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## **Introduction**

The volume we have the pleasure to introduce will give the reader an opportunity to become acquainted with recent developments in areas of theoretical, applied, contact and socio-linguistics. All of these centre around problems which ordinary users of language are likely to encounter. We could venture to say they all adopt a use/usage oriented perspective.

Among papers dealing with language theory and language use are those by Joanna Podhorodecka, Agnieszka Gicala, Artur Świątek and Anna Ścibior-Gajewska. The first of these deals with the verb see and its passive usage, where the author supports a corpus based study with statistical validation. Agnieszka Gicala looks at the usefulness of practical grammar knowledge in the skills of the translator or interpreter, on the example of a poem, the poetic force of which is related to carefully selected grammatical structures. Artur Świątek investigates aspects of the semantics of the definite article in English. Anna Ścibior-Gajewska writes about the importance of the attribution of semantic roles in acceptability judgments and investigates their relationship with arguments affected by errors.

Two papers (those by Ewa Kucelman and Andrzej K. Kuropatnicki) take up the subject of neologisms. Kucelman discusses the strategies applied by a Polish translator when rendering the neologisms introduced by Joanne K. Rowling in her *Harry Potter* series into Polish. Kuropatnicki introduces a creative neologiser, who is very much utilitarian-oriented – the Renaissance author of medical works, Sir Thomas Elyot, and his novel formations.

Languages in contact is the broad label under which we categorize the next set of papers. Anita Buczek-Zawiła offers a survey of tendencies observable in the adaptation of Anglicisms to the prosodic systems of selected European languages, with specific focus on placement of word-stress. Jacek Rachfał compares morphology and creativity in the translation of architectural terms related to Gothic art in English and Polish.

Problems of communication are the topic of the last two papers which are by Agnieszka Strzałka and Edyta Rachfał. Strzałka focuses on ways complaints are expressed in the English of used by multi-national users, advocating an EFL approach with diversity of expression rather than following the conventional standards. Edyta Rachfał, working within the discipline of Crisis Communication, explores the effect of selected grammatical stance markers in crisis response and their influence on the to alter the stakeholders' perceptions with regard to people and events connected with the phone hacking scandal at the News of the World.

The volume concludes with two review articles. The first one discusses the strengths and weaknesses of an academic handbook for English pronunciation

training, while the second presents a fairly recent discussion of the approach known as Construction Grammar as applied to English. Interestingly, the latter book, in the opinion of its reviewer, also easily lends itself to academic uses.

It is our sincere hope that the rich variety of material and subject matter in this volume will give the reader much pleasure and intellectual stimulation.

*The Editors*

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## STRESS ASSIGNMENT IN LOANWORDS FROM ENGLISH – A SURVEY OF TENDENCIES

Whenever loanwords are integrated into the lexicon of the recipient language, they characteristically undergo a series of changes to accommodate the phonetic and phonological requirements of that language, and thus to become fully functional in this new linguistic system. Boersma and Hamann (2009) rightly point out that loanword adaptation must start from the *auditory-phonetic form* (the sound) of the word in the donor language.

Various types of emergent patterns are observed in loanword phonological adaptation (Kang 2010; 2011), yet what we believe deserves some more attention are the tendencies in supra-segmental adjustments, especially in the context of interlingual comparison. For that reason loans from one language, here English, have been selected with the aim to investigate how they are treated in terms of phonological adaptation at the prosodic level, and more specifically in terms of stress assignment. Prosody, similarly to other aspects of phonology, is regularly subject to regional, individual and situational variation, which makes it a rather elusive object of study in general and in the context of loanword phonology in particular. This paper is an attempt to examine and report on certain more or less universal preferences evident in adjusting loans from English in terms of (word) stress assignment in a number of European languages.

Throughout the paper, certain largely synonymous terms are used interchangeably. For the sake of clarity, let us state here that concepts like donor language is the same as the lending, source or input language, similarly recipient language is to be understood as the borrowing language.

### Adaptation of loanwords at the phonological level: general remarks

Molęda (2008) underlines that, characteristically, the process of phonological adaptation of loans is gradual, progressing from original non-integrated items to practically unrecognizable fully assimilated forms. The tacit assumption is that borrowings are introduced into the recipient language by linguistically competent, bilingual users who tend to imitate the native speaker-like pronunciation to the

highest degree. However, it has always been obvious that the mutual relationship between the written and the spoken form of loanwords in the source language has been disproportionate. The written form is generally more influential, to the point that full graphic adaptation is a clear mark of the termination of the adaptation process at the phonological/phonetic plane (Molęda 2008: 297). Additionally, what may appear as native or near-native-like pronunciation for an ordinary language user, can in fact depart significantly from the actual original phonetic form as used by native speakers. In either case, the perceived illicit surface structures have to be adapted to be fully integrated into the ordinary user's lexical repertoire. The phonetic inventories of any two languages in contact differ to some extent, therefore lexical borrowing will naturally entail some degree of substitution, which straightforwardly reduces the possibility of importing fully the donor language (DL) pronunciation. In such a situation, Kilarski and Ptaszyński (2008: 303) note, it can be assumed the English pronunciation is more likely to give way to the native one rather than re-appear as a possible variant on a par with several native pronunciations. However, since both scenarios are possible, the occurrence can be seen as part of the reason for the vacillation in the spoken form of the Anglicism as recorded in reference sources<sup>1</sup>, resulting from the loan belonging to either of two categories: words with the English element dominant in the spoken form or words where the native element is more salient (Kilarski and Ptaszyński 2008: 302). Where the second category is concerned, most frequently the phonemes of the native language are liable to replace especially unfamiliar sounds of the lending language, especially under favourable psychological and socio-linguistic conditions (Varga 2010: 29), which means that most frequently we deal with substitution rather than importation from DL.

### **Loanword stress accommodation**

As for stress assignment in loanwords it has been studied in a number of languages. One needs to admit that there is a rather sharp contrast in the way different languages deal with the placement of word-stress. Kang (2010: 2295) observes that when adapting suprasegmental features from DL to the BL (borrowing language), frequently more than one logical strategy is available, the speakers may even select a form for which there is no straightforward motivation in the native language<sup>2</sup>. Studies into these phenomena generally suggest two possible outcomes for loanword stress assignment (Friesner 2009: 121):

- (1) A. maintenance of stress position from the source language or
- B. adaptation to the unmarked stress position of the recipient language.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, if information on pronunciation is included.

<sup>2</sup> Additionally, the particular strategy will differ depending on whether a word is borrowed into a tone, pitch or a stress language. Kang (2010) offers an extensive overview of possible scenarios, especially for the first two language types, where a relatively free distribution of prominence is observed. We will therefore not repeat her examples. Instead, we will limit ourselves to discussing the situation as found in the so called stress languages.

Put differently, either input language prominence is ignored in the adaptation, resulting in a sort of default mechanism of stress assignment, or (at least partial) sensitivity to the donor language prominence can be observed, yielding output forms which show (some degree of) faithfulness to the original input, especially in the absence of BL language restrictions militating against the original stress position preservation. In terms of a core-periphery model, which introduces more relaxed phonological requirements for items that do not constitute the core of the language's lexicon, these two possibilities could be restated as non-adaptation and full adaptation. The situation is rather complex also because word stress is an abstract structural property of a syllable with no unequivocal straightforward phonetic correlate (Kang 2010). In other words, for an ordinary language user stress is a vague perceptive impression of greater force resulting in greater prominence. What this force or prominence could be is hardly clearly definable, yet rather easily discerned. Molèda (2011: 128) points out that, typically and most frequently, the adaptation of genuine word-stress patterns in Anglicisms depends largely on the nature of word stress in the recipient language(s), with some languages<sup>3</sup> demonstrating a more lenient attitude towards the form of the borrowed word. However, Friesner (2009: 122) points out that even an impressionistic look at the data from a numerous language pairs paints a more complex picture than the simple two-way division into categories defined in (1) above. He evokes the case of some trisyllabic loanwords from French into Middle English, when they surface with penultimate stress, which constitutes neither non-adaptation, which would yield final stress, nor full adaptation, which would yield initial stress. Another instance of vacillation in the outcome can currently be observed when words from English are borrowed and integrated into the system of the Spanish language. Apart from the phonological transformations taking place on the segmental plane (which are interesting in themselves)<sup>4</sup>, at the level of stress assignment high variability is observed. This may at least partially be the effect of a rather free word-stress in native Spanish lexis. Rodriguez González (2004: 137) remarks that there are relatively few differences, although some items exhibit a degree of deviation or hesitation: *radar* or *radar*, *bacon* or *bacon*, *drugstore* or *drugstore*.

Kang (2010: 2304ff), additionally, enumerates variants of the strategies related to accentual accommodation in the category of stress languages. When the input stress position violates the metrical constraints of the native language, there are three basic options to deal with the illicit structure:

- (2) A. repair by shifting stress to an acceptable site, while keeping the segmental material intact
- B. repair through segmental truncation or augmentation
- C. other mechanisms, e.g. vowel lengthening

The repair strategy listed in (2A) is a viable option in fixed accent languages, regardless of which particular syllable the native language makes more prominent:

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<sup>3</sup> Apparently, Polish among them.

<sup>4</sup> These are described among others in Reyes and Jubilado (2012: 45).

initial (e.g. Finnish), final (e.g. French) or penultimate (e.g. Polish). The application of strategy (2B), namely employing segmental deletion, may have the double effect of maintaining the input stress in its default position at the same time complying with native accentual restrictions (Spanish loanwords in Huave). In order to observe native metrical restrictions, some languages (e.g. Fijian or Hawaiian) employ vowel lengthening, which allows them to preserve the input stress. As pointed out (Kang 2010), it is not completely clear why speakers of a particular language opt for a specific strategy, we are faced here with a regular learnability puzzle.

A partial solution to this puzzle is offered by the claim that the different adaptation patterns follow from the way in which foreign accent is perceived. Under this adaptation-as-perception view, the input position of stress is as if erased during perception and the apparent stress shift is a case of direct stress assignment over the segmental / syllabic material. This, however, is believed to be possible only in languages with surface observable primary stress, as it produces a rigid correlation between native stress pattern and the particular strategy adopted.

### **Anglicisms and stress placement: selected languages**

When only Anglicisms are investigated, they appear to follow one or the other option of (1), at least in the languages of Europe<sup>5</sup>. Manfred Görlach (2004: 6) remarks that where differences in word stress and intonation exist between English as the donor language and the borrowing language, they are likely to be carried over, affecting the pronunciation of loans and occasionally leading to phonological innovations in BL. A significant factor deciding in favour or against retaining the pronunciation close to the source language is the age of the loan: older loans tend to be fully assimilated, while more recent (also: more specialized) loanwords normally retain their (nearly) English pronunciation. One cannot, however, underestimate the general sociolinguistic context: evidence suggests that in situations where contact with input language is relatively more direct and/or intense, with higher levels of bilingualism, more input prominence preservation is observed.

### **Preserving input stress pattern**

Among the borrowing languages which opt for pattern specified in (1A) above – non-adaptation – we find Romanian (Constantinescu et al. 2004: 177), Russian (Maximova 2004: 201), Bulgarian (Alexieva 2004: 246) Italian (Pulcini 2004: 157–8), German (Alber 1998) and Modern Greek (Stathi 2004: 315).

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<sup>5</sup> Not all language pairs' researchers have decided to examine or report on the issues connected with adaptation (or lack thereof) on the suprasegmental level. Those who do usually refer to the predominant pattern. Nonetheless, a survey of accentual pattern adjustments of English loans in different European languages promises an insightful illustration of emergent patterns.

In Romanian, the accent is mobile, therefore there is some readiness in the speakers to accept novel stress pattern, to the effect that circa 50% of English polysyllabic loans are taken over with their original stress position and pattern (Constantinescu et al. 2004). This is further strengthened by the fact that Romanian spelling is mainly phonemic, which facilitates speakers' emulating most aspects of the loanword pronunciation, with the reservation that a completely accurate phonetic replica is hardly possible (Varga 2010: 29). Several examples of words borrowed from English into Romanian are listed in (3) below, with the stressed syllable underlined.

