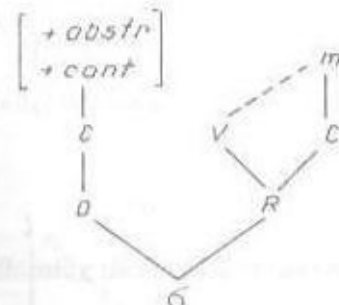
(9b) bottom, emblem, album, problem, bedlam, freedom, venom, seldom, velum, phantom, custom.

Thus we have /m/ in the nucleus when the onset contains one of the following /s, z, θ, ð/; since it is difficult to think of words where the relevant onset would contain /v/ or /f/, we may generalise our observation to all spirants

syllabic /n/ in *dampen* (a from disallowed by Procter) in defiance of the statement on page xix which seems to rule out this possibility or at least make it unlikely. In cases of disagreement we follow Procter's transcriptions.

and claim that the bilabial nasal is made syllabic when the onset contains a continuant obstruent, i.e.:

(10)



In all other cases the V slot will remain unassociated until filled by the default schwa rule.

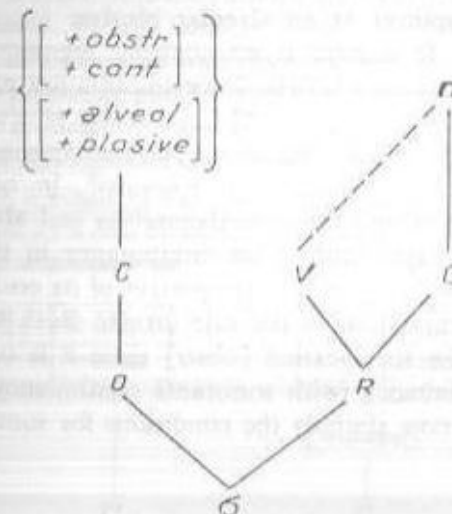
The alveolar nasal is regularly syllabic after most obstruents (11a) whereas after noncoronal plosives as well as sonorants (11b) schwa seems obligatory or, at least, preferable.

(11a) button, redder, often, oven, listen, chosen, luncheon, burgeon, earthen, heathen, mission, vision

(11b) open, ribbon, darken, organ; swollen, colon, human, sermon, cannon, prolegomenon, apron, baron⁸.

For the moment we may generalize and say that the onset has to contain an obstruent which is either a continuant or an alveolar plosive, i.e.:

(12)



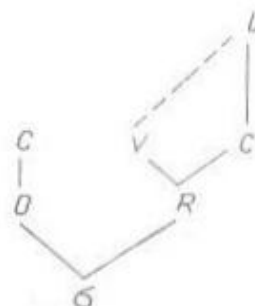
⁸ Jones admits syllabic /n/ after /t/, Procter does not.

The lateral appears to assume a syllabic function after any onset (although some fluctuation exists with /r/ in the onset), e.g.:

(13) topple, rubble, kettle, middle, cuckle, boggle, ruffle, rival, universal, muzzle, brothel, bushel, formal, moral, national.

Bypassing accidental gaps we can state the syllabic conditions most simply as:

(14)

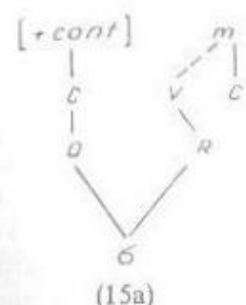


i.e. no matter what appears in the onset, /l/ is associated with the empty vocalic slot.

The last of our three rules could hardly be improved on or made more general but the two formulations referring to nasals call for some discussion; /m/ requiring a spirant in the onset might be regarded as a language-specific fact but the disjunction in connection with the alveolar nasal is odd: what is required is either a spirant or an alveolar plosive.

A solution seems to emerge if we consider segment underspecification along the lines of Archangeli (1984). Since spirants are marked [+cont] we need only provide the feature [-cont] for alveolar plosives: it is only in the alveolar region that a contrast between stops and spirants exists in English (note the absence of bilabial or velar spirants)⁹. In other words, of the English consonants it is only spirants themselves and alveolar plosives that require an underlying specification for continuancy in their melodies. It is the presence of the feature [cont] – irrespective of its coefficient value – that is required in the formulation of the rule for /n/. Both there and also with /m/ we may delete the specification [obstr] since it is only obstruents that are marked for continuancy (with sonorants continuancy is predictable). In view of this we may now simplify the conditions for sonorant syllabification in our rules to:

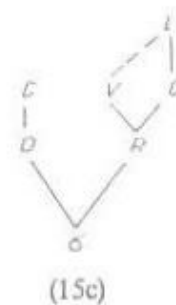
⁹ I assume that labio-dental spirants are to be described by means of the features [later] and [distrib].



(15a)



(15b)



(15c)

One might consider collapsing these rules further but we will leave them in their present shape.

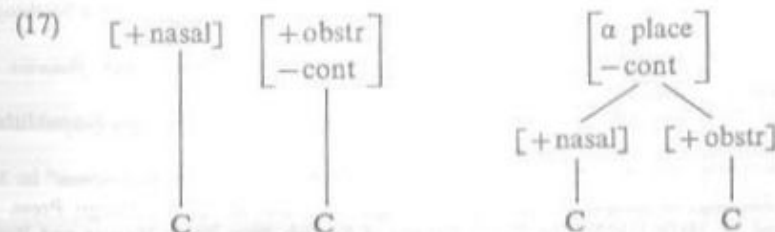
Some support for this formulation of the role of [cont] in our rules comes from the well-known observation that in RP /n/ cannot become syllabic (i.e. schwa is obligatory) if the obstruent in the onset position is a plosive itself preceded by a nasal. Examples:

(16) London, Brendan, abandon, mountain¹⁰, bounden, linden, Linton, Lenten, Linton

vs

mention, mansion, Boston, pension, crimson.

Consider also the contrast in the final syllables of the names *Benson* /sn/ vs *Benten* /tən/. Clearly, no syllabic nasal may arise if a homorganic nasal + plosive cluster precedes it. Now, what characterizes English nasal assimilation is that it is systematic only before a plosive, not before a spirant (no assimilation in *damsel*, *flimsy*, *hamster*, *envy*, *crimson*, *clumsy* etc.). Nasal assimilation results in a situation whereby the place features are shared by the nasal coda and the following plosive, which may itself constitute the onset of the next syllable (e.g. *bandit*, *render* etc.); since nasals are noncontinuants it seems plausible that this melodic feature of the plosive becomes a property of the whole cluster as a result of the nasal assimilation rule rather than being supplied for the nasal by a late blank filling operation. It seems then that nasal assimilation can be expressed as:



¹⁰ If pronounced with /ə/ rather than /i/ in the second syllable.

with place and continuancy features linking the matrices of the two consonants (Steriade 1982). It has been argued by Hayes (1986) and, in a slightly different form by Schein & Steriade (1986), that the application of phonological rules involving different tiers is subject to considerable restrictions (cf. fn 4 above). In the model developed by Hayes a rule such as (15b) can apply only to a form where the continuancy specification is exclusively associated with the C in the onset and hence it cannot apply in the configuration where the feature [+cont] is simultaneously assigned to the onset and the coda. Whether this particular consequence of Hayes' "linking constraint" is the best account of the failure of rule (15b) in the forms above may require more research. Clearly, however, there seems to be a connection between the continuancy of the onset and the syllabicity rules. This is an interesting result in itself since the onset determines the structure of the rhyme contrary to the general view that the initial and nuclear elements of the syllable do not affect each other (but see Clements & Keyser 1983:19-21). If our interpretation is correct, the co-occurrence restrictions between the onset and the rhyme must be recognized to be just as real as those within the rhyme (between the nucleus and the coda).

Our discussion of syllabic sonorants in English has been restricted to word-final position and, to be exhaustive, it would have to be broadened to include such phenomena as obligatory or optional sonorants before certain affixes, e.g.: -ing (*travelling*), -y (*muttoney, chasmy*), -er, -est (*simpler, simplest*), -ly (*simply*) as well as possible syllabic sonorants which occur word internally (e.g.: *memory, mystery, gluttony*). This we cannot hope to achieve here (see Rubach 1977 for a discussion within the standard framework). Although I cannot justify this here, it seems that the concept of the phonological word (Nespor 1985, Szpyra 1986) would be crucial to that discussion. This is another concept which the development of non-linear phonology has revived and which seems to offer a promising line of research.

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OD HECZY-PECZY DO ECI-PECI

Urodziliśmy się, Janku, w tym samym mieście nad zamurowaną pod brukiem ulic Pełtwią, poznali i zaprzyjaźnili w dwadzieścia kilka lat później w szeroko nad rozlewającymi się nurtami Odry rozpostartym mieście, w którym przejść mieliśmy dłuższą i aktywniejszą część naszych życiowych dróg. Zanim poznaliśmy się osobiście, znałem już Twoje nazwisko, mało kto z przedwojennych gimnazjalistów lwowskich, zwłaszcza uczniów gimnazjów klasycznych, nie słyszał bodaj o Twoich Rodzicach, Parze filologów, wyróżniających się spośród tak licznej wówczas grupy łacinników. Filologia klasyczna, macierz wszystkich filologii, formowała też i Ciebie na przyszłą drogę naukową już w domu rodzinnym, a żeś o niej nie zapomniał świadczyć mogą takie pozycje Twojej bibliografii jak *Consonant clusters of classical Greek in present-day English* (1961) lub *Prawo Lachmanna a teoretyczna fonologia* (1986). (Obecnie (1990), kiedy ten napisany w roku 1987 artykuł jest w korektach, drukuje się również, podobnie jak poprzednie, w międzynarodowym organie filologii klasycznej EOS, Twój następny „wypad” na klasyczne tereny: *Sievers' law and Latin verbs*). Mnie na filologię zaprowadziła moja „buda”, stare i zasłużone III Gimnazjum im. króla Stefana Batorego, staroklasyczne.

Przejdźmy jednak do naszego poznania, w heroicznej epoce odbudowującego się polskiego Wrocławia i rozbudowującego się naszego Uniwersytetu. Obaj mamy dyplomy magisterskie tej Alma Mater. Mój jest parę lat wcześniejszy niż Twój z roku 1950 i miałem jeszcze okazję prowadzić zajęcia z łaciny na tych latach wrocławskiej „pierwszej” anglistyki, prowadzonej wówczas przez wspa-
niałego oryginała, klasyka i anglistę Juliusza Krzyżanowskiego, na których Tyś jeszcze studiował. Naprawdę jednak poznaliśmy się wtedy, kiedy Ty tworzyłeś od podstaw „drugą” anglistykę, po roztrwonienu pierwszej w niedobrych dla naszej humanistyki latach pięćdziesiątych. Katedrę objąłeś w roku 1969, a faktycznie jeszcze wcześniej, i prowadzisz filologię angielską, odmienioną

w roku 1975 na Instytut, po dziś dzień. W częstych naszych spotkaniach tych pierwszych lat — bo z urzędu jako h.t. dziekan patronowałem dziełu, któreś Ty z pełnym zaangażowaniem, ogromnym zmysłem i talentem organizacyjnym, rozmachem, poświęceniem i zamiłowaniem tworzył — wytworzyła się ta koleżeńska zażyłość, jaka łączy ludzi, którzy lubią nie tylko wykonywaną robotę, ale i siebie nawzajem, których nadto łączą te dość nieuchwytnie, ale rzeczywiste więzy, o jakich pisałem w pierwszych słowach tego artykułu. Zbudowałeś swoje dzieło, istnieje na Wydziale Filologicznym Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego Instytut Filologii Angielskiej, przez Ciebie wydzwignięty i umocniony, w anglistyce polskiej liczą się poważnie Twoje osiągnięcia naukowe. Najlepszym zaś dowodem, że nie pracowałeś daremnie, jest to właśnie, że Twoi Koledzy, Przyjaciele, Uczniowie ofiarują Ci dzisiaj ten jubileuszowy zbiór. Ich zaproszenie do współudziału było dla mnie i zaszczepem i wielką osobistą przyjemnością, ale nie taję, że i pewnym kłopotem. Jeżeli mamy komuś coś ofiarować, to wypada wybrać coś właściwego, stosownego, osobiście zaadresowanego, żeby nie powiedziano: *What's Hecuba to him?* — a ja z racji mojej hellenistyczno-literackiej specjalizacji mogłbym właśnie służyć Hekubą. Tymczasem Ty jesteś: 1) anglistą, 2) językoznawcą. Obaj jesteśmy „jednej mowy”, przy czym ta mowa bywa czasem, jak wyraźnie wynika ze słów poprzednich, bałakiem.

I oto z pomocą w wyborze być może stosownego tematu przyszedł mi szczęśliwy traf, reminiscencja typu filologicznego nasuwająca się przy lekturze. Starzy filologowie niemieccy nazywali takie przyczynki *Lesefrüchte*, „owoce lektur” i na przykład wielki Wilamowitz-Moellendorff publikował dziesiątki jeśli nie setki takich *Lesefrüchte*. Otóż i mnie się trafiło wpaść na taki owoc lektury klasyka, dosłownie owoc, który z jakim takim uzasadnieniem ośmielię się zadedykować angiści, językoznawcy, lwowiakowi.

Najpierw o tej lekturze. Dobrze u nas znany i chętnie czytany wybitny pisarz angielski, Robert Graves, niedawno zmarły, w lekturze klasyków reprezentowany przede wszystkim wyśmienitymi powieściami antycznymi oraz opracowaniem oryginalnych mitologii¹, napisał również arcyciekawą autobio-

¹Oto u nas znane: *I Claudius i Claudius the God* (1934), przekład pol.: *Klaudiusz* (w wyd. powojennych; *Ja Klaudiusz*), tłum. Stefan Eszmannowski, Warszawa 1938 i 1939, oraz 5 wydań powojennych (1957, 1958, 1970, 1975, 1982); *Hercules My Shipmate* (1944), pol.: *Herkules z mojej załogi*, tłum. Helena Sibera-Breitkopf, Warszawa 1962; *Homer's Daughter* (1955), pol. *Córka Homera*, przeł. Wacław Niepokólczycki, Warszawa 1958. Wszystkie trzy pisane ze znakomitą znajomością literatur antycznych i przewrotnie, z humorem, traktujące rzecz swoją, czy to w formie pamiętnika cesarza Klaudiusza, czy opowieści o wyprawie Argonautów, czy wyśmienitej kpiny z tzw. kwestii Homerowej i przypisaniu autorstwa *Odysei* ... Nauzyka! „Z drugiego końca” antyku bierze swą treść opowieść o wodzu Justyniana: *Count Belisarius* (1938), pol. *Belisariusz*, przeł. Adam Kaska, Warszawa 1960, por. recenzję piszącego te słowa „*Oczyma eunucha*” [w:] Przegląd Kulturalny IX: 1960 z. 27.

Obszernym, ciekawie pomyślanym kompendium mitologii, ale kompendium literackim są *The*

grafię, u nas niestety nie tłumaczoną, wydaną po raz pierwszy w roku 1929, *Goodbye to All That*, później niejednokrotnie z uzupełnieniami wznawianą². Opowiadając o swojej wczesnej młodości i rodzinie autor komunikuje, że jego dziadkiem ze strony matki (*great uncle*, 1958:3) był słynny niemiecki historyk Leopold von Ranke. W IV rozdziale wspomnień opisuje dom dziadka, w którym w okresie przed I Wojną Światową spędzał wakacje (*old manor house at Deisenhofen, ten miles from Munich*, 1958:20), zwany Laufzorn i wreszcie pisząc o przyjemnościach tych wakacji mówi: *They also gave us jam made of wild roseberries, which they called "Hetchi-Petch"* (1958:21).

Pamiętam, że w tym miejscu lektury przyszło na mnie nagle olśnienie, czy skromniej mówiąc, żywe przypomnienie, uczucie takie, jakie się przeżywa, natrafiając na coś znanego, ale już zatartego w pamięci, nagle ożywającego. Hetchi-Petch toż to hecze-pecze, a raczej heczy-peczy, zwane też eci-peci, tak dobrze znane w naszych stronach rodzinnych. Drobne, koralowego koloru owocki dzikiej róży, z których robiło się i u nas pyszne konfitury, ale których można było używać do mniej przyzwoitych celów, gdy się chciało dokuczyć koledze i wpychało mu za kołnierz rozerwane eci-peci, a włochate ziarenka we wnętrzu owocu drażniły, piekły, powodowały nieznośne swędzenie. I ta sama nazwa — we Lwowie i „10 mil od Monachium”. Szczerze mówiąc ten szczególnie utkwił w pamięci dużo trwalej niż wiele innych z Gravesowej biografii i szczęśliwie przypominał się, kiedy myślałem, co tu napisać do jubileuszowego tomu dla Kolegi. Wtedy też *more philologorum* zacząłem szperać, przeglądać książki, przepytować ludzi. Co znalazłem, postaram się zreferować, z góry przepraszając i za mankamenty metody, bo przecież kłusuję na cudzych terenach, i za zbyt częste może rozgadanie moich wywodów, wywołane pewnie i wiekiem, i przyjemnością smakowania wspomnień.

Wpierw, aby zweryfikować dane pamięci, sięgnąłem do wyśmienitej, po wtórnie już wydanej książki Zofii Kurzowej (1985) o lwowskiej polszczyźnie. Hasło słownika jako wyjściowe pragnę tu zacytować w całości:

Greek Myths (1955), pol. *Mity greckie*, przeł. Henryk Krzeczowski, wstępem poprzedził Aleksander Krawczuk, Warszawa 1967, trzykrotnie wznawiane (1968, 1974, 1982) w popularnej serii Ceramowskiej PIW-u. Krótsze *Mity starożytnej Grecji* przełożył Andrzej Nowicki, a ilustrowała Maja Berezowska, Warszawa 1969, II wyd. 1972. Dla zilustrowania popularności pisarza w Polsce wymienimy już tylko pozostałe jego przetłumaczone dzieła: *Brązowa Antiqua*, przeł. Krystyna Tarnowska, wiersze Włodzimierz Lewik (1958); *Opowiadania*, przeł. Zofia Kierszys (1975, 1979); *Wyspy szaleństwa*, przeł. Agnieszka Gliniczanka, wiersze Ludmiła Mariańska (1963); *Zona pana Milona*, przeł. Cecylia Żółtowska i Zygmunt Kubiak (1961), oraz wybory poezji w przekładzie Bolesława Taborskiego wydane w latach 1968 i 1977. Szczerze mówiąc, ten przydługi przypis jest w tym artykule zbędny, ale może przydatny, gdy szukamy w ogóle wszystkiego, co nas, filologów klasycznych z anglistami łączy i zbliża. Więc może nam go darują pobłażliwi Czytelnicy.

²Czytałem tę książkę w paper-backu, który mi się zgubił, więc cytuję według wydania: Robert Graves *Goodbye to All That*. New edition, revised with a prologue and epilogue. London 1958.

ecze-pecze 'owoc dzikiej róży'; *powidla z ecze-pecze* (ZK). Słowniki nie notują. Par 66 podaje w postaci heczy-peczy, Brzez. 51 ecie-pecie; (południowobawarskie i austriackie) Hetsche-petsch por. K. Nitsch *Studia z historii polskiego słownictwa*. (1948:79-79)

Więc szliśmy dobrym tropem — i sam wyraz, i to, co oznacza, pochodzi z niemieczyny bawarskiej (gdzie go słyszał Graves) i austriackiej (skąd zawędrował do Galicji). Duże polskie słowniki hasła ecze-pecze rzeczywiście nie notują. W zapisie Kurzowej odczuwam jednak pewien brak przede wszystkim żywo zapamiętanej formy mówionej eci-peci, która byłaby dla ecie-pecie odpowiednikiem, jak jest nim heczy-peczy dla hecze-pecze. Dalej zaś dalszych znaczeń wyrazu, przynajmniej tych, które związane są z ecie-pecie i które sam pamiętam, a także pamiętanie ich u innych osób z tamtych stron pochodzących sprawdziłem³, a mianowicie użycia wyrazu na oznaczanie 'pieniędzy, gotówki' — *A eci-peci jest?* — oraz 'drobiazgu, błahostki' — *E, to takie eci-pecil!*

Z zacytowanej w hasle literatury na najwięcej uwagi zasługuje choćby ze względu na objętość oraz ilość przytaczanych faktów językowych szkic Nitscha (1948). Wybitny językoznawca cytuje w nim na początku S. Makowieckiego *Drzewa i krzewy* (1937:272), piszącego o „*Rosa villosa* (R. *pomifera*) Róża jabłuszkowa niem. Hagebutte, w Małopolsce znana pod dziwaczną nazwą heczepecze. Dość jest podobna do róży polnej ...”, a zaraz potem podaje cytaty z Margaret Mitchell, *Przemięgło z wiatrem*, o dwu garnkach, z których jeden zawiera *a hodgepodge of vegetables* i pyta: „Czy można przypuścić, by te dwa wyrazy pol. *heczepecze* i ang. *hodgepodge*, choć drugie z nich oznacza jakąś gotowaną mieszaninę (z jarzyn) nie były z sobą w etymologicznym związku? Po czym odbywa krytyczną przejażdżkę po słownikach — w *Słowniku Warszawskim* wykazując dwa „gwarowe” oddzielne i nieodmienne: 1) *hecze-pecze* potrawa z jaj w rodzaju gogielmoglu, co odsyła do heciepecie i 2) *heczy-peczy*

owoc głogowy róży polnej. Nitsch krytykuje Kryńskiego (1927), i słusznie, za rozróżnienie dwu form jednego wyrazu, bo to -y- trzeba pojmować jako zredukowane -e-, a dalej — też słusznie — łącznie przez *Słownik Warszawski*, „pierwszego heczepecze” z heciepecie, oznaczającym żartobliwie u Lindego (1814) 'hetki, szkapska, chude lecz bieglawe', albo służącym do mętowania: *ec-pec a. hecie-pecie, gdzie jedziecie*. Z kolei składa Nitsch winę tego pomieszania na Jana Karłowicza (1897), który w 2 zeszytach swego *Słownika wyrazów obcego a mniej jasnego pochodzenia* wszystko to pakuje pod wyraz hetka, choć daje słuszne etymologie. Widoczny jest związek niektórych wyrazów powyższych z cz. hečepeče lm. 'głóg/jagoda' z niem. *Hetschepetsch* 'głóg'. Kott (czeski słownikarz) twierdzi, że wyraz czeski pochodzi z ang. (może *hedge-patch*) jak niem. *Hagebutte*.”

Z kolei przechodzi Nitsch do wywodu pozytywnego, potwierdza, że źródłem jest niemieczyna, cytuje Kretschmera (1916:225-226), gdzie występuje 5 regionalnych nazw na ten owoc róży polnej, *Rosa canina*, a pośród nich nie objaśniane etymologicznie, a znane od XVII w. południowobawarskie i austriackie *Hetschepetsch*. Co do angielszczyzny powołuje się Nitsch na Mureta-Sandersa (1903): *hotchpotch*: 1) *Mischmasch*. 2) *schott. Suppe aus Fleisch u. verschiedenen Gemüsen*, z uwagi na różnicę między bezdźwięcznym *tch*=cz a dźwięcznym *dge*=ze, która jest bez znaczenia, może angielsko-amerykańska?⁴ Za Kretschmerem opowiada się też Nitsch uważając, że pomieszanie nazw owocu i potrawy pochodzi stąd, iż się tych owoców używa

⁴ Chcieliśmy to skontrolować. Hornby *et al.* (1958) pod hasłem *hodge-podge* kieruje do *hotch-potch*, ale hasła *hotch-potch* w słowniku tym nie ma! Muret-Sanders (1903) nie robi tego błędu, choć również odsyła od *hodge-podge* do *hotch-pot(ch)*, określając hasło pierwsze jako *Pudding aus verschiedenen Zutaten*, a drugie, właśnie *hotch-pot(ch)* rzeczywiście jako: 1) *Mischmasch*, 2) *schott. Suppe aus Fleisch und dem verschiedensten Gemüse*. Zwrócił naszą uwagę ten nawias wskazujący na dwojaką formę występowania wyrazu, więc też możliwość wyróżnienia drugiej jego części jako *pot*, co wyraźnie przypomina francuszczyznę. I rzeczywiście w bliźniaczym dla Mureta-Sandersa Sachs-Villatte'a (1907) *Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch* znajdujemy hasło *hoche-pot s/m* z zaznaczeniem „Kochkunst” i objaśnieniem „*Hotschpotsch n. Fleisch Ragout mit Ruben usw.*”. Jeśli weźmiemy pod uwagę, że czasownik *hocher* 'wstrząsać, potrząsać' jest synonimiczny z *remuer*, *branler*, to nazwa brzmiąca w angielskim i niemieckim tajemniczo, staje się we francuskim całkowicie jasna i zrozumiała. Książka kucharska *La Cuisine de Madame Sainte-Ange, Recettes et méthodes de la bonne cuisine française*, Paris 1958, podaje m.in. na s. 414 przepis na *Hoche-pot de plat de côtes de boeuf*, tak się zaczynający: „Le hoche-pot, dont on trouve de recettes — souvent en désaccord — dans plus anciens livres de cuisine du XVIII^e siècle, est un mélange de viandes et de légumes divers...” Nazwa francuska potrawy, którą moglibyśmy spolszczyć na 'trzęsigarnek', gdyż wymagała częstego mieszania przy długim gotowaniu na wolnym ogniu, mogła przecież wraz z potrawą powędrować i na zachód, do Szkocji, która tyle miewała powiązań z Francją, i na wschód do Niemiec, dając w obu wypadkach, jak to nieraz bywa, deformację niezrozumiałego francuskiego określenia potrawy. Biorąc pod uwagę znaczenie Francji w cywilizacji kulinarnej Europy, możemy chyba z dużym prawdopodobieństwem takie właśnie wędrowki wyrazu (i rzeczy, którą oznacza) przyjąć.

³ Dane dotyczące zarówno wymowy, jak i znaczenia zapamiętane osobiście weryfikowałem — nie uprzedzając — u bliskich i znajomych lwowiaków, poza moją Żoną Emilią i Bratem Zygmuntem m.in. poświadczają je Ludwika Rychlewska i Helena Szybińska. Dalsze potwierdzenie zawdzięczam poza tym wyjątkowo uprzejmej konsultacji polonistycznej, którą służył mi zawsze uczynny Kolega Bogdan Siciński. (Przypis w korekcie (1990). Uczennica Jego, P. dr Irena Seiffert - Nauka, autorka pracy *Dawny dialekt miejski Lwowa*, która ukaże się w Wydawnictwie Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, udostępniła mi uprzejmie tekst hasła zawartego w wymienionej pracy (*Słownik T. I, A — L*), za co serdecznie dziękuję. A oto ono: „ecie pecie || ecze pecze 1) 'owoce głogu' (Góraw. 112, BŻ); 2) 'owoce jarzębiny' — (...obrzękle owoce jarzębiny, zwane w Drohobyczu nie wiadomo czemu 'eci-peci', blyszczały spośród usychających już z wolna liści (...)) (Chciuk II 64); 3) przenośnie 'pieniądze' (Góraw. 112, BŻ) — *Przydałyby się jeszcze jakieś ecie pecie na drobne wydatki* (LS); 4) 'drobne leżące rzeczy' — *Zabierz te swoje ecie pecie, bo mi przeszkadzają tutaj* (KJ); połączenie to występowało także w związku mówić ecie pecie 'opowiadać głupstwa, mówić o sprawach błahych lub nieprawdziwych' (KJ). W słownikach nie występuje; w formie *heczy-peczy* podaje P. Parylak (1877, 66) w znaczeniu 1), M. Brzezina natomiast w postaci *ecie-pecie* i *peciryci* w znaczeniu 1), 3) i 4) (1979, 51); por. ponadto Z. Kurzowa (1983, 156), która za K. Nitschem wiąże tę formę z niem.-austr. i bawar. *Hetsche-petsch*.)

do słodko-kwaśnego sosu. Oczywiście pozostaje jeszcze do wyjaśnienia *hecze-pecze* jako potrawa z jaj, zastanawiające również Nitscha, wywodzące się w ostatniej instancji z Zawadzkiej Kucharki Litewskiej. Autor pyta: „Ponieważ ten *gogielmogiel* jest mieszaniną żółtek z cukrem, więc nazwa mogła pójść od nazwy marmolady, ale czy to i na 'Litwie' poszło z niemieckiego, czy to nie pomieszanie dwu pierwotnie różnych wyrazów?”⁵

Staraliśmy się możliwie rzetelnie streścić wywody Nitscha, przyznając jednak, że raczej spotęgowały one naszą niepewność. Właściwie udowodnione jest tylko zupełnie oczywiste wywiedzenie wyrazu z dialektycznej niemieczyny oraz zrównanie *heczepecze* = *heczypeczy*. Poza słuchowym skojarzeniem nic nie wskazuje wyraźnie na spokrewnienie *heczepecze*-*Hetschepetsch* z *hodge-podge*, bo że oba występują w terminologii kulinarnej to jeszcze mało, i żadne wymyślne kombinacje nie mogą nas skłonić do postawienia znaku równości między powidłami czy też dżemem, słodko-kwaśnym sosem, mieszaniną z jarzyn i na dokładkę również mieszaniną z jaj typu *kogel-mogel*. Żeby nie zatrzeć głównego wywodu sprawę *hodge-podge* etc. odsyłamy do obszernego przypisu 4, z *heczepecze* / *hecie-pecie* nie ma ona naszym zdaniem żadnego związku.

Wińmy do naszego *heczy-peczy*. Nie notują go nie tylko słowniki, ale — przynajmniej w zasięgu naszych możliwości sprawdzenia — literatura piękna. To typowy wyraz języka obiegowego, mówionego, stąd też pewnie przeróżne formy, w jakich występuje (zresztą też i jego niem. wzór, por. niżej). Od kiedy można go datować w polszczyźnie galicyjskiej? Najwcześniej, jak dotąd, odnotowany został w formie *heczy-peczy* w roku 1877 (Parylak 1877: 57–58), więc był już przynajmniej w drugiej połowie XIX wieku zadomowiony. Przywędrował pewnie do Galicji wschodniej z wielu innymi kuchennymi terminami niemieckimi, jak słusznie pisze Nitsch (1948: 79), konstatując dodatkowo:

Że wschodnia Galicja o wiele bardziej niż zachodnia przesiąknięta była językowymi wpływami niemieckimi, to wiadomo i naturalne; boć niemieczyna przyszła tam po pierwszym rozbiórze Polski z całą siłą urzędniczych rodzin niemieckich, i to na grunt nie czysto polski, ale rusko-polski.

Odnotowane przez tegoż Nitscha za Karłowiczem zaświadczenie czeskiego słownikarza dla *hečepeče* nie przemawia nam do przekonania, gdy idzie o nobliwą angielską parantelę (pewnie Czech wolałby angielski od niemieckiego), ale samo istnienie wyrazu w czeszczyźnie może sygnalizować szlak, jakim mógł wyraz przywędrować z Austrii w okolice Lwowa — na Czechach, a i w Słowacji wpływy językowe niemieckie były przecież dużo wcześniejsze. Ale nie czas tu i miejsce, aby się wdawać w te dodatkowe dochodzenia

⁵ Najbardziej nawet pobieżne przejrzanie *Kucharki Litewskiej*... przez W.A.L.Z. wyd. 5, poprawione: znacznie pomnożone (Wilno 1874) ukazuje tę inwazję niemieczyny w słownictwo kuchenne w tych wszystkich melszpeizach, zylcach, strudlach, speck-kuchenach etc.

szczegółowe. Forma *hecze-pecze*/*heczy-peczy* niemal dokładnie równobrzmiąca z wyrazem niemieckim chyba później na tym właśnie polsko-ukraińskim podłożu mogła przejść w zgodniejsze z fonetyką słowiańską, a odlegle od niemieckiej, *heci-peci*, później zaś, po utracie tak typowego dla tych stron twardego -h-, w *ecie-pecie*/*eci-peci*. Pierwszą z dwu ostatnich podanych form powołuje Kurzowa za pracą Marii Brzeziny (1979: 51 s.v. *picieryci*), drugą pamiętamy z potocznego użycia — w stosunku zaś do *hecze-pecze*, wzbogaciła się ona o znaczenia, których wyraz wyjściowy nie wykazywał. Może tyle o polskich dziejach *hecze-pecze* – *eci-peci* i jego miejsca w bałaku⁶.

Może teraz warto byłoby, stwierdziwszy zasięg zaświadczeń wyrazu od angielskiej książki Gravesa po gwarę Lwowa i okolic, przyjrzeć się wyrazowi w jego własnej ojczyźnie, gdzie też jest wyrazem gwarowym. Podstawowy

⁶ Że z charakterystycznej mieszaniny językowej bałaku i jego składników dobrze zdają sobie sprawę nie tylko językoznawcy, ale i kulturalni bałaku użytkownicy, niech posłużą za dowód dwa literackie teksty powstałe wobec siebie wzajem dosłownie na antypodach: Witold Szolginia, (*Dom pod żelaznym lwem*. Warszawa 1971, s. 222 n.) opowiada o swym szkolnym polonistce profesorze Stabrylu i jego radach, gdy autor książki jako uczeń zabrał się do notowania bałaku:

Nie w oderwaniu, ale dopiero w 'kontekście' jak się 'Mistrz' uczenie wyraził, widać wyraźnie jego charakter i znaczenie. Należałoby także podać pochodzenie różnych słów, aby było wiadomo, skąd się wzięły w naszej gwarze. Bo przecież wrzucali w nią i Rusini, i Ormianie, i Turcy, i Tatarzy, i Węgrzy, i Włosi, i Niemcy, i Żydzi — wszyscy, którzy trafiali tu do nas od niepamiętnych czasów z handlem lub wojną ... Najbardziej niestety, odbiło się na bałaku austriackie gadanie przez sto kilkadziesiąt lat, zaśmiecając je różnymi 'szpanegłami', 'nacht-kastlikami' czy innymi 'szwajnerami' ...

A poeta-emigrant do Australii, Andrzej Chciuk, w wierszu *O lwowskim bałaku* pisze, w. 41 nn:

Powstał ów bałak lwowski z stopu
różnych języków i narzeczy,
gwar, powiedzonek, co Europę
Środkowo-Wschodnią od lat wielu
się katowały w tym hotelu
narodów, jakim Austria była
(okropnie śmieszna, trochę miła
CK Monarchia Austro-Węgry
Galicja razem z Lodomerią),

i dalej w. 87 nn.

Ale wróćmy do bałaku:
Są wpływy ruskie tu, wołoskie,
niemieckie, czeskie, i madziarskie,
włoskie (!) greckie i żydowskie,
tureckie nawet i tatarskie,
wszakże to wszystko z sznytem lwowskim
spolszczone zaraz i batiańskie...

(tekst z maszynopisu w posiadaniu J.L.). W dużej partii wiersza przedrukowanej w Borawski i Furdal (1981) zacytowanych wyżej wierszy nie uwzględniono, eksponując przede wszystkim partię 'materialowe' do słownictwa i gramatyki bałaku.

wielki niemiecki słownik Grimmów (1984) wynotowuje go dwukrotnie s.vv. *hatsche-petsch* i *hetschepetsch* w cytowanym tekście też w formie *hetschapetsch*, co podobnie, jak to obserwowaliśmy w naszych dziejach wyrazu, świadczy o nieuregulowaniu pisowni odbijającym wyraźnie mówiony język. Powołany jako pierwsze chyba zaświadczenie drukowane, Wolfgang Helmhard Homberg, pisarz żyjący w latach 1612–1688, a dokładniej jego dzieło *Georgica curiosa* wydane wielokrotnie, pierwszy raz w Norymberdze w roku 1682, każe nam datować istnienie wyrazu przynajmniej od drugiej połowy XVII wieku. Jako wyraz żywy w potocznej niemczyźnie austriackiej również dzisiaj zaświadcza go i oficjalny *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* (1979) i austriacki *Duden* (1980). Przekonywającą etymologię cytuje polska praca Bzdęgi (1965), której interesujące hasło pozwolimy sobie tu zacytować w całości:

Hetsch(e) petsch(e) DW IV 2. 1270 bair. österr. *Hetschepetscha* DWA III. 19 M „Heckenrose, Hagebutte” hierzu *Heitschapeitschblumle g'* 66. Mit *He/c/kape/c/ka* identisch, zu *Hetsche* (Verschärfung von *Hecke*, Hag zur Wz.hag-). Der Einfluss von tschech. *Šípek* fraglich.

Filologiczny nawyk sięgania do literatury możliwie dawnej skusił nas wreszcie do skonsultowania starego dobrego znajomego, którego dziś jeszcze można za erudycję podziwiać, a styl jego epoki wysmakować, wielkiej encyklopedii Zedlera z trzydziestych lat XVIII wieku (1734). Istnieje w niej oczywiście hasło *Hetschepetsch* (t.12), odsyłające jednak do obszernego *Dorn-rose* w tomie 7, gdzie mieści się istna *farrago* wiadomości uczonych w guście epoki, niejednokrotnie jednak mogących i dziś się przydać. Może więc pozwolimy sobie i stąd trochę wynotować. Przede wszystkim nazwy:

Dorn-Rose, Buttel-Rose, Wilde-Rose, Feld-Rose, Heck-Rose [!], Han-Rose, Heyde-Rose, Frauen-Rose, Korn-Rose, Haber-Rose, Marien-Dorn, Hunds-Dorn, Sentis-canina, Hag-dorn, Hetschepetsch, Hetzebalsch, Hain-Hacke,

do tego porcja nazw łacińskich, greckich, francuskich. Dalej opis rośliny: krzewu, liści, kwiatów i owoców; tu też nazwy

Diese Frucht wird insgesamt Deutsch Hambutte, Hagebutte ... Hagenbutte, Wiepe, Hieffe, Buttel-Hieffe, Hetzebersch, Hetschepetsche, Hahne-Wüpke, Hufe, Arsch-Kützel, Arsch-Klammer ... genannt.

I może znamieny opis:

Darauf folgt die Frucht, die so dicke wie eine Ecker und Anfangs grün ist, alsdenn aber, wenn sie reif worden, eine rothe Farbe wie Corallen bekommt. Ihre Schale ist fleischigt und marckhaftig, von süßem und lieblich sauern Geschmack. In dieser Höhle beschüsset sie einen Hauffen länglicht- und eckigter Kerne oder Saamen, die weiss und hart, mit harten Haaren oder Borsten umgeben sind, welche sich gar leicht davon ablösen lassen. Wenn dieselben auf die Finger oder einen anderen Theil des Leibes kommen, so dringen sie in die Haut und machen ein beschwerliches Jucken; więc nasze chłopięce doświadczenia w tej materii nie były pierwszymi. Jest i o pasożytach tych róż, i wreszcie o ich użytkowaniu:

Die wilden Rosen haben etwas ziemlich kräftiges Oel, flüchtiges Saltz und viel Feuchtigkeit. Die Frucht enthält ein saures Saltz, welches mit sehr viel Oel verwickelt ist ... Die Früchte werden im

Herbst fleissig zusammen gesucht, von dem Saamen oder Kernen gesaubert, aufgetrucknet, mit Zucker gekocht, und zur Speise, als ein Neben- oder Nach-Essen gebraucht.