- (3) *cocteil* < E. *cocktail*
- fotbal* < E. *football*
- hochei* < E. *hockey*
- a computeriza* < E. *to computerize*

In Russian, again, most English borrowings do not change the position where the stress is placed in the input form. The notable exceptions include items ending in formants *-bol*, *-men*, *-izm* and *-ist*, which are themselves stressed: *voleibol*, *biznesmen*, *bikheiviorizm*, *futbolist* (Maximova 2004). As can be reasonably expected, exceptions are found, too, where the oxitonic accent is applied: *khuligan*, *scriptiz*. In (4) several items that retain the original stressed syllable are shown:

- (4) *bojfriend* < E. *boyfriend*
- rieiting* < E. *rating*
- konsjensens* < E. *consensus*

In Bulgarian, stress is “dynamic, centralizing and positionally free” (Alexieva 2004: 246) and that property of Bulgarian as a BL allows Anglicisms to preserve the original DL stress position. The change which is observed is when a loan is longer than three or four syllables, in which case it loses its secondary stress, as in Bulgarian words normally receive only primary stress. The consequence is that the English rhythmic sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables is broken as well. Some of these tendencies are visible in examples given in (6).

- (5) *paruamient* < E. *parliament*
- riec̄epc̄ia* < E. *reception*
- miting* < E. *meeting*
- rokiendrol* < E. *rock-and-roll*

In Italian, generally words of English origin tend to be pronounced according to the DL model, with occasional minor phonetic adjustments, for example in the form of hypercorrection when the stress is placed onto the initial syllable as in *self-control*. Numerous linguists underline the generally tolerant attitude of Italians towards borrowing from English. This is evident, among other instances, from the fact that in the past such borrowings were adapted in pronunciation and morphological form (*cartone animato* from *animated cartoon*), whereas today their original form tends to be retained, words accent position included. This is somewhat surprising, since Italian has a preferred main stress site, namely the penultimate syllable. And yet, as demonstrated for example by Morandini (2007),

in the vast majority of recent borrowings the stress pattern of DL, that is English, is not changed, even when some segmental modification has taken place. More examples are to be found in (7).

- (6) *copyright* < E. *copyright*
- bistecca* < E. *beef steak*
- barbecue* < E. *barbecue*
- video* < E. *video*

The main concern for German loanwords is that, as reported by Alber (1998: 115), unlike secondary stress, main stress is not completely predictable. Typically, it is assigned close to the edge of the prosodic word to one of the last three syllables of the word. Bęza (2001) in his practical guide to the phonetics of German notes that the main accent falls on the first syllable in the vast majority of words (*leben*, *arbeiten*, *Morgen*, *Aufgabe*). At the same time he observes that one specific group of exceptions to this prevailing tendency are words of foreign provenience, which normally retain their original stress position or opt for the final or penultimate syllable as the site of the word main stress. Bęza (2001: 65) mentions the following examples: *Hotel*, *Student*, *Elefant*, *Diplomat*, *korrigieren*. A good example of the idiosyncratic nature of main stress assignment in loanwords are items with similar segmental make-up but different main stress placement such as *Pén.sum*, with penultimate stress vs. *Kon.súm*, with final stress. These, as becomes obvious, are nearly exact renderings of the DL accented position. What makes German in a sense unique is that it frequently permits the preservation of secondary stress in morphologically complex borrowings, sanctioning the original prosodic make-up of the novel item.

As for Modern Greek, Stathi (2004: 315) warns that stress in loans from English is a complex issue in that as long as the novel form is stressed on one of the last three syllables (the trisyllabic rule for stress assignment in Modern Greek) the original stress is retained in this position, when, however, it exceeds the antepenultimate, it is shifted to the right (as in *accelerator* and *amplifier*). Borrowed compounds as a rule lose one of their stresses too.

As can be seen from the above, even in languages which permit the preservation of the original stress position, this principle is not without exceptions. The accentual systems of these languages allow for considerable freedom – the stress is not fixed permanently to a pre-defined position<sup>6</sup>. It may be indicative of some sort of correlation between this property of a language phonological (prosodic) system and the increased acceptance of or tolerance towards the foreign accentual pattern. The fact is that even with increased importation of foreign pattern, no restructuring of the native metrical system takes place.

It will be noted that earlier on Spanish was mentioned as an example of a language with a relatively free position of the main stress which demonstrates high variability in assigning stress in loanwords. A detailed survey of Spanish Anglicisms will reveal that a good number of these will still preserve the DL stress

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<sup>6</sup> Compare, however, the general Italian preference for stressing the penultimate syllable (Morandini 2007).

position, while others will exhibit marked differences when compared to the original stress site. Facts such as these underlie the idea that we speak of tendencies here rather than absolute truths, so that the inconsistency is only apparent.

### Loanword stress shift

During the integration of a loanword into the BL grammar, its phonetic/phonological make-up may undergo substantial segmental but also suprasegmental changes, resulting in differences in words stress, pitch and quantity/quality relationships between the DL and the BL systems. Several languages of Europe modify their acquired Anglicisms suprasegmentally, at least as far as the position of word accent is concerned. The phonological systems of Dutch (Berteloot and van der Sijs 2004: 45), Norwegian (Graedler 2004: 67), Icelandic (Kvaran and Svavarssdóttir 2004: 88–89), French (Humbley 2004: 114), Albanian (Ködderitzsch and Görlach 2004: 296), Irish (Hickey 1982) as well as Polish and Czech (Moleda 2011) behave in such a manner.

Most recent Anglicisms in Dutch follow the typical BL stress placement pattern, namely the initial syllable receives stress. Only occasionally the accent is shifted to the final syllable in accordance with several Dutch conventions. This stands in marked contrast to French borrowings which characteristically are end-stressed (Berteloot and van der Sijs 2004: 45). Thus Dutch phonology uses the position of word-accent to indicate whether a word is adopted and, possibly, from which language. However, this last tendency is not completely universal.

- (7) *recyclen* < E. *recycle*  
*shoppen* < E. *shop*  
*deleten* < E. *delete*  
*resettetn* < E. *reset*  
*updaten* < E. *update*

The situation in Norwegian is complicated by two factors: the lack of official standard for pronunciation as well as the existence of tonemes associated with the stressed syllable. Typically, most loanwords get the so-called toneme 1 – the rising tone, whereas some, mostly verb forms, receive toneme 2 – the rise-fall. These tonemes help distinguish between forms like *boxer* “the dog” (toneme 1) and *bokser* “somebody who boxes” (toneme 2) (Graedler 2004: 63, 67). Additionally, native stems in Norwegian are restricted in length (mostly monosyllabic or disyllabic) and shape. Characteristically, then, stress falls on the first syllable there (Kristoffersen 2000). Norwegian seems to follow the option of stress shift to the (unmarked) initial syllable (as in [‘mɑʃʃɪn]) in partial coexistence with input stress preservation through vowel lengthening (e.g. [a’mɛ:rika]). This variation has been reported to be dependent on social factors: stress shift is favoured in rural areas, by people from lower social classes and for higher frequency words. The situation is somewhat more complicated by the fact that vacillation is a frequent phenomenon, and in relevant dictionaries no variant is specified as normatively standard, rather they are listed according to their frequency of occurrence (Kilarzki and Ptaszyński 2008: 300).

Icelandic is known for its rather purist attitudes to foreignization of language, it is therefore hardly surprising that all Anglicisms are subject to at least some phonological modification and reshaping, even in instances of code-switching (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir 2004: 88). Since the main stress in Icelandic falls onto the first syllable of words, we can expect the same model emerging for loanwords<sup>7</sup>.

French, on the other hand, when assimilating loans from English, ascribes them the final syllable accent, that is the default pattern of its own phonological system. Additionally, the stressed syllable of the English borrowing does not receive any more prominence than neighbouring syllables, consequently, no vowel reductions occur in the latter<sup>8</sup> (Humbley 2004: 114).

(8) *week-end* < E. *weekend*

*ticket* < E. *ticket*  
*drive-in* < E. *drive-in*  
*e-mail* < E. *email*

Albanian has a non-phonemic word-stress, which typically falls on the ultima (oxitonic stress) in words terminating with a consonant or an -i, but on the penultimate syllable in all other instances. The same model is observed to apply to all words of foreign origin (Ködderitzsch and Górlach 2004: 296).

As for Irish, which, similarly to Norwegian, has no normative standard, the observations are based on one particular variety of the language, namely Inis Meáin Irish (Arran Islands), which nonetheless allows us to see the emerging regularity. Hickey (1982: 19) observes that the prosody of this Irish dialect is unproblematic and thus “strong initial stress of IMI with attendant vowel lengthening and the shortened low-pitch articulation of all preceding or following unstressed syllables characterizes the loan-words also”, with degree of vacillation being minimal.

Czech has no specific rules for the pronunciation of Anglicisms. Instead, they are recognized as a part of a more general set of principles applicable to all borrowed / foreign lexemes (Molęda 2011: 26). And thus any foreign item borrowed into Czech has foreign sounds substituted with the phonetically closest native equivalents as well as main word stress shifted to the initial syllable of the word. The only exception to the shift regularity (but not to transphonemicization) are quotes. Molęda (2011: 129), however, observes that a great number of Anglicisms are in fact monosyllables or items with original initial stress, and since these amount to nearly 84% of the recently borrowed words<sup>9</sup>, the shift in the main stress

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that lexical borrowings from English are predominantly a spoken language phenomenon. The written standard is (attempted to be) kept free of them to the effect that no principles for graphemic adjustment are set out for Icelandic (Kvaran and Svavarsdóttir 2004: 90).

<sup>8</sup> A situation found also in Hungarian, a language with fixed lexical stress on the initial syllable, where no contrast occurs between the stressed and unstressed syllables in terms of vowel quantity and quality. Hence words borrowed from English instead of a schwa in such syllables show a full spectrum of melodic contrasts (Farkas and Kniezsa 2004: 283).

<sup>9</sup> That is, those he decided to analyze, yet it probably reflects the general proportions.

assignment to the initial syllable in the remaining instances may pass unnoticed and unrecognized as a very conspicuous characteristics of the adaptation process. Due to this high level of accentual overlap the degree of accentual adaptation cannot be straightforwardly established, both according to normative sources and in informant interviews.

- (9) *marketink* < E. *marketing*  
*exmanželka* < E. *ex-wife*  
*víkend* < E. *weekend*  
*surfovat* < E. *to surf*

Polish, though by and large following the 1B pattern (“adaptation to the native pattern”), occasionally appears to be somewhat inconsistent with respect to accentual adaptation of loanwords. There is a substantial degree of vacillation in the pronunciation of stress prominence in foreign items: older sources advocate the input stress preservation in the base form of the borrowed items, while more recent accounts notice the prevailing shift of the word-stress to the penultimate site, depending again on the degree of assimilation and adaptation (Molęda 2011: 80). Polish, though belonging to the category of fixed stress languages, exhibits more flexibility in selecting a stressed syllable, although it has predominantly paroxitonic (the last but one syllable) accentuation, both as dictated by language standard and in popular common use (Karpowicz 2008: 27–29). Actually, the practice observed in popular use is strongly indicative of Polish becoming a more firmly paroxitonically fixed language. Traditional proparoxitosis in words of foreign origin or in native inflected verbal forms evolutionarily gives way to paroxitosis. Therefore, apart from numerous examples of main stress shift to the penultimate site, such as those in (10 A), we also observe instances of a rather unexpected shift to the final syllable, possibly as a mark of foreignness (10 B).

- (10) A. *catering, interfejs, antiperspirant*  
 B. *intervju, remake, makeup*

Molęda (2011: 151) classifies genuine shift of word-stress to the last but one syllable as a standard feature of phonological adaptation of Anglicisms in Polish, based on pronunciation considerations, other shifts (to the initial or final syllables) are for him spelling-based pronunciations.

The languages of this group – the (1B) group – all belong to fixed word-stress systems. This can be of primary significance as a structural characteristic of the receiving language conditioning the adjustment and adaptation to its default pattern. It is also interesting to observe that adult speakers of languages with fixed stress (French, Finnish, Hungarian) are significantly less able to detect a shift in stress position in a word than a change in one of its segments (Calabrese 2009: 93). This may constitute the reason for frequently very complex transphonemicizations accompanied by a relatively uniform and uncomplicated accent shift seen as a natural phenomenon.

A phenomenon which has appeared comparatively recently is the rediscovery of a particular Anglicism and its novel adaptation. In popular belief, the more fully assimilated the loan, the greater its internal phonological stability. And yet, at the

turn of the century, with increased level of bilingualism in many countries, with more direct and more frequent contacts between English and other languages, speakers of those languages begin to compare a well-established form of the Anglicisms with its genuine English version. The non-bilingual user, as pointed out by KilarSKI and Ptaszyński (2008: 302), has no possibility of consulting an authoritative source for data on pronunciation, as this is frequently absent from dictionaries. The bilingual user, on the other hand, may feel inclined to abandon the existing pronunciation of the borrowed item and adopt a more accurate 'replica' of the original and that may be manifested in preserving of input suprasegmental prominence<sup>10</sup>.

### Concluding remarks

The survey of tendencies in the accentuation of modern Anglicisms in several European languages has hopefully shown that languages make different choices when assimilating loanwords prosodically. Native metrical constraints may be instrumental in deciding between non-adaptation, that is preserving original input stress position, and adaptation, that is applying one or more repair strategies in order to comply with metrical restrictions of the borrowing language. Kang (2010: 2306) explains that in the following fashion: "Some languages preserve all segmental information at the expense of not preserving input language stress, while others preserve the input language stress at the expense of deleting segmental material or altering segmental duration". Therefore, it may be the case that stricter restrictions on the location of prominence in fixed stress languages make it impossible to faithfully preserve the original locus of stress. In such instances prominence is assigned on the basis of native metrical rules. Languages with variable stress may and frequently do emulate the pronunciation of a loanword as it is in the donor language.

As indicated in the opening section, the main objective of the paper was to examine and report on the situation and the regularities with phonological adaptation of Anglicisms at the supra-segmental level in selected European languages. The investigations into the loan phonology of these languages demonstrate that the neat two-fold distinction introduced by Friesner (2009) and repeated in (1) above, though introducing orderly clear-cut classes, is not free of certain overgeneralizations. It has been pointed out that the division into adapting and non-adapting classes is a broad one. This becomes especially evident when detailed examination reveals that accent accommodation may be accompanied by other concomitant changes. These could be, for instance, the syllable count of words, length of vowels, segmental loss etc. It appears that the major factor may indeed be the metrical structure of a recipient language. Therefore, it probably

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<sup>10</sup> Observe, for example, the changed accentual pattern in the word *Guantanamo*. Before 2001, the uniform pronunciation obeyed the metrical rules of Polish: *Guanta'namo*. Nowadays, the television and radio announcers will invariably stress the word differently, according to the English original: *Guan'tanamo*.

is not entirely possible to separate the supra-segmental level from the segmental material.

A supplementary classification, such the one introduced by Winter-Froemel (2008: 158), may help to further clarify the observed regularities. Winter-Froemel (2008) distinguishes two separate criteria each with two possible values: conformity *vs.* non-conformity to the source language (SL) form or to the target language (TL) system. The criteria inherently involve language comparison, as they rely on a comparison between SL forms and their TL equivalents, however, they differ in the perspective adopted. The target language perspective is more language-internal and pertains to the issue of loan integration. Rewriting the classification presented above will not be attempted, though, since that would involve examination of actual examples of individual instances, which is beyond the objectives set out for this paper.

What has been investigated here were the predominant patterns evident in a given language. Numerous exceptions and counterexamples are naturally encountered, yet they do not bear on the general nature of the observations reported on here. It therefore remains to be seen how Anglicisms will be treated phonologically in the years to come. It is now clear that many different factors are intertwined here, which in itself may constitute a fruitful area of research.

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## Akcentuacja zapożyczeń z angielszczyzny – przegląd tendencji

### Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia jeden aspekt adaptacji fonologicznej wyrazów zapożyczonych, mianowicie pozycję akcentu wyrazowego. Proces adaptacji fonologicznej przebiega stopniowo i choć początkowo może w dużym stopniu odzwierciedlać formę pierwotną, wraz z postępem integracji w języku zapożyczającym wyraz obcy zostaje odpowiednio fonetycznie zmodyfikowany, co, poza zmianami na poziomie substytucji poszczególnych dźwięków może powodować zmianę pozycji akcentu wyrazowego. Przegląd istniejących opcji wyłania dwie główne podejścia do wyjściowej formy akcentu w danym wyrazie: zachowanie do w pozycji oryginalnej lub przesunięcie na pozycję zgodną z regułami metrycznymi języka zapożyczającego. W pierwszej grupie mieszczą się zapożyczenie angielskie w językach rumuńskim, rosyjskim, bułgarskim, włoskim, niemieckim oraz nowogreckim. Wszystkie te języki należą do grupy języków z akcentem swobodnym. Kategoria druga obejmuje języki holenderski, norweski, islandzki, francuski, albański, irlandzki, a także polski i czeski, a zatem takie, które mają ustabilizowaną pozycję akcentu wyrazowego, choć na różnych sylabach. Wydaje się jednak, iż chociaż metryka danego języka jest czynnikiem decydującym w kwestii akcentuacji anglicyzmów, należy również uznać znaczenie innych czynników, takich jak poziom dwujęzyczności użytkowników, dostęp do źródeł normatywnych czy intensywność kontaktów międzynarodowych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** zapożyczenia, anglicyzmy, adaptacja fonologiczna, akcent wyrazowy

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## FROM PRACTICAL GRAMMAR TO LITERARY TRANSLATION. HOW CAN PRACTICAL GRAMMAR CLASSES AID PROSPECTIVE TRANSLATORS OF LITERARY TEXTS – AN ANALYSIS DEDICATED TO MY STUDENTS

*People pretend, imitate, lie, fantasize, deceive, delude, consider alternatives, simulate, make models, and propose hypotheses. Our species has an extraordinary ability to operate mentally on the unreal, and this ability depends on our capacity for advanced conceptual integration.*

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 217)

At first sight, poetry and grammar do not go well together. In contrast to poetry, commonly assumed to carry “a quality of beauty, grace and deep feeling”, the concept of grammar evokes associations with the technical aspect of language, i.e. its mechanism: “the rules by which words change their forms and are combined into sentences” (entries: ‘poetry’ and ‘grammar’ in *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*). At universities, the curricula of language studies keep the two separate, in the form of grammar courses and poetry courses; and rarely is any poetry noticed in grammar because grammar can be taught and learned whereas poetry yields to subjective interpretation rather than reasoning by means of objective rules.

An innovative perspective on grammar, including grammar in translation, has been proposed by cognitive linguistics, whose “basic assumption is that language is best regarded as an integral part of cognition, and that it will be insightful to study language in light of what is known about the mind, whether this be from experimentation, introspection, or even common-sense observation.” (Taylor 2002: 8) The cognitive approach treats grammar as image, or imagery, which was first postulated by Langacker. One of his seminal works, *Concept, Image and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar* (1990), contains a chapter whose title “Grammar as image” has become a motto of cognitive linguistics. In that work, Langacker defines grammar as a set of parameters – or dimensions – of imagery (Langacker 1990: 5–15), by which he refers to its capacity to mirror human cognitive structures and processes (for a detailed description of imagery cf. also Langacker 1988: 49–90). Thus grammar is a “human factor” in a text: a way to express an author’s point of view. What follows for cognitive linguistic text analysis, grammar is viewed as a legitimate element of poetics (cf. e.g. Stockwell 2002). The application of cognitive

linguistics (and the dimensions of imagery) to translation makes it possible to see translation equivalence as the equivalence of images and thus reveals the poetic impact that grammar can create in literary texts and their translations (cf. Tabakowska 1993).

Among texts in which the author's point of view and message are conveyed *via* grammar is Wisława Szymborska's poem "W biały dzień" (Szymborska 1997: 260, 262). In this poem, it is grammar that constitutes the principle of poetic composition: a consciously employed grammatical construction is the basis of the image construal that impacts the reader in terms not only purely cognitive but also emotional. Since an equally conscious use of grammar in translation would ensure the equivalence of images, the following analysis will first deal with the original (Polish) grammar-based image in this poem and then explore this aspect in the English translation.

Wisława Szymborska "W biały dzień"

Do pensjonatu w górach jeździłby,  
na obiad do jadalni schodziłby,  
na cztery świerki z gałęzi na gałąz̄,  
nie otrząsaając z nich świeżego śniegu,  
zza stolika pod oknem patrzyłby.

Z bródką przyciętą w szpic,  
łysawy, siwiejący, w okularach,  
o pogrubiałych i znużonych rysach twarzy,  
z brodawką na policzku i fałdzistym czołem,  
jakby anielski marmur oblepiła glina –  
a kiedy to się stało, sam nie wiedziałby,  
bo przecież nie gwałtownie, ale pomalutku  
zwykuje cena za to, że się nie umarło wcześniej,  
i również on tę cenę płaciłby.  
O chrząstce ucha, ledwie draśniętej pociskiem  
– gdy głowa uchyliła się w ostatniej chwili –  
„cholerne miałem szczęście” mawiałby.

Czekając, aż podadzą rosół z makaronem,  
dziennik z bieżącą datą czytałby,  
wielkie tytuły, ogłoszenia drobne,  
albo bębnił palcami po białym obrusie,  
a miałby już od dawna używane dłonie  
o spierzchłej skórze i wypukłych żyłach.

Czasami ktoś od progu wołałby:  
„panie Baczyński, telefon do pana” –  
i nic dziwnego w tym nie byłoby,  
że to on i że wstaje obciążając sweter  
i bez pośpiechu rusza w stronę drzwi.

Rozmów na widok ten nie przerywano by,  
 w pół gestu i w pół tchu nie zastygano by,  
 bo zwykłe to zdarzenie – a szkoda, a szkoda –  
 jako zwykłe zdarzenie traktowano by.

Understanding the situation in Szymborska's poem requires powerful and complex, though automatic, mental operations. The main task of the reader is to discover the status of the poem's world in reference to the here and now. For this purpose, the reader must decipher the clues which indicate the degree of (un) reality constructed by the author.

What catches the reader's eye first in this poem is frequent repetition of the conditional verb form at the end of the line, first in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, masculine gender: *jeździły, schodziły, patrzyły, wiedziały*, etc. (in which the ending *-by* is attached to the verb) and then, at the end of the poem, in the subjectless construction: *byłyby, przerywano by, zastygano by, traktowano by* (in which, with the exception of the first one, the conditional particle *by* is independent from the verb). The conditional mood used here indicates an unreal situation, which is described only hypothetically with regard to either the present or the past reality. Whether it is the past or the present may not be obvious at first sight since in Polish the same verb form can be used to say that a situation is hypothetical now or was hypothetical in the past, and clarification frequently depends on the context. What is significant is the fact that Szymborska repeats the conditional verb form so many times and that it is situated in the rheme position: at the end of the lines (a more typical position would be at or near the beginning of the lines). Although the Polish language has the advantage of the free word order in a sentence, as opposed to English (analysed below), this particular feature in the poem makes the verbs in question clearly stand out. While still natural in the Polish language, the position of the verbs reveals the information structure which highlights the hypothetical character of the situation.

The fact that the poem creates a hypothetical reality may be investigated in terms of the mental spaces theory, developed within the framework of cognitive linguistics by Fauconnier (cf. Fauconnier 1994). A mental space is a kind of scene, situation or scenario whose primary characteristic is its temporary character:

Mental spaces are regions of conceptual space that contain specific kinds of information. They are constructed on the basis of generalised linguistic, pragmatic and cultural strategies for recruiting information [from long-term memory – A.G.] [...]. The hallmark of a mental space [...] is that mental spaces are constructed 'online', in the moment of speaking or thinking, and can be structured by other cognitive entities including semantic frames, idealised cognitive models or domains by a process known as **schema induction**. Thus a mental space results in unique and temporary 'packet' of **conceptual structure**, constructed for purposes specific to the ongoing discourse. Mental spaces are set up by **space-builders**, and can contain one or more of the following sorts of information type: an **element**, a **property** and a **relation**. Mental space construction begins with the formation of a **base space** relative to which other mental spaces are built. A series of connected mental spaces are referred to as a **mental spaces lattice**. (Evans 2007: 134)

Space builders are words or phrases which act as signals to the readers, making them “«set up» a scenario beyond the «here and now», whether this scenario reflects past or future reality, reality in some other location, hypothetical situations, situations that reflect ideas and beliefs, and so on.” (Evans 2007: 202–203) Among the typical space builders are prepositional phrases (which function as various adverbials, e.g. defining the place or time valid in their mental space) or connectives (including ‘if... then...’). Grammatical tenses and moods act as space builders, too, as they give a scene its temporal frame. Different conditionals differ in the type of mental spaces and the markers of a conditional sentence serve as space builders. Moreover, in a longer text, the reader can trace the appearance of the mental spaces lattice based on the conditional mood by following certain space builders which trigger such hypothetical mental spaces.