Dalej już tylko nafaszerowany autorytetami autorów od Galena poprzez Paracelsa i dziesiątki innych aż do powstania 'Zedlera', opis leczniczego stosowania kwiatów, owoców i przetworów, wykraczający daleko poza to, co się potocznie dziś na ten temat uważa. Pomagać mają i przy „odprowadzeniu” żółci i flegmy, i skutecznym leczeniu kamieni, i wrzodów, i przy chorobach kobiecych, i niedomogach męskich, i przeciw wściekliznie. Ta parada uczoności dawnego wieku skłania wprost do poważniejszej refleksji nad trwającym od wieków procesie stosowania wiedzy i nauki i przesądu, nad ciągłym procesem nie tylko dodawania, ale i ujmowania wyników, nad robotą czasem zbawienną, a czasem daremną. Za daleko jednak byśmy zawędrowali — wróćmy do naszego punktu wyjścia, żeby zaproponować słownikowe hasło do języka naszych stron rodzinnych, hasła, które być może należałoby już dziś sygnować nie tylko jako reg[ionalne], ale i przestarz[ale].

Hece-pecze lub heczy-peczy ndm. także ecze-pecze/eczy-peczy, z dialektycznej niemczyzny austriackiej i południowobawarskiej die Hetschepetsch, poświadczone w języku mówionym Lwowa i okolic od drugiej połowy XIX w. 1) 'owoc dzikiej róży' (*Rosa villosa*, *R. pomifera* dawn. *Rosa canina*), 2) także określenie samej rośliny 'dzika róża', potocznie też 'głóg'. W formie (h)ecie-pecie/(h)eci-peci prócz pierwszych dwu znaczeń też 3) 'pieniądze, gotówka' zwykle z odzieniem żartobliwym — A eci-peci są? 4) 'drobiazg, blachostka' — To takie eci-peci, 5) 'głupstwo, bzdura' — Co ty tu eci-peci opowiadasz? oraz 6) okr. człowieka 'gamoń, ciapa, niedorajda' — On to jest takie eci-peci?.

Nie wiem, Janku, czy zechcesz przyjąć to, co napisałem w czwartym czy piątym z podanych tu znaczeń, moją intencją było przypomnienie drobnych owoców naszego dzieciństwa i ofiarowanie Ci tych dzikich ale jednak różyczek, potencjalnie w owocach jak w pastylkach zawartych, na Twój Jubileusz.

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⁷ Znaczenie ostatnie, szóste, podrzucił mi Bogdan Siciński na podstawie przypomnień Swej z tamtych stron pochodzącej Rodziny, i dopiero wtedy wyskoczyło także i z mojej pamięci w takim kształcie jak przykładowe zdanie.

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A PHONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH VOCALIC SYSTEM

The title of this paper suggests that one more phonological procedure concerning the English vocalic system will be proposed here. However, this is not our purpose. We shall operate within the methodological and theoretical framework of structural phonology. By using the criteria of 'phonetic similarity' and 'complementary distribution' we wish to comment on the number and distribution of contemporary English vowel phonemes, their origin, and significant oppositions in Standard British English.

The main assumptions which our analysis is based on comply, on the whole, with the proposals offered by Trager and Smith (1951), R.P. Stockwell (1961), Lass (1976), and Biedrzycki (1978). This implies a 'simple vowel/cluster' account of English vocalic phonology and in this respect it differs considerably from the solutions put forward by Daniel Jones (1957), A.G. Gimson (1964), J. Vachek (1963), and less markedly from W. Jassem (1983).

1. THE INVENTORY OF PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH VOWEL PHONEMES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

In the present paper we assume the English phonological system to include nine vowel phonemes: /ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɒ, ɔ, u, ə/.¹ Their distribution is presented in the table (see p. 52).

It should be evident from the table that:

1. /ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɒ, ɔ, u/ occur both in simple and in complex syllabic nuclei. When used as the 1st elements of diphthongal glides, their quality is affected by the following segment. We treat these allophones as context-conditioned variants.

¹ This inventory comes from Biedrzycki (1978:106).

Phonemes	Simple nuclei	Complex nuclei			
		Homogeneous vowel clusters = Geminates (VV)	Diphthongal glides		
			Heterogeneous vowel clusters (V + ə)	Vowel plus semivowel clusters (V + j) or (V + w)	
/i/	bid		[ɪə] beer	[ij] bee, bead	
/e/	bed			[ej] bay	
/ɛ/	bad	[[εε]] careful	[eə] fair		
/a/	bud			[aj] buy	[aw] bough
/ə/					
		[oo] tar tire tower			
/o/	cod			[oj] boy	
/ɔ/		[oo] cord			
/ʊ/	could		[uə] tour		[uw] do, moon
/ə/	again	[əə] bird			[əw] go

2. The 2nd elements of closing diphthongs are interpreted in this paper as consonantal categories, /j, w/. (Note that in some other treatments of RP vowels such postcentral elements are regarded as vowels.) On the other hand, /ə/ in centring diphthongs is a vocalic element.

3. The distribution of the /ə/ phoneme differs clearly from that of the six basic vowels mentioned above. When used as a simple vowel, /ə/ occurs in unstressed positions. In accented syllables it appears either as a geminate (*bird* /bæəd/ or as a component part of some diphthongs (*boat* /bəwt/, *beer* /biə/, *fair* /fɛə/, *tour* /tʊə/).

4. The phonemes /a/ and /o/ (customarily treated as 'long' or 'tense' vowels) are used entirely as homogeneous clusters (geminates). This is due to the fact that they (as well as the syllabic /ə/) have resulted from the vocalization of liquids (/r/ and, partially, [l]), e.g. *bar*, *core*, *fur*, *calm*, *half*, *talk*; or from the monophthongization of diphthongs, e.g. *aunt*, *law*.

5. The geminate [εε] is a possible pronunciation (instead of the more usual [eə]) in stressed non-final syllables, as in *careful*, *scarcely* (Gimson 1964: 138). If the forms with the 'lengthened' vowel become general, the geminate [εε] may achieve a full phonemic status by developing into a new phoneme.

6. The geminates [aa], [oo] and [əə] tend to replace the original triphthongs and diphthongs. And thus [aa] is, in advanced RP, often substituted for [ajə] and [awə], as in *tire* and *tower*². The sequence [oo] has

² Biedrzycki (1978:107) has /aə/, whereas Gimson (1964:133-134) gives [a:ə] for [aia] and [a:ə] for [aə], of which the first may be reduced to [a:] and the second to [ə:]. Following Gimson "a more extensive levelling [...] reduces both [a:ə] and [a:ə] to [a:] the latter pronunciation (normally used in Cockney) is "widely heard amongst educated RP speakers".

long been established in words with earlier [oə] (*before*, *door*, *soar*, *four*) and [ʊə] (*sure*, *your*, *poor*). Finally, amongst some RP speakers, [əə], may be heard instead of the widely used [əw], particularly before [l] (*goal*, *foal*, *coal*) (Gimson 1964:109-111 and 128-129).

All these examples suggest that the position of geminates is becoming stronger in English phonotactics. To this we might add the cluster [εε] which increasingly replaces [eə] (see (5) above). A similar trend towards 'monophthongization' (or 'smoothing') is revealed by [ej] (>[ee]) (Barber 1964:45-46, Gimson 1964:122-123), Jassem 1983:278, Samuels 1972³).

A confrontation of the current inventories with respect to vowel phonemes established by two divergent procedures ('simple vowel/cluster' analysis and the traditional classification into 'short' vowels, 'long' vowels and 'diphthongal glides') shows that the other approach allows for some freedom of interpretation, particularly as regards 'long' vowels and diphthongs. This accounts for the difference in the number of distinguished phonemes⁴.

2. SOME COMMENTS ON SIMILAR ANALYSES

Our account of RP vocalic system owes much to a number of scholars who have worked along similar lines. In this section we shall attempt to characterize briefly those phonological techniques which prompted the present description.

We shall start with the Trager and Smith analysis (1951) which originated a new approach to vowel treatment. The foundation of this account is a distinction made between simple and complex syllabic nuclei, the former being represented by single vowels, the latter by combinations of vowel plus semivowel (/y, w, h/). This dichotomy allows Trager and Smith to reduce the

³ Samuels maintains that most allophonic variants arise under the influence of neighbouring segments or under the influence of the well-known suprasegmentals (stress, pitch, speed of utterance, quantity and rhythmic pattern). He distinguishes two kinds of variants: (a) those adduced by 'careful' ('forceful', 'committed') style and characterized by a higher or more fronted tongue-positions, and (b) the less stressed variants, which show lower, more centralized or retracted tongue-positions. As an example of the latter type, he cites the diphthong [ɛɪ] which, as evidenced by sonagrams, 'at one point of its span' may achieve the same acoustic effect as the monophthong [e]. The author concludes that "the origin of [ɛɪ, æɪ, aɪ] is therefore likely to have been relaxed style, in which the speaker began at a lower tongue-height than that needed for [e] but then compensated by raising the tongue to a height greater than that required initially" (p. 22). By adopting this interpretation it might be argued that the tendency to use [εε] instead of [ej] (*day*, *made*) suggests an inverse trend, i.e. a more 'forceful' style. The same applies to [eə] (<[εə]), in *careful*; [oo] in *four*, and even [əw] (<[ow]), in *go*. Note also the use of /ə/ for /h/ in unstressed positions (*useless*).

⁴ For example, Jones (1957) postulates sixteen vocalic phonemes; Gimson (1964) — twenty; Vachek (1963) — eighteen. Gimson remarks that "several solutions are possible, their choice being dependent on the purpose of the analysis" (p. 91).

English vocalic system to six phonemes /i, e, æ, u, a, ɔ/. All of them occur in the New York dialect in the following words: *bit, bet, bat, put, pot, putt*. Since, however, their purpose is to construct a universal (pan-English) vowel system, they add another three units (/i, o, ɔ/) occurring in some other types of English. Some scholars (Gimson 1964:91) doubt whether an analysis applicable to all kinds of English is 'desirable and wholly successful'. Others (Chomsky and Halle 1968) have adopted it as one of the basic assumptions of their linguistic investigation. What interests us most in their analysis is their treatment of semivowels as positional variants of the prevocalic /j/, /w/ and /h/. This procedure has been strongly criticized by many scholars (Kurath 1957, Vachek 1963, Lass 1976), notably their claim that the 'long' vowels [ɑ:, ɔ:, ɔ:] are sequences of /a/ + /h/, /o/ + /h/ and /ə/ + /h/ and that the final segment should be assigned to the /h/ phoneme. Nevertheless, it has recently been shown by Biedrzycki (1978) that Trager and Smith's solution has some strong points (except for the postvocalic /h-/ which has to be rejected).

A scholar who has adopted the Trager and Smith analysis wholeheartedly is Stockwell. In working within the framework of generative phonology Stockwell (1961) assumes that length has always been a property of glide vowels (i.e. semivowels). He cites examples from the past history (including the most important vowel changes such as lengthening before certain consonant clusters, the open-syllable lengthening and the Great Vowel Shift) which, in his opinion, support that hypothesis. But judging from his description I presume that glides are classified by Stockwell as vocalic (not consonantal) categories.

Lass (1976) — like Trager and Smith, and Stockwell — distinguishes between two types of syllabic nuclei, simple and complex. Lass puts emphasis on the dichotomous character of the English vocalic system regarding the distinction between 'long' vowels and diphthongs as trivial. Despite all the similarities with the Trager and Smith description, Lass rejects the notion of 'glide' and maintains that the identification of the postvocalic segments of closing diphthongs as positional variants of the phonemes occurring in *you* and *woo* is untenable. He claims that the prevocalic [j, w] belong to the class of liquids both for phonetic and distributional reasons, whereas the postvocalic elements of closing diphthongs are clearly vocalic categories. According to him "there are no phonetic grounds for assuming that 'high' postvocalic approximants (which are often mid anyhow) are anything but vowels; and therefore no grounds for taking 'centring glides' (i.e. vowels like [ə]) to belong to some different class" (Lass 1976:19).

Finally, a few words about a relatively recent book by Biedrzycki (1978). Operating somewhat along the lines suggested by Trager and Smith, Biedrzycki makes some interesting new proposals in his account of RP vowels. Instead of treating the English 'long' vowels [ɑ:, ɔ:, ɔ:] as sequences of simple vowels

plus the /h/ glide, he argues for both elements being taken as homogeneous vowel clusters, qualitatively different from the corresponding simple vowels (with the exception of the central vowel). The advantages of such a solution are, according to the author, the following: (1) The structure of complex nuclei becomes very simple and natural, since the relationship between the so-called 'long' vowels and diphthongs can be represented as /VV/ : /Vj, Vw, Və/; (2) The treatment of postvocalic segments as allophones of the initial [j, w] adds to the symmetry of the English phonological system (cf. /jVt/ — /tVj/ *yacht* — *toy*, /wVd/ — /dVw/ *wood* — *do*). A vocalic interpretation of the second elements of closing diphthongs has, in Biedrzycki's opinion, some serious shortcomings. First, while /i/ and /v/ can occur both in prevocalic and postvocalic positions, the /ə/ is limited to postvocalic position. Second, a vocalic interpretation would require some changes in standard phonemic notation of such words as *yield* /uɪld/, *swoop* /suʊp/.

In Poland a biphonemic-consonantal analysis of the English closing diphthongs was proposed in 1950 by Jassem, and in 1957 by Reszkiewicz (after Biedrzycki).

3. THE ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH VOWEL PHONEMES

From the historical point of view the nine vowel phonemes do not constitute a homogeneous group. Six of them /i, e, ε, a, ɒ, v/ directly derive from five Old English 'short' vowels (cf. PresE *is*: OE *is*, PresE *west*: OE *west*, PresE *back*: OE *bæc*, PresE *on*: OE *on*, PresE *wolf*: OE *wulf*, PresE *love*: OE *lufu*). As seen from the above pairs, PresE /a/ and /v/ both derive from the same source. The first (/a/) is a regular development of OE /u/, whereas the second (/v/) has been preserved only in a number of words. Another group of words with PresE /v/ has this vowel as a result of the shortening of ME /o:/ (*good, look*).

PresE /ə/ results either from the reduction of unstressed vowels in the Middle English period (cf. PresE *about*: OE *abutan*) or is an effect of the lowering and centralizing of stressed /i, u, e/ before /r/ (*bird, church, serve*) which took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, /r/ being lost in postvocalic positions in the eighteenth century (Gimson 1964:118).

The last two vowel phonemes have a more complicated history. And thus PresE /ɑ/ replaced early ModE /æ/ (<ME /a/ <OE /a/ or /e/) and early ModE [au] (<ME /a/) in native and French words in the following contexts: (a) before the fricatives /f, θ, s/ (single or followed by /p, t, k/), as in *path, after, grasp, ask*; (b) before /r/, as in *far, charm*; (c) before /n/ (followed by /d, t, s/), as in *command, grant, dance, aunt*; (d) before [l] (followed by labials), as in *half, calf, palm, calm*.

It should be clear from the above examples that the rise of /a/ must have been due to the context. This influence was both qualitative and quantitative. The details of this change are not known and hence interpreted in a number of different ways. Some scholars (Jespersen, Kōkeritz) hold that in Shakespeare's time (early ModE) by the side of /æ/ there was used in some central areas a dialectal /a/ (probably a residue of ME /a/) which was later lengthened and subsequently retracted. It came to be used by educated Londoners at the end of the seventeenth century. Others (Luick, Wyld, Wright) maintain that this dialectal /a/ was first fronted to /æ/, then lengthened, and finally retracted to /ɑ/. The use of the lengthened /æ/ in American English seems to support the latter view (Welna 1978:211–212). (Note that there is some vacillation in present BrE between /æ/ and 'long' /a/ in some recent loans, e.g. *plastic, elastic, lather, transfer*.) The occurrence of 'long' /a/ in *half, calm, palm*, and in *far, charm* is connected with the vocalization of [ɪ] and [ɪr] in these words, whereas 'long' /a/ in words of French origin (*dance, aunt, command*, but also in *laugh*) is traditionally explained as a result of 'monophthongization'. We shall see later that in both cases this 'compensatory lengthening' is in fact an additional segment, which with the preceding vowel constitutes a geminate.

It is impossible to state in which group of examples the 'long' /a/ came to be used first. Both the 'monophthongization' of late ME [au] to [a:] before labials (*half, calm*) and the 'lengthening' of late ME [a] to [a:] occurred at the end of the seventeenth century. The final establishment of 'long' /a/ in all words cited above is said to have taken place at the end of the eighteenth century.

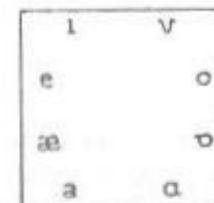
The functional load of PresE /a/ has recently been enlarged by new instances which result from a reduction of triphthongs, e.g. *tire, tower*.

Finally, PresE /o/ replaced the earlier (late ME) [ou] diphthong in such words as *thought, taught, law, talk, tall, lawn, cause, fault*. This change took place in early ModE, that is after the ME /o:/ vowel (<OE /ɑ:/) had been raised to a higher position. To this one should add some later (seventeenth and eighteenth-century) instances of /o:/ which resulted from the rounding of ME [a] before /w/ (*water, war*) and from the loss of postvocalic /r/ (*horse, or*). A number of words have 'long' /o/ through the lowering of the earlier ME [u:] (*floor, sure*). A group of words ending in fricatives (*frost, off, cross, cloth*) have two variant pronunciations, one with 'long' /o/, another with 'short' /ɒ/, the latter being a more frequent form. The forms with 'long' /o/ became fashionable in the eighteenth century (cf. lengthening of [a] before fricatives) but now they are dying out.

As in the case of PresE /a/, PresE /o/ is largely due to the 'monophthongization' of earlier diphthongs (*thought, law*) or the 'vocalization' of liquides (*talk, walk, horse, door*). The 'lengthening' before fricatives (*cross, lost*) has turned out to be not a very stable process compared with a similar 'lengthening' of [a] in the same environment.

4. DISTINCTIVE VOWEL CONTRASTS IN RP ENGLISH

My major point in this section concerns the distinctive features of the nine previously established phonemes. A careful observation of phonetic facts makes us declare that all these vowels function as independent phonemes on the strength of their qualitative differences, the latter being a result of different tongue configurations (i.e. the position of the tongue in relation to the roof of the mouth and in relation to the pharyngeal wall). These two tongue-positions have traditionally been defined by means of Jones's diagram. Placed on this scale the English vowels (or rather their main variants) form a pretty regular system which may be presented in the simplified form in the following way:



By using this chart⁵, we obtain the following contrasts (leaving out the central vowel /ə/ for distributional reasons):

(a)	/i/ – /v/	fill–full	(b)	/i/ – /e/	bid–bed
	/e/ – /o/	fell–fall		/e/ – /ɛ/	bed–bad
	/ɛ/ – /ɒ/	lack–lock		/ɛ/ – /a/	bad–bud
	/a/ – /ɑ/	cut–cart		/v/ – /o/	could–cord
				/o/ – /ɒ/	cord–cod
				/ɒ/ – /ɑ/	cod–card

The oppositions in (a) take into account the part of the tongue raised, yielding four contrastive pairs. The contrasts in (b) are based on the degree of raising, yielding six word pairs. Of the ten vowel contrasts shown above only five are true minimal pairs, i.e. /i/ – /v/, /e/ – /ɒ/, /i/ – /e/, /e/ – /ɛ/, /ɛ/ – /a/. The remaining differ in the number of segments, cf. e.g. *fell* /fel/ – *fall* /fool/ (simple vowel vs. vowel cluster). Contrasts of the *fell* – *fall* type have customarily been treated as a complex of quality and quantity. Following Gimson (1964:90) "of the two factors it is likely that quality carries a greater contrastive weight".

The [ə] vowel, being limited to unstressed positions, does not enter into qualitative oppositions with the remaining simple vowels. Its phonemic status may be confirmed solely by such pairs as *accept* – *except* or *sitter* – *city*. Some linguists (Firth 1948:258) hold that [ə] does not belong to the English phonological system because it is neutral to the rest of vowels and is strongly dependent upon the stress (or rather lack of it).

⁵ This chart comes from Biedrzycki (1978:107) and is one of the three possible arrangements.

We saw earlier that /a/ and /o/ cannot contrast significantly with /i, e, ε, a, o, u/ as they occur only as vowel clusters. But their oppositional nature may be established by commutations possible in such series as *far* /fɑɑ/ – *four* /fʊʊ/ – *fur* /fæ/, or *card* /kɑɑd/ – *cord* /kʊʊd/ – *curd* /kæd/.

In addition to contrasts of the *far* – *four* – *fur* type, the geminate [ææ] may be in opposition with [iɪ] and [εε] (cf. *fur* – *fear* – *fair*, *were* – *wear* – *we're*). The differentiation between these words is achieved by the qualitative variation of the first segment, the second being a mere extension of the first element.

We have already mentioned that some diphthongs and triphthongs tend to become homogeneous vowel clusters ([əw] > [æw], [ej] > [ee], [εə] > [εε], [ajə] and [awə] > [uu]). This certainly strengthens the position of vocalic self-clusters.

Having accepted that the syllabic centres in PresE *bee*, *two*, *far*, *law*, *fire* are not 'long' vowels but sequences of two elements, we have simultaneously eliminated length as a feature of some vowels. However, there is a great deal of evidence that length, used in a general sense, is a prosodic phenomenon depending upon a number of factors. One of them is the closing consonant. It has often been pointed out that before fortis obstruents all vowels (simple and doubled or diphthongized) undergo considerable length reduction. Gimson (1964:90–91), when discussing the problem of vowel length maintains that "/i:/ in *beat* is only about half as long as the /i:/ of *bee* or *bead*" and adds that its length is approximately the same as that of /i/ in *bid*. This allows him to distinguish two degrees of length, 'full' length, as in *bee*, *bead*, *played*, and 'reduced', as in *beat*, *plate*. Phonetically these two kinds of length may be indicated as follows: *bee*, *bead*, *beat*, *bid*: [bi:, bi:d, bit, bɪd] where *beat* and *bid* differ merely qualitatively⁶. Gimson puts emphasis on the importance of length reduction before fortis consonants, arguing that "the differentiation between two words such as *seize* and *cease* is achieved more by the variation of the vowel length than by the quality of the final consonant" (p. 96).

By comparing various contrasts there seem to be two different kinds of length variation: (a) of the *beat* – *bid* type with length reduction in *beat* but with a clear qualitative distinction between the two vowels, and (b) of the *bead* – *beat* type with length reduction in *beat* and with no qualitative distinction. The second type might suggest a significant value of length. Since, however, it is always combined with the difference in quality of the final segment (even in the case of the so-called inaudible release of final /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/), we treat it as a context-conditioned feature.

But length reduction is only one of the two quantitative changes which are characteristic of the English RP vowels. Another change which is of equal

⁶ Cf. also Jassem (1964:80–82 and 86) who distinguishes three degrees of length exemplified by the following words: *card*; *caught* and *cod*; *cot*.

importance (or perhaps even more significant) is a tendency (already pointed out by Jones) to lengthen 'short' vowels. Barber (1964:49–51) maintains that this lengthening is most frequent in monosyllables ending in a voiced consonant (*big*, *bed*, *man*, *come*, *good*), this kind of pronunciation being 'particularly common in the London speech'.

Moreover, some RP speakers tend to diphthongize 'short' vowels. Gimson (1964:97–101) holds that a glide of the [ə] type is used most often with the short front vowels [i, e, æ] and is the result of the raising of these vowels to higher positions (at least his remarks may be read this way).

If this incipient tendency to lengthen (or diphthongize) 'short' vowels (now restricted only to monosyllables) becomes general, we may expect that the dichotomous character of the English vocalic system will be drastically changed.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The observations presented in these pages may be briefly recapitulated as follows. Present-day Standard British English includes nine vowel phonemes: /i, e, ε, a, o, u, ə/. Six of them, /i, e, ε, a, o, u/ are used both as simple and complex syllabic nuclei: *bid*, *bed*, *bad*, *bud*, *cod*, *could*; *bee* (or *bead*), *beer*, *bay*, *buy*, *bough*, *boy*, *coo* (or *food*). These six simple vowels go to make up a basic phonological system which has been in use since the oldest times (OE). As relatively few changes have affected these principal vowel phonemes, the whole system can be said to be stable.

The elements occurring postcentrally in closing diphthongs are treated as consonantal categories, whereas the final segment in centring diphthongs is, in this paper and elsewhere, a vocalic sound.

The vowel [ə] can hardly be included in the above fundamental system. It does not occur in stressed nuclei as a simple vowel. Again, it is a common sound in unaccented syllables where it has replaced full vowels. Consequently, its distinctive value is very limited, the only significant opposition being that between /ə/ and /ɪ/, as in *accept* and *except* or *sitter* and *city*. Since this vowel carries such a low distinctive weight, we might omit it from the list of contrastive vowels if it were not for its being used as a geminate in stressed complex nuclei (*bird*, *serve*, *church*) and as a component part of some diphthongal glides (*go*, *here*, *hare*, *tour*).

The phonemes /a/ and /o/ (like /ə/ in *bird*, *serve*, *church*) function solely as geminates (*far*, *calm*, *aunt*; *walk*, *law*). They have been used in complex syllabic nuclei since the time when final /r/ was ultimately lost (or more precisely when /r/ was assimilated through vocalization to the preceding vowel).

The phonemic status of /a, o, ə/ is confirmed by mutual alternations of these vowels (cf. *far*:*four*:*fur*). On the other hand, they can never be in

opposition with the six simple vowels since the contrasts of the *card* – *cud* type differ in the number of segments (/kaad/ – /kad/).

We have seen that /VV/ clusters are gaining ground at the expense of diphthongal glides, i.e. centring diphthongs and sequences of /V/ plus /j/ or /w/, e.g. [ɔə] > [oo] (*four*), [əw] > [əə] (*goal*), [ɛə] > [ɛɛ] (*careful*), [ej] > [ee] (*day*), [ajə] and [awə] > [aɔ] (*tire*, *tower*). This consistent trend to substitute geminates for diphthongal glides suggests a close relationship between these two types of complex nuclei.

Length variation of the *head* – *beat* sort is a prosodic phenomenon. This is because the reduction of vowel length is a not constant distinctive feature of a vowel but is largely dependent upon the nature of the closing consonant. A similar shortening affects the six simple vowels before a fortis consonant (cf. *bid* and *bit*).

Finally, there is pretty strong evidence that the simple vowels tend to be lengthened or diphthongized. If this trend turns out to be a durable change, the difference between simple and complex nuclei may level out.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING THEORY

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH

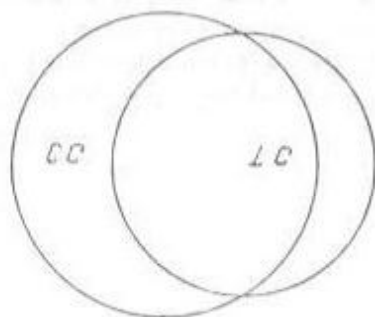
In the last twenty years important changes in language teaching have been observed. Let us consider, then, the reasons for and the nature of these changes.

Johnson maintains (1982:10) that "language teachers have always looked to the linguist for guidance on how to teach languages". Thus the audio-lingual and the Cognitive Code Learning Theory developed respectively on the basis of descriptive and transformational linguistics. The most influential linguist of the 1960s, Chomsky, saw language in terms of 'competence' and 'performance'. Competence (Chomsky 1957) is the underlying knowledge about the language that every native speaker/hearer possesses in all conditions. Performance is what this speaker actually produces. Of these two, performance has a specific sociocultural context. Chomsky therefore maintained that competence only should be the prime concern of linguistic theory because it did not contain any misleading data or performance errors.

However, in the late 1960s and in the 1970s a disillusionment with Chomsky's theory started new research into the nature of language and language learning. The reason for this disillusionment was that in the transformational grammar, as well as in the earlier, Bloomfieldian model, importance was still given to the study of language structure, and syntax remained central. Moreover, Bloomfield argued that linguistics cannot define meanings but should leave them to students of other sciences. In fact, in comparison with descriptive grammar, which helped to develop the audio-lingual method, transformational linguistics had considerably little effect on language teaching as such (Brumfit and Johnson 1979:3) and the Cognitive Code Learning Theory was often described as an improved grammar-translation method. It was felt that the ability to communicate in any language is

not only a matter of the knowledge of the system. Therefore linguists and teachers turned towards a view "of language as communication, where meaning plays a central part" (Brumfit and Johnson 1979:3).

The earliest changes towards a view of language that comprises both structures and meanings originated from sociolinguistics. Some scholars maintained that "one cannot in fact describe grammar in isolation from meaning" (Coulthard 1977:3), and a theory is needed "to absorb a thereby neglected social component" (Brumfit and Johnson 1979:9). One of the leading sociolinguists, Hymes, criticized Chomsky's notions of competence and performance (Hymes 1972). He suggested that they should be redefined and a new contrast between 'the actual' (performance) and 'the underlying' be recognized. The underlying, however, is a far more general concept of competence that is found in Chomsky. Hymes calls it 'communicative competence'. Apart from Chomsky's grammatical possibility it involves also the factors of appropriateness and feasibility. For instance, the sentence *This is all nonsense* may be grammatically possible, feasible, but inappropriate in certain situational contexts. Since then the concept of communicative competence has become well established as generally applicable for language teaching. Allwright (1979) explains the difference between linguistic and communicative competence with the help of a simple diagram:



CC — Communicative Competence; LC — Linguistic Competence

The diagram implies the following two statements: first, there are some parts of linguistic competence which are not covered by communicative competence. It could be argued that sentences like Chomsky's *Colourless green ideas sleep furiously* are grammatically possible but never used in actual communication. Secondly, quite a big part of communicative competence is not covered by linguistic competence (feasibility, appropriacy). The above implies that teaching exclusively for linguistic competence will leave a large area of communicative competence untouched, but teaching for communicative competence will leave out only a small portion of linguistic competence (Brumfit and Johnson 1979:168). Teaching communicative competence should then be the prime concern of language teachers.

However, no method of teaching communicative competence was proposed in the world. On the contrary, the 1970s observed a distinctive breakaway from the method concept. It was felt that in language teaching there cannot be any single 'best' method widely accepted (Stern 1983:112). Finally, in the 1980s, the broad concept of a Communicative Approach to language teaching emerged. Many disciplines contributed directly or indirectly to its development, for instance: speech act theory, needs analysis, syllabus design, discourse analysis, language for special purposes, first and second language acquisition, error analysis (Stern 1983:113). In this paper I will discuss only what should be taught within the area of communicative competence and why it should be taught.

Within the content of teaching (what), the most important influences seem to be the speech act theory, discourse analysis, and the syllabus design controversy.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

In this part we will concentrate mainly on the issues connected with the philosophy of language (speech act theory) and discourse analysis. Speech act theory, stated by Austin (1962) and developed by Searle (1969), pointed out that while sentences can often be used to report states of affairs, some can be treated as the performance of an act, e.g. *I name this ship The Queen Elizabeth* (Brown and Yule 1983:231). It is, then, possible to suggest that in uttering any sentence a speaker performs an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act "which can be described in terms of the effect which the illocutionary act, on the particular occasion of use, has on the hearer" (Brown and Yule 1983:252).

Searle distinguished between indirect and direct speech acts. For instance, the interrogative form *Can you speak a little louder?* can be interpreted as (a) a question about somebody's ability, or (b) a request for an action. In Searle's terms one illocutionary act (a request) is performed indirectly by way of performing another (a question) (Brown and Yule 1983:232).

Speech act theory showed that there cannot be a one-to-one relationship between form and meaning; one utterance may perform several simultaneous acts and one act can be performed by many different utterances. The interpretation, then, depends on the speaker's intention expressed within a particular context.

The findings of speech act theory influenced the development of discourse analysis. They helped to understand how some apparently unconnected sentences come together in a conversational discourse to form a coherent sequence (Brown and Yule 1983:233). In discourse analysis the following problems are often emphasized: the role of context in interpretation, the principle of shared knowledge, and the choice of language in a specific context (appropriacy).

In language teaching the concept of contextual interpretation became particularly important. When we compare the issue of 'contextualization' taken from any traditional textbook with that explained by discourse analysis, we can observe that 'context' does not any longer mean a single sentence but a longer utterance consisting of a number of combined sentences which together create a cohesive piece of discourse. Widdowson says: "Normal linguistic behaviour does not consist in the production of separate sentences but in the use of sentences in the creation of discourse" (1978:22).

The learning of a language, according to Widdowson, means acquiring the ability to handle discourse (1978:53).

The suggestion of teaching languages as communication in context was earlier supported by psycholinguists and especially by the investigations of first language acquisition. Campbell and Wales (1970), for instance, maintained that everybody possesses the innate predispositions to structure information "but every acquisition depends to some extent on the interaction of these predispositions with the environment" (Lyons 1970:249). Further, they suggested that since the contextual factors play such an important role in language acquisition, the psychology of language should make the environmental variables its primary object of study (Lyons 1970:249), because "a child learns whether his utterances are well-formed or not [...] from environmental feedback" (Lyons 1970:256-257). Similarly, Stevick says that in first language acquisition "the person who is doing the acquiring meets words in the full context of some kind of genuine human communication. There is no special presentation of a new item, no organized drilling, and no testing in the academic sense" (Stevick 1982:22). However, we should rather be careful with adopting Stevick's statement as valid also for foreign language learning.

In another study by Stevick (1976) the author also emphasizes the role of contextual presentation for learning languages. He says that also in second or foreign language learning "sentences are easier to learn if learners meet them in meaningful contexts, because contexts permit more complex processing" (1976:30). It implies that things are more easily retained in memory when their remembering is connected with some external situation.

We have observed so far that for various reasons, one of the most important issues of the Communicative Approach was its insistence on teaching language in contextualized stretches of discourse. Let us now consider in what way this language could be organized for teaching purposes.

3. THE SYLLABUS DESIGN CONTROVERSY

Before we can start discussing the issues connected with syllabus design and their influence on the content of teaching, it should be necessary to establish the meaning of the term 'syllabus'. From among many different definitions it

seems best to accept the one proposed by Johnson. He distinguishes between 'syllabus inventory' and 'syllabus' (1982:32). Syllabus inventory is the list of items we wish to teach. Syllabus itself involves making various decisions about the presentation of these items, among others, about the order in which they will appear in the course. Thus syllabus inventory deals with the selection and syllabus — with the sequencing of items to be taught.

In the traditional structure-based syllabuses, most common up till the 1970s, different parts of language are taught separately and step-by-step "so that acquisition is a process of gradual accumulation of the parts until the whole structure of the language has been built up" (Wilkins 1976:2). The grammatical content of such syllabuses was supposed to be organized according to the following criteria: simplicity, i.e. simple language should be taught before complex, but the concept of simplicity was judged on an intuitive basis; regularity, i.e. the most productive structures should be taught before those of low production; frequency and contrastive difficulty, i.e. structures which are most frequent should appear first, and special attention should be paid to those structures that do not exist in the learners' mother tongue. Whether the above criteria were usually followed or not, is a completely different matter but, anyhow, structural syllabuses over the years came to look remarkably alike (Johnson 1982:9). The criticism of structural syllabuses started with the first issues of the Communicative Approach. Its main point was that structures were taught because they existed and not because they had special communicative value for the learners.

Many attempts have been made to improve or to replace the existing traditional syllabuses in order to concentrate the teaching on communication rather than on grammatical accuracy. The most significant, however, seems to be the work done by the team connected with the Council of Europe project, begun in the early 1970s. A small multinational group of experts, with Wilkins and van Ek among others, started their work from the assumption that knowledge of foreign languages is to be considered indispensable both for the individual and for Europe as a whole (van Ek 1977:1). They examined the possibility of preparing a common language teaching syllabus for all languages used by the member nations of the Council of Europe. Initially they prepared a syllabus for adult learners and then for schools. The basic objectives were to teach the ability to use the foreign language in everyday real-life situations (van Ek 1977:3), to teach skill rather than knowledge, to enable the learners to do something by means of language (van Ek 1977:5). The model the experts suggested was called The Threshold Level which meant the minimum knowledge of a foreign language the learner should possess to communicate. At the same time a French team, led by Daniel Coste, produced the French equivalent to van Ek's English curriculum: *Un Niveau seuil* (1976) (Stern 1983:112).

Van Ek observes that "what people do by means of language can be described as verbally performing certain functions" (van Ek 1977:5-6). By means of language people can question, command, persuade, apologize, etc. In performing such functions people refer to notions like: time, possession, quantity, etc. (van Ek 1977:6). In teaching, then, we should first establish the learners' needs, i.e. what they will have to do with the language in future. Afterwards, on the basis of these activities, we should establish what functions and notions they will have to refer to and, finally, what exponents (i.e. grammatical structures) should be taught to use these functions.

The difficulties started when it came to creating a universal syllabus inventory which could be accepted and used by different groups of learners from different countries. The traditional inventory lists language structures. What should a communicative syllabus be based on? A solution was suggested by Wilkins (1976). He outlined a list of concepts for this kind of syllabus. He based his inventory on the assumption that we should concentrate on what it is the learners want to communicate through language (Wilkins 1976:18). He distinguished three basic sets of categories: semantico-grammatical categories, categories of modal meaning and categories of communicative functions. Among semantico-grammatical categories we can distinguish, for instance: time, quantity, space, deixis; among modal categories – affirmation, certainty, probability, possibility, etc.; among categories of communicative functions – approval, disapproval, prediction, agreement, disagreement, etc. Often semantico-grammatical categories are described as notions and categories of communicative functions as functions. According to Wilkins, functions and notions should be the basis for a language teaching syllabus.

Wilkins' work had enormous influence on language teaching, but doubts started immediately after it appeared. Wilkins himself pointed out that his taxonomies could better be used in the teaching of languages for special purposes, where the learners' needs and the things they could do with the language are easily predicted. It is not easy to predict the needs of so-called general learners, who learn a foreign language at school for several years. It is equally difficult to foresee the functions they would need to express.