However, although Szymborska’s poem makes use of the conditional mood, it does not allow for disambiguation of the situation in it although the reader does know that it is unreal, which is prompted for by the Polish verb suffix *-by* and the particle *by* (English ‘would’). What the reader does not know is whether that unreal situation is present or past. The poem does not contain full conditional sentences: the subordinate clause with its tense and the conditional space builder – Polish *gdyby* (English ‘if’) – is absent. The reader must find a hint, or hints, other than grammatical ones, that make clear the situation (and the grammatical mood meant in the poem); and the hints appear in carefully measured doses. First, we do not know who the poem is about, except that the masculine gender of the verb forms indicates a male person. The person is described as getting old; his life is routine. Next, in that context already sketched, the mention of a bullet, especially when juxtaposed with the fact that the man is getting old while he could have died earlier, may suggest that the incident with the bullet happened during World War II. The final hint is the name: Baczyński, familiar to most Polish readers adult enough to have studied the poetry of Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński at least at school. This name erases all doubts that might have appeared at first, concerning the reference of the hypothetical mental spaces in the poem: it becomes clear now that it is the present unreality set up against the background of World War II, and in particular the Warsaw Uprising, in which Baczyński lost his life as a soldier.

The structure of the poem follows the order of an increasingly detailed description of the present habits and appearance of an ageing man, contained in the lattice of subsequent counterfactual mental spaces. Their content is then juxtaposed with another space: the man’s memory of the war. However, the name *Baczyński* introduces a mental space with a different epistemic status: that of a fact, namely the tragic death of the young and talented Polish poet Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński in the Warsaw Uprising. This mental space draws its content from the conceptual domain containing the reader’s greater or smaller knowledge of Baczyński’s poetry and biography, learned at school.

The power of the poem consists largely in the blending of the above mental spaces. Blending is defined as selective integration of the content of the input mental spaces, resulting in a new space, some of whose content may be entirely

novel, i.e. non-existent in the input mental spaces. The new space is called a blend. A clear and brief definition of blending may be found e.g. in Evans (2007: 12, 13).

In Szymborska's poem, by virtue of blending, the ageing man is identified with Baczyński. In the blend, Baczyński has survived the war because the bullet, which in reality killed him, missed his head. This point in the poem prompts reinterpretation of its previous part: the readers may recognize the details of Baczyński's present reality. The boarding house in the mountains with its interior, the view from its windows, the routines there is the 'Astoria' Guest House for Writers in Zakopane (where, had he survived, Baczyński would spend time writing, like Szymborska herself and many other writers).

Another product of the blending process is irony based on contrasts. Only owing to the blend do we notice the sad contrast between our knowledge of Baczyński's tragic life and his romantic and apocalyptic poetry on the one hand and, on the other hand, the image of his present cosy life and old age as shown in the poem. Another contrast is between the poem's title, which suggests that the reader is going to witness a surprising or shocking event, and old Baczyński's monotonous, ordinary, daily routines. In other words, the reader's reception of the irony – and the surprise – come from juxtaposition of the fictional ordinariness with the real-life tragedy.

Further analysis concentrates on the translation, and in particular on the key parameters focused on above. The poem has been translated as "In Broad Daylight" by Stanisław Barańczak and Clare Cavanagh (Szymborska 1997: 261, 263):

He would  
vacation in a mountain boardinghouse, he would  
come down for lunch, from his  
table by the window he would  
scan the four spruces, branch to branch,  
without shaking off the freshly fallen snow.

Goateed, balding,  
gray-haired, in glasses,  
with coarsened, weary features,  
with a wart on his cheek and a furrowed forehead,  
as if clay had covered up the angelic marble – he wouldn't  
know himself when it all happened.

The price, after all, for not having died already  
goes up not in leaps but step by step, and he would  
pay that price, too.

About his ear, just grazed by the bullet  
when he ducked at the last minute, he would  
say: "I was damned lucky."

While waiting to be served his noodle soup, he would  
read a paper with the current date,  
giant headlines, the tiny print of ads,

or drum his fingers on the white tablecloth, and his hands would have been used a long time now,  
with their chapped skin and swollen veins.

Sometimes someone would  
yell from the doorway: "Mr. Baczyński, phone call for you" –  
and there 'd be nothing strange about that  
being him, about him standing up, straightening his sweater,  
and slowly moving toward the door.

At this sight no one would  
stop talking, no one would  
freeze in mid-gesture, mid-breath  
because this commonplace event would  
be treated – such a pity –  
as a commonplace event.

What follows from the analysis of the original performed above, the distinguishing features to be examined in translation are the conditional mood, the resulting mental spaces and their blending, with irony as the product of all these factors.

The question of the kind of unreality (past or present) requires the translator to make a choice that is much more definite than in the original, namely the choice between the second, and the third conditional – or perhaps their combination (the mixed conditional where the superordinate clause is in the second conditional while the subordinate clause is in the third). In the Polish version, the verb form does not indicate this precisely and the reader may assume that Szymborska describes the ageing poet's hypothetical life now or his hypothetical life in the past. Grammar does not offer any disambiguation. The type of mental space becomes evident only after the reader learns who the poem is about: it becomes obvious that the type of conditional underlying the poem is mixed, rather than second or third. That is why the reference to Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński is the key factor of mental space counterfactuality in the source text. In the English version, some of this ambiguity is necessarily solved by the translators, who already at the very beginning use the second conditional. This makes it clear for the target text reader that the ageing man's life is placed in the hypothetical present, rather than past: it is someone who might be alive now. However, it is the English grammar that did not allow the translators to preserve the ambiguity of the original in this respect.

However, and much more importantly, the name Baczyński does not make on the reader such a powerful effect of sudden enlightenment as it does in the original. Naturally, the English translation does not activate in the target reader the conceptual domains of Polish literature (and the sub-domain of the Polish literature of the war period in particular) and the content of the domain of the English-speaking reader's knowledge of World War II will be very different from that of the Polish one. One might venture to say that the very person of Baczyński is much less meaningful to the target reader: perhaps the poem could be about

anyone now dead who could have lived longer, the bullet in the poem could have been just any bullet, not necessarily related to a war. Since the target readers' background knowledge, or the extralinguistic context that they can rely on, is so different, it required the translators' footnote with basic explanation, which is an immediate signal to the target reader that the poem's world is an unfamiliar one:

Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, an enormously gifted poet of the "war generation," was killed as a Home Army fighter in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 at the age of twenty-three (*translators' note*). (Szymborska 1997: 261)

The footnote does provide the missing information (and the missing element of the blend) but the fact that the target readers are forced to divide their attention between the poem and the explanation, and that they can fully understand and experience the impact of the poem only after reading the translators' footnote, weakens the surprise and the immediate, undivided poetic power that the original has. Using the cognitive linguistic terminology from the area of blending theory, it may be said that in the original the mental spaces blend with elements of the conceptual domain of Polish readers' background knowledge in the poem itself (during its reading), which is what strikes the source reader. Inevitably, in the English version without a footnote there would be little to 'feed' this blend – but the fact that the poem needs explanation delays blending until the footnote has been read and, sadly, dilutes the irony.

Because in the original the conditional verb form is placed at the end of most lines, stressing the counterfactuality to the reader, conscious use of the second conditional is very important in translation. The hypothetical situation described in Szymborska's poem requires the use of *would* and the bare infinitive. Since the word order in English sentences is much stricter than in Polish, the possibilities of emphasizing the conditional form of the verb are few. The translators placed the auxiliary verb *would* at the end of the line (which mirrors *-by* and *by* in the original) though for that purpose they had to move the main verb to the beginning of each subsequent line and the opening line is extremely brief, which makes it much more emphatic than the original. In this way, the interpretation of the poem is partly enhanced by its grammar-based graphic pattern. The fact that the graphic aspect of a text may be a kind of literary space is described by Dorota Korwin-Piotrowska (2011) in her book *Poetyka. Przewodnik po świecie tekstu*:

[...] eksperymenty z kompozycją, znaczeniem i wizualną stroną druku wprowadzają zagadnienie **przestrzeni wizualnej** do pojęcia tekstu. Tekst staje się nie tylko obszarem znaczącym, przynależnym do sfery językowych znaków i sensów, lecz także przestrzennym obiektem wymagającym współpracy wielu zmysłów, plastyczną **wizualizacją**. (Korwin-Piotrowska 2011: 253)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [...] experiments with the composition, meaning and visual side of print introduce the issue of **visual space** to the concept of text. A text becomes not only an area of meaning, belonging to the sphere of linguistic signs and senses, but also a spatial object that requires the cooperation of many physical senses, a plastic **visualisation**. (Korwin-Piotrowska 2011: 253, trans. A.G.)

The composition of Szymborska's poem "W biały dzień" reveals such a systematic graphic distribution of the counterfactual space builders that this text should be regarded as a spatial object and treated as such in translation. Its grammar (the conditional mood, in particular) has proved to be among the key elements to be considered in translation as well as translation criticism and assessment. It is grammar that carries and emphasizes the message by highlighting the counterfactuality of the series of scenes, or the mental spaces lattice, involving Polish poet Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, that the poem consists of. The fact that the author herself paid attention to the visual, graphic aspect of the grammatical structure that she used prompts the translators to strive to achieve a similar spatial distribution of the conditional verb forms throughout the poem in easily noticed places, including the last line. The translators did achieve this goal, putting even greater emphasis than the author on the auxiliary verb *would* by graphically isolating the beginning of the first line.

The above analysis leads to a conclusion that grammar does play a crucial role in poetry and that practical knowledge of grammar may be a decisive factor in translation. In the translation of this poem, the choice between the second and third conditional sets up a particular kind of counterfactual mental space in a way that is much more definite than in the original (although it must be admitted that the translators had no room for leaving ambiguity here). Secondly, the graphic distribution of the auxiliary verb *would*, which triggers subsequent mental spaces, impacts the meaning. The awareness of the role of the conditional mood in the source text, so different from the much more concrete target text, and its effect on how the poem is read, processed and understood by Polish and English readers, is indispensable for discussion and assessment of this particular translation.

Therefore, despite the fact that practical grammar is commonly approached as a boring element of the English Studies curriculum at university, prospective translators of literary texts should be aware that those seemingly down-to-earth grammatical issues, laboriously practised in class (such as the conditional mood), have the power of changing the world – the whole world of a piece of poetry.

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### **Od gramatyki praktycznej do przekładu literackiego.**

### **Jak gramatyka praktyczna może wspomagać tłumaczy tekstów literackich – analiza dedykowana moim studentom**

#### **Streszczenie**

Niniejszy artykuł to analiza niektórych zawiłości gramatyki angielskiej, nauczanej na I roku studiów licencjackich filologii angielskiej, jako podstawy przekładu literackiego. Autorzy tekstów literackich, takich jak wiersze, wykorzystują gramatykę, by budować obraz i przesłanie, jakie chcą przekazać czytelnikowi. Przyszli tłumacze muszą być świadomi tego, że w gramatyce jest poezja; dlatego też ich praktyczna znajomość gramatyki powinna być obecna i doskonała podczas tłumaczenia tekstu literackiego. Niniejszy artykuł omawia praktyczne znaczenie gramatyki jako elementu warsztatu tłumacza na przykładzie wybranego zagadnienia w wierszu, którego poetycka siła opiera się na przemyślanych konstrukcjach gramatycznych; mianowicie, artykuł pokazuje, jak wątpliwości związane z wyborem czasów w zdaniach warunkowych mogą istotnie wpłynąć na prawidłowe tłumaczenie wiersza Wisławy Szymborskiej „W biały dzień”. Wybory gramatyczne omówione zostaną na przykładzie tłumaczenia pt. „In Broad Daylight” autorstwa Stanisława Barańczaka i Clare Cavanagh. Analiza przeprowadzona jest z perspektywy językoznawstwa kognitywnego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** warsztat tłumacza, gramatyka, poezja, językoznawstwo kognitywne

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## HOW TO BITE HARRY POTTER? NAMES IN J.K. ROWLING'S SERIES AS A CHALLENGE FOR THE POLISH TRANSLATOR

### Introduction

This paper looks at the correspondence between neologisms used as names in the Harry Potter series and their Polish renderings in Andrzej Polkowski's translation. The specific character of the series, which is set in the world of British wizards, contributes to the abundance of neologisms used as names of entities peculiar to the alternative world depicted. Technically speaking only a handful of names investigated in the paper are neologisms. In most general terms they fall into three categories:

- Proper names – which do not qualify as neologisms,
- Occasionalisms – which may be treated as a specific subclass of neologisms, but which are limited in use, here to a particular literary text,
- Neologisms – in the broadest sense new expressions used by a certain language community.