There is an enormous diversity of opinion among teachers and scholars about the applicability of functional syllabuses for general learners. Some of them attack Wilkins, pointing out that solution he proposed is nothing else but a list of items to be taught and, in principle, it does not differ from the lists of grammatical items in structural syllabuses (Candlin 1984). Consequently, it could be argued that the idea of a syllabus as a list of discrete items to be taught imposed by the authorities, should be rejected entirely. Other scholars adopt Wilkins' suggestions and modify them according to their needs (Yalden 1984). The rest, and those are in the majority, argue that for general learners in schools, especially at the beginners' stage, a systematic basis for development

should be provided. Since no functional or notional approach can be definitely systematized, there is no reason to discard a structural system "as the most fundamental component of the language syllabus" (Brumfit 1984:78). A structural system is organized and graded and therefore it is economical. Similarly Widdowson (1984) argues that a systematized syllabus provides security both for teachers and learners. He also maintains that neither a structural nor a functional syllabus gives the recipe for effective learning and he says: "There is no such thing as a communicative syllabus; there can be methodology that stimulates communicative learning" (1984:26).

Johnson also (1982) raises the point against functional syllabuses at the beginners' level, because they impose structural disorganization. He argues that in some specific circumstances a teacher may encounter an imposed structural syllabus which cannot be changed. He may, then, try to integrate some functional materials into the already existing programmes (Johnson 1982:98) without rejecting them "A beginners' course may be designed structurally and at the same time incorporate many valuable features associated with the approach to language teaching which is nowadays called communicative" (Johnson 1982:106).

It could be argued, finally, that although functional syllabuses may be pedagogically attractive because they present the language from a different point of view, we should rather be careful in adopting them for beginners' courses. Because, as it was pointed out earlier, the grammatical system of the language is more economical than any other, the beginners' syllabus should rather be structure-based. It will provide for security and systematization in language presentation. However, communicative methodology should be integrated into a structural program, because we should try to teach both communicative and linguistic competence.

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AMBIGUITY AND THE GENITIVE IN LATE OLD ENGLISH

This paper argues that a wide range of relations expressed by the genitive in Late Old English share some of the interpretational difficulties of the same structure in Modern English. The area covered includes only inflectional genitives used with a noun, represented by the language of Ælfric's works. It is an often repeated observation, and a least controversial claim, that the genitive used with a noun has an ability to form some sort of compound, and out of various inflectional categories this one seems to be most complex in its function and meaning. Such a genitive functions similarly to other elements which belong to the NP like the demonstrative pronoun, numeral, and adjective. It is not accidental that Hawkins (1983: 69, 90 ff.) treats the genitive as a member of the NP relatively heavier and less mobile than the others, not taking relative clauses into consideration, which indirectly means that it is more closely connected with the head noun (see also implicational universals (Hawkins 1983: 69)). The position of the genitive is immediately before or after a noun; occasionally it may be separated from its head by an adjectival modifier. If there are more than one genitival modifiers it is always the one which immediately precedes which has the attributive function (Shipley 1903: 90). The modifying function of the genitive may express various relations, or even any relation at all, between the two nouns and it is not always obvious which semantic interpretation is intended by the speaker if the context does not specify it. In view of these general remarks one does not see much difference between the genitive in Old English and its ModE equivalent although there are many other differences between the two. To illustrate this take the following sentence into consideration:

- (1) Godes lufu geswutelað. (CH*181/44)
god gen. sg love shows
'God's love shows'

Godes lufu and *God's love* may both mean: either God loves someone (the subjective function of the genitive) or someone loves God (the objective function of the genitive), which indicates that there are two underlying structures. This is one type of ambiguity which has been most often discussed in linguistic literature but no fully satisfactory theory has been developed to account for all semantic intricacies of such genitives. For Mitchell (1985: § 1281) "the distinction cannot always be made. Sometimes this is because there is an ambiguity in the actual meaning or because both senses may be intended [...] Sometimes it is because we can resolve the phrase in either way without affecting the meaning". Mitchell is tending to assume both ideas at the same time which would suggest inherent ambiguity; this approach solves the problem by avoiding it which unavoidably results in methodological complications. There are serious consequences of a theoretical nature of which Mitchell does not seem to be aware or just ignores them. Though for a semantic interpretation this claim may be convenient, the syntactic status of such strings would be extremely doubtful, perhaps even simply impossible. Another weak point of this interpretation is Mitchell's idea of ambiguity dealing with the explanation of lexical meaning and of phrasal structure, as if they were of the same kind. Due to such a treatment the underlying structure would be a messy unordered set of elements of which any combination would be possible. It is regrettable that Mitchell's presentation does not offer new ideas how to deal with these problems in Old English.

While it is generally admitted that the genitive may denote possession, partition, may describe or define, and the like, it is not openly said that the genitive expresses some property¹ which the head noun possesses. The genitive shows this head property owing to which it has a restrictive function. Thus, *God's love* is not any love but the love having a certain property in relation to God. The rest is given by the context, linguistic or nonlinguistic, as well as by pragmatic circumstances, and above all by the grammatical characteristics of the lexical items which function as the head and the modifier. Take for example a very fascinating and so far unresolved problem of the so-called picture NPs².

In this paper I shall attempt to approach the problem of ambiguity of genitive phrases from the point of view of the head. That the phrase (1) can have more than one meaning is owing to the properties of *lufu* 'love' not *Godes* 'God's'. The head noun is related to *lufian*, a transitive verb which

¹ For a first approximation to a better understanding of genitival relations in English see Nagucka (1970). The genitive has been very thoroughly discussed from the point of view of general linguistics by Heinz (1955).

² A critical survey, very clearly presented, of picture nouns in transformational grammar is offered by Ruszkiewicz (1984: 54 ff.).

requires two objects (actor and patient), and one of them can be deleted. Now the problem is which of the two should be chosen? Is it the one which has a subjective function, or the one which functions as a direct object? Since the selectional features are of no help here because animate N can be used in either function (i.e. *God* in our example) the phrase remains ambiguous. In this particular case the meaning of the phrase becomes obvious in the context which runs

- (1a) Ure drihten sæde. on ðisum soðum spelle. se ðe me ne lufað. ne hylt he mine word; *Godes lufu geswutelað*.
'Our Lord said in his true message: he who does not love me he does not keep my words; God's love shows'

se ðe me ne lufað indicates that it is God that is the object of love.

Before a tentative analysis of the OE material is proposed I should like to say in what capacity the term ambiguity is used here. In the most general sense ambiguity means having more than one meaning. This is true and valid for all cases. However, there is much confusion when a particular sentence, phrase or a lexical item is scrutinized. Kooij (1971) foresees this unwelcome situation and that is why he finds it "advisable to restrict the term ambiguous to those cases where multiple meaning is an actual possibility, even if this means that the investigation will eventually move on the borderline between language system and language use" (7). The actual ambiguity, not the potential ambiguity, is understood as that property of a linguistic structure which in reality has more than one meaning hence can be interpreted in more than one way. Although Kooij restricts his research to the ambiguity of a sentence the same methodological criteria are valid for other structures like NPs. Thus, it will be suggested that the NP with the genitive is susceptible to the same analysis as the sentence and that a description of its meaning is appropriate. It must be borne in mind, however, that the NP is not a sentence in the underlying structure as it may appear from the above claims. These are two completely different problems and a hypothesis that the NP can be parallel to S is not made.

To come back to the analysis of the OE material we observe that the genitive groups occur in pre- and postpositions of the head and involve various elements of which the simplest is: GN or NG,

- (2) and deofles lare gehyrsumode. (CH 3/16)
and devil gen. sg suggestion obeyed
'and obeyed the devil's suggestion'
- (3) and fram deofles anwealde ahreddan; (CH 3/19)
and from devil gen.sg power deliver
'and he (could) deliver (mankind) from the devil's power'

- (4) fram frymðe middaneardes. (CH 3/18)
 from beginning world gen.sg
 'from the beginning of the world'
- (5) On anginne middaneardes was adam. (CH 32/100)
 on beginning world gen.sg was Adam
 'at the beginning of the world was Adam'

From the structural point of view all the above examples are clear, the genitive is morphologically marked by {-es}. The modifying function which restricts the meaning of the head is controlled by its inherent properties. Take for instance *lar* (2). It is cognate with *læran* which can be used transitively with the following senses: 'teach, instruct, educate, give religious teaching, preach, teach a particular tenet or dogma, enjoin a rule, exhort, admonish, advise, persuade, suggest' (cf. Bosworth's *Dictionary*). *Lar* like the verb with which it is related takes, or may take, two types of the modifier; thus *deofles lar* means: 'devillish teaching' = 'the devil teaches X', or 'teaching the devil' = 'X teaches the devil'. Here again the meaning intended seems to be provided by the context. The complete sentence is:

- (2a) and his scyppendes bebod tobræc. and deofles lare gehyrsumode. and wearð deofle betæht.
 'and obeyed the devil's admonition and became committed to the devil (was pursued by the devil)'

The relation between two nouns in a genitival phrase is claimed to be controlled by the characteristics of the head, and semantically by the context. If the genitive and its head, each taken in isolation, are considered according to their function and meaning they are unspecified; *deofles* deprived of its controller³ may express any relation and *lar* without a modifier has a wide range of properties.

The same approach applied to the other examples would show that it is really the head that controls the function of the genitive. In (3) *anweald*, derivative of *wealdan* which means: 'rule, have power over, have power over things' (with gen.), etc. may impose two interpretations, either it is the devil that has power over somebody (something), or someone has power over him. Here again the immediate context disambiguates the genitive, e.g.

- (3a) hu he mihte mancynnes gehelpan. and fram deofles anwealde ahreddan;
 'how he could help mankind and deliver it from the devil's power'

³ This term is not used in its strictly defined meaning used in the theory of government and binding.

The next two instances display postnominal uses of the genitive. The position after the head does not affect the interpretation of the relations between the two NPs. Although *middaneardes* appears more often after the governing noun in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and looks like a set phrase, the prenominal position of this word is also attested, e.g.

- (4a) ær middaneardes gesetnyss (CH 209/105, 211/159)
 'before the foundation of the world'

In sentence (4) *frymþ* means 'origin, beginning, foundation', and the most obvious and natural modification of this word would be to specify it by some object which may satisfy the head requirements, i.e. which can begin X. Since the genitive refers here to the inanimate object no ambiguity occurs. In phrase (5) the situation is slightly different in the sense that the head *anginn* is cognate with *anginnan* 'begin', hence may appear with two arguments (similarly (4a) *gesetnyss* comes from *gesettan*). If the genitive were animate then the problem of the ambiguity would have appeared, but since it is inanimate it can function only as the object⁴. As in the previous examples the head controls the meaning of its genitival modifier.

The genitival phrases so far presented were meant to demonstrate that the interpretation of this kind enables us to recover the underlying relations existing between two nouns one of which is in the genitive. It is not the genitival modifier which assigns a semantic interpretation to the relations within the NP, although it is actively involved in it; I claim that it is the head with all its syntactic and semantic features that imposes the main sense on the NP.

If the NP consists of two nouns only, one in the genitival function, the genitive is normally preposed (cf. Mitchell 1985: § 1304 ff.). There are different views about the history of the position the genitive had and about the change of this position (see also Mitchell 1985 and Hawkins 1984) and various explanations have been offered (e.g. according to Mitchell it was intonation and stress that were decisive about the position⁵). Semantically, however, it does not seem relevant whether the genitive is before or after the noun. If there are no other intervening elements the relations are the same, i.e. a property of the head is expressed by the genitive.

The ambiguity which has occurred in some genitival phrases is strictly connected with the head. Mitchell emphasizes on several occasions that "the

⁴ *anginnan* can be used as an intransitive verb in which case the problem of ambiguity does not appear at all, e.g. *Da six onginnaþ of ðam stafe e*, and *geendiab on him sylfum* (Bosworth).

⁵ Mitchell (1985 § 1309): "There is no simple rule for the genitives of nouns, for they occur — both alone and in combination — in pre- and post-position. There can be no doubt that intonation and stress were factors here".

subjective and objective genitives involve possession" (§ 1284), and one can go further and claim that any genitive involves possession if by possession is meant the same as, or something similar to, 'have some property' understood in very general terms. How to formalize such property of a given item is a problem probably connected with lexical decomposition, derivational or transformational analysis, etc. There are lexical items, e.g. names of concrete objects where the questions of ambiguity will never arise, e.g. *table*, *chair*⁶. Take for instance such phrases as:

John's table

Mary's chair

which mean: 'John has a table', and 'Mary has a chair', because the heads are relationally simple. One can do various things with a table or a chair (e.g. make it, destroy it, paint it, etc.) but the object is passively involved in all the events and cannot actively participate in them. It is doubtful besides that such nouns would easily enter into the property relations expressed by the genitive; it will be rather the prepositional phrase that would describe or restrict its scope (e.g. *the table with one leg*), or an adjective (*a round table*). The most obvious property of a concrete inanimate object is its ability to appear in possession relations in a narrower sense.

The OE examples so far presented involve derivatively explicable heads and that is why they are actually ambiguous. There are a great number of simple phrases such as:

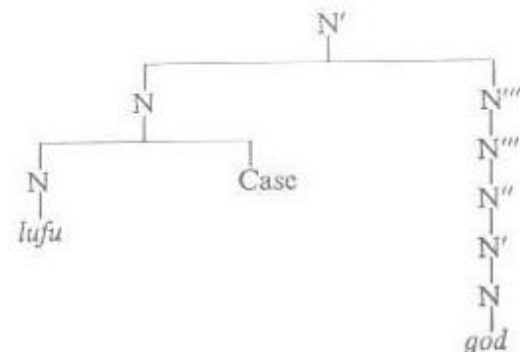
- (6) Nis nan wiſhades mann hire gelica. (CH 5/83)
is not no woman gen. sg man her like
'there is no woman like her'
- (7) Nu is ȝeos gelaðung cristes bryd. (CH 6/100)
now is this church Christ gen. sg bride
'Now the church is Christ's bride'
- (8) ȝe godes word gehyrað. (CH 55/75)
who god gen. sg words hear
'who hear God's words'

which are unambiguously interpreted because none of the head nouns belongs to a group of picture words, or derivatives, although the genitive may be animate.

It seems to me that the claims so far presented can be represented by the following tree:

⁶ Each of these words may have more than one lexical meaning and in this way can be multiply ambiguous, but this is not the type of ambiguity that is meant in this paper. Besides, if concrete nouns refer to objects of art they can be interpretable like picture nouns.

(9)



Assuming that the relation between two nouns is of the property character which the head intrinsically and actually possesses the Case node would be something like the controller responsible for the relation between two nouns. The property intrinsic to the head noun specified by case is realized by the genitive. In the above tree (9), the property which *lufu* has may be experiencer, agent, cause, possessor, object, etc. and the choice of the relation accounts for a proper meaning and then a proper interpretation. For instance, if the object of *lufu* is *God* the genitive *Godes lufu* is understood passively; if the experiencer of *lufu* is *God*, *Godes lufu* has the agentive meaning.

There are still several problems which beg explanation: one concerns the property specification which corresponds to Fillmorean deep cases ascribed to nouns but identified by the verb. How can a property of a noun be identified without a verb? I would say that it cannot, unless the noun is traceable back to a verb or is cognate with it. The property specification is obtained by a noun in a roundabout way: first, there are case frames for a verb, e.g. *lufian*, and the same case relations are ascribed to the noun *lufu*. If a noun is not a derivative then it has basic properties which are compatible with animacy or inanimacy, and perhaps some other features as well.

To sum up these rather sketchy remarks I should like to repeat that the ambiguity of the genitive phrase consisting of two nouns of which only one is in the genitive case should be searched for in the syntactic and semantic properties of the head noun. These properties seem to control the genitive both syntactically and semantically. This type of ambiguity, illustrated by LOE linguistic data pose the same interpretational difficulties as their ModE equivalents.

In addition to this structurally simple genitive there are phrases which consist of more than two elements, i.e. the genitive and the head. On the whole, the ambiguity, if any, is of the same character and we shall ignore it in further presentation. There may be, however, another type of ambiguity, i.e. structural ambiguity, which deserves some mention.

Let us start with simple, unambiguous examples:

- (10) *pæs fæder wisdom.* (CH 3/7)
 this gen. sg father gen. sg wisdom
 'this father's wisdom'
- (11) *on ðæs munes enolle* (CH 95/128)
 on this gen. sg mount gen. sg top
 'on this mount's top, on top of this mount'
- (12) *se godfæder þæs cildes* (CH 27/274)
 the godfather this gen. sg child gen. sg
 'the child's godfather, the godfather of the child'
- (13) *oð ende þises middaneardes;* (CH 43/65)
 till end this gen. sg world gen. sg
 'till the end of this world'

All the above phrases are structurally transparent: the demonstrative pronouns *pæs*, *þises* agree in number, case and gender with their heads. Thanks to the inflectional marking there is no ambiguity about the relation of the demonstrative pronoun to its head, which we cannot say about Modern English. The phrase

This father's wisdom

is ambiguous as to the function of *this* which may refer to *father's* or to *wisdom*, or even to *father's wisdom* taken as a whole. That such relations were clearly marked in Old English is manifested by the following:

- (14) *se ælmihtiga godes sunu* (CH 4/35)
 the almighty god gen. sg son
 'the almighty son of God'

in which *se* (*ælmihtiga*) agrees only with *sunu*, not *godes*. The demonstrative pronoun can agree with the genitive as is the case in (15):

- (15) *to þæs halgan cyðeres cyrcan* (CH 14/84)
 to this gen. sg holy martyr gen. sg church
 'to the church of the holy martyr, to the holy martyr's church'

where *pæs* (*halgan*) is controlled by *cyðeres* not *cyrcan* which is feminine dative singular governed by the preposition *to*. There is, however, structural ambiguity of *halgan* which may agree either with the genitive or the dative singular. That *halgan* may agree with the noun separated by the genitive is not impossible in Old English as is seen in (14) where *ælmihtiga* agrees with *sunu*, and not with the immediately following *godes*. On the other hand, the demonstrative pronoun preceding *halgan* in (15) may show that the adjective is connected with *cyðeres* rather than with *cyrcan*. The meaning of the items does

not solve the problem: the holy martyr is equally attestable as the holy church, cf.

- gemynde þæs halgan cyðeres* (CH 14/71)
 to þære halgan cyrcan (CH 13/58)

The plausibility of the ambiguous treatment of the adjective is caused by its weak form which is identical in genitive and dative singular in all three genders.

The same can be said about the syncrétism of the demonstrative pronoun, feminine, singular: if the head and its genitive are both feminine there is no way to determine to which of the two the demonstrative refers, for example:

- (16) *on ðissere worulde geendunge* (CH 172/87)
 on this world end
 'until the end of the world'

ðissere agrees with *worulde* (genitive) as well as with *geendunge* (dative) and in this sense it is functionally ambiguous. Taking the meaning into account and considering cultural tradition it is 'this world' and not 'this end' that is meant. The problem would not have arisen if the genitive were postposed:

on geendunge ðisses worulde

That such an interpretation is most plausible is corroborated by another example (17):

- (17) *oð gefyllednysse ðyssere worulde* (CH 211/179)
 till end this gen. sg world gen. sg
 'till the end of this world'

in which *ðyssere* refers only to *worulde*, as it is used immediately before the noun which controls it, i.e. there are no intervening elements between the two; for ambiguity avoidance by the use of prepositions see Mitchell (1985: § 1282).

Word order, which in Old English seems to be less significant than in Modern English, is not insignificant at all when grammatical relations are concerned within the NP with a genitive. In other words, the word reordering disambiguates the function of the demonstrative pronoun. But if there is no demonstrative pronoun, the word ordering is of no help. Take two feminine nouns, or any two weak nouns in genitive and dative singular, or any combination of the two, e.g.

- (18) *mid heortan anfealdnysse* (CH 184/130)
 with heart simplicity
 F F
 'with the simplicity of the heart'

- (19) *mid mildheortnysse gyrd* (CH 335/14)
 with mercy rod
 F F
 'with the rod of mercy'

Structurally speaking all four nouns in the preceding phrases are feminine and can have the function either of genitive or dative, or even accusative singular, as well as nominative and accusative plural. The change of word order does not solve the problem and the structures would be equally ambiguous

(18a) *mid anfealdnyse heortan*

(19a) *mid gyrde mildheortnyse.*

What is known, however, is the fact that there is one dative which is governed by the preposition *mid* and one genitive which is controlled by this dative. But which is which is formally unanswerable. The syncretism of such two superficial cases of certain nouns in Old English is responsible for this unclear situation and only the context and extralinguistic facts can disentangle the intended meaning from the unintended one.

When comparing this type of ambiguity with the one discussed in the first part of the paper the differences are obvious: before, there was no question which of the two nouns was the genitive modifier and which was the head, the main problem involved an adequate semantic interpretation and in this respect both Old English and Modern English are transparent. Now, the problem is first to decide which of the two nouns can function as the genitive and which as its head and only afterwards can one make attempts at interpreting the meaning; considering the elements which cause structural ambiguity in the OE material one realizes that this ambiguity is absent from Modern English because its morphological system does not create it.

The last type of ambiguity I should like to discuss is concerned with two nouns in the genitive, for example:

(20) *we hedað þæra crumena ðæs hlafes*
 we heed the gen. pl crumb gen. pl the gen. sg loaf gen. sg
 (CH 70/108)
 'we take the crumbs of the bread'

(21) *and þære gastlican lare haligra gewrita*
 and the spiritual knowledge holy gen. pl writing gen. pl
brucað
 approach (CH 70/108)
 'and (they) approach the spiritual learning of the writings
 (the bible)'

The demonstrative pronouns *þæra* and *ðæs* are in the genitive plural and singular, respectively, and so are their heads (*crumena* gen. pl and *hlafes* gen. sg). There is no other structural interpretation possible; the markers are clear and transparent, the functions of these genitives are, unfortunately, less so, since there is nothing in the phrase that would tell us which genitive functions as the modifier and which one functions as the head. This is caused by the

selectional features of the verb *hedan* which takes its object in the genitive. It seems that *þæra crumena* is modified by *ðæs hlafes*, and not the other way round, because it is closer positionally to the verb. But it is a weak argument since the verb can be separated from its object by a genitival phrase, as in

(22) *ac he ne geswac na to gemenigfyldenne þæra*
 but he not cease no to multiply the gen. pl
gesceafta æftergengnyssa (CH 118/279)
 creature gen. pl succession
 'but he did not cease extending the successions of the creatures'

æftergengnyssa is structurally ambiguous because it is a feminine noun and the ending *-a* can express the relations of nominative, genitive and accusative plural⁷. That it is used in the accusative plural is indirectly indicated by the inflected infinitive *to gemenigfyldenne* which takes an object in the accusative. Here a formally opaque construction becomes semantically clear when additional aspects are considered. To return to the ambiguity of the genitive in sentence (20), the meaning is provided by the context in which we read that the dogs eat crumbs which fall from their lord's table: so it is the 'crumbs' not the 'bread' that is spoken about. Besides, 'crumbs' are normally understood as parts of bread, having the property of bread, bread crumbs — a reverse interpretation, i.e. the bread having the property of crumbs, crumb bread, is less obvious, though not absolutely impossible.

The other example posits similar difficulties when the function is being explained. Structurally these are genitival phrases one of which is the head, the other the modifier; the presence of the head in genitive is conditioned by the verb *brucan*. Taking the word order into consideration it is the genitive which immediately precedes the other one that has the attributive function. This, however, is not true in the case of example (20). In this way *haligra gewrita* would be the object of *brucan* and the head of *gastlican lare*, which interpretation would mean that they approach the holy writings of spiritual knowledge. Again the context would rather imply a different meaning, e.g.

we understandað þæt gastlice angit þæra boca (CH 70/110)

(we) etað þa cruman his gastlican lare (CH 70/117)

and it is the holy, spiritual learning of the writings that is meant here. The semantic interpretation of the genitival phrase, based partly on the context and the knowledge of the Bible and on its exegesis seems to favour this interpretation. A formally opaque construction becomes semantically more transparent when additional aspects are considered.

⁷ Abstract nouns in Old English are frequently used in concrete nonabstract senses and this is the reason why they appear in plural. This subject requires thorough research which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Thus far we have seen that in Old English it does not seem possible to account for the ambiguity of two genitives in strictly syntactic terms. This constitutes an interesting difference between Old English and Modern English. In general, in Modern English an ambiguous structure of this type does not appear: the relations of property of N are expressed by *of* followed by N, and the linear word ordering is significant.

To summarize, both systems, i.e. Old English and Modern English provide for actual ambiguity of two nouns which remain in genitival relations (picture nouns) and neither of them includes a system of interpretational devices which would unambiguously explicate only one, i.e. the intended, meaning. Mitchell's idea of treating such a genitive phrase as having two meanings at the same time has been rejected as untenable. Second, a case marking system, comparatively rich in Old English and almost non-existent in Modern English can also cause a possibility of ambiguity. However, this type is characteristic of Old English only. Third, there does not seem to be any formal evidence that ambiguity, typical of certain noun configurations, is formalizable. Any theory dealing with ambiguity must permit a consideration of linguistic context and a broad nonlinguistic knowledge. To do this, particularly when a historical text is analysed, we have to make use of all possible methods and devices, additionally supported by a plausible linguistic theory devised for contemporary data.

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O FUNKCJONOWANIU ZDAŃ PYTAJNYCH NA MATERIALE JĘZYKA ROSYJSKIEGO I POLSKIEGO

1. Nawiązując do zainteresowań Wielce Szanownego Jubilata, a w szczególności do jego monografii i artykułów poświęconych problematyce pytań w języku angielskim, pragniemy w pracy niniejszej przedstawić niektóre nasze uwagi dotyczące funkcjonowania zdań (wypowiedzeń) pytajnych (WP) we współczesnym języku rosyjskim w porównaniu z językiem polskim¹. Przedmiotem rozważań będą wypowiedzenia formalnie pytajne ujmowane z punktu widzenia tej roli komunikatywnej, jaką pełnią w tekście. Analiza ta zmierzać będzie do wyjaśnienia następujących kwestii istotnych, naszym zdaniem, dla funkcjonowania WP w tekście, a więc: składu i ilości funkcji WP, wzajemnych relacji między tymi funkcjami, realizacji syntaktycznej tych funkcji oraz zasięgu użycia WP w ich poszczególnych funkcjach. Jako materiał do analizy posłużyły nam oryginalne teksty dwóch utworów dramatycznych, zbliżonych pod względem tematycznym, chronologicznym i objętościowym, mianowicie: sztuka radzieckiego pisarza Leonida Leonowa *Naszestwie* (*Najazd*) i sztuka Leona Kruczkowskiego *Niemcy*². Z tych utworów został dokonany pełny wybór WP.

Przedstawione niżej obserwacje mają charakter wstępny. Służyć mają sprawdzeniu pewnych wysuniętych przez nas przypuszczeń. Uważamy jednak, iż mogą one okazać się przydatne do gruntowniejszych badań typologicznych dotyczących zdań pytajnych w językach słowiańskich.

¹ W niniejszym artykule wykorzystujemy materiał polski, opracowany przez nas i przedstawiony w konfrontacji z językiem białoruskim w artykule *O funkcjonowaniu woprosiitelnych priedloženi* (na materiale białoruskiego i polskiego języków).

² Leonow L. 1971. *Naszestwie*. W: *Proza, p'jesy, riecz*. Moskwa s. 261-328; Kruczkowski L. 1977. *Niemcy*. W: *Dramaty*. Warszawa s. 6-77.

2. Mówiąc o funkcjach WP, używamy tego terminu w jego szerokim, celowym rozumieniu, które zostało zdefiniowane przez przedstawicieli szkoły praskiej. Rozumienie to wskazuje, że funkcja jest to przeznaczenie, rola, cel zastosowania jednostek językowych (Jarcewa 1985). Z tego stanowiska rozróżniane są funkcje prymarne (podstawowe) i sekundarne (transpozycyjne). W odniesieniu do WP chodzi więc o te funkcje komunikatywne WP, które odpowiadają różnym typom wyrażanych przez nie działań (czynności) językowych. A wiadomo przecież, iż wypowiedzenia o formie pytajnej mogą wyrażać nie tylko pytania (jest to ich funkcja prymarna), lecz również powiadomienia, pobudzenia itd. (są to ich funkcje wtórne).

Należy założyć, iż w językach pokrewnych genetycznie i typologicznie, jakimi są język rosyjski i polski, funkcjonowanie WP w tekście powinno być w zasadzie podobne, czyli WP powinny występować w swych funkcjach pierwotnych i wtórnych. Jednakże nie można tego uznać za dowód pełnej tożsamości zachowania się WP, ponieważ funkcje, które one spełniają, w obu językach mogą się różnić pod względem jakościowym i ilościowym, mogą mieć także odmienną realizację syntaktyczną, inny zasięg użycia. Poza tym, i to jest warte podkreślenia, wzajemne relacje tych funkcji w tekście, czyli stosunki między podstawowym i transpozycyjnym użyciem, mogą być odmienne. Właśnie te przypuszczenia chcemy sprawdzić i potwierdzić, opierając się na znacznym materiale empirycznym.

3. Punkt wyjścia naszych dalszych rozważań i interpretacji materiału stanowić będą następujące założenia:

- podstawowym zadaniem komunikatywnym WP jest wyjaśnienie niewiadomej w sytuacji (lub wyrażenie pytania – według innej konwencji teoretycznej). Jest to prymarna funkcja WP. Właśnie obecność tego celu komunikatywnego w wypowiedzeniach formalnie pytajnych odróżnia pytania właściwe od pytań niewłaściwych;

- znaczenie niewiadomej, jej struktura są różne. Zależą od treści niewiadomej (nieznana cecha, czynność itd.) i stopnia nieznanania niewiadomej. Na podstawie tych kryteriów wyróżniamy 5 typów niewiadomej i odpowiednio 5 typów pytań;

- przy konfrontacji rosyjskich i polskich WP przyjmujemy właśnie klasyfikację pytań według struktury niewiadomej (por. także Bryzgunowa 1977, s. 130–157 i Pisarek 1981).

Należy zaznaczyć, że o ile rozróżnienie typów pytań właściwych według przyjętej klasyfikacji nie nastręcza większych kłopotów, o tyle zasadnicze odgraniczenie pytań właściwych od niewłaściwych jest utrudnione, gdyż granica między podstawowym i transpozycyjnym użyciem WP jest często nieostra. Rozgraniczenie funkcji prymarnych i sekundarnych jest trudne ze względu na użycia przejściowe, na częste osłabienie pytalności wypowiedzenia

zabarwionego różnymi odcieniami modalnymi (Szwiedowa 1980). Stąd też ustalenie funkcji WP w tekście nie zawsze wydaje się zupełnie oczywiste i wymaga przede wszystkim uwzględnienia pozycji WP, jego powiązań znaczeniowych z kontekstem, obecności (lub nieobecności) odpowiedzi.

Dalsze trudności interpretacyjne powstają w trakcie dyferencjacji semantycznej funkcji wtórnych WP, ich rozróżniania i określania. Jest to również spowodowane różnorodnością i bogactwem znaczeń i odcieni modalnych WP w ich użyciu wtórnym. Trudności wynikają też z braku w dotychczasowych opisach pełnego zestawu funkcji wtórnych WP oraz z braku zasad ich konsekwentnej klasyfikacji.

Przy interpretacji i systematyzacji naszego materiału okazały się przydatne niektóre założenia klasyfikacji wtórnych funkcji WP zawarte w *Akademickiej gramatyce rosyjskiej* (1980).

4. Przechodząc do analizy danych empirycznych (282 przykłady w języku rosyjskim, 266 przykładów w języku polskim), od razu stwierdzamy, iż w obu językach WP w zdecydowanej większości wypadków pełnią swą funkcję pierwotną (w języku rosyjskim 241 przykładów, w języku polskim 210 przykładów).

4.1. W materiale rosyjskim WP w funkcji prymarnej stanowią 85% całości przykładów. Odnajdujemy tu wszystkie typy pytań zgodnie z przyjętą klasyfikacją według niewiadomej. Dwie największe liczebnie grupy stanowią pytania III i I typu.

III typ pytań (102 przykłady, 42,3%), czyli takie pytania, w których jednakowo nie znany jest fakt obecności lub nieobecności czynności, stanu, cechy, reprezentowany jest przez WP bez pytajnego wyrazu zaimkowego (WZ), np.:

(1) [Fiedor:] *Mat' jeszcze igrajet?* [Olga:] Riedko. (s. 267).

Tego typu konstrukcje znajdujemy w 100 przykładach. W pojedynczych przykładach (tylko w dwóch) występują konstrukcje z WZ, np.:

(2) [Fiedor:] *Wrzgoworje-to oni kak, obchoditielnye?* [Aniska:] Niczego, w obszczem obchoditielnye. (s. 269).

I typ pytań stanowi grupę nieco mniejszą (99 przykładów, 41,7%). Są to takie pytania, w których wszystkie możliwe człony szeregu niewiadomych są jednakowo nie znane. Ten typ jest wyrażany przede wszystkim konstrukcjami z WZ (92 przykłady), które zastępują szereg możliwych, lecz jednakowo nie znanych członów, np.:

(3) [Aniska:] *Czto dielat' – to nado?* [Anna Nikolajewna:] Pribieri posudu, diewoczka... (s. 280).

Mogą to być konstrukcje bardziej złożone, w których skład wchodzi dodatkowe człony jednorodne, ograniczające szereg niewiadomych do kilku członów, np.:

(4) [Talanow:] *Eto kogo że ubiedit? Szpurre, d'jawola ili Archangielskij sobor?* [Fajunin:] Niet, a ctogo samego, Andrieja. (s. 268).

Jednakże ten typ pytania może być wyrażony również przez konstrukcję bez WZ (7 przykładów), np.:

(5) [Anna Nikolajewna:] *Razogriet' tiebie ili otca s obiedom podozdiesz?* [Olga:] Spasibo, ja w szkole zawtrakala. (s. 264).

W takich wypadkach niewiadoma jest wyrażana przez WP składające się z kilku zdań lub kilku wyrazów, z których każde stanowi jeden z członów szeregu, jednakowo nie znanych.

Znacznie mniej przykładów (36 przykładów, 15%) stanowią pytania II typu, czyli takie pytania, w których jeden z członów szeregu niewiadomych jest najbardziej prawdopodobny. Ten typ pytania przeważnie jest reprezentowany przez konstrukcje bez WZ (31 przykładów), może również być wyrażony i wypowiedzeniami z WZ (5 przykładów), np.:

(6) [Anna Nikolajewna:] *O czym że wam miecztajetsia? Nie o synie li?* [Kokoryszkin:] Moi miecztanija bolsze wsio iz obłasti sielskiego chozajstwa. (s. 276).

(7) [Mosalskij:] *Eto wy strielali w giermanskogo komiendanta?* [Fiedor:] Prieźdie wsiego ja proszu ubrat' otsiuda postoronnich. (s. 310).

Pytania innych typów są przedstawione w tekście przez pojedyncze przykłady: IV typ – 2 przykłady, V typ – 1 przykład.

4.2. W tekście polskim WP stanowią mniejszą grupę (210 przykładów, 79% wszystkich wypowiedzeń o formie pytajnej), niż w tekście rosyjskim.

Pod względem ilościowym największą grupę stanowią pytania I typu (91 przykładów, 43,3%). W naszym materiale ten typ pytania jest reprezentowany przez konstrukcje z WZ, np.:

(8) [Sonnenbruch:] *...Dlaczego pan się nie przebrał przychodząc tutaj?* [Hoppe:] Przepisy, panie profesorze. (s. 38).

Na drugim miejscu znajdują się pytania III typu (83 przykłady, 39,5%) wyrażane konstrukcjami bez WZ, np.:

(9) [Willi:] *Czy w biologii, ojciec, nie się nie zmieniło od trzydziestu lat?* [Sonnenbruch:] Owszem, niejedno. (s. 43).

Znacznie mniej jest przykładów pytań II typu (29 przykładów, 13,8%), reprezentowanych przez konstrukcje bez WZ, np.:

(10) [Sonnenbruch:] *Tan mały to, zdaje się, pana najstarszy?* [Hoppe:] Najstarszy. Skończył trzynaście, panie profesorze. (s. 39).

I wreszcie niewielką grupę stanowią pytania IV typu, w których niewiadoma jest określana przez poprzedni znany już człon szeregu (4 przykłady). Wyrażane są takie pytania zazwyczaj zdaniami niepełnymi (równoważnikami zdań) ze spójnikiem przeciwstawnym *a* np.:

(11) [Willi:] *Gdzie Antoni?* [Ruth:] Zapewne siedzi w schronie. [Willi:] *A tamten?* (drwiąco) Czy także siedzi w schronie? (s. 62).

4.3. Analiza danych empirycznych pozwala na wyciągnięcie następujących wniosków. W rosyjskim i polskim tekście dialogowym największą frekwencję wykazują pytania I i III typu. Natomiast typ IV i V należą do rzadko spotykanych. Pewne różnice między językiem rosyjskim i polskim przejawiają się w relacjach ilościowych poszczególnych typów pytań oraz składzie pytań (por. tab. 1 – N oznacza liczbę przykładów).

Tabela 1.

Język		Typ				
		I	II	III	IV	V
Rosyjski	N	99	36	102	2	1
	%	41,7	14,9	42,3		
Polski	N	91	29	83	4	
	%	43,3	13,8	39,5	2	

5. Przystępując do omawiania funkcji wtórnych WP, należy jeszcze raz zaznaczyć, iż zdecydowaną większość wypadków stanowią WP w ich funkcji pierwotnej. Jednakże wzajemna relacja WP w tych obu funkcjach jest w każdym języku odmienna (por. tab. 2 – N oznacza liczbę przykładów).

Tabela 2.

Język		WP		
		razem	w funkcji I	w funkcji II
Rosyjski	N	282	241	41
	%	100	85,46	14,5
Polski	N	266	210	56
	%	100	79	21

5.1. W tekście rosyjskim WP w użyciu transpozycyjnym stanowią stosunkowo nieliczną grupę (41 przykładów). Natomiast funkcje, które mogą pełnić w tekście, są różnorodne i odpowiadają różnym typom działań językowych. Największą grupę stanowią wypowiedzenia w funkcji żądającej – żądania, prośby, pobudzenia do działania (15 przykładów) np.:

(12) [Kokoryszkin:] *Mietieloczki u was nie najdietsia?* Pyl obmiesti. [Olga:] Konieczno (podaje mu szcetku). (s. 291).

Przytoczony przykład jest dosyć typowym wyrażeniem prośby w języku rosyjskim za pomocą WP z czasownikiem egzystencjalnym w czasie przyszłym (Arutiunowa, Szirajew 1983).

[13] [Anna Nikolajewna:] *Czto ż ty stoisz?* Sadis', piej czaj, raz przisła. (s. 291), (żądanie).

Do tej grupy zaliczamy również pytania, stojące na pograniczu z żądaniem, takie jak:

(14) [Mosalskij:] *Wasze zwanije, sosłowije, zaniatije?* [Fiedor:] *Ja russkij, zaszcziszczaju rodzinu.* (s. 311).

Wypowiedzenia tego typu (12-14) są nazywane w niektórych pracach pytaniami stymulatywnymi (Wąsik 1979), wypowiedzeniami pytajno-pobudzającymi (Winogradow 1960).

Następną dość liczną grupę (11 przykładów) stanowią WP w funkcji zaprzeczenia, często o zabarwieniu emocjonalnym (oburzenie, zdziwienie itd.), np.:

[15] [Fiedor:] *Sprawiedliwość? A k tiebie, k tiebie samomu sprawiedliwy oni, kotorych ty lecził tridcat' let?* (s. 271).

Jest to pozornie pozytywna konstatacja przeciwnego.

(16) [Anna Nikolajewna:] *Zaczem że wy nas pugajetie, Fajunin?* [Fajunin:] *Czem tiebia, choziajuszka, ptacha siraja ispugat' możet, czem?* (s. 281).

W przytoczonych przykładach jest zawarta odpowiedź przecząca na postawione pytanie.

WP mogą pełnić funkcję stwierdzenia, konstatacji (7 przykładów), np.:

(17) [Tałow:] *A, Fiedor! Wiernulsia w otcziz dom?* Otliczno. (s. 270).

(18) [Fajunin:] *Da u was gosti, okazujajetsia?* [Anna Nikolajewna:] *Gosti i radost', Nikolaj Sergeicz.* (s. 298).

Nieliczną grupę (6 przykładów) stanowią WP w funkcji reakcji emocjonalnej (oburzenie, ironia itd.), np.:

(19) [Fajunin:] *W naczalniki mietit twój prijatiel?* *Da on w swoim umie?* (s. 300).

(20) [Anna Nikolajewna:] *Podlec ... Kak tiebie nie stydno!* (s. 296).

W ostatnim przykładzie interpunkcyjnie jest zaznaczony charakter niepytajny wypowiedzenia.

Wśród reakcji można wyodrębnić powtórzenia wyrażające stosunek negatywny do treści poprzedniego wypowiedzenia:

(21) [Tałow:]... *Eto – sprawiedliwość k ludzi!* [Fiedor:] *Sprawiedliwość? Obożaju eti wsie mirnyje lekarstwa ...* (s. 271).

Funkcję tę pełnią wypowiedzenia o różnej konstrukcji – z WZ i bez nich.

I wreszcie pojedyncze przykłady (2) innych użyć, przeważnie w funkcji fatycznej, dla podtrzymania kontaktu językowego między N i O (Tak poлагajetie? A nie proszcie?).

Jak wynika z przedstawionych obserwacji, w rosyjskim tekście można wyodrębnić następujące funkcje wtórne WP według ich frekwencji: 1) żądania, 2) zaprzeczenia, 3) stwierdzenia (konstatacje), 4) reakcje emocjonalne.

5.2. W materiale polskim (56 przykładów) WP są bardziej zróżnicowane pod względem funkcjonalnym niż w rosyjskim.

Największą grupę (12 przykładów) stanowią tak zwane powtórzenia. Ich funkcję można określić jako upewnienie, chociaż bardziej adekwatne wydaje się nam określenie rosyjskie 'ujasnienije'. Chodzi bowiem o uzmysłowienie

sobie, poprzez powtórzenie, sensu poprzedniego wypowiedzenia. Powtórzenia mogą mieć dodatkowe zabarwienie modalne (np. negatywny stosunek do poprzedniej informacji, pytania, czynności).

(22) [Ruth:] *Mój upominek dla ciebie. Przywiozłam z Francji.* [Sonnenbruch:] *Przywiozłaś z Francji?* *Bardzo ci dziękuję, że pamiętałaś o mnie, ale ... zabierz to sobie z powrotem.* (s. 34).

(23) [Sonnenbruch:] *Zdaje się, że zajechały samochody.* [Ruth:] *Samochody? Ja jestem gotowa.* (s. 50).

Pod względem swej budowy są powtórzeniami całej poprzedniej wypowiedzi lub jej części.

Taką samą grupę ilościową stanowią różnego rodzaju reakcje emocjonalne na poprzednią wypowiedź lub czynność:

(24) [Sonnenbruch zrozpaczony:] *Coś ty zrobiła, Liesel?* *Na miłość boską! Coś ty zrobiła?* (s. 65).

(25) [Oficer wstaje zirytowany:] *Oszalała pani, Ruth?* (s. 31).

Wśród reakcji można wyodrębnić powtórzenia emocjonalne, np.:

(26) [Ruth:] *Co ty chcesz zrobić, Willi?* [Willi:] *Jak to, co? Zawiadamiam policję.* (s. 52).

(27) [Sonnenbruch:] *Tego człowieka tu nie ma.* [Urzędnik:] *Jak to: nie ma? Ale przecież był!* (s. 66).

W funkcji reakcji emocjonalnych występują przeważnie wypowiedzenia z WZ.

Mniejszą ilościowo grupę (9 przykładów) stanowią WP w funkcji szeroko pojętego zaprzeczenia, np.:

(28) [Liesel:] *Śmieszny, stary człowieku! Co ty wiesz o okrucieństwie!* (s. 66).

(29) [Joachim:] *Proszę powiedzieć: dlaczego pani to robi?* [Ruth:] *Czy ja wiem? Przywykłam robić w życiu to, co chcę.* (s. 61).

W funkcji żądającej (żądania, pobudzenia, prośby) występuje następna grupa WP (8 przykładów), np.:

(30) [Sonnenbruch:] *Ruth, czy nie przesłabyś się ze mną do ogrodu?* (s. 36).

(31) [Gefreiter:] *Pozwoli mi pan odejść, panie majorze?* (s. 31).

Przykłady (30-31) wyrażają prośby (o wykonanie czynności lub o pozwolenie). W (32) zawarte jest żądanie:

(32) [Willi:] *Czemu Antoni jeszcze stoi? Proszę odejść!* (s. 66).

Jak wskazują przykłady, funkcję żądającą pełnią WP z WZ i bez niego. WP w tekście mogą pełnić funkcję różnego rodzaju stwierdzeń, konstatacji (7 przykładów):

(35) [Willi:] *Samochody przyjadą za dwadzieścia minut. Jesteś, zdaje się, zupełnie gotowa, mamo?* *Ja oczywiście jadę z tobą,* (s. 42).

(34) [Sonnenbruch:] *Myszę, że nie pogardzi pan kieliszkiem orzechowego likieru?* (Nalewa) (s. 38).

W osobną grupę wyodrębniamy stwierdzenia ekspresywne (4 przy-

kłady), które są zbliżone do normalnych stwierdzeń czy konstatacji, lecz różnią się od nich pod względem formalnym (obecność partykuły negatywnej) i sposobem wyrażania stwierdzenia, a mianowicie: jest to zaprzeczona konstatacja czegoś przeciwnego, np:

(35) [Ruth:] Nie krzycz na nią ojciec. *Nie widzisz, że ona jest chora z nienawiści?* (s. 63) (stwierdzenie 'przecież widzisz').

(36) [Willi:] Słuchaj no! *Czy nie za dużo tych 'porządných'?* Radzę ci jak najmniej wtrącać się do tych spraw. (s. 16) ('za dużo')

I wreszcie spotykamy pojedyncze przykłady innych użyc WP, przeważnie konstrukcji wtrąconych typu: cóż z tego? jak by ci to powiedzieć?

Jak wynika z przedstawionej analizy, w tekście polskim można wyodrębnić następujące funkcje wtórne WP według ich frekwencji: upewnienia, reakcje emocjonalne, zaprzeczenia, żądania, stwierdzenia (konstatacje), stwierdzenia ekspresywne.

6. Dla poznania warunków funkcjonowania WP istotne jest ustalenie możliwości pozycyjnych WP w ich użyciu podstawowym i przenośnym, czyli wyjaśnienie tego, czy istnieją jakiegokolwiek ograniczenia związane z ich dystrybucją w tekście (dyskursie).

W tekście dialogowym wyodrębniamy następujące pozycje istotne dla funkcjonowania WP: samodzielne (stymulujące) i nawiązujące (reagujące). Poza tym pozycja nawiązująca może być powiązana z pytaniem lub stwierdzeniem (Szwiedowa 1960).

6.1. Jak wskazuje materiał empiryczny, w obydwu językach WP w swej funkcji prymarnej może zajmować wszystkie wymienione wyżej pozycje, mianowicie: w składzie repliki stymulującej, w składzie repliki — reakcji na pytania, w składzie repliki — reakcji na stwierdzenie (pomijamy tu materiał ilustrujący, aby uniknąć nadmiernej rozbudowy tej części pracy). Przypuszczalnie nie istnieją pewne ograniczenia dla pytań V typu, lecz znikoma liczba przykładów nie pozwala na wyciągnięcie odpowiednich wniosków.

6.2. Pozycyjne możliwości WP w funkcjach wtórnych są uzależnione od charakteru tych funkcji.

W składzie repliki stymulującej (pozycja samodzielna) WP pełnią funkcje stwierdzenia, zaprzeczenia, żądania, reakcji emocjonalnej (na czyjeś zachowanie), a w języku polskim jeszcze i stwierdzenia ekspresywnego.

W składzie repliki — reakcji na pytanie używane są WP w funkcji zaprzeczenia lub żądania, a w języku polskim jeszcze w funkcji reakcji emocjonalnej i stwierdzenia ekspresywnego.

W składzie repliki — reakcji na stwierdzenie WP w języku rosyjskim pełnią funkcje reakcji emocjonalnej i zaprzeczenia, zaś w języku polskim — funkcje stwierdzenia (w tym stwierdzenia ekspresywnego), zaprzeczenia, reakcji emocjonalnej, upewnienia.

Z przedstawionych wyżej obserwacji wynika, iż tylko w funkcji zaprzeczenia WP w tekście rosyjskim występują we wszystkich trzech pozycjach, natomiast w tekście polskim taki zasięg cechuje WP w funkcjach zaprzeczenia, stwierdzenia ekspresywnego i reakcji emocjonalnej. Oznacza to, iż w przebadanych tekstach nie ma ograniczeń dystrybucyjnych dla WP w wymienionych funkcjach. Natomiast tylko w pozycji nawiązującej występują WP w funkcji upewnienia. WP w funkcji żądań występuje w 2 pozycjach w tekście rosyjskim i w 1 pozycji w tekście polskim. Czyli istnieją pewne ograniczenia dystrybucyjne dla poszczególnych funkcji wtórnych WP.

Wymienione właściwości pozycyjne określają zasięg użycia WP w ich funkcjach pierwotnych i wtórnych w każdym z tekstów.

7. Konfrontacja rosyjskich i polskich WP z punktu widzenia ich funkcjonowania w tekście pozwala na wyciągnięcie pewnych wniosków potwierdzających nasze pierwotne przypuszczenia.

Otóż zasadnicze podobieństwo obu języków przejawia się w następujących cechach:

1) WP występuje w swych funkcjach pierwotnych i wtórnych przy przeważającym użyciu WP w ich funkcji pierwotnej i przy największej frekwencji pytań III i I typu w tekście rosyjskim, I i III typu w tekście polskim;

2) funkcje wtórne zazwyczaj spełniają te WP, które w swym podstawowym użyciu są pytaniami I i III typu;

3) do pełnienia funkcji prymarnych i wtórnych są predysponowane dwie konstrukcje składniowe — z WZ i bez niego.

Zaobserwowane rozbieżności świadczące o specyfice funkcjonowania WP w każdym z języków dotyczą:

- 1) relacji wzajemnych użycia pierwotnego i wtórnego WP;
- 2) częstotliwości różnych typów WP, a także ich składu;
- 3) realizacji syntaktycznej I typu pytań w tekście rosyjskim;
- 4) składu i ilości funkcji wtórnych WP, relacji wzajemnych tych funkcji i zasięgu użycia poszczególnych funkcji wtórnych WP.

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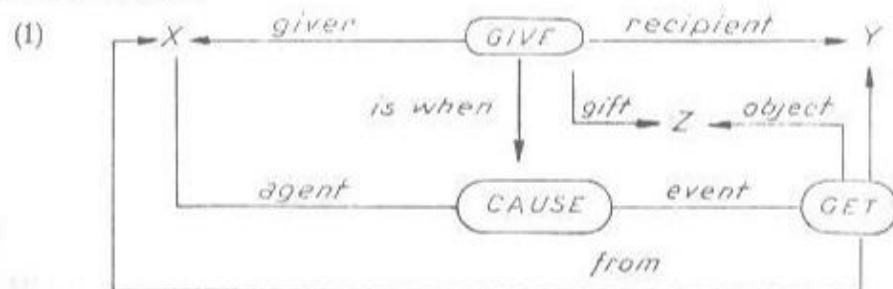
REMARKS ON WHO GIVES WHAT TO WHOM IN ENGLISH

The present paper is concerned with the English verb *give*. It aims to examine its meaning and use within the framework of cognitive semantics (Fillmore 1977a, b; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1982, 1985). According to this approach, natural language semantics is based on understanding, i.e. on Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) (cf. Lakoff 1982) used to comprehend experience. ICMs can be roughly characterized as chunks of structured knowledge, of varying size and complexity, applied to facilitate understanding. In keeping with this premise, we assume that speakers of English have in their minds a cognitive model of giving which represents a prototypic scene of giving. It is against this holistic model that the meaning of the verb *give* is to be characterized, and its different uses comprehended. This view on meaning in natural language contrasts sharply with the definitinal approach to meaning of words, which is based on the assumption that for each word there is a core meaning and an array of additional senses, all obligatorily including the core meaning. Fillmore's slogan (1977a) that "meanings are relativized to scenes" gives in a nutshell the essence of the view on meaning adopted in the present paper. If we know, in one way or another, what giving is, then, given that knowledge we can know exactly what the verb *give* means.

The assumption that meaning in natural language is characterized in terms of ICMs has determined the contents and order of discussion in the present paper. We shall proceed in the following manner: first, the details of the ICM of giving will be elaborated and a coherent holistic model constructed, next, various shortcomings of definitinal attempts to define the meaning of the verb *give* will be indicated. In order to describe the model of giving with its relevant relationship and entities, we shall take as a starting point Rumelhart and Ortony's (1977) proposal in this respect. We believe that a more adequate mental model of giving will emerge from our discussion.

1. THE IDEALIZED COGNITIVE MODEL OF GIVING

Rumelhart and Ortony (1977:102-103) proposed to represent the network of relationships holding among the participants of the giving scene as in the following diagram:



Here, the encircled term GIVE represents the name of the scene. The pointer labelled 'is when' indicates the internal structure of the scene. The variables *x*, *y*, *z* are pointed to by arrows labelled 'giver', 'recipient' and 'gift', respectively. The encircled terms CAUSE and GET represent subscenes. The arrows pointing from the subscenes show how the variables of the scene relate to those of the subscene. Thus the 'giver' of the GIVE scene is the agent of the CAUSE subscene. The GET subscene plays the role of the caused event for the CAUSE subscene.

We suggest that the above proposal at best represents the core of the cognitive model of giving. As we shall attempt to demonstrate below, giving involves a whole network of other relationships as well, such as temporal, spatial, volitional, etc., in addition to the causative relation recognized by Rumelhart and Ortony.

One of the relevant aspects that the above model of giving disregards is that giving, like any other kind of action, takes place in time and space. More specifically, the 'giver' and the 'recipient' have to be in the same place at the same time for the event of giving to take place. The examination of the examples (2) through (6) will, hopefully, demonstrate that giving is indeed an action that presupposes the unity of time and place. Consider the following sentence:

- (2) John gave Mary a book.

At first glance, the two unities are not immediately evident, which is mainly due to the fact that the 'giver' and the 'recipient' are coded by the proper nouns *John* and *Mary*, respectively. The situation changes radically with the sentence like the following one, where the two relevant roles are encoded by common nouns.

- (3) The teacher gave a ruler to each pupil.

Here the three NPs, i.e. *the teacher*, *a ruler* and *each pupil*, evoke and key into a classroom scene which ensures the unity of place. Giving a ruler, presumably for the purpose of solving some geometrical problem can take place during a lesson of mathematics, which, in turn, warrants the unity of time.

The postulated unities of time and place become even more conspicuous in the following example:

- (4) John gave Mary his flue.

It is a piece of common knowledge that to become infected with flue one has to get, coincidentally, in contact with another person already having it. For this to occur, both individuals have to find themselves in the same place at the same time.

The giving described by sentence (5)

- (5) Bill gave Paul a dig in the ribs.

is even more unimaginable without the 'giver' and the 'recipient' having the same temporal and spatial location. The presence of the two unities in question is additionally underlined by the implied physical contact of the two individuals.

Even more compelling evidence is provided by the following example:

- (6) Her smile gave Jane an attractive appearance.

Here, both *her smile* and *an attractive appearance* encode Jane's attributes. Since in the real world Jane and her smile never go separately, therefore they are always present in the same place at the same time. The same holds true for Jane and her appearance.

Concluding the above considerations, we suggest that the unity of time and the unity of place are essential elements of the situation of giving. As a corollary, they should be incorporated into the ICM of giving. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the unities in question are prerequisites of giving rather than the essential aspects of giving itself. These essential aspects, i.e. the core of giving will be discussed below.

Generally speaking, giving involves a change of state in which the 'giver' and the 'recipient' find themselves at the time prior to the very act of giving to another state, at which the 'giver' and the 'recipient' find themselves at the time posterior to the act of giving. The details of the initial and the final states become clear if one examines relevant presuppositions and implications of *give* sentences. Notice that the sentence *John gave Mary a book* presupposes that at the time prior to the act of giving John had a book in his possession and Mary did not have same book; it simultaneously implies that at the time posterior to the act of giving John did not have the book any longer, while Mary had it in her possession then. The individual responsible for the change is the 'giver' (*John*); it is out of his own will that he brings about the change described above.

One of the deficiencies of Rumelhart and Ortony's model is that it specifies neither the initial and goal state, nor the fact that the change involved in giving is a primary responsibility of the 'giver'¹.

What the above discussion leaves unexplained is how the goal-state is achieved, a deficiency also displayed by Rumelhart and Ortony's model. A relevant aspect of the verb *give* is that it codes displacement of the 'gift' in space, or more specifically, it codes the 'gift's' transfer from the 'giver' to the 'recipient', willfully brought about by the 'giver'. In other words, the 'gift' changes one possessor for another. Elaborating this idea, Lindner (1983:170) says that "*give* codes one object's translocation from within a neighbourhood of possession to some goal outside this neighbourhood [...]". In Lindner's proposal, possession is constructed as an abstract region, i.e. neighbourhood of possession, such that items owned are in it, as evidenced by constructions like the following one

- (7) I have it in my possession.

Equipped with Lindner's concept of possession, we suggest that the prototypic giving involves a physical movement on the part of the 'gift' out of one person's neighbourhood of possession into someone else's neighbourhood of possession. Such prototypical cases are represented by constructions like *John gave Mary a book*, which encode a human 'giver' and 'recipient' and a concrete 'gift'. Metaphorically speaking, in such constructions the 'gift' traces a path between two extreme points, the initial ('out of...') and the end point ('into...'). The recognition of these two path-ends is relevant in view of *give* constructions of a less prototypic type, which code the 'gift's' movement out of one person's neighbourhood of possession only, as exemplified by the following sentences:

- (8) a. Mary gave a scream.
b. The announcer gave a loud cough.
c. Pam gave a sigh of despair.
d. The wheat gives a good croap.
e. This lamp gives a good light.
f. Cows give milk.

It is necessary to indicate that in giving there is another type of displacement involved too, disregarded in Rumelhart and Ortony's model. Dixon (1982) and Lindner (1983) underlie the transferring of ownership from one person to another as an inherent element of giving. This time it is not a concrete entity that undergoes a physical displacement in space but rather abstract privilege of possession, i.e. ownership. Thus what accompanies the

¹ All this information can, possibly, be inferred from Rumelhart and Ortony's model.

displacement of the 'gift' is a transfer of the abstract entity, i.e. ownership, for which no movement in space is possible, strictly speaking. The transfer of an abstract entity as such is not a novelty since numerous *give* constructions explicitly verbalize as 'gifts' all sorts of abstract concepts, as in the following examples:

- (9) a. The explosion gave Wendy a fright.
b. Her mouth gives Rita sex appeal.
c. John gave Mary a lot of affection.
d. He gave me his word for it.

An important point is that having ownership of some entity implies, among other things, having the right and power to transport it into someone else's neighbourhood of possession. Once in his possession, this other person acquires the control, right and power to do with this entity whatever he finds appropriate in the given situation. The range of options that he has at his disposal is constrained by numerous factors, such as the ontology of the entity, permanence of the transfer of ownership, etc. The following short text will, hopefully, illustrate and support our interpretation.

- (10) John bought a bunch of roses and gave them to Mary in apology for what he had done. Mary accepted the flowers rather reluctantly, and as soon as John was out of sight, she put them into the waste-basket.

The above text can be explicated in the following way. Acting appropriately to the context (*in apology for what he had done*), through buying them, John got a bunch of roses into his neighbourhood of possession (*John bought a bunch of roses*). Then, executing his right of ownership, he caused their transfer from his possession to Mary's neighbourhood of possession (*...and gave them to Mary*). Once the flowers were in her neighbourhood, Mary could execute the acquired, together with the 'gift', right of ownership, which she did (*she put them into the waste-basket*), acting appropriately to the context (*for what he had done; accepted reluctantly*).

The analyzed text contextualizes the sentence *John gave them to Mary*, therefore it is a relatively easy task to find out that giving does involve the transfer of ownership. On the whole, however, *give* constructions illustrate the 'giver's ownership of the 'gift', due to which he is entitled to transporting it out of his neighbourhood of possession into somebody else's neighbourhood. Such constructions are less clear as to whether there is also the same ownership on the part of the 'recipient'. It is mainly through the examination of contextualizations like (10) above that one finds out that this is indeed the case. However, we have noticed that English has one type of *give* constructions which seem to explicitly support our 'transfer of ownership'-interpretation. The constructions we have in mind are Catell's (1984) *Permissive Give Sentences*, illustrated by the following examples:

- (11) a. The captain gave Harry a kick at the ball.
 b. Richard gave Sue a look at the book.
 c. The teacher gave Harry a glance at the answers.

A relevant difference between these constructions and other types of *give* sentences is that their 'recipient' is simultaneously the agent of the action denoted by the nominalization following it².

What sentences (11a, b, c) presuppose is that the respective actions – kicking a ball, looking at the book, glancing at the answers – were originally in the 'givers' neighbourhood of possession. Due to their ownership, the 'givers' could either execute the actions themselves, or transfer the right of execution to someone else. For another person to perform the action, it has to be first in his neighbourhood of possession. Knowing this, the 'givers' caused transferring of the activities from their neighbourhoods to the 'recipients' neighbourhoods of possession, verbalizing the displacement as 'giving of the action'. That the 'recipients' did acquire the ownership of actions, here the right to execute these actions is evidenced by the respective implications of (11a, b, c), which are:

- (12) a. Harry kicked the ball.
 b. Sue looked at the book.
 c. Harry glanced at the answers.

We believe that, in the light of the presented evidence, our claim that giving involves the displacement of ownership of the 'gift', alongside the displacement of the 'gift' itself is sufficiently well motivated. In what follows, we shall take under scrutiny the concepts 'giver', 'recipient' and 'gift'.

As indicated above, the scene of giving has three variables: a 'giver', a 'recipient', and a 'gift', the names correctly characterizing an active role of the former and a passive role of the latter two. On different occasions these three variables take a wide range of different values, as evidenced by the data presented throughout the discussion. What matters, however, is the fact that while these variables may be coded by different NPs on different occasions, still the relationships internal to the scene of giving remain constant. In particular, the 'giver' will somehow cause the 'recipient' to get the 'gift', and in normal cases this is true regardless of the identity of the 'giver', 'recipient', or the nature of the 'gift'.

What are the consequences of the evident variability of the ontology of the 'giver', 'recipient', and the 'gift' for the ICM of giving to be constructed in the

² Syntactically, permissive-*give*-sentences involve Raising-to-Object transformation, followed by one of the nominalization rules. The deep structures of (11a, b, c) roughly correspond to:

- (1) The captain gave S [Harry kick the ball]
 (2) Richard gave S [Sue look at the book]
 (3) The teacher gave S [Harry glance at the answers]

present paper? In a number of works, Fillmore (1977a, b) and Lakoff (1982) argued that the categories in idealized cognitive models are natural categories in Rosch's sense (1973). If so, then the values to be associated with the three variables are the **prototypical values**. Thus, we claim that *give* tends to require the 'giver' to be a human being (capable of willful actions), but of course various abstract entities can give in much the same way as a person, such values, however, are less prototypical of which deviance is the source of prototype effects (Lakoff 1982). We argue that a typical 'recipient' is also a human being (capable of willful actions), while a prototypic 'gift' is usually a concrete object, easy to transport and dispose of. A prototypic *give* construction is represented by *John gave Mary a book*.

We are in a position now to specify the cognitive model of giving as a holistic structure governing our understanding of various activities as instances of giving. It should be obvious by now that Rumelhart and Ortony's proposal represents only a part of this structure. In our view, giving is essentially a willful change of one state into another state by doing something. Rumelhart and Ortony's model represents only certain details of the change itself. We suggest that the overall cognitive model of giving has the form of a **script** (Schank 1975), or a **prototype scenario** (Lakoff 1985) which involves there consecutive stages linked by temporal and causative connections. Here follows our idealized cognitive model of giving

The prototype scenario of giving

Participants: 'giver', 'recipient', 'gift'

Goal: transfer of 'gift' from 'giver' to 'recipient'

Linear sequence: temporal and causal links between consecutive stages

Stage 1: Initial state (t_1)

In the same place, at the same time (t_1) three relevant entities are assembled; the entities are capable of performing the roles of the 'giver', 'gift' and 'recipient'; there is a specific relationship holding between the 'giver' and the 'gift', which is not holding between the 'gift' and the 'recipient'; this relationship is of ownership – the 'giver' owns the 'gift'; because of this he has control over the 'gift', the rights and power to change the relationship of ownership between himself and the 'gift'; the 'giver' wants such a change to take place.

Stage 2: Giving (t_2)

Centre:

In the same place, at the same time (t_2) the 'giver' willingly causes the transfer of the 'gift' to the 'recipient'; by this he also causes the transfer of ownership to the 'recipient';

End:

because of that the 'recipient' comes to have the 'gift'; and also comes to be the owner of the 'gift' – the 'recipient' gets the 'gift' from the 'giver'.

Stage 3: Goal state (t_3)

In the same place, at the same time (t_3) there is a specific relationship holding between the 'recipient' and the 'gift', which is no longer holding between the 'gift' and the 'giver'; the relationship is of ownership – the 'recipient' owns the 'gift'; because of that the 'recipient' has control over the 'gift', the rights to it, and power over it.

As indicated above, the model we have proposed is more complex and detailed than Rumelhart and Ortony suggested. Giving involves a whole network of relations – causal, temporal, volitional, possessive, etc. If one ignores this network of relations, and takes notice only of the causal aspect of giving, then he is unable to give an adequate description of the cognitive model governing our understanding of the activity of giving. The model we have proposed can be viewed as an *experiential cluster* in the sense of Lakoff (1985), i.e. a complex structure, formed by the interaction of a number of cognitive models (causations, transfer, change, possession, location, time, space etc.), which is psychologically more basic than the models taken individually.

2. THE SHORTCOMINGS OF DEFINITIONAL ATTEMPTS TO SPECIFY THE MEANING OF GIVE

We now turn to the second issue of the present paper, i.e. the meaning of the verb *give*. In keeping with the assumptions of cognitive semantics the verb *give*, in all its uses, directly or indirectly, activates the scenario of giving. As a corollary, the problem of meaning of this lexical item as distinct from and additional to the ICM this word evokes does not arise in this framework. Since dictionaries do list definitions of the verb *give*, it is interesting to examine their limitations on the one hand, and, on the other, to try to offer an alternative account in terms of the proposed ICM. With this goal in view, we shall examine the first six definitions given in Hornby *et al.* (1968)³.

The listed definitions of the verb *give* are: (1) 'hand over as a present', 'cause (sb.) to have (sth.) without payment'; (2) cause (sb.) to have (sth.) in exchange for sth. else, for payment, in compensation'; (3) 'allow (sb.) to have, allow or cause

(sb. or sth.) to pass into the care or keeping of'; (4) 'furnish, supply, provide'; (5) 'be the source or origin of'; (6) 'devote, dedicate'.

It is not difficult to notice that the first three definitions directly relate to certain aspects of the proposed prototype scenario. Thus, definitions, 1, 2, 3 explicitly mention the *transfer* – 'hand over', 'have in exchange for', 'pass into'; 3. underlies the *causation of transfer* – 'cause to pass into', while 1, 2 emphasize the *causation of having* – 'cause to have'. Definition 1 points out that the giver acts out of his own will, without any immediate goal in view – 'as a present', 'without payment'. Finally, the 3rd definition refers to the *ownership* and its consequent right to a free control of the 'gift' – 'allow to have', 'allow to pass into'. These three definitions are illustrative of Lakoff's (1985) observation that one of the consequences of clustering models for characterization of a concept is a tendency to view one of them as the most important, central or salient. This tendency is reflected in the dictionary definitions which usually list those salient chunks as the core or primary meaning, when a word has more than one. The examined definitions clearly display this property.

Definitions 2 and 3 require some additional comments. Although in different ways, they seem to depart slightly from the prototype scenario. The former definition includes the meaning components not present in the scenario of giving, such as 'in exchange for sth. else', 'for payment', 'in compensation'. Hornby *et al.* (1968) illustrate and justify the definitions with the following examples:

- (13) a. How much will you give me for my old car.
b. I gave a good price for this overcoat.

We suggest that the motivation for the inclusion of this additional information in definition 2 is that the prototype scenario of giving is embedded in the *commercial event scene*. The commercial scene includes, among others, goods, here represented by *my old car* and *overcoat*, money, here encoded by *how much* and *a good price*, and two transfers of money and goods, respectively, in the opposite directions. Since *give* codes one-way transfer only, the two-way transfer involved in trading has to be coded by the prepositional *for* phrase. The details of the transfer itself remain exactly the same as in the prototype scenario, with the 'giver' and 'recipient' playing double roles of buyer and seller in the commercial scene. It is justified to conclude that definition 2 includes not only relevant aspect of the ICM of giving, but also salient aspects of the commercial event scene in which it is embedded.

Definition 3 contains the specification 'into the care or keeping of', and is illustrated by the sentence:

- (14) Give the porter your bag!

We suggest that the definition in question again combines the essential elements of our prototype scenario with the porter cognitive model, in which

³ Nothing in this part of the present paper hinges on the choice of this particular dictionary, had we consulted any other dictionary, we would discover that it poses the same type of problems as Hornby *et al.* (1968) does.

one of the connections between porters and bags is that of taking care of. Above we observed that the 'giver', 'recipient' and the 'gift' are the variables which may take different contextual values. The lexical item *porter* and *bags* provide such values, the relationship internal to the scene of giving remaining constant. Definition 2 includes the details of a larger scene of which the giving scenario was only a subscene. By contrast, definition 3 incorporates certain information contained in its related subscenes. What definitions 2 and 3 illustrate is a tendency to treat various contextual details as part of the meaning proper of a defined word, and on this basis to erroneously indicate the alleged different senses of the same word.

The last three definitions, i.e. (4) 'furnish, supply, provide'; (5) 'be the source of or origin of'; (6) 'devote, dedicate', illustrate a deficiency of a different type. The following sentences exemplify these senses, respectively:

- (15) a. The sun gives us warmth and light.
b. You've given me your cold.
c. He gave his life to the cause of peace.

A legitimate question to ask is whether these definitions represent distinct senses of the verb *give*, coded in language, or rather distinct interpretations of this verb in the verbal contexts specified by its sentences. What makes such a question plausible is that the above definitions, in contrast to 1, 2, 3, do not make a direct and explicit reference to any detail of the prototype scenario. It can be said about 4 and 5 that they implicitly refer to 'transfer'; it is less obvious, however, that the same can be said about definition 6. The recognition of definitions 4, 5, 6 amounts to saying that the verb *give* activates different ICMs, which contrasts sharply with our claim that all uses of the verb *give* evoke the same prototype scenario.

What the discussed definitions also fail to reflect is that in the three quoted sentences, the verb *give* has been metaphorically used. In each of the sentences, illustrating the respective senses, the verb *give* has for its arguments different nominals. These nominals, functioning as nodes in the networks of relationships defined by the verb *give* are associated with and evoke different domains of experience, loosely specified as *solar radiation* – *the sun, warmth, light; cold catching* – *you, me, cold; peace struggle* – *he, his life, the cause of peace*. On the other hand, there is a distinct domain of experience of giving, which we have characterized with the scenario representing typical giving. What sentences (15) seem to illustrate is that certain correspondences have been perceived as holding between 'giving' and the three domains identified above. This observation gave rise to a conceptualization of the relevant relationship between certain entities in these domains as 'giving', and consequently, to coding of this conceptualization with the appropriate *give* constructions. What is involved here is a typical structuring of one domain of experience by another

domain of experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). To generalize, we would say that the prototype scenario of giving with its associated concepts and the key word *give* has been extended to domains not covered by this prototypical scenario.

In our opinion, what the examined definitions really reflect is that the situations described by the three *give* sentences can be literally rendered by the existing words of English, given in these definitions. We suggest that in the three identified domains, it is more literal and typical to say that the sun provides or supplies us with warmth and light than gives them to us; that one gets cold from somebody else rather than is given it; or that one devotes one's life to the cause of peace rather than gives it to this cause. The definitions 4, 5, 6 represent what lexicographers believe to be literal renderings of the verb *give* in the context of specific 'givers', 'recipients', and 'gifts'. The proposed definitions of the verb *give* illustrate a common practice among lexicographers to render metaphorical expressions literally, e.g. *to eat like a wolf* – 'to eat voluptuously'; *to swim like a fish* – 'to swim very well' more or less explicitly admitting that the literal interpretations do not exhaustively yield the contents of such expressions. It is justified to treat definitions 4, 5, 6, as essential parts of literal interpretations of sentences containing the verb *give* rather than the senses of this verb.

What is the role of the scenario in the interpretation of metaphorical *give* constructions like (15a, b, c)? How exactly has the metaphorical extension of the verb *give* been achieved? Below, we offer a tentative answer to these questions. In our discussion we shall refer to example (15a), repeated here for convenience.

- (16) The sun gives us warmth and light.

Imposing the structure of giving on another domain of experience necessitates the identification and assignment of the roles of 'giver' 'gift' and 'recipient' in this domain, and filling in the appropriate positions in the scenario. In (15a), the 'giver', 'gift' and 'recipient' are not prototypical: the sun has the role of the 'giver' although it is [—human]; warmth and light, [—concrete], [—bounded], are the 'gifts'. Why is it possible for the speakers of English to assign the roles of the 'giver', 'recipient' and 'gift' to these concepts? An explanation in the framework of cognitive semantics is that to comprehend the action encoded in (15a) we apply metaphorical models which provide links with the prototype scenario of giving. The metaphorical models involved are Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) ontological metaphors. Due to one type of ontological metaphor we understand experience in terms of discrete objects, entities and substances. Another relevant type of ontological metaphor, personification, allows to comprehend our experience with non-human entities in terms of human motivation, characteristics and activities.

Our understanding of (15a) is based on the general metaphorical model that comprehends SOLAR RADIATION as GIVING. The comprehension of the sentence involved also includes specific ontological metaphors which elaborate this general metaphorical model. The specific ontological metaphors in play are SUBSTANCES ARE BOUNDED ENTITIES, with which we can view warmth and light as concrete entities; and THE SUN IS A PERSON which allows to endow the sun with human attributes such as willfulness, for example. (15a) is linked with its (metaphorical) interpretation via the scenario of giving plus the specific ontological metaphors. Generalizing on the metaphorical use of the verb *give*, we suggest that it is always based on the scenario and some specific ontological metaphors.

3. CONCLUSION

The present paper is a report on work in progress in the semantics of giving. Part of this research will be constituted by an examination of the lexical resources of English for encoding the concept of giving. In this paper, our general purpose was to establish the foundations for a thorough examination of meaning and use of the verb *give* and other lexical items from the domain of giving.

We have adhered to cognitive semantics, believing that the framework it offers is superior to the definitinal approach to meaning of words. One of the central concerns of cognitive semantics is the construction of idealized cognitive models. In the present paper, we have described the mental model of giving, evoked by the English verb *give*. One of the ways to motivate the approach adopted is to underlie the deficiencies and inadequacy of the alternative approach. This is why a large portion of our paper was devoted to a critical discussion of dictionary definitions of the verb *give*.

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STANISŁAW PRĘDOTA

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ZUM MODERNEN PARÖMIOLOGISCHEN HANDAPPARAT

Kennzeichnend für die parömiologische Forschung im 20. Jahrhundert sind a) ihre deutliche Intensivierung, vor allem in Europa (die Sowjetunion miteinbegriffen) und Nordamerika sowie b) ihre zunehmende internationale Koordination und Integration. Sie hat sich bereits einen gediegenen Handapparat erarbeitet, der aus einer beachtlichen Anzahl von Nachschlagewerken, Bibliographien, Sammelbänden und Zeitschriften besteht. Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird ein Versuch unternommen, diesen Handapparat kurz zu charakterisieren. Dabei werden allerdings zwei Einschränkungen gemacht:

1) Wir beschränken uns nur auf den parömiologischen Handapparat, d.h. daß moderne ein- und mehrsprachige Sprichwörteransammlungen außer acht gelassen werden.

2) Von modernen parömiologischen Nachschlagewerken berücksichtigen wir lediglich diejenigen, die internationalen Charakter haben, d.h. für alle Sprichwörterforscher von Bedeutung sind.

1. PARÖMIOLOGISCHE NACHSCHLAGEWERKE

Eine notwendige Voraussetzung für die richtige Entwicklung jedes Wissenschaftszweiges sind Nachschlagewerke, die dem neuesten Forschungsstand entsprechen. Die moderne Sprichwörterforschung besitzt drei Kompendien internationalen Charakters: *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde* von Friedrich Seiler, *The Proverb* von Archer Taylor sowie *Sprichwort* von Lutz Röhrich und Wolfgang Mieder.

1.1. Friedrich Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, München 1922, Nachdruck: 1967

Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde, die 457 Oktavseiten und 14 Kapitel zählt, ist das bisher umfangreichste und detaillierteste parömiologische Nachschlage-

werk. Friedrich Seiler (1851–1927) formuliert darin die erste grundlegende Gesamtkonzeption der Parömiologie mit ihren verschiedenen synchronen und diachronen Aufgaben, die ihre Geltung im wesentlichen bis heute aufrechterhalten hat. Es wird zwar zurecht allgemein bemängelt, daß sein Werk eigentlich nur einzelsprachlich ausgerichtet ist, aber in methodologischer Hinsicht bildet es eine solide wissenschaftliche Grundlage für die Erforschung nicht nur deutscher sondern auch anderer Sprichwörter. Es gilt auch hervorzuheben, daß dieses gründliche und zuverlässige Handbuch die Entwicklung der Parömiologie im 20. Jahrhundert nachhaltig beeinflußt hat.