Most of these names, although well-known not only to the fans of Harry Potter, remain lexical items whose life is related and limited to the world depicted in the series. Among those Rowling's innovations whose use has spread beyond the book, the most spectacular is the noun *muggle*. Originally used to denote an ordinary person without any magical powers, now functions in colloquial English as a name denoting an outsider, a person who does not understand something, or is incapable of doing something that requires a particular skill. The twits<sup>1</sup> in (1) and (2) illustrate everyday uses of *muggle* as a noun and as an adjective respectively:

- (1) a. No **muggle**, you cannot swim faster than me. Just stop.  
b. Do you have any idea how pathetic that makes you? hating on Justin 24/7 seriously? shut up. You ain't got nothin on him. You **muggle**.
- (2) a. What could be more **muggle** than ordering your coffee "decaf"?  
b. All this **muggle** talk gave me a headache. I'm done with this foolery.

For the sake of simplicity, we will refer to all discussed items as names, regardless of whether they are proper or common nouns.

<sup>1</sup> The original spelling and punctuation has been preserved in all Twitter examples. All twits were accessed in April 2013.

The main focus of the study is on the strategies chosen by the translator and the consequences thereof. The strategies discussed include:

- Unchanged names – the name is preserved in the original form,
- Phonetic resemblance translations – Polish renderings sound similar to the original ones,
- Semantic translations – the meaning of the Polish rendering is close to the original meaning,
- Associative translations – Polish translations significantly depart from the original and extralinguistic factors take precedence,
- Descriptive translation – the meaning of more complex phrases is described rather than translated into Polish.

## The data

The collected data come from all seven parts of the Harry Potter series and their Polish translations and include the following types of names:

- Personal Names: *Snape*, *Dumbledore*, *Slughorn*,
- Personal names of magical creatures: *Kreacher* (*Stworek*), *Winky* (*Mrużka*), *Hokey* (*Bujdka*),
- Names of magical creatures: *Inferi* (*Inferiusy*), *dementors* (*dementorzy*),
- Names of magical animals: *Erumpent* (*buchorożec*), *grindylow* (*druzgotek*), *horned slugs* (*rogate ślimaki*),
- Nicknames: *Wormtail* (*Glizdogon*),
- Classificatory Names: *Squib* (*Charłak*), *Mudbloods* (*szlamy*),
- Place names: *Hogwarts*, *Hufflepuff*, *Hogsmead*,
- Object names: *sneakoscope* (*fałzoscop*), *snitch* (*znicz*), *howler* (*wyjec*),
- Names of magical plants: *Gurdyroot* (*tykwo-bulwa*), *Snargaluffs* (*wnykopieńki*), *Devil's Snare* (*diabla sidła*),
- Names of school events: *The Triwizard Tournament* (*Turniej Trójmagiczny*), *The Yule Ball* (*bal bożonarodzeniowy*), *The Sorting Ceremony* (*Ceremonia Przydziału*),
- Game names: *quidditch*, *Gobstones* (*gargulki*),
- Names of spells and curses: *Stupefy* (*drętwota*), *Leg-Locker Curse* (*zwieracz nóg*), *Memory Charms* (*zaklęcia utraty pamięci*),
- Activity names: *disapparate* (*deportować się*), *apparate* (*aportować się*),
- Names of illnesses: *Spattergroit* (*groszoprysyczka*),
- Names of institutions: *Accidental Magic Reversal Department* (*Wydział Przypadkowego Użycia Czarów*), *Accidental Magic Reversal Squad* (*Czarodziejskie Pogołtowie Ratunkowe*), *Wizengamot*.

The names vary from simple one-word terms to long phrasal expressions. The main types of names are:

- (Simple) Nouns: *Muggle*, *Snatcher*, *Peeves*,
- Verbs: *stupify*, *apparate*, *disapparate*,
- Compound Nouns (Noun+Noun): *Wormtail*, *Mudbloods*, *Portkey*,
- Compound Nouns (Adjective + Noun): *Mad-Eye* (*Moody*), *hinkypunk*,
- Phrasal Compound Nouns: *You-Know-Who*, *Put-Outer*,

- Noun + Noun Phrasal Names: *Polyjuice Potion, Invisibility Booster, Pepper Imps*,
- Genitive Noun + Noun Phrasal Names: *Marauder's Map, Devil's Snare*,
- Adjective + Noun Phrasal Names: *Black Arts, extendable ears, dirigible plums*,
- Participle + Noun Phrasal Names: *Fizzing Whizbees, Sleeping Draught, Whomping Willow*,
- Noun + Prepositional Phrase Phrasal Names: *Elixir of Life, Mirror Of Erised*,
- [Noun + Participle] Compound + Noun Phrasal Names: *Blast-Ended Skrewt, Muggle-repelling charms, Crumple-Horned Snorkacks*,
- Noun + Noun + Noun Phrasal Names: *Muggle Protection Act*,
- [Adjective + Noun] + Noun Phrasal Names: *Quick-Quotes Quill*,
- Adverb + Adjective + Noun Phrasal Names: *Nearly Headless Nick*.

## Unchanged Names

There are a few types of names which the translator decided to leave unchanged, or changes to which are rather minor and cosmetic in nature and they include:

- Names of the school and school houses: *Hogwarts, Griffindor, Slytherin, Ravenclaw, Hufflepuff*,
- Names of spells and charms (especially those derived from Latin): *Petrificus Totalus, Expelliarmus, Rictusempra, Finite Incantatem, Accio*,
- Personal Names: *Hooch, Dumbledore, Snape, Slughorn*,
- Certain place names: *Hogsmeade*.

The decision to leave personal and certain place names unchanged seems to be related to the age of the target audience, who unlike small children (cf. Puurtinen 1995) are well prepared to deal with foreign sounding names. What is more, they would probably find the absence of English sounding names in the book set in England strange. When it comes to Latin names, these terms are equally exotic both for the English and the Polish reader; consequently, there is no real need to translate them. But although in general “proper names do not impute any qualities to the objects designated and are therefore meaningless” (Algeo 1973: 13), we find in Harry Potter names which do carry meaning. For example, the names of Hogwarts’ Houses. Acknowledging this, Polkowski leaves the names of the school houses untranslated, but he does translate the names of their members. Consequently, the Polish reader finds the following: *Gryfoni (Gryffindors), Puchoni (Hufflepuffs), Krukoni (Ravenclaws), Ślizgoni (Slytherins)*<sup>2</sup>.

A similar strategy was used with the name of one of the teachers, Professor Slughorn. Although his name is preserved in the original form, the name of his personal club for chosen students i.e. *The Slug Club* is translated as *Klub Ślimaka*<sup>3</sup>. The only personal name which is not preserved in the original form is the name of the Minister for Magic *Cornelius Fudge* (*Korneliusz Knot*). Probably Polkowski decided that it is important to let the Polish reader know that Fudge was not the

<sup>2</sup> griffin = gryf; puff = puch (phonetic translation); raven = kruk; to slither = ślizgać (sie) (Rowling 2000b: 321–324)

<sup>3</sup> slug = ślimak (Rowling 2006: 699)

best minister. In contrast to personal names of humans, names of magical creatures and animals are translated as a rule e.g. *Kreacher* (*Stworek*), *Dobby* (*Zgrederek*), *Peeves* (*Irytek*), *Bane* (*Zakała*), *Ripper* (*Majcher*), *Crookshanks* (*Krzywołap*), *Scabbers* (*Parszywek*).

Not all ‘unchanged names’ are literally left untouched. In some cases the Polish form is slightly different from its original version in order to comply with the Polish morphological rules. Here we can list names such as:

- *Oklumencja* (*Occlumency*) (Latin origin: *occludo* = close, *mens* = mind, (after Polkowski Rowling 2004: 954) where English -cy is replaced with the Polish -cja (cf. *democracy* ‘demokracja’, *aristocracy* ‘arystokracja’),
- *Mugol*<sup>4</sup> (*Muggle*): -ol in Polish often marks a pejorative name: *kibol* (an aggressive football fan), *psychol* (a mentally ill or unstable person), *głupol* (a silly person)
- *Gryfek* (*Griphook*): -ek has diminutive meaning: *domek* ('little house'), *kotek* ('little cat, kitten'),
- *Dementorzy* (*dementors*): plural -rzy may be surprising as it shows signs of personification: *mentorzy* ('mentors'), *dyrektorzy* ('managers'), while -ry is generally used for supernaturals such as: *wampiry* ('vampires'), *upiory* ('phantoms')<sup>5</sup>,
- *Inferiusy* (*Inferi*): in Polish as a rule a regular Polish plural is used with Latin nouns ending in -us: *papirus* – *papirusy* 'papyrus – papyri'. Polkowski here used a non-personal plural suffix, c.f. *inferiusi*.

### Phonetic resemblance translations

There seem to be a few factors involved in the choice of this strategy. Sometimes it is simply the length and clumsiness of the Polish equivalent, as in the case of *snitch*. *Snitch* in English means to quickly steal something unimportant or of little value (cf. Rowling 2000b: 325), here used as a noun. The word formation process of conversion, which is quite common in English, is not productive in Polish. Consequently, the verbal equivalent of *snitch*, ‘zwędzić’ would have required to be given nominal inflection. This would make the noun both clumsy and lengthy. Instead, the noun *znicz* ('light, candle') is used. A similar problem would occur with the semantic translation of another quidditch ball *quaffle* ('kafel'). Although the meaning of the term is not equally clear, Polkowski (Rowling 2000c: 202) suggests that it may be related to *quaff* in the sense to drink a lot of something quickly. If this is really the case, instead of *kafel*, the noun *kufel* might have been used, elegantly combining phonetic resemblance with some semantic association.

A very interesting chain of phonetic associations is present in the rendering of *Knockturn Alley*. As Polkowski explains (Rowling 2000c: 205), *knockturn* is pronounced in a similar way to *nocturne*. Consequently, in Polish we get *ulica Śmiertelnego Nokturnu*, with the adjective *śmiertelny* ('deadly') added to make

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<sup>4</sup> Note that both versions share close phonetic resemblance

<sup>5</sup> It was suggested by one of my students that the use of -rzy instead of -ry may be related to the fact that while vampires prey on your body, dementors take away your soul, which makes them a different sort of creatures.

clear the obvious negative connotations of the name. However, phonetic association chains present in the original text are sometimes impossible to preserve, as in the case of the name *Holey* given to George Weasley after he had lost one of his ears in a fight with Death Eaters. *Holey* bears phonetic resemblance to *holy* and is translated as *oduchowiony* ('deprived of an ear', a translator's neologism), whose pronunciation is similar to the pronunciation of *uduchowiony* ("soulful"). Unfortunately, George is later addressed by his twin brother 'Your Holeyness', which in Polish is simply rendered as *Bezuchy* ('earless') as neither *Wasza Uduchowionaś* nor *Wasza Oduchowionaś* are available in Polish.