- 1.2. Archer Taylor, *The Proverb*, Cambridge/Massachusetts 1931, Neudrucke: *The Proverb and an Index to The Proverb*, Hatboro/Pennsylvania, Copenhagen 1962; Bern, Frankfurt am Main, New York 1985

The Proverb ist wohl das populärste parömiologische Standardwerk. Archer Taylor (1890–1973), der auch als Begründer der modernen Parömiologie angesehen wird, basiert darin — im Gegensatz zu Friedrich Seiler — auf Sprichwörtern aus mehreren, vor allem romanischen und germanischen Sprachen. (Aus dem Polnischen zitiert er allerdings nur den bekannten Zungenbrecher *Chrzyszcz brzmi w trzcinie*). In den Mittelpunkt seiner Erörterungen stellt er grundsätzliche Fragen der Parömiologie und weist dabei auch auf die noch zu lösenden Probleme hin. Systematisch berücksichtigt er vergleichende Aspekte und regt dadurch komparative Sprichwortstudien an. Eine besonders wertvolle Ergänzung dieses Handbuches bildet *An Index to The Proverb*, der eine Liste aller in seinem Werk angeführten Sprichwörter sowie eine Basisbibliographie enthält.

- 1.3. Lutz Röhrich, Wolfgang Mieder, *Sprichwort*, Stuttgart 1977

Sprichwort ist eine vorzügliche Einführung in das moderne Sprichwortstudium. Lutz Röhrich aus Freiburg im Breisgau sowie Wolfgang Mieder aus Burlington/Vermont befassen sich in 14 Kapiteln mit Schlüsselproblemen der zeitgenössischen Sprichwortforschung. In knapper Form geben sie eine gute Übersicht sowohl über den neuesten Forschungsstand als auch über das wichtigste internationale Schrifttum. Von Bedeutung für interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen ist das Kapitel *Die Erforschung des Sprichworts durch verschiedene Wissenschaftszweige*. Auf neue Aspekte parömiologischer Arbeiten wird im Hauptstück *Biologie des Sprichworts im modernen Sprachgebrauch* hingewiesen. Zweckmäßig wäre wohl eine neue Ausgabe dieses verdienstvollen Realienbuches, die den aktuellsten Forschungsergebnissen des letzten Jahrzehnts Rechnung tragen würde.

2. PARÖMIOLOGISCHE BIBLIOGRAPHIEN

Unabdingbar für die internationale Koordination und Integration jeder Wissenschaftsdisziplin sind entsprechende Fachbibliographien. In dieser Hinsicht befindet sich die Parömiologie in einer recht günstigen Lage, denn im 20. Jahrhundert sind insgesamt sechs internationale Sprichwörterbibliographien erschienen. Drei von ihnen, d.h. *Catalogue des livres parémiologiques* von Ignacy Bernstein, *Proverb Literature* von Wilfrid Bonser und *Sprichwörterbibliographie* von Otto Moll sind allgemeine internationale Bibliographien. Sie enthalten Angaben sowohl über Sprichwörteransammlungen als auch über Sprichwortstudien. Drei Bibliographien von Wolfgang Mieder umfassen dagegen keine Eintragungen über Sprichwörteransammlungen sondern nur über parömiologische Studien.

- 2.1. Ignacy Bernstein, *Catalogue des livres parémiologiques composant la bibliothèque de Ignace Bernstein*, Varsovie 1900

Der zweibändige 1294 Oktavseiten zählende Katalog ist die zweitgrößte internationale Sprichwörterbibliographie. Der polnische Parömiologe Ignacy Bernstein (1836–1909) verzeichnet darin 4761 durchnummerierte Titel, die alphabetisch angeordnet sind. Es sind sowohl Sprichwörteransammlungen als auch parömiologische Studien, die zu einer Privatbibliothek gehörten. Viele von ihnen sind mit kritischen Kommentaren versehen. Diese vorzügliche Bibliographie enthält auch drei Register, die ihre Benutzung erleichtern: bibliographische Werke, eine Liste von Sprachen und ein Handschriftenverzeichnis. Zu begrüßen ist daher die Initiative des Hildesheimer Georg Olms Verlages, dieses wertvolle aber selten gewordene Werk als Neudruck herauszugeben.

- 2.2. Wilfrid Bonser, *Proverb Literature. A Bibliography of Works Relating to Proverbs*. Compiled from Materials Left by the Late T.A. Stephens, London 1930, Neudruck: Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1967

Proverb Literature ist die drittgrößte internationale Sprichwörterbibliographie. Wilfrid Bonser, Bibliothekar der Universitätsbibliothek in Birmingham, stützte sich bei ihrer Kompilation auf den obengenannten Katalog von Ignacy Bernstein sowie auf zwei einschlägige Bibliographien aus dem 19. Jahrhundert: *Literatur der Sprichwörter* von Christian Conrad Nopitsch (Nürnberg 1822) sowie *Bibliographie parémiologique* von Pierre-Alexandre Gratet-Duplessis (Paris 1847). Sie enthält 4004 Titel; es sind vorwiegend Sprichwörteransammlungen, parömiologische Studien wurden nur lückenhaft aufgenommen. Eintragungen wurden innerhalb der einzelnen Sprachen alphabetisiert. Am Schluß gibt es auch einen Abschnitt mit einer thematischen Sprichwörterbibliographie.

Einige Titel sind mit kurzen Anmerkungen versehen. Dieses ausgezeichnete und für die Sprichwörterforschung unentbehrliche Werk hat auch ein Personen- sowie ein Sachregister.

2.3. Otto Moll, *Sprichwörterbibliographie*, Frankfurt am Main 1958

Das Werk enthält 9051 Eintragungen sowie 27 Titel im Anhang und ist damit die weitaus umfangreichste internationale parömiographische und parömiologische Bibliographie. Der Berliner Privatgelehrte Dr. Otto E. Moll (1882–1968) basierte auf bisherigen einschlägigen Bibliographien sowie auf eigenen Nachforschungen. In seinem Werk werden zuerst Sprichwörterbibliographien verzeichnet, dann folgen die wichtigsten parömiologischen Studien und danach mehrsprachige Sprichwörtersammlungen. Im Hauptteil werden einzelne Titel innerhalb der jeweiligen Sprachen angeordnet, wobei ihre Reihenfolge jedoch nicht alphabetisch sondern chronologisch ist. In einem besonderen Abschnitt werden auch thematische Sprichwörtersammlungen erfaßt. Manche Eintragungen sind mit kurzen Anmerkungen versehen. Ein Sachregister ist zwar nicht vorhanden aber ein Namenregister erleichtert die Benutzung dieser monumentalen und unabdingbaren Standardbibliographie.

2.4. Wolfgang Mieder, *International Bibliography of Explanatory Essays on Individual Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Las Vegas 1977

Die erste Sonderbibliographie von Wolfgang Mieder verzeichnet über 2000 parömiologische Studien zu einzelnen Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten, die ihre Herkunft, Geschichte, Bedeutung usw. erläutern. Sie umfassen die Zeitspanne vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart und sind aus amerikanischen, deutschen, englischen, französischen, italienischen, lateinischen, niederländischen und spanischen Quellen entnommen. Einzelne Eintragungen, die jedoch weder durchnummeriert noch kommentiert sind, werden nach ihren englischen Schlüsselwörtern alphabetisch angeordnet. Ein Namenregister würde den Wert dieser besonders für konfrontative Studien nützlichen Sonderbibliographie noch erhöhen.

2.5. Wolfgang Mieder, *Proverbs in Literature: An International Bibliography*, Berne, Frankfurt am Main, Las Vegas 1978

Die zweite Sonderbibliographie von Wolfgang Mieder betrifft parömiologische Publikationen über Sprichwörter in literarischen Werken, ein Gebiet der Parömiologie, auf dem er sich bereits durch frühere Studien und Monographien ausgewiesen hat. Sie zählt 1166 nicht kommentierte Eintragungen, wobei die meisten von ihnen in den allgemeinen Bibliographien von Wilfrid Bonser und Otto Moll nicht verzeichnet sind. Sie besteht aus einem allgemeinen Teil

(Nummern 1–135) sowie einem besonderen Teil (Nummern 136–1166). Aufgenommen wurden Publikationen aus dem Amerikanischen, Englischen, Deutschen sowie aus den romanischen Sprachen, die klassische, germanische, slawische, afrikanische sowie nah- und fernöstliche Literaturen betreffen. Eintragungen werden nach den Nachnamen der einzelnen Autoren alphabetisiert, deren literarische Werke auf die Sprichwörter hin untersucht worden sind. Ein Namenregister erleichtert die Verwendung dieser wertvollen Sonderbibliographie.

2.6. Wolfgang Mieder, *International Proverb Scholarship. An Annotated Bibliography*, New York, London 1982

International Proverb Scholarship ist die wichtigste allgemeine parömiologische Bibliographie, die eine Krönung der jahrelangen bibliographischen Nachforschungen von Wolfgang Mieder bildet. Sie betrifft keine Sprichwörtersammlungen sondern nur parömiologische Studien, die seit etwa 1880 bis ca. 1980 erschienen sind. Sie hat internationalen und interdisziplinären Charakter, denn sie enthält 2142 Titel von Sprichwörterstudien vor allem aus Amerika sowie aus West- und Osteuropa (einschließlich der Sowjetunion), die von Anthropologen, Ethnologen, Folkloristen, Historikern, Juristen, Kunsthistorikern, Linguisten, Literatur-, Kommunikations-, Religionswissenschaftlern, Philologen, Psychologen, Soziologen etc. verfaßt wurden. Alle Eintragungen sind durchnummeriert und mit einem analytischen Kommentar versehen. Sie werden nach den Namen ihrer Verfasser alphabetisiert. Drei ausführliche Register, ein Namen-, Sach- und Sprichwortindex, ergänzen diese vorzügliche und für jeden Sprichwörterforscher unentbehrliche Bibliographie.

3. PARÖMIOLOGISCHE SAMMELBÄNDE

Ausschlaggebend für die internationale Integration jedes Wissenschaftszweiges sind einschlägige Reader, die wesentliche Einzelstudien in einem Band vereinen, die über verschiedene, oft nur schwer zugängliche Zeit- und Festschriften verstreut sind. Auch in dieser Hinsicht ist die jetzige Situation der Parömiologie recht zufriedenstellend. Sie verfügt bereits über neun parömiologische Sammelbände, die in den 70er und 80er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts erschienen sind. Besondere Verdienste auf diesem Gebiet hat Wolfgang Mieder, der sechs dieser Sammelbände herausgegeben hat. Man kann sie in zwei Gruppen einteilen; 1) Sammelbände mit Beiträgen eines einzelnen Verfassers, 2) Sammelbände mit Studien mehrerer Autoren. Innerhalb dieser Gruppen werden sie im weiteren chronologisch nach ihrem Erscheinungsjahr dargestellt.

Die zwei russischsprachigen Sammelbände, die der bekannte sowjetische Parömiologe Grigorij L'vovič Permjakov (1919–1983) herausgegeben hat:

Paremiologičeskij sbornik (Moskau 1978) und *Paremiologičeskije issledovanija* (Moskau 1984) enthalten wichtige Beiträge führender zeitgenössischer Parömiologen aus der Sowjetunion und den sozialistischen Ländern, außerhalb der Sowjetunion sind sie nur äußerst schwer zugänglich.

3.1. Parömiologische Sammelbände mit Beiträgen eines einzelnen Verfassers

3.1.1. Archer Taylor, *Selected Writings on Proverbs*. Edited by Wolfgang Mieder, Helsinki 1975

Selected Writings on Proverbs umfassen 15 wichtigste englischsprachige Sprichwörterstudien von Archer Taylor (1890–1973), dem Begründer der internationalen Parömiologie. Sie sind in der Zeitspanne zwischen den 30er und 60er Jahren entstanden und ursprünglich in verschiedenen amerikanischen und europäischen Fachzeitschriften und Festschriften erschienen. Der Herausgeber hat sie in vier thematische Gruppen eingeteilt. Die ersten fünf Beiträge betreffen allgemeine Probleme der Parömiologie. Die zweite Gruppe enthält fünf Aufsätze, die Einzelfragen der Sprichwörterforschung analysieren. Vier weitere sind der historischen bzw. komparativen Parömiologie gewidmet. Der Sammelband wird mit einer kommentierten Bibliographie zum Sprichwörterstudium abgeschlossen, die Archer Taylor bereits 1932 veröffentlicht hat.

3.1.2. Wolfgang Mieder, *Das Sprichwort in unserer Zeit*, Frauenfeld 1975

Das Sprichwort in unserer Zeit weist neun deutschsprachige Beiträge von Wolfgang Mieder auf, von denen vier ursprünglich in den 70er Jahren im „Sprachspiegel“, der Zeitschrift des Schweizerdeutschen Sprachvereins, erschienen sind. Sie betreffen Funktionen deutscher Sprichwörter im modernen Sprachgebrauch. Die ersten sechs Studien analysieren Verwendungsmöglichkeiten von Sprichwörtern in der Sprache der Wirtschaft, Politik, des Humors, der Werbung und in Schlagzeilen sowie in Anspielungen. Drei weitere Beiträge behandeln die heutige Lebensbiologie von Sprichwörtern, ihre Variabilität und ihre zeitgenössischen Varianten.

3.1.3. Wolfgang Mieder, *Deutsche Sprichwörter in Literatur, Politik, Presse und Werbung*, Hamburg 1983

Deutsche Sprichwörter in Literatur, Politik, Presse und Werbung enthalten elf deutschsprachige Aufsätze von Wolfgang Mieder. In den 70er und 80er Jahren sind sie zuerst in der Zeitschrift „Muttersprache“, herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache in Wiesbaden, veröffentlicht worden. Neun von ihnen betreffen Sprichwörter, einer behandelt die Geschichte des Ausdrucks *Elserner Vorhang* und ein anderer beschäftigt sich mit Goethe-Zitaten. Der Titel dieses Sammelbandes weist bereits auf die Bereiche hin, denen diese Sprichwortstudien gewidmet sind. Einzelne Beiträge betreffen u.a. den Sprich-

wörtergebrauch bei Heinrich von Kleist, Alfred Döblin, Karl Kraus, die Verwendung von Sprichwörtern für antisemitische Propaganda während der Nazizeit, Funktionen von Sprichwörtern in der Wochenzeitung „Die Zeit“ u.a.

3.2. Parömiologische Sammelbände mit Beiträgen mehrerer Verfassers

3.2.1. Wolfgang Mieder (Hrsg.), *Ergebnisse der Sprichwörterforschung*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Las Vegas 1978

Das Werk umfaßt elf deutschsprachige Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1955–1975. Ihre Autoren sind der Amerikaner Wolfgang Mieder, der Finne Matti Kuusi sowie sieben Parömiologen aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Gerda Grober-Gluck, Mathilde Hain, Gerhard Müller-Schwefe, Friedrich Ohly, Lutz Röhrich, Wolfgang Schmidt-Hidding und Wilhelm Weizsäcker. Der Herausgeber Wolfgang Mieder war bestrebt, solche Studien aufzunehmen, die für die parömiologischen Forschungen in der BRD repräsentativ sind und die den Charakter eines Forschungsberichts haben. Sie betreffen Definitionsprobleme, sprichwörtliche Redensarten, Rechtssprichwörter, Sprichwörterillustrationen, geographische Verbreitung, Aberglauben, Strukturanalyse, Übersetzung von Sprichwörtern und von sprichwörterlichen Redensarten sowie Sprichwörter in der deutschen Literatur und im modernen Sprachgebrauch.

3.2.2. Wolfgang Mieder, Alan Dundes (eds.), *The Wisdom of Many. Essays on the Proverb*, New York, London 1981

The Wisdom of Many enthält 20 englischsprachige Beiträge, hauptsächlich aus den 60er und 70er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts. Ihre Verfasser sind 18 amerikanische sowie 3 europäische Parömiologen. Wolfgang Mieder und Alan Dundes waren als Herausgeber bemüht, Aufsätze aufzunehmen, die für die Sprichwörterstudien in Amerika repräsentativ sind. Sie beschäftigen sich u.a. mit Definitionsproblemen, Funktionen von Sprichwörtern in der Gesellschaft, in der Literatur, in modernen Massenmedien, sowie mit Verwendung von Sprichwörtern in der Psychologie und mit Relevanz von Sprichwörtern für die Bestimmung des Nationalcharakters.

3.2.3. Peter Grzybek, Wolfgang Eismann (Hrsg.), *Semiotische Studien zum Sprichwort. Simple Forms Reconsidered*. I, Tübingen 1984 (= Kodikas/Codes. Ars Semiotica, Vol. 7/1984, no. 3–4)

Semiotische Studien zum Sprichwort umfassen 19 Beiträge, darunter 13 deutsche bzw. englische Übersetzungen der wichtigsten parömiologischen Arbeiten des sowjetischen Sprichwörterforschers Grigorij L'vovič Permjakov (1919–1983) sowie seiner Mitarbeiter und 6 Beiträge von Peter Grzybek (Bochum) und Wolfgang Eismann (Bochum/Mannheim). Sie behandeln u.a. semiotische Sprichwörterforschung, Funktionen und strukturelle Typologie

von Parömien, parömiologische Homonymie und Synonymie, Struktur des parömiologischen Zeichens sowie lexikographische Erfassung von Sprichwörtern, parömisches Minimum usw. Besonders wertvoll ist dieser monothematische Sammelband für diejenigen Sprichwörterforscher, die des Russischen nicht mächtig sind.

3.2.4. Wolfgang Mieder (Hrsg.), *Deutsche Sprichwörterforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, New York 1984

Der Aufsatzband enthält neun wichtige deutsche Sprichwortstudien des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Sie betreffen ein breites Spektrum von parömiologischen Aspekten: Definition, Entstehung, Bedeutung, Philosophie, Psychologie, Form, Stil, Sprache, Nationalcharakter, Internationalität usw.

Hier gilt es auch hervorzuheben, daß Wolfgang Mieder außerdem noch zwei sehr wesentliche parömiologische Bücher aus dem 19. Jahrhundert erneut herausgegeben hat:

1) Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, *Das Sprichwort, betrachtet nach Form u. Wesen, für Schule u. Leben, als Einleitung zu einem großen volkstümlichen Sprichwörtertschatz*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, New York 1983.

2) Oswald Robert Kirchner, *Parömiologische Studien*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, New York 1984.

Somit sind jetzt wohl alle wichtigsten deutschsprachigen parömiologischen Publikationen des vorigen Jahrhunderts wieder zugänglich gemacht worden. Sie haben nicht nur eine Bedeutung für die Parömiologiegeschichte, sondern sie können auch die zeitgenössische Sprichwörterforschung fruchtbar anregen.

4. PARÖMIOLOGISCHE ZEITSCHRIFTEN

Eine wesentliche Rolle bei der internationalen Integration jeder Wissenschaftsdisziplin spielen Fachzeitschriften, die den Informationsaustausch beschleunigen und Forschung koordinieren. Auch in diesem Bereich ist die Position der modernen Parömiologie günstig. Sie weist drei Fachzeitschriften auf: *Proverbium* (Helsinki), *Proverbium Paratum* (Budapest) sowie *Proverbium* (Columbus/Ohio).

4.1. *Proverbium. Bulletin d'Informations sur les Recherches Parémiologiques*. Helsinki 1965–1975, Société de Littérature Finnoise

Proverbium, das von der Gesellschaft für Finnische Literatur veröffentlicht wurde, war die erste internationale parömiologische Zeitschrift. Zwischen 1965 und 1975 sind insgesamt 25 Nummern erschienen. Ihr Herausgeber war Matti Kuusi (Helsinki). Zur Redaktion gehörten die bekannten Parömiologen: Julian Krzyżanowski (Warschau), Démétrios Loukatos (Athen) und Archer Taylor (Berkeley), später kamen Alan Dundes (Berkeley), Ja. I. Kalontarov (Duschan-

be) sowie Vilmos Voigt (Budapest) hinzu. Beiträge lieferten Spezialisten aus Europa (einschließlich der Sowjetunion) und Amerika, sie betreffen ein breites Spektrum aller aktuellen Probleme der Sprichwörterforschung.

Proverbium hatte auch einen bibliographischen Teil, in dem kommentierte Angaben über neue Sprichwörtersammlungen sowie -studien erschienen. In *Proverbium*-Nummer 24 (1975) wurden auch wichtige Materialien des ersten internationalen Parömiologischen Symposiums veröffentlicht, das 1974 in Helsinki stattfand.

4.2. *Proverbium Paratum. Bulletin d'Information sur les Recherches Parémiologiques*. Budapest 1980–, ELTE, BTK, Folklore Tanszék

Proverbium Paratum wird seit 1980 von der Budapester Universität veröffentlicht. Bis 1982 sind drei Nummern erschienen. Unter den Auspizien von Alan Dundes (Berkeley), Ja. I. Kalontarov (Duschanbe), Matti Kuusi (Helsinki) und Démétrios Loukatos (Athen) wird es von den bekannten ungarischen Parömiologen Ágnes Szemerényi und Vilmos Voigt herausgegeben. Zu seiner Redaktion gehören die Sprichwörterforscher: Arvo Krikman (Tartu), Wolfgang Mieder (Burlington), G.L. Permjakov (Moskau) und Lutz Röhrich (Freiburg).

Proverbium Paratum veröffentlichte bisher Studien von europäischen, sowjetischen und amerikanischen Spezialisten. Die einzelnen Nummern wurden zugleich als Festschriften herausgegeben: Nummer 1 für Matti Kuusi, Nummer 2 für G.L. Permjakov und Nummer 3 für Lutz Röhrich.

In *Proverbium Paratum* gibt es auch einen bibliographischen Teil, in dem parömiologische und parömiographische Neuerscheinungen besprochen werden. Nummer 2 und 3 publizierten auch Beiträge des internationalen Parömiologie-Symposiums, das 1980 in Smolenice (Tschechoslowakei) stattfand.

4.3. *Proverbium. Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*. Columbus/Ohio 1984–, The Ohio State University

Das internationale Jahrbuch *Proverbium* wird seit 1984 von The Ohio State University veröffentlicht. Bis 1990 sind sieben voluminöse Nummern erschienen. Sein Herausgeber ist Wolfgang Mieder (Burlington/Vermont). Zu seinen internationalen Konsultanten gehören namhafte Parömiologen aus Amerika, Europa und der Sowjetunion: Shirley L. Arora (Los Angeles), Alan Dundes (Berkeley), Iver Kjaer (Kopenhagen), Arvo Krikman (Tartu), Matti Kuusi (Helsinki), Démétrios Loukatos (Athen), Lutz Röhrich (Freiburg) und Vilmos Voigt (Budapest).

Proverbium hat einen ausgesprochen internationalen Charakter. Es publiziert Beiträge von Spezialisten aus aller Welt. Besonders wichtig für die Integration der internationalen Sprichwörterforschung ist sein bibliographischer Teil, in dem neue Sprichwörtersammlungen sowie parömiologische Neuerscheinungen registriert und kommentiert werden.

Aus den obigen Erörterungen geht deutlich hervor, daß der moderne parömiologische Handapparat in den 70er und 80er Jahren sowohl quantitativ als auch qualitativ zugenommen hat. Man darf wohl annehmen, daß dies eine gute Ausgangsbasis für eine günstige Weiterentwicklung der internationalen Sprichwörterforschung bietet.

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THEMATIC RESTRICTIONS ON DERIVED NOMINALS

This paper¹ presents arguments for the relevance of thematic restrictions in the distribution of arguments in derived nominals. The evidence from English and Polish suggests that the accounts based on syntactic parallelism do not explain the facts if we consider the data from different semantic classes of verbs at the same time. On the other hand, not only can we formulate, for each of the discussed languages, empirically adequate restrictions using thematic relations but also we observe that these restrictions show a great deal of similarity, which is interesting from the point of view of language universals and argues in favour of the adequacy of thematic relations in linguistic theory.

1. ENGLISH DERIVED NOMINALS

1.1 Restrictions on a specifier position of a nominal

In this section we present evidence that the distribution of arguments in derived nominals, and specifically the impossibility of some arguments in a specifier position of a nominal can be explained in terms of thematic restrictions and is independent of morphological relations between nominals and verbs. The array of data presented below shows that the explanation appealing to subcategorization and stated as the constraint on NP Preposing in the NP domain in Anderson (1979) is not well founded.

Consider derived nominals in all (a) and (b) examples below and compare nominals in (b) to the corresponding verbal constructions in (c).

¹ The previous version of this paper was written while I was holding an AAUW international fellowship and presented at the LSA Annual Meeting in Seattle, December 1985. The extended version of this paper was published in Willems, ed. (1988).

- (1) a. the enemy's destruction of the city
b. the city's destruction by the enemy
c. The city was destroyed by the enemy.
- (2) a. John's enjoyment of the film
b. *the film's enjoyment (by/of John)
c. The film was enjoyed by John.
- (3) a. the public's delight in the book
b. *the book's delight of the public
c. The book delights the public.
- (4) a. Mary's disgust at his rude behaviour
b. *his rude behaviour's disgust of Mary
c. His rude behaviour disgusts Mary.
- (5) a. the people's disillusionment with the president
b. *the president's disillusionment of the people
c. The president disillusioned the people.
- (6) a. John's amusement at the books
b. *the book's amusement of John
c. The book amused John.
- (7) a. children's amusement at John's stories
b. *John's amusement of the children with his stories
c. John amused the children with his stories.

The asymmetry in the distribution of arguments between (1) and (2) (that is, the contrast in grammaticality between *city's destruction by the enemy* and **the film's enjoyment by John*) was accounted for by Anderson (1979) as a constraint on movement in NPs with 'non-affected' objects. She adopts the Lexicalist Approach (Chomsky 1970) with its null hypothesis of subcategorizational and selectional correspondences between verbs and derivationally related nominals². Within this approach, a specifier position of a nominal is a subject position and the *of*-prepositional phrase is an object position. Anderson argues that NP Preposing in nominals is constrained by the semantic nature of the object NP. She distinguishes between bare NP complements and prepositional complements (Anderson 1979: 23) and suggests that "NP Preposing will apply regularly whenever a noun has an empty NP in its determiner and an NP not

² In fact, Chomsky (1970:38) notices that "only in the simplest case will exactly the same contextual (and other) features be associated with an item as a verb and as a noun". The basic claim of the lexicalist hypothesis, however, is "that a great many items appear in the lexicon with fixed selectional and strict subcategorization features, but with a choice as to the features associated with the lexical categories noun, verb, adjective" (Chomsky 1970:21-22).

mediated by a preposition in its complement. The only preposition that appears to allow preposing of its object is *of* (cf. *destruction of the city* and *the city's destruction*). However, there exist nominals which take *of* as a preposition but still do not allow preposing (*enjoyment of the film* but **film's enjoyment*). To explain this, Anderson employs the notion of affectedness and points out that only those NP complements can be preposed which are affected (in an extended sense) by the action, process, or state of the head noun. Thus, only affected NP complements are bare NP-complements; non-affected NP-objects are marked with the lexical preposition *of*, which blocks their movement to the specifier position. So, the object of *destruction* is not preceded by *of* in D-structure; the preposition is inserted there transformationally, while the object of *enjoyment* has a base-generated preposition *of*.

To allow Anderson's analysis to go through and to be consistent also with the data in (3)-(7), we have to deny that the nominals in (3b)-(7b) are derived from the verbs in (c)³. One might argue as did Wasow (1977), that the nominals here are derived from adjectival passives, not from verbs. Thus, the base-structure for *amusement* would be as in (9):

- (9) be amused at NP

containing the prepositional complement and thus blocking NP movement to the specifier position.

However, there are good morphological arguments against deriving those nominals from the adjectival passives and not from verbs. As was convincingly argued by Amritavalli (1980), Wasow's approach presents serious problems when we try to apply it crosscategorially. It does not constitute an explanation of why only passive nominalizations exist in just these cases. Returning to our examples, we could ask why *enjoyment* is derived from a verb while all the other nominals in (3)-(7) are derived from adjectival passives.

Another relevant point is Amritavalli's argument referring to the theory of word-based morphology of Aronoff (1976). Namely, that in addition to well motivated suffixes *-ment*, *-ance*, and *-ation*, which attach to verbs, we must postulate homonymous suffixes which attach to *Xed*, and which, moreover, do not attach to any other adjectival bases, such as *Xable*, *Xive*, *Xing*.

Thus, there is no a priori reason to reject the claim that starred nominals in (3)-(7) are related to verbs. But then the movement analysis has nothing to say about their ungrammaticality, because there is no movement here in the first place.

³ As was rightly noticed by an anonymous reader, the choice of the structure corresponding to (c) does not have to be the obvious one. However, if we have arguments to claim that there is a relation between (b) and (c), this would be in full accord with the Lexicalist Hypothesis rather than against it; and would even give further support for the Lexicalist Hypothesis in its strongest sense.

The solution which we propose is in the form of one simple and straightforward thematic principle. Before formulating it, however, let us introduce a thematic relation that would be assigned to *film* both in *John enjoys the film* and *The film amuses John*, but which at the same time would be distinct from theme-objects of agentive verbs. This thematic relation will thus cover what Rappaport (1983) calls an Experienced role with emotive verbs (whether it be in subject or in object position) as well as all the other non-affected objects discussed by Anderson (1979). For this relation we suggest a label **Neutral** and define it as in (10)⁴:

- (10) An entity X holds a thematic relation **Neutral** with respect to a predicate Y, if:
- (i) X is in no way affected by the action, process, or state described by Y,
 - (ii) X does not have any control over the action, process, or state described by Y.

So, the subjects in (3c)–(7c) would bear a **Neutral** thematic relation to respective verbs, as well as objects of the following verbs: *like, enjoy, dislike, hate, admire, respect*, etc., and also: *know, see, recollect, perceive, observe, understand*, etc. We contrast **Neutral** with **Affected Patient** (e.g. an object of *destroy*), both of which together fall into the domain of the traditional Theme.

Now we are ready to formulate our simple principle appealing to thematic relations:

- (11) **Neutral** can never appear in a specifier position of a nominal

The above restriction is similar to the restriction which Rappaport (1983) independently formulated within Lexical-Functional Grammar for the assignment of POSS function in derived nominals. She labels the arguments of the emotive verbs as **EXPERIENCER**, **EXPERIENCED** and says that the **EXPERIENCED** is restricted from being assigned the POSS function. Then, quite separately, she mentions other nominals repeated here in (12):

- (12) a. *history's knowledge
 b. *John's sight by Mary
 c. *the event's recollection
 d. *the problem's perception
 e. *the picture's observation
 f. *the novel's understanding

⁴ This definition is a slightly modified version of the semantic case **Neutral** defined by P¹-11 (1971) as a non-affected entity. Note that the notion **Neutral** was also used in another sense in Stockwell et al. (1973). There it means the same as does the Theme in Gruber-Jackendoff system of thematic relations. Our definition of **Neutral** combines the semantic feature of non-affectedness and the lack of control, the latter necessary to distinguish it from **Agent**.

and says that "whether or not an argument of a derived nominal may bear the POSS function depends on as of yet poorly understood thematic relations" (Rappaport 1983:133), and refers to Anderson's constraint on movement for non-affected objects to explain the ungrammaticality of nominals in (12). It seems, however, that Rappaport's restriction stated for the Experienced role and Anderson's constraint are both instances of the same phenomenon and can be reformulated in thematic terms as one restriction, as we did in (11).

Moreover, Rappaport attributes the lack of the syntactic correspondence between nominals and verbs to the so called **THEMATIC CONSTANCY** in nominals, which in Lexical-Functional framework means that a given semantically restricted grammatical function (note that in Rappaport's analysis all grammatical functions in nominals are semantically restricted) can be assigned only to an argument bearing a particular thematic relation. However, the **THEMATIC CONSTANCY** principle does not seem to work consistently, as we will show below. If, as Rappaport says, only Themes are assigned **OBL_{Theme}** function and thus only Themes can be realized as objects of the preposition *of*, why do we find a contrast between (13) and (14):

- (13) a. John's love of Mary
 b. People's hatred of the enemy
 c. Children's fear of the devil
- (14) a. *John's amazement of the film
 b. *People's disgust of cats
 c. *Children's surprise of the presents

where, according to her, all the NPs above appearing as objects of the preposition *of* bear the same thematic relation of the Experienced. Even if we tried to entertain the possibility of treating the Experienced as the subset of Theme, the thematic constancy would not work because the same semantic argument sometimes can and sometimes cannot appear as the object of the preposition *of*. As (13) and (14) indicate, this is related to the syntax of the corresponding verbal constructions: if an argument bearing an Experienced (or our **Neutral** in this case) thematic relation shows up as the direct object in the corresponding verbal construction, it is realized as the object of the preposition *of* in a nominal; while if it is related to the verbal subjects it cannot be the object of the preposition *of* in a nominal.

We suggest that the constraint we formulated be an independent constraint concerning the syntactic position of a specifier in English nominals and though itself thematic in nature, it cannot be derived from the thematic constancy of assigning semantically restricted functions in nominals, because, in general, the latter does not seem to hold, at least with respect to the system of thematic relations that Rappaport uses.

Notice that our principle is independent of morphology and works also for basic, non-derived nouns like *terror*:

- (15) a. Mary's terror/horror at the news
b. *the news' terror/horror of Mary
c. The news terrified/horrified Mary.

Our principle is in a way related to Amritavalli's lexical redundancy rule presented in (16) in that it refers to thematic roles and not to grammatical relations.

(16) Map Experiencer into:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>in the S</p> <p>(i) Subject, given
an argument structure
(Experiencer, X), $X \neq$ Causer</p> <p>(ii) Object, given
an argument structure
(Causer, Experiencer)</p> | <p>in the NP</p> <p>(i) Poss-NP or of-NP, given
an argument structure
(Experiencer, X), $X \neq$ Causer</p> |
|--|--|

Observe, however, that in the Experiencer Hypothesis in (16), the presence of the Experiencer is made responsible for the pattern and we have to allow some exceptions noted by Amritavalli and repeated in (17):

- (17) a. John's disappointment of his audience
b. John's embarrassment of Mary

(17a) corresponds to the sentence *John disappoints the audience*, (17b) — to the sentence *John embarrasses Mary*. Both *the audience* and *Mary* are Experiencers but they are not mapped to the specifier position of related nominals.

On our account, the acceptability of the above nominals can be attributed to the possibility of forcing an agentive reading on *disappoint* and *embarrass*. Similarly, we can make (7b) or maybe even (5b) acceptable by forcing an agentive reading:

- (18) a. John's deliberate amusement of the children with his stories
b. the president's deliberate disillusionment of the people

The object remains an Experiencer even on agentive reading (why should it be otherwise?). Total unacceptability of (19) below is straightforward: there is no possibility of an agentive reading, so they are ruled out by our constraint.

- (19) a. *the news' /results/ performance's disappointment of the audience
b. *the disclosure's embarrassment of Mary

With our principle now, we can have one morphological rule deriving *amusement*, *disappointment*, etc. from the verbs *amuse*, *disappoint* respectively, independent of the thematic interpretations, while both Anderson's and Wasow's theories would require two nominals with different derivations.

Let us pause here and refer again to Rappaport's analysis. She claims that there are no nouns which inherit the argument structure (AGENT, EXPERIENCER) from the related verb, which, she claims, accounts for the ungrammaticality of the nominals both in (20) and (21):

- (20) a. *the miracle's amazement of the people
b. *the movie's shock of the audience
- (21) a. *Amy's fright by the scarecrow
b. *the class's boredom by the lecturer
c. *Deborah's amusement by Randy
d. *Sam's annoyance by Dave

We claim, however, that the argument structure (AGENT, EXPERIENCER) can be inherited from the related verb, and that in fact only this possibility explains the contrast between (17) and (19). It seems that the dual interpretation of experiential nominals is not always possible, but in cases where it is possible, our constraint predicts the correct results.

We have thus shown that the Movement Analysis fails to account for all of the data presented here, while our thematic account explains a wider range of nominals. Since the behaviour of derived nominals provided crucial evidence for Anderson in arguing for NP Movement in NP domain, this now becomes questionable.

Also, this thematic constraint is much simpler and again accounts for a wider range of data than Amritavalli's complex Experiencer Hypothesis.

1.2 Single argument transitive nominals

Consider now the class of nominal constructions such as (22) discussed in Chomsky (1981:104):

- (22) a. the barbarians' destruction of Rome
b. Rome's destruction (by the barbarians)
c. the destruction of Rome (by the barbarians)
d. *the barbarians' destruction

Chomsky says that example (a) is the nominal expected on the assumptions of X-bar theory, analogous to *The barbarians destroyed Rome*. Then, he excludes (d) as ungrammatical because *destroy* requires an object (cf. **The barbarians destroyed*). The generalization he suggests is that the subject theta role is determined compositionally by the VP. Thus a verb subcategorized for an object cannot assign a theta role to the subject position if the object is not

expressed. Similarly, a nominalized construction cannot take a subject argument unless the object is expressed. In other words, subcategorization and compositionality of the assignment of subject theta role is supposed to account for the ungrammaticality of (d). As a result, (d) is grammatical only on the interpretation when *the barbarians* is understood as Patient of *destruction*.

If we adopt this syntactic account that a transitive nominal cannot assign a theta role to its subject without first assigning a theta role to its object, then again we run into inconsistency with experiential nominals:

- (23) a. John's love
b. Mary's hatred

Here, in contrast to (22), the argument expressed in a derived nominal corresponds to the subject of the related transitive verb. Notice, however, that again we can appeal to thematic relations in order to avoid inconsistency. Assuming that both Patients and Experiencers share the features of affectedness, we can say that if one of the two arguments of a transitive nominal is affected (or alternatively, if it is a Patient or an Experiencer), then this argument must be expressed in single argument nominals⁵. This works consistently, as we can see below:

- (24) a. John's amusement
b. John's pleasure
c. John's surprise
d. John's embarrassment
e. John's disgust
f. John's fear

In all examples in (24), the specifier position is occupied by an Experiencer argument, although it can correspond either to the subject or to the object of the related verb. We are not aware of any account that would explain the facts in (23)–(24) by appealing to the syntactic position or grammatical relations.

2. POLISH DERIVED NOMINALS

In Polish we observe the sensitivity of derived nominals to thematic relations as well. Consider the following examples:

- (25) a. Wróg zglądził miasto
enemy-Nom ruined city-Acc
'The enemy destroyed the city'

⁵ The overlap of Patient and Experiencer in this case, and, on the other hand, the overlap between Agent and Experiencer with respect to other phenomena (e.g. binding facts concerning anaphors) motivated our proposal in Rozwadowska (1989) that thematic relations should be analysed in terms of features rather than atomic wholes.

- b. Zagłada miasta (przez wroga)
destruction-Nom city-Gen (by enemy)
'City's destruction (by the enemy)'
- c. *Zagłada wroga miasta
destruction-Nom enemy-Gen city-Gen
'The enemy's destruction of the city'
- (26) a. Jan podziwia Marię
John-Nom admires Mary-Acc
'John admires Mary'
- b. Podziw Jana dla Marii
admiration-Nom John-Gen for Mary-Gen
'John's admiration for Mary'
- c. *Podziw Marii przez Jana
admiration-Nom Mary-Gen by John-Gen
'Mary's admiration for John'
- (27) a. Andrzej gardzi pieniędzmi
Andrew-Nom feels contempt money-Instr
'Andrew feels contempt for money'
- b. Pogarda Andrzeja dla pieniędzy
contempt-Nom Andrew-Gen for money-Gen
'Andrew's contempt for money'
- c. *Pogarda pieniędzy przez Jana
contempt-Nom money-Gen by John-Gen
'Money's contempt by John'
- (28) a. Marek szanuje rodziców
Mark-Nom respects his parents-Acc
'Mark respects his parents'
- b. Szacunek Marka dla swoich rodziców
respect-Nom Mark-Gen for his parents-Gen
'Mark's respect for his parents'
- c. *Szacunek rodziców przez Marka
respect-Nom parents-Gen by Mark-Gen
'Parents' respect by Mark'
- (29) a. Dzieci zdumiewają rodziców
children-Nom amaze parents-Acc
'Children amaze parents'
- b. Zdumienie rodziców dziećmi
amazement-Nom parents-Gen children-Instr
'Parents' amazement at the children'
- c. *Zdumienie dzieci rodziców
amazement-Nom children-Gen parents-Gen
'Children's amazement of the parents'

In Polish the genitive position adjacent to the head noun is the complement position. With agentive nominals (example (25)), it is the Affected Patient that appears in this position; with experiential nominals (examples (26)–(29)), it must be the Experiencer. Neutral shows up in the prepositional phrase or in an oblique case. Agent can appear optionally in a *by*-phrase. The evidence that Polish nominals are sensitive to thematic relations rather than to structural positions or grammatical relations comes essentially from the class of Subject Experiencer verbs (see (26)–(28)). The nominals corresponding to this class of verbs take as their complement the argument corresponding to the subject of the verb, and not to its object, as the remaining nominals related to transitive verbs do (see examples (25) and (29)).

Notice also that the nominals presented in this section exhibit the same sensitivity as the single argument English nominals discussed in 1.2: only affected arguments can be expressed as complements of Polish nominals.

Let us take a brief look now at the nominals related to object Experiencer verbs. This class of verbs patterns in Polish as follows:

- (30) a. Nowy film Wajdy zaszokował publiczność
new film-Nom Wajda-Gen shocked audience-Acc
'A new film by Wajda shocked the audience'
b. Publiczność zaszokowała się nowym filmem Wajdy
audience-Nom shocked-REFL new film-Instr Wajda-Gen
'The audience was shocked at a new film by Wajda'
c. Publiczność była zaszokowana nowym filmem Wajdy
audience-Nom was shocked new film-Instr Wajda-Gen
'The audience was shocked at a new film by Wajda'

The non-reflexive vs. reflexive alternation is a productive process in the domain of object Experiencer verbs. Then there are two synonymous nominals: one related to (30a), the other to (30b):

- (31) a. Zaszokowanie publiczności nowym filmem Wajdy
shocking-Nom audience-Gen new film-Instr Wajda-Gen
'The audience's shock at a new film by Wajda'
b. Zaszokowanie się publiczności nowym filmem Wajdy
shocking-REFL audience new film-Instr Wajda-Gen
'The audience's shock at a new film by Wajda'

Similarly as in English, we can maintain that these nominals are related to verbs, and not to adjectival passives, because the same morphological argument holds: these nominals are derived through the attachment of a typical deverbal nominal suffix *-nie*, and not through the attachment of the deadjectival suffix *-ość* (cf. **zdumioność*). If so, then the two synonymous

nominals in (31) are related to verbs with different syntactic structure, yet they take the same thematic argument, an Experiencer (i.e. again an argument which is affected) as their complement.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Our discussion of 2-argument experiential nominals and comparing them to Agent-Patient nominals show that the purely syntactic account of the relation between nominals and verbs appealing to subcategorization and movement between structural positions cannot provide consistent predictions about the argument structure of nominals from both classes at the same time. On the other hand, it is possible to formulate simple and adequate generalizations using thematic relations.

It appears that when we have only one of the two arguments expressed in a nominal construction, it must be an argument which is either a Patient or an Experiencer. In other words, it is an argument which carries a thematic feature of affectedness. This fact is independent of subcategorization of corresponding verbal constructions and holds true both for English and Polish. The only difference is that the structural position for this argument is the specifier position in English nominals, while it is a genitive complement position in Polish.

It is also true that an argument bearing a thematic relation which we defined as Neutral can never appear as a complement of a Polish nominal, or in a specifier position of an English nominal.

The above generalizations show that first, the thematic restrictions on the distribution of arguments in derived nominals seem to be not only language specific but might be true universally, and second, that there is an overlap between specifier position of an English nominal and a genitive position of a Polish nominal. The difference between the two stems from the availability in English of a second genitive position – a postnominal *of*-phrase. This makes it possible in English, with agentive constructions, to express in a specifier position an Agent argument once the Patient is already expressed in an *of*-phrase. Since, despite the availability of the two genitive positions in English, there is a restriction for Neutral argument nevertheless, this further strengthens our argument for the reality of the thematic restriction on Neutral in derived nominals and for the relevance of the existence of this thematic relation itself.

We hope that this paper contributes to the development of the theory of thematic relations and supports their relevance in linguistic theory.

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DOES THE OBLIGATORY CONTOUR PRINCIPLE OPERATE IN POLISH?*

The purpose of this paper is to bring to attention some facts from Polish which appear to bear on the operation of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). Although the evidence cannot be taken as conclusive, it seems that in general the structure of Polish can be described better if we do not evoke the OCP. The interest of the analysis is that the evidence appears to be contradictory. From one point of view the OCP seems to induce the desired effects, while from the other point of view it leads to incorrect results. The structure of the paper is as follows. We begin by looking at the evidence that seems to motivate the operation of the OCP in Polish. We then pursue the consequences of our analysis for some further rules. These consequences turn out to be uniformly negative, which raises the question of whether it is correct to assume that the OCP holds for Polish.

1. DERIVED IMPERFECTIVE LOWERING

In Polish, like in other Slavic languages, verbs may appear either in the so-called perfective form or in the imperfective form. The latter denotes frequentative action. The imperfective form is derived from the perfective form by adding the suffix *-aj*. The phonetic representations of this suffix are [aj] before vowels and [a] before consonants since Polish has a rule of *j*-deletion (see Rubach 1984:92ff).

As is well known, the imperfective suffix *-aj* induces some changes in the vowel of the verb root. In the framework of generative phonology, these changes have traditionally been accounted for by postulating the rule of

* I would like to thank Charles Kisseberth for discussion.

Derived Imperfective Tensing (Laskowski 1975:74, Gussmann 1980:74). This rule has been assumed to be responsible for both the surfacing of the so-called 'yers' (high lax vowels) and for the change of //o// to [a]¹. Not to distract the reader, I will discuss the relevant facts in the appendix, where I will show that the collapsing of the rule which changes //o// to [a] with the rule which accounts for the surfacing of the yers is an overgeneralization. For the moment, I will simply assume that the alternations of [o] and [a] are governed by a rule of their own.

Consider the following data:

(1) Perfective		Derived Imperfective
u + proszcz + a [u + prošč + oŵ]	—	u + praszcz + aj + a
'they will simplify'		'they simplify'
o + glosz + a [o + gwoš + oŵ]	—	o + głasz + aj + a
'they will announce'		'they announce'
nagrodz + a [nagroʒ + oŵ]	—	nagradz + aj + a
'they will reward'		'they reward'
u + zbroj + a [u + zbroj + oŵ]	—	u + zbraj + aj + a
'they will arm'		'they arm'

The generalization is clear. Polish must have a rule which lowers /o/ to [a] in derived imperfectives. We state it informally as follows:

- (2) DI Lowering $o \rightarrow a / \text{ — } C_o a j_{DI}$

DI Lowering is a very productive rule. This is best shown by the fact that in recent years it has started affecting the so-called 'nasal vowels'². In spite of the efforts on the part of the normative grammarians to suppress the incoming change, it is now commonplace to find [a] in derived imperfectives such as the following:

(3) wy + łącz + a [vi + wonč + oŵ]	—	wy + [wanč] + aj + a
'they will switch off'		'they switch off'
wy + mądrz + a [vi + mondž + oŵ]	—	wy + [mandž] + aj + a
'they will play clever'		'they play clever'
za + kasz + a [za + kōwš + oŵ]	—	za + [kāwš] + aj + a
'they will have a snack'		'they have a snack'
na + dąż + a [na + dōwž + oŵ]	—	na + [dāwž] + aj + a
'they will manage'		'they manage'

¹ I use double slashes // // to enclose underlying representations, single slashes / / for intermediate stages and the traditional [] for phonetic representations.

² Phonetically, the 'nasal vowels' are nasal only before fricatives, where they are part of nasal diphthongs. Before stops and affricates they are represented as sequences of oral vowels and nasal consonants, compare the data in (3). For a theoretical discussion of 'nasal vowels', see Rubach 1984:chapter 5.

In terms of its status as a rule, DI Lowering would fall within the class of lexical (cyclic) rules since it refers to the grammatical information: derived imperfective.

The data analyzed so far would be of little interest if not for the fact that Polish seems to be developing a harmony process which is a complement to DI Lowering:

(4) o + swobodz + a	—	o + swabadz + aj + a
'they will liberate'		'they liberate'
u + spokoj + a	—	u + spakaj + aj + a
'they will make quiet'		'they make quiet'
u + osob + ia [-b' + joŵ]	—	u + asab + ia + a [-b' + jaj + oŵ]
'they will personify'		'they personify'
u + sposob + ia [-b' + joŵ]	—	u + spasab + ia + a [-b' + jaj + oŵ]
'they will develop an attitude'		'they develop an attitude'

Observe that both *o* vowels of the verb root change into [a]. This is a new development and hence it has passed unnoticed in the generative descriptions of Polish. As a fact about the pronunciation of Polish, it is not quite recognized by normative grammarians. Thus, Doroszewski (1973) in *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny* (Dictionary of Correct Polish) permits the *a...a* pronunciations only in some words: *o + swabadz + aj + a* 'they liberate' in our list is one such case. An informal elicitation experiment which I have conducted with a group of educated native speakers of Polish points to the fact that *a...a* pronunciations are much more frequent than the *Dictionary of Correct Polish* would like us to believe, hence in what follows I will not be concerned with the judgements of the normative grammarians.

Let us establish the exact environment in which the left hand *o* in the verb roots in (4) changes into *a*. There is no doubt that this change is directly connected to the fact that the right hand *o* has been turned into *a* by DI Lowering. This connection comes to light when we consider examples such as *na + gromadz + a* 'they will accumulate' — *na + gromadz + aj + a* 'they accumulate'. Notice that here the *o* of the verb root is not affected. It is clear that this is due to the fact that the capitalized *A* of *na + gromAdz + aj + a* (DI) is not a derived segment. As shown by the perfective form *na + gromAdz + a*, the *A* is part of the underlying representation. This is confirmed further by *gromad + a* 'group', the noun from which the verb *na + gromadz + a + ć* 'to accumulate' has been derived.

Thus we have arrived at the following generalization: //o// changes into [a] before a derived /a/. This is a classic case of a derived environment rule, as discovered originally by Kiparsky (1973) and developed further by Lexical Phonology. The rule, which we call Vowel Harmony, is stated in (5):

- (5) Vowel Harmony $o \rightarrow a / \rightarrow C_o a$

Rule (5) is cyclic and hence it applies exclusively in derived environments. The *a* in *na + gromadz + aj + q* 'they accumulate' comes directly from the underlying representation and hence it cannot function as an environment for rule (5).

Unfortunately, at a closer inspection it turns out that our rule is incorrect: Vowel Harmony does not apply in environments which are derived morphologically, that is, where the conditioning segment appears in the neighbouring morpheme:

- (6) kot 'cat' — kot + a (gen. sg.)
bok 'side' — bok + ami (instr. pl.)

This is very disappointing. We are forced to accept a rather uninteresting interpretation: the fact that the /a/ is derived and not underlying must be written into the formal statement of Vowel Harmony. In other words, during the derivation we must be able to distinguish between the underlying *a*'s and the derived *a*'s. To achieve this end, we modify DI Lowering to the extent that it now derives /ɔ/, a low round vowel:

- (7) DI Lowering $o \rightarrow \text{ɔ/} \text{ — } C_o \text{ aj}_{\text{DI}}$

Thus the mid *o* is turned into a low *o*. The phonetic output [a] is derived further by a redundancy rule which states that all low vowels in Polish are nonround.

The Vowel Harmony rule is now formulated as follows:

- (8) Vowel Harmony $o \rightarrow \text{ɔ/} \text{ — } C_o \text{ ɔ}$

We might wish to state these rules formally. In particular, it should be made explicit that there is a phonetic relationship between the output and the environment both in DI Lowering and in Vowel Harmony. The desired effect is achieved by spreading the feature [+low]. We use the formal alphabet spelled out in Clements (1985) and in Schein and Steriade (1986), where phonetic features are grouped under nodes³. We assume that *o* is specified as round (labial) when DI Lowering applies and that consonants in Polish are never specified for any value of [$\pm$ low]. Consequently, they are transparent to the spreading of [$\pm$ low] from one vowel to another:

- (9) DI Lowering
- | | | |
|---------------|---------|--------------|
| [−high] | [+back] | [+low] |
| ├───┬───┬───┐ | | |
| dorsal | | dorsal |
| | | |
| place | | place |
| | | |
| root [−cons] | | root [−cons] |
| | | |
| X | | X |
- X_{DI}

³ Steriade and Schein's system which has been adopted from Clements (1985) and Halle (1986)

Vowel Harmony is stated as rule (10):

- (10) Vowel Harmony
- | | | |
|---------------|---------|--------------|
| [−high] | [+back] | [+low] |
| ├───┬───┬───┐ | | |
| dorsal | | dorsal |
| | | |
| place | | place |
| | | |
| root [−cons] | | root [−cons] |
| | | |
| X | | X |
- labial

Given these rules the derivation of *o + swabadz + aj + q* 'they liberate' proceeds as in (11). Recall that *o + swabadz + aj + q* is the imperfective form of *o + swobodz + q* (see the examples in (4) above). We are looking at the portion of the derivation that contains the root and the derived imperfective suffix *-aj*. Note: /ʒ/ is the alveolar voiced affricate:

- (11) -svoboz + aj-
svoboz + aj DI Lowering (9)
svoboz + aj Vowel Harmony (10)
svabaz + aj Low Vowel Redundancy: [+low] → [−lab]

Although the rules that we have postulated can correctly account for the data, the whole solution is clearly unsatisfying. Vowel Harmony is the weak link. What is particularly disturbing is the fact that the information 'derived by DI Lowering' must be encoded in the statement of the rule. The easiest way to overcome this difficulty is to assume that the change from /o/ to [a] takes place in one step for both vowels. In other words, the suggestion is that the two *o*'s should be treated as if they were one vowel. It is in this connection that we evoke the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP).

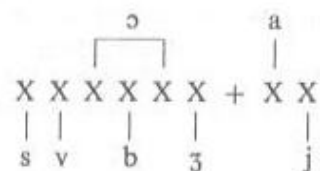
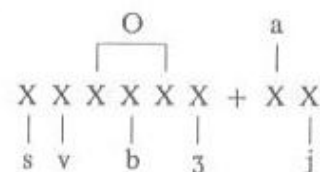
The OCP, which originally comes from Leben's (1973) treatment of tone, has been adopted for segmental phonology by McCarthy:

- (12) Obligatory Contour Principle
At the melodic level, adjacent identical segments are prohibited (McCarthy 1986: 208).

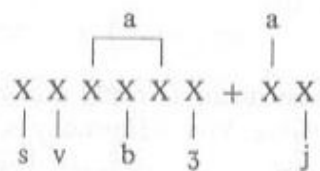
assumes the structure of nodes whose hierarchy is as follows. The root node which is linked directly to the skeleton groups the laryngeal and the supralaryngeal nodes. The supralaryngeal node dominates the feature [nasal] and the place node. The place node includes three further nodes: coronal (features: anterior, distributed and lateral), dorsal (features: high, low and back) and labial.

The function of this principle is to enforce multiple linking of neighbouring identical segments. Thus, to achieve the desired effect, we only need to find a way of interpreting the two *o*'s in (11) as adjacent. This interpretation is readily available if we assume that vowels (syllabic segments) and consonants are on separate tiers in Polish⁴. Now Vowel Harmony is no longer necessary as a rule. The derivation in (11) is replaced by that in (13):

(13)



DI Lowering



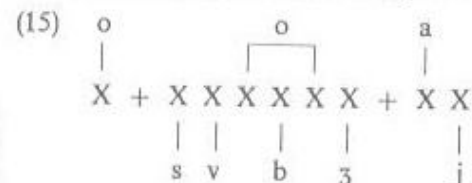
Low Vowel Redundancy

Let us recall that the full imperfective form of the word for 'liberate' is *o+swabadz+aj+q* (3rd p. pl.). We observe that the *o* of the prefix does not change to [a]. This is a generalization. Consider the data in (14):

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| (14) <i>o+głosz+q</i> | — | <i>o+głasza+aj+q</i> |
| 'they will announce' | | 'they announce' |
| <i>po+złoc+q</i> | — | <i>po+złaca+aj+q</i> |
| 'they will gild' | | 'they gild' |
| <i>do+sol+q</i> | — | <i>do+sal+aj+q</i> |
| 'they will add salt' | | 'they add salt' |
| <i>od+naw+ia [-v'+joŵ]</i> | — | <i>od+naw+iaj+q [-v'+jaj+oŵ]</i> |
| 'they will renovate' | | 'they renovate' |
| <i>roz+złuszcz+q</i> | — | <i>roz+złaszcz+aj+q</i> |
| 'they will make angry' | | 'they make angry' |

⁴ With this assumption, our analysis is parallel to the analysis of Javanese in Kenstowicz (1986), from which I have drawn much inspiration.

Given McCarthy's (1986) theory of the OCP, the behaviour of the prefixes is a predictable result. McCarthy assumes that each morpheme is on a separate tier. Consequently, the OCP holds only in the domain of the morpheme. This means that the *o* of the prefix cannot be multiply linked with the *o* of the verb root. The structure of *o+swabadz+aj+q* 'they liberate' (DI) at the stage prior to the application of DI Lowering is thus the following:



The //o// of the prefix cannot undergo DI Lowering since it is not adjacent to the morpheme //aj//. As mentioned earlier, in this interpretation there is no rule of Vowel Harmony, hence the prefix *o* remains unaffected throughout the derivation. We seem to have arrived at a descriptively adequate analysis of vowel alternations in derived imperfectives.

2. IMPLICATIONS

Recall that the success of our analysis rests upon the assumption that vowels and consonants are on separate tiers in Polish since only then the OCP can apply and the inadequate Vowel Harmony rule can be dispensed with. We will now look at the implications of this analysis and at some consequences of applying the OCP. We will consider three problem areas: palatalization, polymorphemic domains, and variability.

2.1. Palatalization

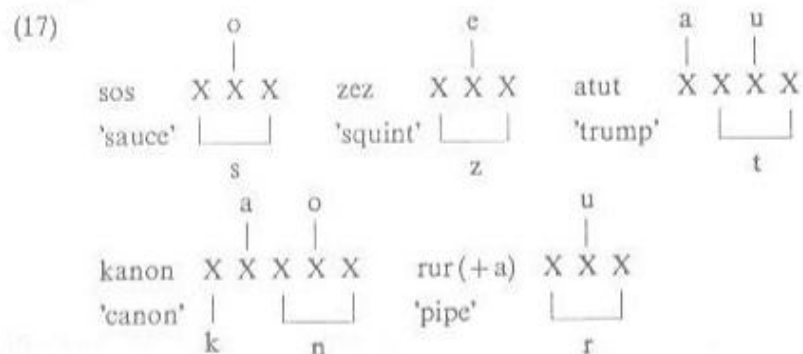
Polish has a rule of Coronal Palatalization which turns dentals into prepalatals and //rɫ// into [ʃ ʎ]. We state it informally as follows (for details, see Rubach 1984: 59ff.):

- $$(16) \quad \begin{array}{ccc} \text{s z} & & \text{ś ź} \\ \text{t d} & & \text{ć ǰ} \\ \text{Coronal Pal.} & \rightarrow & \text{n} \rightarrow \text{ɲ} \quad / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---cons} \\ \text{---back} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{r ɫ} & & \text{ʃ ʎ} \end{array}$$

Note: [ɲ ʎ] are prepalatal affricates.

With our assumption that vowels and consonants are on separate tiers, morpheme-internal 'long distance' identical consonants must be multiply linked, an effect which is produced by the OCP. We therefore have a single

segment as a representation on the melodic level in words such as the following:



The prediction made by these representations is that Coronal Palatalization should treat the multiply linked segments in the same manner as singly linked segments. Unfortunately, this is not the case. It is only the directly adjacent segment that undergoes Coronal Palatalization⁵:

(18)	nom. sg.		loc. sg.: ending //e//
	sos 'sauce'	—	sos+ie [soś+e]
	zez 'squint'	—	zez+ie [zeź+e]
	atut 'trump'	—	atut+ie [atuć+e]
	kanon 'canon'	—	kanon+ie [kanon+e]
	rur+a 'pipe'	—	rur+z+e [ruż+e]

One obvious move to make at this point is to assume that Coronal Palatalization applies after tier conflation when 'long distance' identical segments have become singly linked (see McCarthy 1986). The difficulty with this assumption is that tier conflation may take place at the end of the stratum or component but not in the middle of it (McCarthy 1986). As shown by *zez+ie* 'squint' (loc. sg.): //zez+e// → [zeź+e] and amply motivated in Rubach (1984), Coronal Palatalization is a cyclic rule and hence it is in the same component as DI Lowering. In sum, tier conflation cannot be evoked to solve the problem that we have encountered.

⁵ I have not studied the ways of formalizing Coronal Palatalization in an autosegmental framework. Perhaps such a study might uncover a way of avoiding the difficulties that arise in the analysis that recognizes multiple linking. Note further that Steriade and Schein's (1986) Inapplicability Condition (developed from Hayes 1986) is of no help. First, it is not clear whether the Condition would be applicable since it refers to rules that involve two tiers, one of which is normally the skeleton. This is not the case in our rules. Second, assuming that the Inapplicability Condition could be evoked, it would lead to an incorrect result since Coronal Palatalization would be blocked in its application to both segments (see the examples in (18) below).

2.2. Polymorphemic domains

A different type of difficulty comes to sight when we look at the word *wy+narad+aw+[j]aj+q*⁶ 'they denationalize'. It is the imperfective form *wy+narod+ow+[j]q* 'they will denationalize' whose morphemic structure is motivated by the following set of forms:

- (19) *naród* //narod// 'nation'

narod+ow+y 'national': -ow is the adjectivizing morpheme and -y is the masc. nom. sg. ending

wy+narod+ow+i+ć 'denationalize', where -i is the verbalizing morpheme, *wy-* is the perfective prefix and -ć is the infinitive suffix.

The input to DI Lowering is thus found in two morphemes: in the root and in the adjectivizing morpheme //narod+ow//. This presents a problem since, as has already been said, the OCP has the morpheme as its domain. Consequently, the two *o*'s cannot be multiply linked and hence the *o* of the root cannot undergo DI Lowering. The result is incorrect.

The words *prze+pal+ow+[j]q* 'they will cut into two halves' and *za+dom+ow+[j]q* 'they will make themselves at home' are entirely parallel to *wy+narod+ow+[j]q* 'they will denationalize'. Both *o*'s change to [a] in derived imperfectives: *prze+pal+aw+[j]aj+q* 'they cut into two halves', *za+dam+aw+[j]aj+q* 'they make themselves at home'.

2.3. Variability

The third problem area for the interpretation that proposes multiple linking is the variable nature of the data. While turning //o// into [a] before -aj in the immediately preceding syllable is uniformly obligatory for all speakers, the change of //o// into [a] in the non-neighbouring syllable is often optional⁷. Thus, for many speakers, forms such as those on the right in (20) are in free variation (compare the data in (4) above):

(20)	o+swobodz+q	—	o+swabadz+aj+q
	'they will liberate'		o+swobodz+aj+q
			'they liberate'
	u+spokoj+q	—	u+spakaj+aj+q
	'they will quiet down'		u+spokaj+aj+q
			'they quiet down'
	wy+narod+ow+[j]q	—	wy+narad+aw+[j]aj+q
	'they will denationalize'		wy+narod+aw+[j]aj+q
			'they denationalize'

⁶ This form is listed in *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny* (Dictionary of Correct Polish).

⁷ Much fieldwork is necessary to establish the exact nature of this variation.

If we proceed on our assumption that the *o*'s are multiply linked, then the variation in (20) cannot be explained. In fact, the prediction is made that such variation should not exist.

2.4. Single linking

The difficulties that we have encountered in this section will all disappear if we give up the earlier claim that vowels and consonants are on separate tiers in Polish. Since the relevant *o*'s are always separated by consonants, the OCP will not be able to enforce multiple linking. Thus, the representation of *o* + *swabadz* + *aj* + *q* 'they liberate' will be as in (21) rather than as in (13). We look at the structure: root + suffix.

- (21) X X X X X X + X X
 | | | | | | | |
 s v o b o ʒ a j

The application of Coronal Palatalization (section 2.1) to words such as *sos* + *ie* // *sos* + *e* // 'sauce' (loc. sg.) will not be a problem since the two *s*'s will be singly linked. The lack of multiple linking in *wy* + *narad* + *aw* + [j] *aj* + *q* 'they denationalize' (section 2.2) will not lead to any difficulties because Vowel Harmony (which then becomes necessary as a rule) can complement the changes induced by DI Lowering. The variation described in 2.3 can receive a simple explanation: Vowel Harmony is becoming established as a rule and hence in the transition period it still has a number of exceptions. Since each of the two *a*'s in *u* + *spokaj* + *q* 'they will quiet down' — *u* + *spakaj* + *aj* + *q* (DI) is derived by a different rule, it is perfectly possible that the change of one *o* to *a* need not imply the change of the other *o* to *a*.

What remains as an unanswered question is the behaviour of the //o// in the prefixes (see (14) above). Recall that this *o* never changes to *a*. However, there is no reason for concern. In Polish it is generally true that only phrase phonology rules can affect segments at the juncture between the prefix and the stem. To accommodate such facts, Booij and Rubach (1984) have proposed that prefixes are phonological words. This proposal is supported additionally by the observation that resyllabification is blocked at prefix junctures but not at morpheme junctures (see Booij and Rubach 1984). In sum, there is nothing unusual in the behaviour of the prefix //o// towards Vowel Harmony. Like many other rules in Polish, Vowel Harmony has the phonological word as its domain.

We seem to have arrived at the conclusion that the OCP does not operate in Polish. However, this fact need not be taken as an argument against the OCP itself. The same range of data can be accounted for by assuming that vowels and consonants are on the same tier. This will preclude the application of the OCP in the cases which we have analyzed. The intriguing question is

what happens if we have clusters of immediately adjacent identical vowels or consonants. Such structures will be subject to the OCP even if vowels and consonants are on the same tier.

Vowel clusters such as //oo// in *koordynacja* 'coordination' are of no interest since they do not meet the environment of any phonological rule. The relevant observations can be made by inspecting consonant clusters, to which we turn now.

3. GEMINATES

Polish has a class of words which have clusters of identical consonants⁸. The consonants are geminates in the sense that they are not separated by vowels at any stage of derivation⁹ and that they are pronounced as long. Thus, a phonetic distinction is made between words such as *Budda* 'Buddha' and *buda* 'kennel'. The interesting fact is that clusters of identical consonants behave towards palatalization rules as if they were sequences and not geminates, that is, only the segment which is immediately adjacent to the palatalizing vowel is affected:

- (22) a. nom. sg. loc. sg.
 Budd + a — Buddz + ie [budʑ + e]
 'Buddha'
 gett + o — getc + ie [getɕ + e]
 'ghetto'
 pass + a — pass + ie [paɕ + e]¹⁰
 'spell'
 mirr + a — mirrz + e [m'irʒ + e]
 'myrrh'
 b. Mekk + a — Mekk + e [mekk + e]
 'Mekka' (loc. sg.)
 miękk + a — z + miękc + y + ɕ
 'soft' (fem. nom. sg.)¹¹ [z + m'jɛŋkɕ + i + ɕ]
 'to soften'

⁸ Most but not all of these words are borrowings from the etymological point of view.

⁹ Phonetically, there are many more 'long consonants' but they are derived from representations which contain an intervening vowel. The vowel is deleted in the course of phonological derivation. Thus, they are not geminates at the underlying level.

¹⁰ The first three examples (but not the others below) may end up with phonetic geminates [ʂʂ ɕɕ ʒʒ]. However, this happens only in rapid speech (see Rubach 1984: 104 n. 7). In slow speech the contrasts are very clear.

¹¹ Phonetically, we have a single [k] here due to Degemination which applies in the context of consonants (see Rubach 1984: 105 n. 19). Note: the nasal vowel letter ɕ stands for a sequence of a vowel and a nasal consonant. The pronunciation of *miękk + a* is [m'jɛŋk + a].

- Note: [c ʒ] – alveolar affricates
 [ʃ ʒ̥] – postalveolar fricatives
 [č ʒ̥] – postalveolar affricates
 [ʃ̟ ʒ̥] – prepalatal fricatives
 [č̟ ʒ̥] – prepalatal affricates

The OCP enforces multiple linking in all the examples in (22).

We thus have the following representations:

- (23) nom. sg.: Budd+a X X X X + X Mekk+a X X X X + X
 | | | | | | | |
 b u d d m e k k
 loc. sg.: Buddz+ie X X X X + X Mekk+e X X X X + X
 | | | | | | | |
 b u d d m e k k

These representations present a serious problem to our analysis. The question is how to avoid the application of palatalization rules to the left half of the geminate, that is, how to avoid generating *[mecc+e] for the correct [mekc+e].

In the cases where Coronal Palatalization (16) applies to the examples in (22), we might try to resort to some manipulation in the statement of the spreading of [-back]. For example, we could perhaps try to spread it to one X slot but not to the other. (This is assuming that such a move would in general be permitted for segmental rules.) No such options seem to exist for the changes of velars in (22b). The crucial observation here is that velar palatalizations (First Velar and Second Velar, see Rubach 1984:chap. 5) are purely feature changing operations which are devoid of any direct phonetic motivation: [+back] sounds (velars) are turned into [+back] affricates and fricatives. That is, the sounds produced by velar palatalizations are 'hard' and not 'soft'¹². This contrasts with the obstruent inputs to Coronal Palatalization. They end up as phonetically 'soft' prepalatal consonants [ʃ̟ ʒ̥ č̟ ʒ̥]. In sum, while Coronal Palatalization may perhaps be construed as a rule of spreading, velar palatalizations may not. They must therefore be operations on the melody tier alone. Now multiple linking leads to incorrect derivations: at the melody level palatalization rules cannot tell the difference between singly and multiply linked consonants. Consequently, *Mekk+a* – *Mekk+e* ends up as the incorrect *[mecc+e]. That is, it is derived in the same manner as words such as *bibliotek+a* 'library' – *bibliotek+e* (loc. sg.).

¹² Historically, they used to be 'soft' but lost their [-back] specification some four hundred years ago, that is, they 'hardened'. In other words, at some point in the history of Polish velar palatalizations may have been phonetically motivated and hence then they were probably best stated as rules of spreading.

There is a simple solution to our problem: assume that the OCP does not operate in Polish. The consequence of this assumption is that identical segments need not be multiply linked. Thus, the representations in (23) are replaced by those in (24):

- (24) nom. sg.: Budd+a X X X X + X Mekk+a X X X X + X
 | | | | | | | |
 b u d d m e k k
 loc. sg.: Buddz+ie X X X X + X Mekk+e X X X X + X
 | | | | | | | |
 b u d d m e k k

With these representations it is clear that palatalization rules may affect only the immediately preceding consonant. In this way we derive the correct phonetic representations without any difficulty.

4. CONCLUSION

The picture that has emerged from our analysis is not particularly clear. The initial gains in applying the OCP to derived imperfectives are balanced by the fact that the OCP leads to considerable complications in some other areas of Polish phonology (section 2). For the OCP to adequately cover derived imperfectives, it would be necessary to assume that it applies in domains which are larger than the morpheme (section 2.2). This runs afoul of McCarthy's (1986) results. Even if we ignore the domain problem, it still remains a fact that the OCP makes the statement of variation difficult, if not impossible (section 2.3). The behaviour of geminates (section 3) seems to outweigh the odds: the OCP should not operate in Polish. However, if this is true, then we have to accept the fact that Polish has Vowel Harmony, rule (10). This is unfortunate since Vowel Harmony seems inadequate as a rule because it encodes the information that it applies exclusively to the outputs of DI Lowering. The analysis is theoretically unsatisfying, although descriptively it is correct.

APPENDIX

DERIVED IMPERFECTIVE TENSING

The reader will recall that we have assumed that Derived Imperfective Lowering is a separate rule from the rule known as Derived Imperfective Tensing. We will now briefly motivate this distinction.

As is well known, Polish exhibits a pattern of *e* – *i/i̥* – zero vowel alternations, for example: *zamek* [-mek] 'lock' (N) – *zamyk+aj+a* [-mik-] 'they lock' (DI) – *zamk+a* [-mk-] 'lock' (gen. sg.). These alternations are traditionally accounted for by postulating underlying high lax vowels of which one is palatalizing /i/ and the other is not (/i̥/). These vowels, called 'yers',

lower to [e] before $C_0 \#^{13}$ and delete elsewhere by the context-free rule of Yer Deletion: *zamek* //zamik// → [zamek] vs. *zamk + a* //zamik + a// → [zamk + a]. In derived imperatives yers tense to [i i], which blocks Yer Deletion. The tensing rule is as follows

$$(25) \text{ DI Tensing } \begin{Bmatrix} i \\ i \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} i \\ i \end{Bmatrix} / \text{ — } C_0 \#_{\text{DET}}$$

It is rule (25) that derives the [i] in *zamyk + aj + q* 'they lock' (DI).

Traditionally, DI Tensing is stated more broadly in order to include the alternations of //o// and [a] which are found in derived imperatives (see Gussmann 1980:74). In other words, our rule of DI Lowering (9) is not recognized as separate from DI Tensing (25). As we will see, collapsing the two rules is an overgeneralization and it leads to a factually incorrect analysis.

The real generalization is the following: DI Tensing (25) applies only to the verbs which belong to the so-called C-stem class (for the classification of verbs, see Rubach 1984:35). These are the verbs that do not have any vocalic verbalizing suffixes. Compare the alternations of zero and *i/i* in the following verbs (the *i/i* are due to rule 25):

- (26) *za + czn + q* [-čn-] — *za + czyn + aj + q* [-čin-]
 'they will begin' 'they begin'
na + dm + q [-dm-] — *na + dym + aj + q* [dim-]
 'they will inflate' 'they inflate'
wy + sch + n + q [-sx-] — *wy + sych + aj + q* [-six]¹⁴
 'they will dry' 'they dry'

In contrast to the examples in (26), words which are verbalizations by adding a vocalic suffix are systematically excluded from the operation of DI Tensing. That is, in these words the yers do not tense to [i i]:

- (27) *mydl + o* 'soap' — *mydel* (gen.pl): *e* — zero alternation, hence //midil// — *mydl + i + č* //midil + i + č// 'to soap', where *-i* is the verbalizing suffix — *na + mydl + aj + q* //na + midil + i + aj + om// 'they soap' (DI)
win + a 'guilt' — *win + n + y* 'guilty' (masc., full form) — *win + ien* [v'in + en] 'guilty' (masc., short form): *e* — zero alternation, hence //vin + in// — *u + nie + win + n + i + č* //vin + in + i + č// 'to acquit', verbalization by adding *-i* — *u + nie + win + n + iaj + q* 'they acquit', phonetic [-v'in + n + aj-] derived from underlying //vin + in + i + aj + om//

¹³ This is a simplification. Below, also some other simplifications are made. For a more complete account of both yer lowering and verb morphonology, see Rubach (1984).

¹⁴ The morpheme represented as *-n* in the perfective form is regularly dropped before *-aj* (see Rubach 1984:88 ff.).

Observe that the roots have underlying yers in both (26) and (27) but these yers surface as [i i] only in (26). That is, DI Tensing (25) applies if the root is not followed by the vowel of the verbalizing suffix. Clearly it must be this vowel that blocks DI Tensing in (27). The verbalizing vowel is not found in the phonetic representation of derived imperatives since Polish, like other Slavic languages, has a rule that simplifies vowel clusters. This rule was originally discovered by Jakobson (1948):

$$(28) \text{ Vowel Deletion } V \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ — } V_{\text{Verb}}$$

The derivation of *za + czyn + aj + q* 'they begin' (see 26) and *na + mydl + aj + q* 'they soap' (see 27) proceeds as follows. We omit the prefix cycle and the WFRs:

(29)	(za) čin + aj + om	(na) midil + i + aj + om	
Cycle 2	čín + aj čín + aj — —	midil + i — — midil + i	DI Tensing (25) Vowel Deletion (28) Coronal Pal. (16)
Cycle 3	čín + aj + om — — —	midil + i + aj — midil + aj —	DI Tensing Vowel Deletion Coronal Pal.
Cycle 4	—	midil + aj + om BLOCKED — —	DI Tensing Vowel Deletion Coronal Pal.
Postcyclic	—	midl + aj + om	Yer Deletion (context-free)

The Strict Cyclicity Constraint blocks the application of DI Tensing on cycle 4 since the structure /midil + aj/ is not derived on that cycle.

In sum, the relevant generalization capturing the different behaviour of the words in (26) and in (27) is expressed by ordering DI Tensing before Vowel Deletion and hence the verbalizing suffix //i// can block the tensing.