### Semantic Translations

Semantic translations are the most frequently used strategy. In this group of renderings of interest often seem to be the translator's choices concerning the suffixation of the Polish translation. For example, let us focus on a group of names which all end in *-er* in English: *howler*, *clanker(s)*, *revealer*, *chaser*, *sneaker*, *beater*, *Kreacher* but each of which gets a different derivational suffix in Polish. *Howler* is translated as *wyjec*, with the derivation *wyj* – the present participle stem and *-ec*, a suffix often denoting an entity performing a certain action (Grzegorczykowa 1979: 40). *Clangers* (small objects which make a loud noise, used to ward off the dragon in Gringotts Wizarding Bank) are rendered as *brzękadła*, where *-dło* and the plural *-dła* denote the instrument used. But another instrument, *revealer* (a device that makes invisible things visible) is translated as *ujawniacz* consisting of the past tense base and *-acz* (compare: *wykrywacz* 'detector'). The Polish equivalents of *chaser* and *seeker* both have the form of present participles *ścigający* and *szukający*, as they name people performing specific actions. Here we can observe some analogy to names used for volleyball players e.g. *przyjmujący* 'outside hitter' and *rozgrywający* 'setter', which are also participial in form. In contrast, *beater*, another quidditch player is rendered as *pałkarz*. As his role is chiefly to guard the seeker from dangerous bludger balls, the Polish form ends in *-arz*, similarly to *bramkarz* 'goal keeper'.

The last name, *Stworek* (a rendering of *Kreacher*) is a hybrid of phonetic resemblance and semantic translation strategies. *Kreacher* is pronounced in the same way as *Creature*, which in Polish would be *stwór*. The suffix *-ek* produces a diminutive form. As Polkowski himself states (Rowling 2004: 956), the English name has a pejorative ring which is lost in the Polish translation. Polkowski decided to use the diminutive name so that it would match the names of other house elves e.g. *Mrużka* (*Hokey*) and *Zgrederek* (*Dobby*).

### Associative Translations

Although intuitively semantic translations seem to be the most desirable as ones that preserve the meaning of the original, there are situations where they would be inappropriate for pragmatic reasons. Such is the case with the dog called quite evocatively *Ripper*. *Ripper* in Polish would be *Rozpruwacz*, a well-established

name of the infamous British serial killer. Yet, as Polkowski claims (Rowling 2001a: 279) *Rozpruwacz* would not make a good name for a dog, because it is too long. Finally the dog is called *Majcher* (a long knife, often used by criminals as a weapon) in Polish. This name, just as the original one, suggests that the dog, and especially its fangs, can be dangerous.

Other examples of associative translations include: *portkey* ‘świstoklik’, *flobberworms* ‘gumochłony’, *hinkypunk* ‘zwodnik’ or *Flourish and Blotts* (*Esy i Floresy*).

A *portkey* is a magical object which can move a person to a predefined location. The Polish equivalent *świstoklik* is a compound of *świst* – <sup>6</sup>*-o* – *klik*, in which the first morpheme *świst* ‘swish’ suggests that the process is very fast, and *klik* ‘click’ implies that is very simple – indeed it is enough just to touch the *portkey* to be transported.

*Flobberworms* are very boring creatures which feed on cabbage or lettuce and sometimes exude mucus used to thicken certain potions. These primitive animals may bring associations with *jamochłony* ‘Coelenterata’, hence the second segment *-chłony* and *flobber* sounds similar to *flubber*, the slimy (in Polish *gumowaty*) semi-animated substance produced by a scientist in a well-known film. The final rendering is *gumochłony*, although there still seems to be some contrast between the meaning of *flob-* ‘to spit’ and *chlona(qć)* – ‘to absorb’.

*Hinkypunks* are magical creatures which can lure travelers off their path into a swamp or wetland at night under the guise of a friendly creature bearing a lamp. Because of their treacherous behavior, they are called *zwodniki* in Polish, from the verb *zwodzić* – ‘to deceive’.

Finally, we have the name of a wizard bookstore *Flourish and Blotts*. Although most probably wizard books are printed, they look more like medieval or renaissance scripts with more ornamental letters and hand-made illustrations, hence the Polish *Esy i Floresy*, a term used to describe handwriting full of curves and soft lines.

## Descriptive translations

*Parseltongue* and *Parselmouth* are difficult to translate literally, since the first morpheme does not have a clear meaning<sup>7</sup>. Consequently, Polkowski renders them in a descriptive way, as *mowa wężów (sic!)* ('the language of snakes') and *wążousty* ('capable of using the language of snakes'; literally 'having snake-like lips' by analogy to *złotousty* literally 'having golden lips' used to describe somebody who is a very talented speaker).

Descriptive translations are especially common when the original phrasal name of a considerable length would sound clumsy in the target language, as

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<sup>6</sup> -o- is an interfix which in Polish joins two compounded morphemes (cf. Grzegorczykowa 1979: 18)

<sup>7</sup> However, Rowling traces the etymology of the word *parselmouth* to an obsolete term referring to “someone who has a problem with the mouth, like a hare lip” (<http://www.accio-quote.org/articles/2003/0626-alberthall-fry.htm> [Accessed: April 2013]).

in the case of *St. Mungo's Hospital for Magical Maladies and Injuries*, where the postmodifying prepositional phrase cannot be retained for syntactic and stylistic reasons. Thus, instead of a prepositional modifier a clausal one is used in Polish: *Szpital Świętego Munga, w którym leczy się magiczne choroby i zranienia* ('... in which magical maladies and injuries are treated').

Complicated phrases rendered descriptively may sometimes be treacherous. Such proved to be the case with *Accidental Magic Reversal Department* and *Accidental Magic Reversal Squad*. The former was, rather uncontroversially, rendered as *Wydział Przypadkowego Użycia Czarów* in *Harry Potter i Więzień Azkabatu*, but the rendering of the latter in *Harry Potter i Czara Ognia* is *Czarodziejskie Pogotowie Ratunkowe* ('Magical Emergency Service'). There are at least two major problems with the latter rendering. The first concerns the name itself; while the English reader knows exactly what the squad deals with, the Polish name is much more general. What is more, the name 'Pogotowie Ratunkowe' is in Polish reserved for medical emergencies. The second problem concerns both terms. There is an obvious relationship between *Accidental Magic Reversal Department* and *Accidental Magic Reversal Squad*; i.e. the squad is understood to be a division of the Department, whereas in Polish these two institutions are not linguistically linked and the Polish reader may not realize how they are related.

Sometimes the rendering is semantically flawless, what suffers is the stylistic component. The Polish equivalent of the *Quick-Quotes Quill* is *samopiszące pióro*, which quite adequately reflects the nature of the instrument. Yet, while the English name is elegantly alliterative, nothing of this stylistic elegance is preserved in Polish.

There are also examples of descriptive translations which are apparently semantically incorrect. Take *Hair Raising Potion*, which makes your hair stand on end. The Polish rendering *Eliksir Bujnego Owłosienia* suggests that it makes your hair grow fast and in large amounts. Yet, it should not be automatically classified as the translator's mistake. The Polish name can be defended as follows. First of all, the potion itself does not play any significant role in the novel; it is just one among many potions that students learn to prepare at school. Secondly, *Hair Raising Potion* would have required a participial modifier in Polish, for example, 'eliksir stawiający włosy na głowie', definitely at odds with other names of potions, which usually consist of the head noun and an adjectival or nominal modifier.

### Categorial and ordering differences

The rendering of phrasal names often requires categorial and ordering changes within the name. In English the head in the noun phrase is frequently premodified by an uninflected (or sometimes genitive) nominal element. In Polish nominal modifiers are also possible, albeit not in the nominative but typically in the genitive case. Quite frequently, however, an English nominal or genitive modifier corresponds to an adjective in Polish, or the other way round. Consider the following examples:

- Diagon (N) Alley – *Ulica Pokatna* (Adj) (we deal here with phonological resemblance *diagon* corresponds to *diagonal*, in Polish *przekątna* is not dissimilar phonologically from *pokątna* ('clandestine')
- The Yule (N) Ball – *bal bożonarodzeniowy* (Adj) (Yule tradition is unknown in Poland, that is why Polkowski replaced it with *bożonarodzeniowy*, meaning 'of Christmas')
- Deathly (Adj) Hallows – *Insygnia Śmierci* (N<sub>Gen</sub>)
- Devil's (N<sub>Gen</sub>) Snare – *Diabelskie* (Adj) Sidła
- Polyjuice (N) Potion – *eliksir wielosokowy* (Adj)

The most important ordering differences within the noun phrase concern the position of the genitive modifier or determiner and the position of the adjective modifier. In English the abovementioned elements typically precede the head in the noun phrase while in Polish the picture is more complex. The genitive in Polish is typically a postmodifier (although for the sake of focus, it can be moved to a pre-head position) and adjectives, which describe inherent properties postmodify the noun, in contrast to prefmodifying non-inherent adjectives (cf. Kucelman 2012). Consequently we get the following contrasting pairs:

- genitive position  
*[Marauder's]<sub>Gen</sub> Map* – *Mapa [Huncwotów]<sub>Gen</sub>*  
*[St. Mungo's]<sub>Gen</sub> Hospital* – *Szpital [Świętego Munga]<sub>Gen</sub>*
- modifier noun position  
*[Invisibility]<sub>Mod</sub> Booster* – *Dopalacz [Niewidzialności]<sub>Mod</sub>*  
*[Hover]<sub>Mod</sub> Charm* – *Zaklęcie [Swobodnego Zwisu]<sub>Mod</sub>*  
*[Engorgement]<sub>Mod</sub> Charm* – *Zaklęcie [Żarłoczności]<sub>Mod</sub>*
- adjective position  
*[Blast-Ended]<sub>AdjP</sub> Skrewt* – *sklątka [tylnowybuchowa]<sub>AdjP</sub>*  
*[Summoning]<sub>AdjP</sub> Charm* – *zaklęcie [przywołujące]<sub>AdjP</sub>*

## Final remarks

Literary translation is a complex process, where the translator is faced with many dilemmas. Unlike technical documentation, verbatim translation of fictitious names used in a novel may not always be the best solution. In the present paper I focused on different strategies which may be successfully applied by a translator. In addition to the most obvious meaning-preserving semantic translations, names may be rendered descriptively, a technique which is especially useful for longer, phrasal names, or alternatively, it may seem desirable to preserve the phonetic shape of the original name, often applying changes that both make the name more phonologically consistent with the phonological system and the orthographical rules of the target language. Often verbatim translations are impossible due to the differences in the inflectional, word formation and syntactic rules of the two languages. Polkowski's translation of names in *Harry Potter* series may serve as a very good example of a skillful use of different translation techniques.

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## Jak ugryźć Harrego Pottera? Nazwy własne w cyklu powieści J.K. Rowling jako wyzwanie dla polskiego tłumacza

### Streszczenie

Niniejsza praca ma na celu przedstawienie strategii zastosowanych przez polskiego tłumacza cyklu powieści o Harrym Potterze autorstwa J. K. Rowling, Andrzeja Polkowskiego przy przekładzie nazw. Słowo nazwa jest używane w tekście w szerokim znaczeniu, wykraczającym poza nazwy własne. Cykl Rowling charakteryzuje się obfitością neologizmów, których autorka używa do opisu bytów stanowiących część przedstawionego przez nią świata czarodziejów. Terminy te stanowią poważne wyzwanie dla tłumaczy, ponieważ nie zawsze najbardziej pożądany rozwiązań jest ich dosłowne przełożenie. Oprócz tłumaczeń semantycznych, to znaczy dosłownych, Polkowski stosuje szereg innych technik. Miedzy nimi znajdują się tłumaczenia fonetyczne, gdzie zamiast znaczenia zachowane jest brzmienie nazwy angielskiej oraz tłumaczenia pragmatyczne, w których warstwa komunikacyjna przeważa nad warstwą semantyczną. Nazwy wieloczłonowe często tłumaczone są opisowo. Wiąże się często z różnicami morfologiczno-składniowymi pomiędzy językiem polskim i angielskim. W języku angielskim grupa imienna często zawiera szereg przydawek poprzedzających rzeczownik w formie nieodmienionej przypadku a nawet liczby. W języku polskim jest to niemożliwe, a formy odmienione często są zbyt ‘ciężkie’ by stworzyć z rzeczownikiem stylistycznie poprawną całość. Odmienne są również zasady umiejscawiania przydawki przyniomiennikowej, która w języku angielskim prawie zawsze stoi przed rzeczownikiem, a w polskim niekoniecznie. Tak więc tłumaczenie nazw nie może być rozpatrywane tylko przez pryzmat odpowiedniości znaczeniowej, a raczej traktowane być powinno jako suma wielu czynników.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Harry Potter, neologizmy

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## SIR THOMAS ELYOT – A NEOLOGISER WITH UTILITARIAN AIMS

### Sir Thomas Elyot – humanist writer

Sir Thomas Elyot (1490?–1546) was an English humanist and author, memorable for his use of English prose for subjects then customarily treated in Latin (Lehmberg 1960; Major 1964; Hogrefe 1967). As a humanist he endeavoured to pour into his books all the knowledge he acquired during a lifetime of reading and obviously the literature of the Greeks and Romans appealed to him as a guide to life. On the other hand, Elyot wished to apply his own extensive learning to the development and improvement of the English language. His contribution includes a lengthy treatise on the virtues to be cultivated by statesmen (Elyot 1531),<sup>1</sup> a Platonic dialogue on knowledge and goodness (Elyot 1533a), a Lucian dialogue on the duties of a counsellor (Elyot 1533b), the first substantial Latin-English dictionary (Elyot 1538),<sup>2</sup> a collection of the sayings of wise men (Elyot 1534?a),<sup>3</sup> a defence of women (Elyot 1540),<sup>4</sup> a sermon on the subjects of 'last things' (Elyot 1545)<sup>5</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> The twofold object of the book was "to instruct men in such virtues as shall be expedient for them, which shall have authority in a weal public, and to educate those youths that hereafter may be deemed worthy to be governors." (Stephen, Lee 1967–68: s.v. *Elyot, Thomas*).