With this conclusion in mind let us return to our original examples which motivated the postulation of DI Lowering (recall the examples in (1) above). They are all verbalizations by adding the suffix //i//, that is, they are entirely parallel to the words in (27). For instance:

- (30) *prost + y* 'simple', *-y* is the nom. sg. ending — *u + prośc + i + č* //u + prost + i + č// 'to simplify', where *-i* is the verbalizing morpheme and *-č* is the infinitive suffix — *u + praszcz + aj + q* //u + prost + i + aj + om// 'they simplify': the imperfective form derived by adding *-aj* to the verb stem //u + prost + i//

Also: glos 'voice' - glos+i+ć //glos+i+ć// 'to voice' o+glos+i+ć //o+glos+i+ć// 'to announce' - o+głosz+aj+ą 'they announce' (DI), etc.¹⁵

Notice that as long as the verbalizing //i// is there, DI Lowering cannot apply since we know that the presence of an intervening vowel blocks the rule, compare *na+gromadz+aj+ą* 'they accumulate': the *o* remains unaffected. Consequently, in order for DI Lowering to have a chance to apply, it must be ordered after Vowel Deletion. This precludes the possibility of collapsing DI Tensing and DI Lowering. The two rules have different ordering. The proper sequence is: DI Tensing, Vowel Deletion, DI Lowering¹⁶.

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¹⁵ The remaining verbs in (1) are derived from *nagrod+a* 'reward' (N) and *zbroj+a* 'armour', respectively.

¹⁶ In Kenstowicz and Rubach (1987) it is argued that in Slovak yers are segments at the melody tier with no representation at the skeletal and the syllabic tiers. This interpretation can be easily extended to Polish. Its consequence is that DI Tensing (25) must be replaced by a rule which inserts the slot X along with the nucleus N. With this interpretation of the yers, the argument for the separation of DI Tensing and DI Lowering becomes much stronger. The two rules perform totally different operations and hence they could not be collapsed even if the ordering problem did not arise.

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O KOMBAJNACH, EKONOMAJZERACH, INTERFEJSACH I ICH KREWNIAKACH

Jest oczywiste, że po okresach wpływów czeskich, niemieckich, włoskich, francuskich (nie licząc łacińskich i greckich, których charakter i okoliczności przejmowania były odmienne) od kilkudziesięciu lat polszczyzna weszła w fazę intensywnego oddziaływania na nią języka angielskiego, który w latach po drugiej wojnie światowej stał się praktycznie jedynym spośród żywych języków źródłem zapożyczeń leksykalnych, ogarniając coraz to nowe dziedziny znaczeniowe od sportu i żeglarsstwa poczynając, przez szerokie obszary terminologii technicznej, zarówno specjalistycznej, jak i potocznej, po słownictwo z zakresu muzyki, filmu, mody, polityki, ekonomii i wielu innych¹. Założenia i rozmiary niniejszego szkicu nie pozwalają autorowi rościć pretensji do gruntownej analizy geopolitycznych przyczyn takiego stanu rzeczy; wystarczy skonstatować, że rosnąca pozycja angielszczyzny jako nie kwestionowanej już dziś przez nikogo „lingua franca” współczesnego świata nakazuje przewidywać dalsze nasilenie się tego nurtu zapożyczeń, nie tylko do języka polskiego, lecz do wszystkich innych (globalny zasięg omawianego zjawiska nadaje mu nową jakość, nieporównywalną do tej, która charakteryzowała sytuację historycznych języków międzynarodowych, jak greka, łacina, arabski, suahili i innych).

Angielskie pożyczki językowe w polszczyźnie nie doczekały się dotychczas nie tylko kompletnego, ale nawet obszerniejszego opracowania monograficznego², gdy idzie zarówno o inwentaryzację, jak i chronologię, a także sposoby

¹ Por. I. Grabowska, *Nowsze zapożyczenia angielskie w języku polskim*, Prace Filologiczne XXIII, 1972, s. 221.

² Wśród ważniejszych prac należy wymienić, poczynając od przedwojennego artykułu H. Koniecznej, *Wyrazy angielskie w języku polskim*, Poradnik Językowy 1936/37, oprócz I. Grabowskiej, *op.cit.*, przede wszystkim publikacje J. Fisiaka, *Złożony kontakt językowy w procesie*

adaptacji, jednak niektórzy autorzy³ zwracają uwagę na przyczyny komplikujące procesy asymilacyjne, a zwłaszcza na: 1) znaczną odmienną angielskiego i polskiego systemu fonologicznego, przede wszystkim w zakresie wokalizmu, 2) właściwości pisowni angielskiej, odległej od wymowy, co powoduje inny efekt w zależności od tego, czy zapożyczenie ma charakter graficzny czy fonetyczny, 3) fakt, że znaczna liczba wyrazów przejmowanych z angielskiego jest pochodzenia łacińskiego lub romańskiego, co doprowadza do zderzenia ich już na gruncie polskim z dawniejszymi tradycjami adaptacyjnymi, 4) okoliczności historyczne powodujące, że co najmniej do połowy XIX wieku, a często i później, zapożyczenia angielskie docierały do polszczyzny za pośrednictwem języka francuskiego i niemieckiego, 5) stosunkowo niedługi czas gwałtownego napływu anglicyzmów, nie sprzyjający ukształtowaniu się zasad poprawnościowych w tym zakresie.

Zaskakuje niemal zupełnie bierna postawa normatywistyki polskiej, tak zazwyczaj wyczulonej na „barbaryzmy”, zwłaszcza germanizmy i rusycyzmy. W wydawnictwach poprawnościowych rejestruje się, na ogół z dużym opóźnieniem, poszczególne formy, nie odmawiając im prawie nigdy akceptacji, z rozbrajającą bezradnością przytaczając formy wariantowe (*non-iron* lub *nonajron*), z rzadka jedynie proponując rodzimy odpowiednik (*slajd*, lepiej *przezroczce*), a i to tylko wtedy, gdy taki istniał w języku wcześniej. Wydawać by się mogło, że normatywiści początkowo nie doceniali rozmiarów „niebezpieczeństwa”, a potem zostali przytłoczeni potężną jego falą. Próby określenia stanowiska poprawnościowego obserwuje się częściej niż wśród językoznaw-

zapożyczenia z języka angielskiego do polskiego, *Język Polski* XLII, 1962, oraz tegoż *Phonemics of English Loanwords in Polish*, *Biuletyn Fonograficzny* IX, 1968, a także L. Hoffman, *Procesy przyswajania wyrazów angielskich w języku polskim*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Polskiego Uniwersytetu na Obczyźnie*, Londyn 1967, nr 4. Inne opracowania wymieniają pożyczki angielskie w ogólnych ramach leksykalnych wpływów obcych na polszczyznę, por. np. M. Basaj, *Wpływy obce na polszczyznę w sześćdziesięciolecie*, w: *Język i językoznawstwo polskie w sześćdziesięciolecie niepodległości (1918–1978)*, Wrocław 1981; W. Cienkowski, *Wpływy i zapożyczenia obce w powojennej polszczyźnie pisanej*, w: *Z zagadnień słownictwa współczesnego języka polskiego*, Wrocław 1978; J. Damborski, *Wyrazy obce w języku polskim (próba klasyfikacji)*, *Poradnik Językowy* 1974, nr 7; M. Jurkowski, *Wpływy obce na język polski w okresie sześćdziesięciolecia*, w: *Język i językoznawstwo polskie...*; A. Ropa, *O najnowszych zapożyczeniach w języku polskim*, *Poradnik Językowy* 1974, nr 10; H. Rybicka, *Łosy wyrazów obcych w języku polskim*, Warszawa 1976; M. Zarębina, *Zapożyczenia w polszczyźnie mówionej*, w: *Z zagadnień słownictwa...*. Przykłady pożyczek słownikowych podają też prace zajmujące się sposobami wzbogacania współczesnego słownictwa, por. np. K. Kowalik, *Sposoby wzbogacania współczesnego języka polskiego*, *Język Polski* LXVI, 1986, s. 5, tamże wybór bibliografii. Osobną grupę stanowią publikacje dotyczące wpływów angielskich na polszczyznę emigrantów w krajach anglofońskich. Podstawową pozycją jest tutaj monografia W. Doroszewskiego, *Język polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych A.P.*, Warszawa 1938; por. też artykuły w zbiorze *Z badań nad językiem polskim środowisk emigracyjnych*, pod red. S. Szlifarskiej, Wrocław 1981, tu zwłaszcza prace H. Członkowskiej i S. Dubisza.

³ Por. szczególnie J. Fisiak, *Złożony kontakt...*, s. 287 nn.

ców u przedstawicieli tych gałęzi nauki, gdzie napływ terminologii angielskiej jest szczególnie duży (fizyka, elektronika, informatyka), ale spotykamy się tutaj z bardzo rozbieżnymi postawami od skrajnego puryzmu po żywiołowy liberalizm.

Jednym ze szczegółowych zagadnień z zakresu adaptacji fonetycznej zapożyczeń angielskich, wymagającym, zdaniem autora, przedyskutowania pewnych ogólniejszych kwestii normatywnych, jest zasygnalizowana w tytułowych przykładach sprawa polskiej postaci graficznej i wymawianiowej takich wyrazów angielskich, w których występuje dyftongiczna wymowa samogłosek oddawanych w pisowni pojedynczym znakiem. Chodzi tu mianowicie o dwa typy: częstszy, gdzie graficznemu *-i-/-y-* odpowiada dyftong *-aj-*, pisany najczęściej jako *-aj-* (typ *kombajn*) oraz rzadszy, w którym graficzne *-a-* przyjmuje się jako *-ej-*, pisane *-ej-* (typ *interfejs*). Liczba zdomowionych już wyrazów o tych cechach nie jest na razie w polszczyźnie krajowej wielka; w typie pierwszym m.in. *autsajder*, *baj!* (pozdrowienie, zwłaszcza podwojone *baj-baj!*), *bajt* i pochodne (np. *dziesięciobajtowy*, tytuł czasopisma komputerowego dla dzieci *"Bajtek"*), *dajk*, *drajw* i pochodne (*drajwować*), *ekonomajzer*, *fajf*, *fajfoklok*, *fajter*, *kombajn* i poch. (*kombajnowy*, *kombajner*, *kombajnista*, a nawet *kombajnować*), *najlon*/*nylon* i pochodne (*najlonowy* przest.), *nonajron* i poch. (*nonajronowy*), *ofsajd* i poch. (*ofsajdowy*), *oldtajmer*, *rajd* i poch. (*rajdowy*, *rajdowiec*), *rajgras*, *skaj* i poch. (*skajowy*), *slajd* i poch. (*slajdowy*), *snajper* i poch. (*snajperka*, *snajperski*), *strajk* i poch. (*strajkowy*, *strajkować*, *łamistrak*). Osobną grupę stanowią formy pochodne od nazwisk, jak *bajronowski*, *bajroniczny* (*Byron*), *debajowski* (*Debye*, termin fizyczny), *obrajenowski* (*O'Brien*), teoretycznie także od nazw miejscowych, typu **brajtoński* (*Brighton*), **ohajski* (*Ohio*). Pokrewny problem stanowi wymowa imion znanych w tradycji polskiej w brzmieniu z *-i-*, zwłaszcza pochodzenia biblijnego i mitologicznego (*Dilajla*/*Dalila*; *Ajris*/*Irys*; *Lajza*/*Liza*; *Majk*, *Majkel*/*Michał* itp.).

W typie drugim wymienić można *bejzik* (*Basic*, nazwa języka komputerowego, *fejding*, *grejpfrut*, *interfejs*, czy *okej*); pisownia z *-ej-* nie pojawia się jeszcze we wszystkich przykładach.

Liczba ta jednak stale wzrasta, budząc niepokój bardziej wymagających użytkowników polszczyzny. Zanim spróbujemy odpowiedzieć na pytanie, co może ten niepokój wzmacniać, przytoczmy obszerny materiał z klasycznej już przedwojennej monografii Doroszewskiego⁴. Autor jej dość pobieżnie zanalizował zasady adaptacji fonetycznej zapożyczeń angielskich (tj. amerykańskich) w gwarze Polonii w USA, ale z indeksu możemy wynotować sporą garść przykładów interesującego nas typu. Do grupy pierwszej (*-aj-*) należą: *ajdija* (idea 'pomysł'), *Ajrysz* (*Irish* 'Irlandczyk'), *beciu'lajf* (*bet your life*, idiomatyczne

⁴ W. Doroszewski, *op.cit.*

zakłęcie o znaczeniu w przybliżeniu 'można dać głowę'), *dajma* (*dime* '10 centów'), *drajgudstor* (*dry-goods-store* 'sklep z artykułami przemysłowymi'), *drajw* (*drive*, w odróżnieniu od znanego w polszczyźnie krajowej *drajwu*, terminu sportowego używanego głównie w tenisie 'uderzenie podkręconą piłką', tutaj w ogólnym sensie 'akcja'), *drajwer* (*driver* 'kierowca'), *ekersajz* (*exercise* 'ćwiczenie'), *fajer* (*fire* 'pożar'), *fajn* (*fine* 'ładnie, dobrze'), *fajt* (*fight* 'walka, zwłaszcza w boksie'), *fajtować się* (*to fight* 'walczyć w zawodach sportowych, zwłaszcza w boksie'), *fordziulaj* (*Forth July*, nazwa święta), *lo'rajt*, *o'rajt* (*all right* 'w porządku, dobrze'), *majna* (*mine* 'kopalnia'), *majner* (*miner* 'górnik'), *munsiajn* (*moonshine* 'księżyc'), *newer'maj* (*never mind* 'nie szkodzi'), *paj* (*pie* 'ciasto, zwłaszcza z owocami'), *pajnta* (*pint* 'miara napoju, zwłaszcza piwa'), *rajbrod* (*ryebroad* 'chleb żytni'), *rajdu'lej* (*right away* 'od razu, natychmiast'), *sajdrum* (*side-room* 'boczny pokój, zaplecze'), *sajdlok* (*sidewalk* 'chodnik'), *sosajda*, *sosajta* (*society*, 'towarzystwo'), *strajkier* (*striker* 'strajkujący'), *strytlajna* (*streetline* 'tory tramwajowe'), *szajster* (*shyster* 'krętacz'), *tajprafter* (*typewriter* 'maszyna do pisania'), *tajsa* (*tie*, pl. *ties* 'krawat'), *trajować* (*to try* 'próbować'), nie licząc imion, jak *Majk* (*Mike*), czy nazw miejscowych, jak *Nortsajd* (*Northside*).

W typie drugim (-ej-) zarejestrowano m.in. *aptu'dejt* (*up to date* 'aktualnie, modnie'), *bejbi*, *bejbik* (*baby* 'dziecko, niemowlę'), *bejzment* (*basement* 'piwnica, suterena'), *giejta* (*gate* 'brama'), *graduajtować* (*to graduate* 'ukończyć szkołę, uzyskać dyplom'), *krejzować* (od przymiotnika *erazy* 'wariować'), *lejk* (*lake* 'jezioro'), *meczmejker* (*match-maker* 'organizator meczu; swat'), *patejty* (*potatoes* 'ziemniaki'), *sejwować* (*to save* 'oszczędzać'), *štejt* (*state* 'stan', jednostka administracyjna); wśród imion zwłaszcza *Kejdy*, *Kiejdy* (*Kathy*).

Przydługą tę listę przytoczono nie tylko po to, by uprzytomnić, jak wiele jeszcze tego typu form wyrazowych „możemy” przenieść do polszczyzny, ale przede wszystkim, aby wskazać na wybitnie „ludowy” charakter tych zapożyczeń. Ludowość ta manifestuje się m.in.: 1) w czysto fonetyczno-wymawianiowej drodze pożyczki bez jakiegokolwiek konfrontacji z postacią pisaną, 2) w bezceremonialnym stosunku do wyrazu czy wyrażenia obcego w momencie przenoszenia go do własnego zasobu leksykalnego, gdy idzie o adaptację fonetyczną; w wypadku wystąpienia nie znanego we własnym systemie dźwięku identyfikuje go się z najbliższym akustycznie (wyraziście widać to zjawisko w innych typach przykładów, np. przy pojawianiu się głosek *ś*, *ć*, *ź* jako odpowiedników angielskich *ʃ*, *tʃ*, *dʒ*, por. *siandy* (*shanty*), *siapa* (*shop*), *ciapsy* (*chops*), *cień* (*change*), *dziab* (*job*), *dziok* (*joke*) itp. Przypomina to w pewnym sensie wczesny okres polszczyzny średniowiecznej, gdy wyrazy łacińskie przejmowano według podobnych zasad: *oltarz* (*altare*), *msza* (*missa*), *kościół* (*castellum*), *Ożep* (*Joseph*), *Idzi* (*Aegidius*), *Marza* (*Maria*), 3) w nieświadomości istnienia w polszczyźnie literackiej rodzimych odpowiedników zapożyczanych wyrazów i niepodjęciu wysiłków, by takie utworzyć (wyjątkiem od tej

reguły jest np. formacja słowotwórcza *parkowisko*, jako adaptacja ang. *parking*, powszechna dziś w polszczyźnie amerykańskiej, podczas gdy w kraju zapanowała pełna pożyczka), 4) w nieumiejętności identyfikowania niektórych leksemów angielskich z wcześniej zapożyczonymi i utrwalonymi już formami pochodzenia łacińskiego lub francuskiego (por. *lajna* wobec *linia*, *ciensa* wobec *szansa* i in.).

Wydaje się, że analogiczny w dużej mierze proces, choć na inną skalę, zachodzi obecnie w polszczyźnie krajowej. Należy jednak dodać, że niewątpliwie czynnikiem 'wyzwalającym' tę żywiołową swobodę stał się wzorzec i często pośrednictwo języka rosyjskiego. W rosyjskim fakt posługiwania się odmiennym alfabetem odcina użytkownika języka nie tylko od możliwości innej, niż przybliżona fonetycznie transkrypcja, ale także od jakiegokolwiek sugestii formą pisaną w języku oryginału (por. np. obce -h- przejmowane jako -g-, obce twarde spółgłoski przed -e- przejmowane jako miękkie itd.). Nie zatem dziwnego, że znaczna część wcześniejszych pożyczek omawianego typu przysłała do polszczyzny właśnie przez medium rosyjskie. Tu należy niewątpliwie *snajper* (chyba z czasów pierwszej wojny światowej, choć nie notuje go Słownik Warszawski), a przede wszystkim przejęty w latach dwudziestych *kombajn* i pochodne oraz *ekonomajzer*⁵ (w nowszych słownikach zaleca się postać *ekonomizer*; **kombinu*, czy **kombiny*, por. *kombinować*, *kombinacja*, już się chyba lansować nie da).

Obecna sytuacja ortograficzna i ortofoniczna zapożyczeń tego typu wygląda bardzo różnie. W typie pierwszym (-aj-) wymienić można: a) takie, których pisownia i wymowa z -aj- jest powszechna i jedyna oraz usankcjonowana w słownikach: *snajper*, *kombajn*, *strajk*, *rajd*, *rajgras*, *ofsajd*, *skaj* (o, nawiasem mówiąc, niezbyt jasnym pochodzeniu) oraz ich derywaty; tu też można zaliczyć specjalistyczny sportowy *drajw* oraz chyba dziś już wychodzący z użycia *fajf* a także odnazwiskowe *bajronowski*, *bajronizm*; b) takie, których wymowa z -aj- jest powszechna i jedyna, natomiast w pisowni zachodzą wahania: *autsajder* (tak wszystkie słowniki, ale w tekstach pisanych często *outsider*), *oldtajmer* (słowniki nie notują, chodzi przede wszystkim o znaczenie 'samochód zabytkowy, lub na taki stylizowany', w tekstach raczej *oldtimer*), *fajfoklok* (Słownik Warszawski z wykrzyknikiem, nowsze nie notują, w tekstach z reguły *five-o'clock*), *fajter* ('bokser o szybkim ciosie, waleczny', słowniki nie notują, w tekstach *fajter*/*fighter*), *bajt* (słowniki nie notują, w tekstach wyłącznie tak), *baj-baj!* (j.w.); c) takie, których wymowa z -j- jest powszechna i jedyna, natomiast obok chwiejnej pisowni (SOrt *slide* zob. *slajd*)⁶, kwestionuje

⁵ Por. I. Grabowska, *op.cit.*, s. 226.

⁶ Skróty tytułów cytowanych słowników: Dor = Słownik języka polskiego pod red. W. Doroszewskiego; SOrt = Słownik ortograficzny języka polskiego wraz z zasadami pisowni i interpunkcji PWN (red. M. Szymczak, wyd. 6); SPP = Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN

się celowość zapożyczenia (SPP *slide* zob. *slajd*, lepiej *przezroczce*); d) takie, gdzie chwytka jest zarówno pisownia, jak wymowa: *ekonomajzer*//*ekonomizer* (SWO *ekonomajzer*, SOrt *ekonomizer*, Dor., Szym. *ekonomizer* zob. *ekonomajzer*), *nylon*//*naflon* i poch. (pisownia stała *nylon*, wymowę *nylon* zalecają słowniki, wymowa *naflon*, *naflonowy* spotykana była dość często w latach czterdziestych i pięćdziesiątych), *non-iron*//*nonajron* i poch. (słowniki dopuszczają oboczną pisownię *non-iron*//*nonajron*, zalecając wymowę *nonajron*, w tekstach pisanych zdecydowanie przeważa forma *non-iron*, w wymowie obie formy są chyba równorzędne); e) ostatnią grupę o trudnej do ustalenia liczebności stanowią tzw. cytaty (i to niezależnie od częstości użycia i stopnia wejścia do podstawowego polskiego zasobu leksykalnego, tj. występujące w tekstach pisanych wyrazy angielskie wyłącznie w pisowni oryginalnej, których potoczna wymowa stanowi mniej lub bardziej udaną próbę naśladowania wymowy angielskiej np. *science-fiction*, wym. w przybliżeniu *sańsfikszyń*, nieodm.).

W o wiele rzadszym typie *-a- → -ej-* mamy do czynienia z następującymi możliwościami: a) wymowa *-ej-*, pojawia się też, obok oryginalnej, pisownia przez *-ej-*. Jedynym w tej grupie wyrazem, notowanym w słownikach, gdzie pisownia z *-ej-* byłaby zalecana lub dopuszczona jest *grejpfrut* (SPP, SWO, SOrt, Szym), poza skrótowcem *okej* (tylko SWO). Charakterystyczny będzie tu przede wszystkim wyraz *interfejs* (*interface*) 'urządzenie wchodzące w skład oprzyrządowania mikrokomputera', proponowany, ale praktycznie nie używany odpowiednik polski *złącze*. Jako rzeczownik o odmianie męskiej występuje *interfejs* powszechnie w tekstach popularnych z tej dziedziny (np. w artykułach "Przeglądu Technicznego" stałe *interfejsy*, *interfejsów*, *interfejsu*). Słowniki na razie nie notują w żadnej postaci, doczekał on jednak (nieskutecznego!) potępienia w satyrycznych felietonach (żartobliwy rym *pejsy*//*interfejsy*); b) zalecana pisownia z *-a-*, dopuszczalna wymowa *a//ej*, por. np. Szym. *fading* (wym. *fejdyn* a. *fading* 'zanik odbioru radiowego'). Rozstrzygnięcie słownika zdaje się sugerować, że wymowa przez *-ej* świadczy o 'cytatowym' statusie zapożyczenia, czyli i o początkowym stadium jego adaptacji, natomiast wymowa *fading* byłaby dalszym etapem, w postaci tzw. pożyczki graficznej, godnym zalecenia normatywnego; c) wyrazy o pisowni zgodnej z oryginałem i wymowie naśladowującej angielską, np. *basic*, wymawiany powszechnie jako *bejzik*, ale nie mogące zostać zaliczone do cytatów, ponieważ uzyskały już w polszczyźnie pełną flektywność (*bejzikiem*, *bejziku* itd.). I w tym wypadku należy się zatem spodziewać pojawienia się i usankcjonowania postaci *bazik* (por. *baza*, *bazować* itp.); d) znaczna liczba przykładów, gdzie angielski dyftong

przejmowany jest przez monoftongiczne *-e-*, por. *bekon*, *blezer*, *brek*, *dren*, *gem*, *keks*, *stek*, *trening* itd.⁷

Jak wynika z powyższego, wprowadzenie dyftongu do wymowy i pisowni polskiej jest w tym typie, jak dotychczas, rzadkie i zupełnie niezgodne z tradycją, która upowszechniła tutaj *-e-* lub *-a-*, zatem formy typu *interfejs* uznać należy za niepoprawne (inna sprawa, czy pierwszeństwo należy się tu rodzimemu *złącze*, czy też takim postaciom, jak relatywizowana **interfacja*, czy może **interfes* (jak *keks* itp.).

Nieco inaczej trzeba by podejść do kryteriów normatywnych w typie *-aj-*. Wydaje się, że dyftongu *-aj-* ≤ *i*, *y* nie należałoby wprowadzać w morfemach pochodzenia łacińskiego lub greckiego, zwłaszcza wtedy, gdy mamy w polszczyźnie dawniejsze pożyczki z tym morfemem, przejęte bezpośrednio z łaciny, greki lub poprzez inne niż angielskie pośrednictwo, a także w skrótowcach. Tak więc nie powinny być akceptowane ewentualnie, znane z polszczyzny amerykańskiej formy typu *ajdija*, *ekersajz*, *majna*, *sosafta* itp., toteż za błędne winno się uznać takie formy, jak *kombajn*, *ekonomajzer*, *bajt*, *najlon* (też *haj-fi*, ang. skrótowiec *hi-fi* od *high fidelity*), chyba też *oldtajmer*, a na pewno jakiś przyszyły **sajnsfikszyń* (choćby potencjalna postać **scjencja-fikcja* budzi też zastrzeżenia, innego jednak rodzaju). W pozostałych wypadkach (*snajper*, *strajk*, *slajd* itp.) polska pisownia i wymowa z *-aj-* musi być uznana za naturalną i właściwą.

Na zakończenie jeszcze uwaga na marginesie, jaką nasuwają przykłady z polszczyzny amerykańskiej typu *sajdlok*, *rajdulej*: niedopuszczalne jest wprowadzanie do pisowni polskiej w zapożyczeniach angielskich *-l-* jako graficznego odpowiednika ang. *-w-*, co grozi wobec częstych w pożyczkach rdzeni *way-*, *walk-*, *wood-* i in. (por. np. powszechna już dziś nazwa kieszonkowego odtwarzacza magnetofonowego ze słuchawkami *walkman*, wym. *wokmen*, już odmienna (*walkmana*, *walkmanem* itp.) oraz w dyftongu *-ou-*, wym. *-au-* (typ *aut*). O ile w dyftongach upowszechniła się wyłączna postać z pisownianym *-u-* (jak we wcześniejszej tradycji przejmowania dwugłosek łacińskich, niemieckich itd.), w pozycjach nagłosowych należałoby lansować formy z fonetycznym i graficznym *-w-* (**wokmen*). Potencjalna grafia **lokmen* wyglądałaby równie barbarzyńsko, jak jakieś **altor*, **altobus*, **Alstralia* itp.

Czas najwyższy, abyśmy narastającą falą leksykalnych wpływów angielskich spotkali uzbrojeni w przemysłane i konsekwentne, systemowe kryteria poprawnościowe.

⁷ Por. J. Fisiak, *Phonemics...*, s. 76, tu też o możliwym pośrednictwie niemieckim.

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'MOUVEMENT VERS R' VS 'MOUVEMENT VERS NON-R'
À PROPOS DE L'OPPOSITION DE *VENIR* VS *ALLER*.

ESSAI D'UNE STRUCTURATION DYNAMIQUE
DES SUBSTANCES DÉNOTÉES PAR CES VERBES

0.1. Le mouvement peut être défini comme changement de lieu. La notion de changement de lieu est une notion complexe qui implique plusieurs constituants. L. Talmy, qui a travaillé sur les structures sémantiques en anglais et en atsugewi¹, définit, dans son article intitulé *Semantics and Syntax of Motion* (1975), quatre constituants de ce qu'il appelle la situation de mouvement (*motion situation*, noté sM). Ils sont les suivants:

la figure (the figure, noté F) de la situation de mouvement, désignant un objet qui est censé se déplacer ou être localisé relativement à un autre objet;

le fond (the ground, noté G) de la situation de mouvement désignant l'objet par rapport auquel le premier objet est censé se déplacer ou être localisé;

le chemin (the path, noté P) de la situation de mouvement qui désigne la façon selon laquelle l'objet en question est censé se déplacer ou être localisé;

le mouvement (the motion, noté M) de la situation de mouvement, c'est-à-dire le déplacement d'un objet ou sa localisation résultative, envisagée par rapport à un autre objet. La localisation résultative (the located state) est considéré comme cas-limite du mouvement.

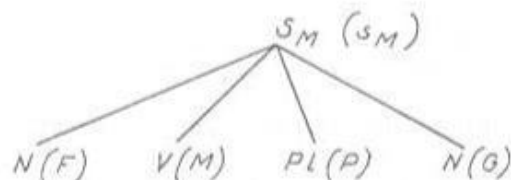
L'auteur précise au demeurant que les termes en question doivent être pris au sens tout à fait relatif, désignant les fonctions sémantiques qui se définissent par leurs relations réciproques dans la situation de mouvement. Par exemple, le terme *figure* etc. est à comprendre comme terme désignant 'le constituant fonctionnant comme figure', etc.

¹ Langue amérindienne parlée dans le nord de la Californie.

La situation ainsi décomposée en constituants est appelée **structure sémantique** (*semantic structure*) de la situation de mouvement. Cette structure est représentable par le schéma suivant:

- a. Motion situation: figure + motion + path + ground
- b. sM: F + M + P + G (p. 182)

Dans chaque langue, la situation de mouvement s'articule en une structure syntaxique particulière, appelée **structure de mouvement** (*motion structure*, noté SM). Tout constituant de la structure de mouvement, qui spécifie un constituant correspondant de la situation de mouvement, relève d'une catégorie grammaticale particulière. Ainsi, les constituants spécifiant la figure et le fond sont des **nominaux** (*nominals* ou N), le constituant spécifiant le chemin est un **prépositionnel** (*prepositional* ou Pl), enfin, le constituant spécifiant le mouvement est un **verbe** (*verb* ou V). La forme générale de la structure de mouvement est représentable par le schéma de ci-dessous:



où les symboles placés entre parenthèses représentent les constituants sémantiques spécifiés par les constituants syntaxiques correspondants. L'auteur précise en outre que la structure de mouvement ainsi articulée constitue l'entrée appropriée à une dérivation conduisant à une phrase de surface (cf. p. 183).

En français, la structure de l'énoncé canonique de surface correspondant à la situation de mouvement ainsi spécifiée est la suivante:

No V Loc N_i

où Loc représente une *Prép* (Pl dans le schéma de L. Talmy), par exemple, *à, vers, de, dans, chez*, etc. déterminant l'interprétation de N_i (N(G) dans le schéma de L. Talmy) comme Lieu, et où l'actant No (N(F) dans le schéma de L. Talmy) représente un objet mis en relation avec le Lieu, explicitée par le verbe (V dans le schéma de L. Talmy)². L'instanciation des symboles par les items lexicaux tels que, par exemple, *Paul, la maison, sortir, de* produira l'énoncé: *Paul sort de la maison*.

En résumé, dans le procès de changement de lieu, on distinguera donc le mouvement de l'objet spécifié, dans l'énoncé, par le verbe, et les repères

² La notation employée ici et par la suite est celle de M. Gross (1975) et de J.-P. Boons, A. Guillet - C. Leclerc (1976).

spatiaux par rapport auxquels se définit le mouvement, spécifiés dans l'énoncé par les instanciations lexicales en Loc et/ou en N_i.

0.2. *Venir* et *aller* sont deux verbes de mouvement français dont le contenu sémantique est, d'une part, le plus général, c'est-à-dire, le moins marqué, et de l'autre, il est le plus distinctif. Le moins marqué veut dire que les deux verbes, mis en discours, décrivent le même déplacement objectif sans faire intervenir une notion de mode de son effectuation: 'au moyen de jambes' (*marcher*), de milieu: 'dans l'air' (*voler*), 'sur terre' (*rouler*), de manière: 'avec effort' (*se traîner*), 'rapidement' (*courir*), etc. Sur ce point, les deux phrases: *mes parents viennent à Paris toutes les semaines* vs *mes parents vont à Paris toutes les semaines* décrivent la même situation objective de mouvement, c'est-à-dire, la localisation finale de l'objet en déplacement est nécessairement différente de la localisation initiale. Mais, ces deux phrases ne sont pour autant synonymes. Le déplacement que les deux verbes décrivent ne peut être identifié avec succès qu'en référence à la situation de communication. C'est dans ce sens-là que l'on considère ces deux verbes comme les plus distinctifs. L'opposition entre eux apparaît clairement à travers les exemples: *il viendra (ici + vers moi)* vs *il est allé (là-bas + vers elle)*. Dans le premier exemple, le déplacement s'effectue vers un "lieu identifié à celui où l'on est (par opposition avec là)" (DFC), alors que, dans le deuxième exemple, il s'agit du déplacement vers un lieu distinct du lieu où l'on est, donc, d'un lieu éloigné.

Etant donné que l'opposition déictique *ici* vs *là-bas* est strictement corrélée à l'opposition, dans le système des pronoms personnels, *Je/Tu* vs *Il*, on en conclut que *venir* décrit un déplacement en direction du lieu où se trouve le locuteur et *aller*, en revanche, décrit un déplacement en direction du lieu où ne se trouve pas le locuteur. Telle est notamment l'opinion, entre autres, de J. Derville-Bastuji (1982) (cf. aussi l'opinion de C.J. Fillmore (1966) concernant le verbe anglais *come*).

0.3. Dans cet article, on se propose de déterminer d'abord la pertinence des composants de la situation de mouvement lorsque *venir/aller* sont instanciés en V de la structure de mouvement. Plus particulièrement, on tentera de dégager et d'inventorier les traits pertinents qui fondent les deux verbes en question. Ici, l'accent sera mis surtout sur l'explicitation de l'axe spécifique qui les oppose. Puis, dans un deuxième temps de notre analyse, on s'efforcera de présenter la structuration de la substance dénotée par ces deux verbes. Le problème sera de décrire comment cette substance s'organise, comment se rattachent les éléments de la signification au cours d'encodage pour produire le sens relié aux items lexicaux *venir/aller*. Dans la présentation de ce processus, on aura recours à la visualisation, sous forme de graphe, telle qu'elle est pratiquée par la linguistique stratificationnelle. Notre description sera fondée sur les concepts et le

formalisme des stratificationnistes les plus autorisés tels que S. M. Lamb (1966), Y. Ikegami (1970), G. Sampson (1970), D.G. Lockwood (1972).

1.1. Nous commençons par l'examen des situations les plus typiques dans lesquelles *venir/aller* peuvent être utilisés. Soit les exemples:

- (1) a *Je suis venu (ici + vers/chez toi).*
b **Je suis allé (ici + vers/chez toi).*
- (2) a *Tu es venu (ici + vers/chez moi).*
b **Tu es allé (ici + vers/chez moi).*
- (3) a *Il est venu (ici + vers/chez moi).*
b **Il est allé (ici + vers/chez moi).*
- (4) a *Je viendrai (là-bas + vers/chez toi).*
b *J'irai (là-bas + vers/chez toi).*
- (5) a *Il viendra (là-bas + vers/chez toi).*
b *Il ira (là-bas + vers/chez toi).*
- (6) a *Tu viendras (là-bas + vers/chez moi).*
b *Tu iras (là-bas + vers/chez moi).*
- (7) a *Il viendra (là-bas + vers/chez moi).*
b *Il ira (là-bas + vers/chez moi).*
- (8) a *Je viendrai (là-bas + vers/chez lui).*
b *J'irai (là-bas + vers/chez lui).*
- (9) a *Tu viendras (là-bas + vers/chez lui).*
b *Tu iras (là-bas + vers/chez lui).*
- (10) a *Il viendra (là-bas + vers/chez lui).*
b *Il ira (là-bas + vers/chez lui).*

Un examen rapide de ces exemples permet, en première approximation, de conclure que: 1° seul *venir* est employé si le point de direction ou de destination N_1 est soit (a) le lieu où se situe le locuteur au moment de l'énonciation (défini par le déictique *ici*) soit (b) la personne du locuteur (défini par le *Je*). Par contre, 2° *venir* et *aller* sont commutables si le point de direction ou de destination N_1 est un ailleurs défini (a) par le déictique adverbial *là-bas* ou (b) par le *Tu/Il*.

1.2. La conclusion 2° demande à être précisée vu que la commutation *venir/aller*, dans la situation spécifiée en 2°, n'est pas tout à fait libre. Le caractère privilégié de l'un ou de l'autre verbe dans le même contexte (*là-bas* en l'occurrence) est fonction de certaines conditions qui exercent une influence contraignante sur le choix du verbe approprié. La pertinence de ces conditions sera envisagée par la suite.

1.2.1 Tout d'abord, il faut noter que *là-bas* peut également se référer à l'espace du 'Je'. Les exemples (11) et (12), qui sont des paraphrases interprétatives de (6a) et (7a), confrontés avec (6b) et (7b) témoignent en ce sens. La contextualisation de *là-bas* dans ces exemples a pour dessein la désambiguïsation de cet élément déictique. Cf.:

- (11) *Tu viendras (là-bas (≈ où je me trouverai) + vers/chez moi).*
- (12) *Il viendra (là-bas (≈ où je me trouverai) + vers/chez moi).*

On constate que dans (11) et (12), le contenu référentiel de *là-bas* est en effet un 'ici', décalé par rapport au lieu-référence de l'énonciation. Ce décalage est marqué par le Futur utilisé par le locuteur, ce qui fait que le moment de l'énonciation et celui de l'énoncé divergent. Dans une telle situation, *venir*, et lui seul, est de mise. Le choix de *venir* dans (6a) et (7a) est donc imposé par le même principe qui est en jeu dans (1) – (3), soit le principe 1°.

On envisagera de manière semblable les exemples (4a) et (5a), dans lesquels le contenu référentiel de *là-bas* peut s'interpréter comme lieu coïncidant avec le lieu de l'allocutaire, c'est-à-dire il est le lieu du 'Tu'. Temporellement, ce lieu peut coïncider tantôt avec le moment de l'énonciation tantôt avec celui de l'énoncé. Cf. (13) et (14) de ci-dessous qui sont des paraphrases approximatives de (4a) et (5a):

- (13) *Je viendrai (là-bas (≈ où tu te trouves/trouveras) + vers/chez toi).*
- (14) *Il viendra (là-bas (≈ où tu te trouves/trouveras) + vers/chez toi).*

L'examen de (4a) – (7a), à la lumière de (11) – (14), permet de préciser la conclusion 2° (a) de la façon suivante: cependant *venir* seul est employé si N_1 s'interprète comme lieu qui coïncide, d'une manière ou d'une autre, avec le lieu du 'Je' (où je me trouverai) ou avec celui du 'Tu' (où tu te trouves/trouveras).

Le présence (actuelle ou future, réelle ou présumée) du 'Je'/'Tu' dans N_1 est un élément de la situation de communication que P. Charaudeau (1977:50) appelle "conditions matérielles de communication" et "qui – selon le même auteur – ont une influence plus ou moins contraignante sur la communication". Or, pour le 'Je'-encodeur, la présence du 'Je'/'Tu' dans N_1 , mentionnée ci-dessus, est une condition qui impose le choix de *venir*; pour le décodeur, en revanche, le même fait s'impose comme le présupposé véhiculé par le verbe *venir*. Si, au contraire, le 'Je'-encodeur choisit *aller* dans les mêmes conditions, le présupposé est abandonné et *là-bas* est décodé comme un ailleurs quelconque. Que le locuteur ou l'allocutaire se trouve (resp. se trouvera) ou non à l'endroit désigné par *là-bas* est un fait purement référentiel, non-pertinent sémantiquement pour l'emploi du verbe *aller*. Cela ressort de la comparaison des exemples (4b) – (7b) avec (11) – (14).

1.2.2. Notons bien que, de (4) – (5) il ressort aussi que, si le point de direction ou de destination N_1 est un ailleurs indiqué par le *Tu* (*vers/chez toi*), la commutation *venir/aller* est parfaitement possible. Il faut tout de même souligner que, dans ces cas, les propositions ne sont pas équivalentes; *venir* n'est pas synonyme d'*aller*. Tout au contraire, les deux verbes sont toujours en relation d'opposition sur le même axe qui est celui d'un procès intrinsèquement orienté par rapport au lieu-référence de l'énonciation, mais ce qui est vrai c'est que d'autres traits que leurs significés comportent deviennent manifestes. Ainsi,

venir note toujours un déplacement vers le lieu du 'Je'/'Tu', et *aller*, un déplacement vers un ailleurs, mais en plus de ça, *venir* insiste davantage sur l'aboutissement du procès tandis que *aller* évoque plutôt le départ d'un lieu d'origine pour aller vers l'allocutaire.

Il s'agit donc d'un axe d'opposition supplémentaire qui vient se superposer sur l'axe précédemment dégagé et que le *Dictionnaire des difficultés de la langue française* (1956) définit comme suit: "venir marque une idée de rapprochement qui n'est pas dans aller" (p. 423). Dans le même ordre d'idées, K. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1979:212) déclare que "si en effet, on compare: *j'irai chez toi/je viendrai chez toi*, on sent que le verbe *venir* décrit une conjonction, une réduction de la distance, plus fortes que le verbe *aller*"³.

A partir de ces observations, la conclusion 2° (b), concernant le *Tu*, sera précisée comme suit: en cas de *N₁* marqué par le *Tu*, *venir/aller* s'opposent sur un axe qui peut être défini comme 'déplacement avec jonction'/déplacement sans jonction'. Dans cette optique, l'exemple (1b) avec *Tu* instancié en *N₁* est tout à fait acceptable. Ajoutons tout de suite, pour éviter tout malentendu, que cet axe n'entre pas dans le cadre des oppositions envisagées dans cet article. 1.2.3. Malgré les apparences, la commutation *venir/aller* n'est pas tout à fait libre non plus dans le cas où le contenu référentiel de *là-bas* s'interprète comme lieu qui coïncide avec le lieu d'un tiers, c'est-à-dire il est le lieu du 'Il'. C'est le cas des exemples (8) – (10). Etant donné que le déictique *là-bas* est grammaticalement, tout comme le *Il*, un élément de la troisième personne, pour des raisons d'économie, nous négligerons cet élément dans la suite de notre réflexion puisqu'il n'y jouera aucun rôle particulier. Seul le *Il* sera en considération.

Notons bien que le choix de l'un ou de l'autre verbe en corrélation avec le *Il* dépend pour une bonne part de l'interprétation que l'on assigne à cet élément dans le discours. Rappelons donc que le *Il*, pronom de la troisième personne, est susceptible de deux types d'interprétations: déictique et anaphorique. Ainsi, si, dans énoncé particulier, il y a deux occurrences de *Il* (une occurrence de *il* et une de sa variante morphologique) les deux formes peuvent s'interpréter tantôt comme déictique/anaphorique (renvoyant au même contenu référentiel) tantôt comme déictique/déictique (renvoyant à deux référents distincts).

Afin de faire apparaître avec plus de clarté les contraintes d'emploi de *venir* (resp. d'*aller*) en corrélation avec le *Il*, envisageons les situations dans lesquelles *venir/aller* est construit avec deux formes de *Il*, soit dans les énoncés ayant la forme de discours rapporté. Cf.:

- (15) a *Il m'a dit de venir vers/chez lui.*
b *Il m'a dit d'aller vers/chez lui.*

³ Cf. aussi l'article *venir* dans le *Petit Robert*.

- (16) a *Il t'a dit de venir vers/chez lui.*
b *Il t'a dit d'aller vers/chez lui.*
(17) a *Il lui a dit de venir vers/chez lui.*
b *Il lui a dit d'aller vers/chez lui.*

Or, si dans ces exemples, *lui*, s'interprète comme anaphorique de *il*, c'est-à-dire *il* et *lui* renvoient tous deux à la même personne, seul *venir* est employé. C'est le cas des exemples (15a) – (17a). La transposition en style directe de ces propositions rendra manifestes les contraintes de choix de *venir*. Cf. (18) – (20) qui représentent (15a) – (17a) transformés:

- (18) *Il m'a dit: "tu devrais venir vers/chez moi".*
(19) *Il t'a dit: "tu devrais venir vers/chez moi".*
(20) *Il lui a dit: "tu devrais venir vers/chez moi".*

(18) – (20) montrent très clairement que la personne qui a dit est la même qui doit recevoir la personne à qui l'on a dit.

Si, en revanche, les occurrences de *il* et de *lui* s'interprètent comme déictiques, c'est-à-dire ils renvoient à deux personnes distinctes, *aller* est privilégié par rapport à *venir*. C'est le cas des exemples (15b) – (17b). Le recours au même procédé de transposition en style directe de ces exemples fera apparaître les contraintes justifiant le choix d'*aller*. Cf. (21) – (23) qui représentent (15b) – (17b) transformés:

- (21) *Il (Pierre) m'a dit: "tu devrais aller vers/chez lui (Jacques)".*
(22) *Il (Pierre) t'a dit: "tu devrais aller vers/chez lui (Jacques)".*
(23) *Il (Pierre) lui a dit: "tu devrais aller vers/chez lui (Jacques)".*

Ici, la personne qui a dit et celle qui doit recevoir la personne à qui l'on dit sont manifestement distinctes.

En comparant (15a) – (17a) avec (15b) – (17b) au vu de leurs transpositions en style directe, on constate que l'emploi de *venir* dans (15a) – (17a) est en effet le même que celui dans (2a) et (6a), c'est-à-dire il y est imposé par le principe 1°.

Il est néanmoins possible d'employer *venir* au lieu d'*aller* dans (15b) – (17b) les valeurs des occurrences de *il* et de *lui* tout en restant déictiques. Les exemples (24) – (26) justifient une telle possibilité. De ce fait, (15a) – (17a) seront transformés comme suit:

- (24) *Il (Pierre) m'a dit: "tu devrais venir vers/chez lui (Jacques)".*
(25) *Il (Pierre) t'a dit: "tu devrais venir vers/chez lui (Jacques)".*
(26) *Il (Pierre) lui a dit: "tu devrais venir vers/chez lui (Jacques)".*

De prime abord, (24) – (26) semblent nier la validité du principe 1° étant donné qu'une tierce personne n'est pas concernée par ce principe. Mais, d'autre part, il faut noter que le référent de *lui* est susceptible de recevoir des caractéristiques sémantiques semblables à celles envisagées dans le déictique adverbial *là-bas*, analysées dans (11) – (14). Ainsi, l'interprétation plausible que l'on peut attribuer au référent de *lui* dans ces exemples, et qui justifie par là

suite le choix de *venir*, se laisse paraphraser à peu près comme suit: 'lui (Jacques) avec qui je serai quand tu viendras vers/chez lui'. Il est de fait, si ce genre d'interprétation est correct, que *venir*, dans (24) – (26), et partant dans (15a) – (17a) à interprétation déictique/déictique des occurrences de *il* est employé de la même façon que dans (6a), soit *il* est déterminé par le même principe qui est en jeu dans (6a). Il s'agit toujours du principe 1°. Les mêmes remarques valent pour (9a) vu que l'on peut lui assigner le même genre de présupposés issus de *venir*. (24) – (26), de même que (9a), sont donc une illustration de l'extension du principe 1°, qui requiert l'emploi de *venir*, à une tierce personne avec laquelle le locuteur est (au moment de l'énonciation)/sera (au moment de l'énoncé).

Considérons dans la suite les exemples (27) – (29):

- (27) a *Il m'a dit qu'il viendrait aussi vers/chez elle.*
 b *Il m'a dit qu'il irait aussi vers/chez elle.*
 (28) a *Il t'a dit qu'il viendrait aussi vers/chez elle.*
 b *Il t'a dit qu'il irait aussi vers/chez elle.*
 (29) a *Il lui a dit qu'il viendrait aussi vers/chez elle.*
 b *Il lui a dit qu'il irait aussi vers/chez elle.*

Afin de rendre compte des contraintes d'emploi de *venir* dans ces exemples, nous procéderons de manière analogue à celle adoptée en (15) – (17) en opérant la transposition en style direct de ces énoncés. La double interprétation possible (déictique/anaphorique et déictique/déictique) des occurrences de *il* dans ces exemples débouche sur deux types de lectures que ces propositions offrent et qui se résument comme suit:

- Il m'a dit:* { *je viendrai/irai...* (où *il*₂ est anaphorique de *il*₁)
 { *il viendra/ira...* (où les deux occurrences de *il* sont déictiques)

Ainsi on obtiendra:

- (30) a *Il (Pierre) m'a dit: "je viendrai aussi vers/chez elle".*
 b *Il (Pierre) m'a dit: "j'irai aussi vers/chez elle".*
 (31) a *Il (Pierre) m'a dit: "il (Paul) viendra aussi vers/chez elle".*
 b *Il (Pierre) m'a dit: "il (Paul) ira aussi vers/chez elle".*
 (32) a *Il (Pierre) t'a dit: "je viendrai aussi vers/chez elle".*
 b *Il (Pierre) t'a dit: "j'irai aussi vers/chez elle".*
 (33) a *Il (Pierre) t'a dit: "il (Paul) viendra aussi vers/chez elle".*
 b *Il (Pierre) t'a dit: "il (Paul) ira aussi vers/chez elle".*
 (34) a *Il (Pierre) lui a dit: "je viendrai aussi vers/chez elle".*
 b *Il (Pierre) lui a dit: "j'irai aussi vers/chez elle".*
 (35) a *Il (Pierre) lui a dit: "il (Paul) viendra aussi vers/chez elle".*
 b *Il (Pierre) lui a dit: "il (Paul) ira aussi vers/chez elle".*

Visiblement, l'emploi de *venir* dans (30a) – (35a) se justifie par une interprétation semblable à celle discutée déjà en (24) – (26). Remarquons donc que l'interprétation attribuable au référent d'*elle* se laisse paraphraser à peu près ainsi: 'elle avec qui tu seras quand je/il viendra(i) vers/chez elle'. (30a) – (35a) sont, par conséquent, une illustration de l'extension du principe 1° à une tierce personne avec laquelle l'allocutaire est (au moment de l'énonciation)/sera (au moment de l'énoncé). Ceci vaut aussi bien pour (8a) et (10a) qui véhiculent les mêmes présupposés issus de *venir*. En cas contraire, c'est *aller* qui est choisi.

En reprenant tout ce qui a été dit dans 1.2.3, on précisera de la façon suivante la conclusion 2°(b) concernant le *Il*: en cas de *N*₁ marqué par le *Il*, seul *venir* est employé si (i) la personne qui a dit est la même qui doit recevoir la personne à qui l'on a dit, (ii) la personne qui a dit est censée être, au moment de l'énoncé, avec la personne qui doit recevoir la personne à qui l'on a dit, (iii) la personne à qui l'on a dit est censée être, au moment de l'énoncé, avec la personne qui doit recevoir la personne qui a dit, (iv) la personne à qui l'on a dit est censée être, au moment de l'énoncé, avec la personne qui doit recevoir la personne dont on a parlé, (v) la personne qui a dit est censée être, au moment de l'énoncé, avec la personne qui doit recevoir la personne dont on a parlé.

1.2.4. En généralisant les résultats actuels de notre analyse, le principe 1°, concernant l'emploi de *venir*, sera reformulé de la façon suivante: 3° *venir* s'emploie exclusivement si le déplacement s'effectue vers un point de direction ou de destination *N*₁ dans lequel la présence du locuteur ou de l'allocutaire est impliquée d'une manière ou d'une autre. Par contre, l'emploi d'*aller* sera discursivement défini comme: 4° *aller* s'emploie si le déplacement s'effectue vers un point *N*₁ où le locuteur ne se trouve pas. Dans le discours, *N*₁ peut être instancié par un élément à interprétation soit locale (par exemple, le déictique *là-bas*, ou un élément sémantiquement plus explicite comme *la chambre*, *le bureau*, *le concert*, etc.) soit personnelle (*Je/Tu* ou *Il*).

Etant donné que le déplacement dénoté par ces deux verbes est intrinsèquement orienté, *venir* et *aller* seront explicitement définis comme suit: 5° *venir* dénote un déplacement 'orienté vers le (lieu du) *Je/Tu*' alors que 6° *aller* dénote un déplacement 'orienté vers le (lieu du) *non-Je*'.

La notion de 'orienté vers le (lieu du) *Je/Tu*' est à comprendre dans un sens beaucoup plus large que ne le suggère la formulation même. En français, on peut dire (36) même si le locuteur sait que l'allocutaire ne sera pas présent au concert, et (37), même si l'allocutaire n'était pas chez lui. Cf.:

- (36) *Je viendrai demain au concert.*
 (37) *Hier, je suis venu chez toi, mais tu n'y étais pas.*

Si le locuteur prononce (36) dans les conditions mentionnées plus haut, c'est qu'il considère (conformément à ce que fait remarquer C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1979: 210) que le concert est consacré à l'allocutaire (par exemple, il dirigera

l'orchestre ou bien ses oeuvres seront exécutées pendant le concert) ou bien l'allocutaire a l'habitude de fréquenter les concerts. Dans l'un ou dans l'autre cas, le concert est lié de quelque façon à la personne de l'allocutaire, il fait partie de sa "sphère" (ce terme étant compris dans son sens le plus large). *Venir* dans (36) se justifie par une telle possibilité d'interprétation exactement. (37), en revanche, est autorisé à cause du sémantisme particulier de *chez toi* qui peut être à peu près celui-ci: 'dans ta demeure', 'à ton logis'. L'interprétation de cet énoncé se situe donc dans une même optique que celle en (36).

Notons encore une extension du principe concernant l'emploi de *venir* qui apparaît dans (38) de ci-dessous (tiré de M. Aymé, *le Passe-Muraille*. Paris, 1943). Dans cet exemple, le 'château' est un lieu où ne se trouvent ni le narrateur ni le narrataire, ni au moment de la narration ni au moment du déroulement du procès de venir. Or, le 'château' ne fait, en aucun sens, partie ni de la "sphère" du 'Je' ni de celle du 'Tu'. Cf.:

- (38) *Le soir, elle dit à son mari: - Je ne vous l'avais pas dit, mais j'ai encore une soeur. Elle s'appelle Judith. La semaine suivante Judith vint au château.* (p. 37).

Ce qui est vrai c'est que le 'château' est envisagé comme une sorte de centre où se focalise l'attention des deux protagonistes de la narration au moment du récit. R. Guého (1979:121), qui analyse le même exemple fait fort judicieusement remarquer que "si le narrateur disait ensuite *Judith alla au château*, le narrateur nous transporterait sans crier gare auprès de Judith, se dirigeant vers un ailleurs, le château, qui était précisément l'ici de la phrase précédente". Les exemples de ce type d'emploi de *venir* sont abondants dans les textes narratifs.

Dans cette optique, le principe 3° sera à son tour reformulé comme suit: 7° seul *venir* s'emploie si le déplacement s'effectue en direction d'un point N_1 saisi comme point d'attention ou de référence à partir duquel ce déplacement est vu par le locuteur au moment de l'énonciation⁵. Une telle définition de l'emploi de *venir* englobe aussi les cas discutés précédemment.

Si maintenant on désigne par 'R' la notion de point de référence et que l'on substitue cette notion à la notion de 'le (lieu du) Je/Tu' dans la définition de *venir*, 5° sera traduit en 8°: *venir* dénote un déplacement 'orienté vers R', et 6°, par contraste, sera traduit en 9°: *aller* dénote un déplacement 'orienté vers non-R'.

'Orienté vers R' et 'orienté vers non-R' constituent deux valeurs polaires de l'axe de directionnalité sur lequel *venir* entre en relation d'opposition avec *aller*.

⁴ Cf. l'article *chez* dans le *Petit Robert*.

⁵ Ce point est différemment appelé par les différents auteurs. Ainsi, on trouvera: *centre de référence du moment* chez R. Guého (1979:120), *lieu de référence* chez S. Schlyter (1981:178), *point de référence* (*reference point*) chez Y. Ikegami (1973:34); cf. aussi Ö. Dahl (1975:45 et ss), *centre déictique* (*deictic center*) chez G.A. Miller et Pl. N. Johnson-Laird (1976:543).

Notons par ailleurs que cette opposition est pertinente seulement et seulement si N_1 , avec lequel *aller* se construit, est instancié, contrairement à *venir* qui peut se passer de N_1 instancié, par exemple, au cas où ce verbe réfère au déplacement en direction vers les co-énonciateurs - *je viens, j'arrive* (cf. J. Derville-Bastuji, 1982:371). Si, en revanche, aucun point de direction n'est marqué dans l'énoncé, la pertinence de cette opposition s'efface et *aller* prend la valeur maximale générique, comme il apparaît dans (39). Un locuteur vers lequel quelqu'un se dirige d'un pas nonchalant peut fort bien prononcer:

- (39) *Tu pourrais tout de même aller un peu plus vite*⁶.

Or, (39) montre clairement que le déplacement dénoté par *aller* peut, occasionnellement, être non-orienté dans un énoncé particulier, ce qui justifie des raisons pour poser deux sémèmes différents assignés à *aller*. Dans le cadre de notre analyse, les deux sémèmes seront distingués à l'aide d'indices convenables du genre: /aller₂/ et /aller₁/ respectivement.

1.2.5. Des analyses que nous avons proposées il s'ensuit que, dans le sémantisme de *venir* et d'*aller*, il y a essentiellement deux composants à distinguer, l'un qui est commun aux deux verbes et qui consiste en indication du déplacement au sens maximale générique: 'se déplacer', et l'autre qu'ils possèdent chacun en propre et qui spécifie leur opposition: 'vers R' concernant *venir* et 'vers non-R' s'il s'agit d'*aller*.

Conformément à la notation issue de la sémantique componentielle, le sémantisme de *venir* et d'*aller* peut être spécifié sous forme d'équations sémiques suivantes:

- /venir/: 'se déplacer' + 'vers' + 'R' + 'égressif';
/aller₂/: 'se déplacer' + 'vers' + 'non-R';
/aller₁/: 'se déplacer'.

La nécessité de poser en plus le trait 'égressif' sur *venir* ressort des exemples: **Il vint à Paris mais il ne l'a pas encore atteint* vs *Il est allé à Paris mais il ne l'a pas encore atteint*. Le caractère inacceptable de la première proposition indique que *venir* possède le trait 'égressif' (= 'déroulement complet du procès') incorporé, contrairement à *aller* qui est indifférent sur ce point.

2.1. Il nous reste à présent à décrire comment la substance sémantique, dégagée au cours de notre analyse, s'organise dans le processus d'encodage pour se réaliser en éléments terminaux du niveau lexématique, c'est-à-dire, en lexèmes. En d'autres termes, la question est celle-ci: comment la substance sémantique est lexicalisée au cours d'encodage.

Dans la perspective de la linguistique stratificationnelle, le processus de lexicalisation se réalise en trois étapes: (i) le "mapping" de la substance

⁶ L'exemple ainsi que le commentaire de cet exemple sont tirés de R. Guého (1979:121). Cf. à ce propos les définitions 1° et 2° de l'article *aller* dans le *Petit Robert*.

sémantique en unités élémentaires de signification, appelées hypersémèmes (HS), (ii) le "mapping" d'hypersémèmes en sémèmes (S), (iii) le "mapping" de sémèmes en lexèmes (L).

Sur la base des données fournies par notre analyse, il y a lieu de poser pour les verbes *venir* et *aller* les hypersémèmes suivants:

- (i) pour le composant de déplacement: l'HS/se déplacer/;
- pour le composant d'aspect: l'HS/égressif/;
- pour le composant de direction: l'HS/vers/;
- pour le composant de destination: l'HS/à/;
- l'HS/R/;
- l'HS/non-R/;

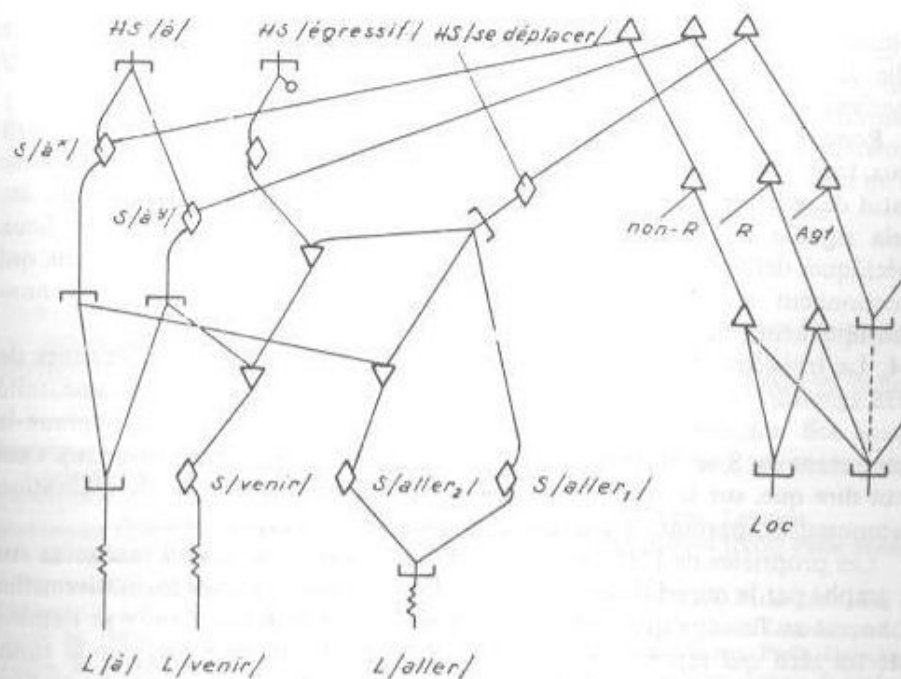
Etant donné que, dans le sémantisme des verbes analysés, l'opposition 'vers'/'à' est neutralisée, sur notre graphe stratificationnel, l'élément, 'à' jouera le rôle d'archi-élément représentant 'vers'/'à' neutralisés.

(ii) en deuxième étape, les hypersémèmes sont réalisés comme sémèmes, ce processus consistant en une opération d'amalgamage du composant de déplacement et de différents composants subordonnés en une seule unité sémique. Les sémèmes qu'il convient de poser pour nos verbes sont: /venir/, /aller₂/ et /aller₁/.

(iii) en troisième étape, les sémèmes sont réalisés comme lexèmes. Ce processus consiste essentiellement en groupement de sémèmes en unités organisées paradigmatiquement lesquelles sont, par la suite, reliées aux lexèmes appropriés. Ainsi, le S/aller₂/ (qui est une réalisation portemanteau de l'HS/se déplacer/ et de l'HS/à/) et le S/aller₁/ (qui est une réalisation simple de l'HS/se déplacer/) constituent le groupe paradigmatique relié à *aller*. *Venir*, en revanche, réalise un seul sémème /venir/ (lui-même étant une réalisation portemanteau de l'HS/se déplacer/, de l'HS/égressif/ et de l'HS/à/).

Voici (voir à côté) le graphe qui résume tout ce qui a été dit, de manière générale, en (i) – (iii).

2.2. La première distinction que nous avons opérée est celle qui concerne l'HS/se déplacer/ réalisé tantôt comme sémème autonome tantôt comme composant des sémèmes S/aller₂/ et S/venir/. Cette distinction est marquée par le noeud descendant "ou" placé sur la branche du S/se déplacer/. L'addition des traits 'à' et 'égressif' au S/aller₁/ produit le S/aller₂/ et le S/venir/ respectivement. Cet état de choses est marqué par les noeuds ascendants "et" respectifs. Par conséquent, le S/aller₁/ ainsi que les sémèmes composés, produits par le processus d'accrétion des traits 'à' et 'égressif', se caractérisent par les mêmes propriétés ce qui concerne le choix de l'Agent. Aussi sont-ils tous situés sur la même branche tactique qui connecte au sémème désigné comme Agent. Plus précisément, on dira que la tactique du S/aller₂/ et du S/venir/, quant au choix de l'Agent, est déterminée par la tactique du S/aller₁/.



Notons bien que le S/aller₂/ est à comprendre comme S/aller₁/ incorporant le trait 'à', et le S/venir/, comme incorporant les traits 'à' et 'égressif' et non vice versa. De ce fait, les sémèmes composés sont situés à un niveau inférieur par rapport au sémème générique S/aller₁/, qui, lui, est placé au plus haut niveau de la même branche conformément à la structuration, par excellence, taxinomique des sémèmes.

2.3. La seconde distinction opérée concerne l'HS/à/. Elle se fonde essentiellement sur deux axes de structuration taxinomique différente dont relève le sémème réalisant l'HS/à/.

Or, l'HS/à/ peut, d'un côté, être réalisé tantôt comme sémème autonome tantôt comme composant du S/aller₂/ et du S/venir/. De l'autre, dans les deux cas, les deux réalisations se combinent tantôt avec 'R' tantôt avec 'non-R'. Cela indique que le S/à/ apparaît ici comme sémème relevant d'une taxinomie fondamentalement croisée. Ces faits sont marqués par le noeud descendant "ou" et deux branches tactiques différentes du S/à/. Cela étant, les deux branches tactiques du S/à/ représentent, en effet, une seule et même branche connectant au sémème fonctionnant comme Loc, mais différemment organisée. Ce fait est d'ailleurs visualisé par le noeud ascendant "ou" placé à droite et à gauche du graphe, neutralisant, par là même, la branche x et y du S/à/. De ce fait, la constatation disant que la tactique du S/aller₂/ et du S/venir/ est déterminée, quant au choix du Loc, par la tactique du S/à/ est à comprendre

comme suit: la tactique du S/aller₂/ est déterminée par la tactique du S/à*/ et celle du S/venir/ l'est par la tactique du S/à*/ respectivement. S/à*/ et S/à*/ signifient S/à/ placé sur les branches x et/ou y respectivement.

Remarquons aussi le statut sémique des S/R/ et /non-R/. 'R' et 'non-R' sont deux traits qui relèvent du rang tactique des sémèmes en question ayant le statut de sémème fonctionnel, marqué S/fonct./, comparable à Agent, Loc, etc. Cela signifie que, dans la réalité extralinguistique, il n'y a pas de lieux spécifiques définis comme 'R' ou 'non-R', mais seulement qu'il y a des lieux qui fonctionnent comme 'R' ou 'non-R' ou qui sont, déictiquement ou anaphoriquement, repérés comme tels par le locuteur ou l'allocutaire.

2.4. La troisième distinction est fondée sur les propriétés réalisationnelles de l'HS/égressif/. Or, cet hypersémème apparaît essentiellement comme une unité ayant soit une réalisation sous forme de S/égressif/, fonctionnant comme le composant du S/se déplacer/, soit une réalisation nulle (zero realisation). Ceci veut dire que, sur la strate inférieure, cet hypersémème n'a pas de réalisation autonome et, partant, il n'a pas non plus de sa propre tactique.

Les propriétés de l'HS/égressif/, mentionnées plus haut, sont marquées sur le graphe par le noeud descendant "ou" dont une des branches réalisationnelles connecte au losange qui représente le S/égressif/, tandis que l'autre se termine par un zéro qui représente la réalisation nulle. Le losange est, par la suite, construit d'une seule branche tactique orientée vers le bas qui connecte au S/se déplacer/ via le noeud ascendant "et". Remarquons tout de même que le traitement de l'HS/égressif/ que nous avons proposé ne représente qu'un seul point de vue sur la question d'aspect, notamment celui qui considère l'aspect en français comme une catégorie par excellence lexicale, et non comme "une catégorie grammaticale régulière"⁷. Les opinions contraires qui considèrent l'aspect comme une catégorie grammaticale exigeraient une description bien différente de celle proposée ci-avant.

2.5. Le graphe représente le réseau de différentes relations qui s'instaurent entre les différents constituants de la structure sémantique de la situation de mouvement lorsque, au cours d'encodage, l'HS/se déplacer/ est déclenché pour produire le sens des verbes venir/aller. Par là même, le graphe doit rendre compte de la dynamique de la langue en visualisant comment s'effectuent les liaisons entre les éléments, l'orientation de liaisons, les interdépendances entre les éléments, etc. C'est justement le processus d'encodage qui "confère" aux graphes stratificationnels le caractère dynamique en les opposant, de cette façon, aux structurations statiques largement connues sous l'étiquette de structurations par "mapping" ou par "plotting".

2.6. Finalement notons, pour conclure, que la description que nous avons proposée a un caractère hautement provisoire. Le graphe proposé n'est pas le

⁷ Cf. R. Martin (1971:56, n. 132).

seul possible, d'autres graphes plus raffinés sont fort plausibles. D'ailleurs, D.G. Lockwood lui-même s'adresse ainsi aux lecteurs de son livre-programme (1972:143): "The reader who has other ideas on the handling of the phenomena involved ... is invited to cast his own ideas into the stratificational framework, using the general notions presented in this book". Notre description n'est qu'un modeste essai de contribution à une linguistique stratificationnelle.

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SENTENCE STRESS ON PROPER NAMES

In Szwedek (1986) I demonstrated that the main principle of stress assignment is connected with the category of nominals. In brief, I suggested that in the context of (1)

- (1) What were you doing last night?
- (2) but not (3) is a correct sequence sentence (in neutral interpretation)
- (2) I was reading a BOOK.
- (3) *I was READING a book.

though both *book* and *reading* are equally new information in the context of (1).

On the basis of examples like this I suggested the following generalization:

- (A) if there is a new noun in the clause, it gets sentence stress under neutral (non-emphatic, non-contrastive) interpretation.

On the other hand, on the basis of examples like (5) and (6) in the context of (4):

- (4) Have you read Moby Dick?
- (5) Yes! I have READ the book.
- (6) *Yes! I have read the BOOK.

where (5) is neutral, and (6) is definitely contrastive, we could conclude that:

- (B) sentence stress must not fall on a 'given' noun (i.e. given from the preceding context). In that case another category gets the stress by default.

However, as examples discussed by various authors seem to indicate, the rules formulated above do not apply to proper names. Thus Schmerling (1976) discussing the possibility of every sentence having to have a normal intonation pattern, besides contrastive ones, asks which of the two, (7) and (8) has the 'normal' intonation.

- (7) John died.
- (8) John diēd.

She concludes that "it is not obvious that adopting a notion like 'normal stress' is going to prove useful; it is more likely that it can only blind us to properties of the sentences we label 'normal'" (Schmerling 1976:56).

Allerton (1978) introduces two kinds of givenness: constituent-givenness (proform-givenness) and news value-givenness. The latter is signalled by intonation. With reference to sentence stress assignment Allerton states that "It is often said, more or less correctly, that, in an unmarked sentence, the nucleus falls on the last full lexical item. This means that in a Subject + Intransitive Verb structure, it will be the verb that takes the nucleus, e.g.

- (9) John's 'fainted.' (Allerton 1978:148)

But he immediately adds that "there is no doubt that in some cases the nucleus most naturally falls on the subject" (Allerton 1978:148), as in

- (10) The 'kettle's boiling.
(11) The 'professor telephoned.
(12) The 'string's broken.

He explains those cases in the following way: "Such nucleus placements typically occur when the sentence draws attention to an event of great news value that is or recently was accessible to the senses" (Allerton 1978:148). Discussing further examples of a similar type

- (13) 'Montgomery's "dead."
(14) 'Wilson's 'resigning, next 'week.

Allerton explains that "Montgomery and Wilson are to some extent given or at least known – but they are new enough to take a nuclear tone, in the first case possibly the sole nuclear tone" (Allerton 1978:137).

In conclusion Allerton attributes the difference in stress placement to (I) predictability of the verb in terms of the subject, (II) the semantics of the verb: when the verb refers to appearance or disappearance from the scene, or when it denotes damage or injury.

The two criteria, however, do not seem to provide consistent solutions to the examples given above. While we could agree that what the kettle is usually (or mostly) expected to do is to boil, it would be difficult to accept that what the professor is usually expected to do is to telephone. It would also be difficult to predict what John or Wilson might be doing in terms of the subject (*John*, *Wilson*) alone. If we expect (I) to be useful we would have to work out criteria of predictability for individual or classes of subjects, and draw a line between less predictable and more predictable verbs which would determine stress placement.

The examples discussed above also cast doubt on criterion (II) which is supposed to be illustrated by examples (13) and (14). It seems, however, that (9) should also be subject to the same analysis, since *faint* can be understood as damage or injury (in a sense also disappearance). Again, (II) would have to be

formulated in such a way as to account for the differences between (9) and (13). Some of these differences are explained in terms of the degree of news value of an event that is or recently was accessible to the senses. However, it is not at all clear why *The kettle's boiling* should be of great news value, while *John's fainted* of little news value. On top of it, the proposed principles do not explain why in all news sentences like (10)–(12) the stress falls on the noun rather than on the verb, though both elements are equally new. Moreover, in such cases one would expect the end weight principle to apply which would put the nucleus on the last full lexical item.

There are several reasons why examples with proper names as subjects are difficult to interpret in terms of stress assignment, particularly in discourse initial position:

- there is no context which would determine given/new information organization and consequently the position of sentence stress;
- there is a conflict between the nouns being proper names, and thus usually understood as 'given', and the fact that they are marked as 'new' information by the stress;
- there are only two elements in these short sentences, so if both are 'given', one has to wonder what the function of sentence stress (on one of the 'given' elements) is;
- related to it is a general question what is 'given' and what is 'new' information.

As to (a) one has to remember that in real life there are no utterances without a context. The problem is what we agree to accept as a context. Two types of context have been discussed in linguistics. The verbal context is obvious and its role easy to deal with. As, however, has been pointed out (cf., for example, Allerton 1978 and Szwedek 1986), the immediate situation is used in the same way as the verbal context in determining sentence stress placement:

- (15) A: Please, sit down (pointing to a particular/only chair).
(16) B: The chair's broken.

or

- (17) I like the lamp. (inspecting it)

Admittedly, one could also say (18) and (19) in these particular situations:

- (18) B: The chair's broken.
(19) A: I like the lamp.

but this only shows that in such quite restricted cases it is ultimately the speaker who decides whether he wants to treat *the chair* and *the lamp* as 'given' or as 'new' (cf. the suggestion made by Chafe (1974:111) as to the "speaker's assumptions as to what is in his addressee's consciousness at the time of speech"). In a verbal context in which *the chair* and *the lamp* have been

mentioned the speaker would have no choice, if he wanted to give these utterances neutral interpretation.

In view of the foregoing discussion we can I think quite reasonably conclude that the seemingly discourse-initial sentences like (7) – (14) could be adequately discussed only in the context of an appropriate situation, though even then the final decision would be the speaker's.

This I think also answers point (d) as to what can be considered 'given' and what 'new' information. Again, verbal context is the obvious factor, but situational context of a restricted type may also determine what can be considered as 'given'.

Point (b) spells out one of the difficulties in the interpretation of proper names. As has been observed, there is a high correlation between 'givenness' and definiteness (which is also a property of proper names). High, but not total. It has been demonstrated that definite nouns can also be 'new' information. Thus, following Halliday (1967), a distinction is made between the function of the definite article which is used to indicate that the object is identifiable, and sentence stress the lack of which is used to signal the 'givenness' of the noun. It is not unnatural, then, to have (8), (11) or (13) in which the referents are identifiable, and at the same time textually new.

What we eventually have to consider are the following factors:

I. Proper names are nominals of unique reference (cf. my remarks on such unique nouns as *the sun* in Szwedek 1976), readily identifiable; they can appear either as textually 'new', or as textually 'given'. For example, having introduced John into the discourse, we could say (20), but not (22) as a sequence sentence to (20):

- (20) A: I want to see John.
- (21) B: John dièd.
- (22) B: *Jóhn dièd.

However, (22) could be quite naturally used as a sequence sentence to (23):

- (23) A: What happened?
- (22) B: Jóhn dièd.

Notice, on the other hand, that while (22) is impossible after (20), (21) does not seem so bad after (23):

- (23) A: What happened?
- (21) B: John dièd.

Native speakers point out here that prior mention of John being ill and expected to die, would be assumed in the sequence (23) – (21).

II. Nouns without unique reference acquire their identifiability through the first mention in the given discourse, and it is signalled by the definite article and the lack of sentence stress, for example:

- (24) I saw a wóman yesterday.

- (25) The woman was wearing a funny hât.

Examples (8), (13) (and even (14), though I would not like to discuss multiple stress here) have a neutral intonation in accordance with rule (A) (given at the beginning of the paper). If we regard (8) and (13) all news sentences, the stress must fall on the textually 'new' noun, despite the fact that the verb is equally 'new', despite the end weight principle. This does not mean, however, that at that point John is not identifiable. Identifiability is an inherent feature of proper names and does conflict with 'newness'.

(7) conforms to rule (B) whereby the stress falls on the verb (in this particular case) by default, since John is assumed to be 'given', as native speakers point out (cf. (23) – (21)). So in fact, Schmerling's question which of the two, *Jóhn dièd* and *Jóhn dièd*, has the 'normal' intonation, has to be answered: both. The choice of one or the other (without an explicit verbal context) depends on the speaker. In (8) he makes a simple opening announcement (*John* is 'new'; Rule I), in (7) he implies that both he and the addressee have been aware of the possibility of John's death, or more generally, he assumes that John is in the consciousness of the addressee, that John has been mentioned before, not long ago (*John* is 'given'; Rule II).

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