<sup>2</sup> The copy of the dictionary which Elyot presented to Cromwell is preserved in the British Library. It contains an interesting manuscript letter in Latin. (Elyot to Cromwell, Dedicatory letter, MS. on flyleaf of *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elyot*, British Library, class mark C28, m. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The earliest extant edition is dated 1539 [STC 7633] and is described on the title page as "newly augmented with dyverse tytles and sentences." This fact indicates that an earlier edition may not have survived. The wood-cut border used in the 1539 edition bears the date 1534; possibly this indicates that the first edition was printed in that year, though this is by no means certain (Hogrefe 1967: 304; Lehmberg 1960: 130).

<sup>4</sup> DNB erroneously provides the year 1545 as the year of first publication of this work (DNB, s.v. *Elyot, Thomas*).

<sup>5</sup> The title page has only the name of the book, the place, and the date of publication. In his dedication Elyot said that he had written the book "to his worshypfull frende, Syr Edwarde North, knight, chancellour of the augmentacions" during Lent, 1545. The colophon bears the date July 2, 1545.

well as translations of works by Isocrates (Elyot 1534b),<sup>6</sup> Plutarch (Elyot 1535), St Cyprian and Pico della Mirandola (Elyot 1534c).<sup>7</sup> As a prose writer, Elyot enriched the English language with many new words, mainly Latin and Greek borrowings, like *animate, education, encyclopaedia, frugality, metamorphosis, modesty, obfuscate, persist* and many other (Barber 2001: 54).

### ***The Castel of Helth***

Although Elyot wrote mostly on subjects outside medicine, he must be noted as the author of the first original medical manual, *The Castel of Helth*,<sup>8</sup> published in 1539, although there are some theories according to which there may have been earlier publications (Kuropatnicki 2003: 149–192). *The Castel of Helth*, a popular treatise on medicine, intended to place a scientific knowledge of the art within the reach of those unacquainted with Greek, may be well considered a best-seller since it went through seventeen editions by 1610, while the *The Boke Named the Governor* had only eight editions. Elyot wrote his medical regimen with two purposes in mind. Firstly, he was concerned with Thomas Cromwell's health<sup>9</sup>, and secondly, he wished to reach the general reader whom he wished to educate in matters medical.

### **Medical humanism**

The book was a very popular medical manual in Renaissance England. The reason for its popularity may be that during the Renaissance, people in England as in the whole of Europe became interested in information about medicine and health. Medical writers wanted to effect a reformation of medical knowledge by re-creating the *prisca medicina* (pure ancient medicine) (Grendler 1999: IV, 100). Greek texts, especially, were seen as possessing the purest wisdom. In this period there was a general rebirth of interest in the human body and many scholars were reading the classical works on medicine in the original Greek. Many medical works were translated directly from Greek into Latin by medical humanists, a group of

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<sup>6</sup> Elyot translated Isocrates' *Ad Nicoles*. The work appeared in three editions, two of them perhaps in 1534 and the third attributed to 1538 or even 1548 (Hogrefe 1967: 232). According to Lehmberg, however, it is impossible to date the translation precisely. Judging from the list of works which Elyot gave in the preface to *The Image of Governance*, published in 1541, he assumes that it was printed in 1533 (Lehmberg 1960: 125–126). Rude assigns the date to 1534 (Rude 1992: xxxi).

<sup>7</sup> A Swette and Devoute Sermon of Holy Saynt Ciprian of the Mortalitie of Man was jointed with *The Rules of a Christen Life Made by Picus Erle of Mirandula* in a small volume printed in 1534. Elyot dedicated the book "to my ryghte worshypfull suster Dame Susan Knygestone", his stepsister (Susan Fettiplace Kingston) then living as "a vowess" at Sion house (Lehmberg 1960: 128; Hogrefe 1967: 19–20, 29–30).

<sup>8</sup> T. Elyot, *The Castel of Helth Gathered and Made by Syr Thomas Elyot knyghte, of the chief Authors of Physyke, wherby euery manne may knowe the state of his owne body, the preseruatiō of helth, and how to instructe welle his physytion in syckenes that he be not deceyued* (London 1539).

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, was Elyot's protector and friend.

learned physicians. Medical humanism had begun with Leoncinus of Ferrara who trained a group of young physicians in the methods and traditions of classical scholarship. Some of them thought that the best way to medical advancement was through correct translation of medical and scientific writings into Latin and a vernacular language. In England Sir Thomas Elyot, who was one of Thomas Linacre's students, was a prime mover (Sharpe 1960: 242). Humanists focused especially on the Hippocratic works and those of Galen, which constituted the principal sources of classical medical knowledge. In 1525 the complete works of Galen were published in Greek and in the same year the *Hippocratic corpus* was first published in Latin and the next year in Greek. It is worth mentioning that between 1500 and 1600 some 590 separate editions of Galen were published. Among the medical humanists certainly no one enjoyed a higher reputation than Thomas Linacre, or did better service to the cause of learning. Linacre was one of the first Englishmen who studied Greek in Italy whence he brought back to his native country and his own university the lessons of the 'new learning'.

### Early medical books in English

In the Tudor period there were many medical books available but they were written in Latin and addressed mainly to the medical profession (Pilcher 1918; Kuropatnicki 2004 II, 490–508). Although most physicians wrote in Latin, there were some exceptions, and the number of works in the vernacular steadily increased. One of the outstanding figures among physicians of that time was Andrew Boorde, who studied medicine and took his M.D. at Montpellier. He is famous for two medical works, *The Dyetary of Helthe* (Boorde 1542) and *The Breuyary of Helthe* (Boorde 1547). Another physician who wrote entirely in English was Robert Recorde. He is famous for a short book on urines, *The Urinal of Phisicke* (Recorde 1547). Dr William Turner, the naturalist, wrote an informative and practical treatise on baths in English (Turner 1562).<sup>10</sup> Turner's contemporary, John Caius wrote *A Boke or Counseill Against the Disease Commonly Called the Sweate or Sweatyng Sicknesse* (Caius 1552).

Before 1600 there appeared a number of books whose aim was to help ordinary people in health problems. Some of these books were original, for example William Bullein's *Bulwarke of Defence Against all Sicknesse, Sores and Woundes* (Bullein 1562), Phillip Barrough's *The Method of Physicke*, which had nine editions before 1639 (Barrough 1583), and Thomas Cogan's *Haven of Health* (Cogan 1584). There was also a number of books relating to the bubonic plague which spread across Europe in the sixteenth century.

Sir Thomas Elyot was the first to bring the Renaissance spirit to the application of the English language. In the Preface to the edition of *The Castel of Helth* of 1541 he explains why he wrote his treatise in English:

But if phisitions be angry, that I haue wryten phisike in englyshe, let theym remember, that the grekes wrate in greke, the Romanes in latyne, Auicena, and the other in

<sup>10</sup> The book was published with two parts of Herbal in 1562 and again in 1568.

Arabike, whiche were their owne propre and maternal tonges. And if they had bene as moche attacked with enuy and couaytise, as some nowe seeme to be, they wolde haue deuysed some particuler language, with a strange syphre or fourme of letters, wherin they wold haue writhen their science, which läguage or letters no man shoulde haue knownen that hadde not professyd and practised phisycke: but those, although they were painimes and Jewes, in this parte of charitee they farre surmountid vs Christianes, that they wolde not haue soo necessary a knowledge as phisicke is, to be hyd frome them which wolde be studiouse aboute it. (Elyot 1541: A4v).

Elyot found that medical problems could be presented in the vernacular and in this way a wider public could be advised and counselled on how to prevent illnesses by watching their diets, and when they become ill, to analyse their own symptoms and report them to their doctors in a more accurate way.

### **Lexical problems arise**

As previously stated, in Tudor England there were medical texts translated into Latin and Greek, as well as translations from Latin or Greek into English. The sixteenth century was marked by the efforts of literary minds to improve and adorn the mother tongue, which the admirers of classical literature and philosophy considered to be lagging far behind Greek and Latin as far as its literary qualities or potentialities were concerned (Berndt 1983: 55). In sixteenth century England the vernacular was duly established as the literary medium. However, we can see the renascence movement and general national activities increasing its vocabulary to an enormous extent. We can also observe its grammatical structure and syntax being slowly modified.

Although increasing numbers of scientific books were written in English, their technical vocabulary was awkward and often confusing due to the lack of English words equivalent to the classical Greek and Latin terms reintroduced during a period of rapid rediscovery and publication (Sharpe 1960: 242). So far only Latin, and to some extent Greek, had been used to express *materia medica*. There was no need before Tudor times to find English equivalents for most medical terms used by those who had been writing in Latin. However, Latin had already been influencing English since the Old English period when many Latin loan words entered English. The influx of Latin loanwords continued during Middle English times, nevertheless, the number of Latin loans that entered English was small. Many new words came into English via French and now it is often impossible to decide which words entered English as a result of direct borrowing or were introduced via their descendant language (Berndt 1983: 53).

### **Expanding English lexicon**

According to Otto Jespersen, a great many words in English may be ascribed to French and Latin, since their English form would be the same in both cases (Jespersen 1956: 119).

- Rolf Berndt presents the ways of expanding English lexicon, or vocabulary:
- (i) by utilizing the resources already available in the language for the creation of new words (by way of compounding and derivation);
  - (ii) by creating new words on the model of another language (so-called ‘loan-translations’ or ‘calques’), a common practice in Old English, but rare in later stages, and to an extent unparalleled in any other Germanic language;
  - (iii) by ‘borrowing’ words (and with them prefixes and suffixes) from foreign languages (so-called ‘loanwords’);
  - (iv) by forming new words out of native and ‘borrowed’ vocabulary elements (so-called ‘hybrids’) or out of foreign (especially Greek and Latin) elements only;
  - (v) by creating lexical items larger than words (and different from compound words), namely ‘fixed phrases’ (or ‘locutions’), such as idioms, proverbs and other fixed groups of words with a special meaning;
  - (vi) only very rarely by coining, or inventing, totally new words to denote new concepts (Berndt 1983: 48).

When discussing medical texts of the Renaissance period we must keep in mind that the words adopted are not all of Latin origin, there are perhaps more Greek than Latin elements in them. However, the more important words are Latin and most Greek words have entered into English through Latin. They may have been Latinised in spelling and ending before being used in English.

To illustrate the problems that English writers had when writing in the vernacular on medical matters let us quote Sir Thomas Elyot. When introducing his list of remedies to purge superfluous humours, he writes:

I haue gathered out of the bookes of Dioscorides, Galen, Paul Egineta, Oribasius, & Aetius, and other late writers, not with standynge, I haue not writen all, for as moche as there be dyuers thinges, whervnto we haue not yet founden any names in englishe. (Elyot 1541: 57 v).

Later on, in the fourth book of his manual, he uses the word ‘crudity’, explaining that he has made it from Latin because no English term is available:

The one is callyd crudite, y other lassitude, whyche althoughe they be wordes made of latyne, hauyng none apte englyshe worde therefore, yet by the defynytions and more ample declaration of them, they shall be vnderstante suffcyentely, and from henseforthe vsed for englysshe. (Elyot 1541: 74 v).

Many medical terms were translated directly from Latin or anglicised:

- vomyt (vomitus)
- abhorre (abhorrrere)
- abolicion (abolitio(n))
- apostume (apostema)
- aqua vitae (Latin loan word)
- pulse (pulsus)
- replecion (repletion(n))

## Lexical items introduced by Elyot

I would like to concentrate now on the words, derived mainly from Latin or other languages, which have been presumably created by Sir Thomas Elyot, or at least, were used for the first time by him. I have found 45 such words in *The Castel of Helth*. Below I present the results of etymological analysis based on *The Oxford English Dictionary* (on CD) and *The Middle English Dictionary*. In brackets the modern version of the word has been given.

### (1) abraied – (abraid)

this word might have been derived from Old English 'brōdan' or Old Saxon 'bregdan', which means 'to make a sudden jerky movement.' Elyot used this word in the sense of 'to rise nauseously (in the stomach)'.

"...an appetite to eate or drynke mylke, to the extēt that it shal not arise or abraied in he stomake..." (Elyot 1541: 33 v).

### (2) abstersiue – (abstersive)

the adjective derived probably from the French 'abstersif' or Latin 'abstertio(n-)'. It may have been formed from the Latin 'abstergēre' by adding suffix '-ive', which in Old French had also the form '-ive', in Italian and Spanish '-ivo', whereas in Latin '-ivus'. This suffix forms adjectives in the sense of 'tending to, having the nature or quality of.'

Elyot used this word for the first time in the sense of 'having the quality of purging, cleansing, scouring, or washing away impurities.'

"[white betes] Are also abstersiue, and lowseth the bealye, but moche eaten, annoyeth the stomake..." (Elyot 1541: 27 r).

### (3) adustiō (adustion)

'hotness and dryness of the humours of the body'.

The noun was probably derived from the Latin 'adūstiōn -em', which is a noun form of 'adūr -ěre', meaning 'to burn', but also the French 'aduste' (15<sup>th</sup> c.) may be the immediate source of this English word.

"Grene like to grene cāker of metal, & bourneth like venom, & is of exceeding adustiō of choler or fleum... (Elyot 1541: 9 r).

### (4) affecte – (affect)

'a state of body opposed to the normal, indisposition, distemper, malady, disease, affection'.

The word is probably an adaptation of Latin 'affectus' (the noun of completed action 'affic -ěre' - to act upon, dispose, constitute).

"The last of thynges callid not naturall, is not the least parte to be consydered, the whyche is of affectes and passions of the mynde." (Elyot 1541: 62 r).

However, the same word “affecte” was used also by Elyot (first recorded use) in *The Boke Named the Govourner* (1531) in the meaning of ‘feeling, desire, or appetite (as opposed to reason); passion, lust, evil-desire’.

“Wherby he confoundeth the vertue called temperance, whiche is the moderatrice as well of all motions of the minde, called affectes, as of all actis procedyng of man.” (Elyot 1531: Ch. IX).

(5) aggregatour

‘one who joins himself to; an adherent’.

This is an agent-noun form of aggregate (Latin ‘aggregātor’, form of ‘aggregāre’, f. ad ‘ag-’ + ‘greg-’, grex’ flock, ‘-tor’]. In the Preface Elyot writes:

“Nor I dyd ommit to reade the longe Canones of Auicena, y Commentaries of Auerrois, y practisis of Isake, Halyabbas, Rasys, Mesue, and also of the more part of them which were their aggregatours and folowers.” (Elyot 1541: A4 r).

(6) cāker – (canker)

‘rust’.

[Old Northern French ‘cancré’, in Central Old French and modern French ‘chancre’, Latin ‘cancr- um’ nom. cancer.]

The word had been used in Old English directly from Latin. From the fifteenth century it was applied to larvae destructive to plants. Elyot probably transformed the meaning of a disease of plants affecting bark and tissues by analogy to metals.

“Grene like to grene cāker of metal, & bourneth like venim, & is of exceeding adustiō of choler or fleum...” (Elyot 1541: 9 r).

(7) carnositie – (carnosity)

‘fleshiness; pulpiness; flesh or pulp’.

The noun was adopted from Latin ‘carnōs -us’ fleshy, ‘-ity’ or French ‘carnosité’.

“Sanguine ... Carnositie or flesshynesse.” (Elyot 1541: 2 r).

(8) chittes – (chit)

‘chiches or chick-peas’.

(Fr. ‘chiche’, Old French ‘cice’, Latin ‘cicer’).

Chick-pea, lentil, was in the sixteenth century corrupted to chits, which being taken as plural, yielded a singular chit.

“Cicer, & the pulse called in latin eruum, in englishe I suppose chittes) in water drunk fasting, hath the same effect.” (Elyot 1541: 90 v).

(9) crude

This adjective derived from Latin ‘crūd -us’ (raw, undigested, unripe, rough, cruel) was used by Elyot in the sense of ‘not, or not fully, digested or concocted’ with regard to food in the stomach, secretions and humours.

"Speciallye to them, that are coleryke, and only serueth for them that are replete with fleume, crude, or vndigested humours, clammy or fatte." (Elyot 1541: 92 r).

(10) crudite - (crudity)

used in the sense of 'imperfect concoction of the humours; undigested (or indigestible) matter in the stomach' or was generated from the Latin 'crūditās' (form of 'crūdus'). Elyot uses the word in the fourth book, chapter I, and explains:

"The one is callyd crudite, y other lassitude, whyche althouge they be wordes made of latyne, hauynge none apte englyshe worde therefore, yet by the defynytings and more ample declaration of them, they shall be vnderstande suffycyentely, and from henseforthe vsed for englysshe." (Elyot 1541: 74 v).

(11) decoction

'digestion'

The noun was derived probably from French (Old French 'decoction,' which is an adaptation of 'dēcoctiōn- em', noun of action being a form of 'dēcoquēre' to decoct.

"These thinges are good ageinst it, the decoction of cicer with honye and raysons, fylberd nuttes tosted eaten after meales." (Elyot 1541: 81 v).

(12) defecate

'purified from dregs, clarified; clear and pure'.

It is a past participle of 'defecate'. The verb must have been derived from Latin 'dēfæcāt -us,' past participle of 'dēfæcārē'.

"If the corne be good, the water holsome and cleane, and the ale or biere welle and perfytelye brewed and clensed, and by the space of syx dayes or more, settled and defecate....." (Elyot 1541: 34 v).

(13) distemperature

'disordered or distempered condition of the humours, or of the body, disorder, ailment'.

It was probably derived from the Latin 'distemperātūra', however in Old French there was 'destempreure.'

"The cause therof is, sometyme the distemperature of the stomake, sometyme inflammations..." (Elyot 1541: 74 v).

In *Gouverour* Elyot uses the word in a different sense: 'a condition of the air or elements not properly tempered for human health and comfort; evil, deranged or extreme *temperature* (in the earlier sense of this word, including all atmospheric states); inclemency, unwholesomeness.'

"That parte of phisike called rationall, wherby is declared the faculties or powers of the body, the causis, accidentes, and tokens of sikenessis, can nat alwayes be sure without some experience in the temperature or distemperature of the regions, in the disposition of the patient in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and slepe." (Elyot 1531: III, Ch. XXVI).

## (14) dystillation

'a defluxion of rheum; a catarrh'.

In both Latin and French there are words from which this one may have been derived: (Latin 'dē-, distillatiōn- em', a noun of action of 'dē-, distillāre', French 'distillation')

"...for it cureth the eyen being annoyed with longe dystillations." (Elyot 1541: 61 r).

## (15) eructation

'the action of voiding wind from the stomach through the mouth; belching'.

The noun was probably derived from the Latin ('ēructatiōn- em,' a noun of action from 'ēructāre')

"This is alway to be remébred, that where one feleth hym selfe full, and greued with his diner, or the sauoure of his meate by eructation ascendeth..." (Elyot 1541: 41 v).

## (16) extenuate

'to make (the body, flesh, a person) thin or lean; to render emaciated or shrunken'. The word may have had its source in the Latin word 'extenuāt' (participle stem of 'extenuare'; 'ex-' + 'tenuis' thin, reduce, diminish '-ate')

"...wherby it hapneth, that thynges harde be mollified, moyste thynges are extenuate, and the poores of the bodye are more opened." (Elyot 1541: 46 v).

## (17) exulcerate

'to cause ulcers in; to ulcerate'.

(Latin 'exulcerāt -' participle stem of 'exulcerāre', 'ex-' intensive + 'ulcerare' to ulcerate)

"And if the reume be sharpe, it rasith the inner skyn of the throte, and sometime it doth exulcerate the lunges." (Elyot 1541: 78 r).

## (18) exulceration

'ulceration'

In Latin and French there are words from which the word may have been derived. (Latin 'exulceratiōn- em', a noun of action form from 'exulcerāre', French 'exulceration', '-ation')

"...but if it be of a hotte cause, the vse therof is dangerous, for inflammation or exulceration of the raynes or bladder." (Elyot 1541: 27 v).

## (19) fastidiousness

'loathing, disgust'.

The word definitely has its origin in Latin ('fastīdiōs-us', a form of 'fastīdium' loathing: '-ness').

"...bycause they ar wylde of nature, and more bitter, and ther fore causeth fastidiousness or lothsomnesse of the stomake." (Elyot 1541: 28 v).

## (20) fricasie

'frication, friction' derived from Latin 'fricātio'.

"And in this fourme of fricasie, I my self haue founden an excellent commodittie."  
(Elyot, 1541: 45 v).

## (21) fricacion – (friction)

the action or process of chafing or rubbing (the body) with hands. It originates from Latin ('fricatiōn- em', a noun of action from 'fricāre', f. 'fricat-' past participle stem of 'fricare' rub, '-ation').

"...than increase fricacions and exercise by litel & litel, and than let him retourne to his naturall dyete." (Elyot 1541: 75 v).

## (22) fyllett – (fillet)

'a band of fibre, whether muscle or nerve, a flap of flesh; a muscle'.

It originated either from Latin ('fīlum' thread) or directly from French ('filet' = Pr. 'filet', Sp. 'filete,' It. 'filetto').

"This doth happen of excessiue multitude of humors, which do extende the muscles or fyllettes." (Elyot 1541: 85 v).

## (23) galyardes

'galliard' is a quick and lively dance for couples in triple time. It originates from French (Old French and French 'galliard.') It also occurs in other languages (Provençal 'galhart,' Spanish 'gallardo,' Portuguese 'galhardo,' Italian 'galiardo'). It is an adjective of unknown origin.

"...Vehement exercise is compounde of violent exercise and swifte, whan they are ioyned togither at one time, as dansyng of galyardes, throwing of the ball, and running after it..." (Elyot 1541: 48 v).

## (24) gargarise

'to wash or cleanse (the mouth or throat) with gargle.' It was derived from the Latin 'gargarizāre' and is an adaptation of the Greek 'gargarizein' – to gargle, and it was also adopted in the French 'gargariser.'

"...and therwith gargarise your mouth fastinge..." (Elyot 1541: 90 r).

## (25) gargarise

'a gargle'

A noun form derived from the verb 'gargarize'.

"...and taken very hote in a gargarise is right conuenient." (Elyot 1541: 82 r).

## (26) gestation

'an action of carrying or being carried, e.g., on horseback or in a carriage'.

It was regarded as a kind of exercise. The word was derived from Latin ('*gestatiōn- em*', a noun of action formed on '*gestāre*' to carry). In French there also exists the similar noun 'gestation.'

"There is also an nother kynde of exercise, whiche is called Gestation, and is myxt with muvyng and rest." (Elyot 1541: 47 v).

(27) incend

'to engender (bodily heat); to heat, inflame (the body or its organs)'.

The verb was derived from Latin '*incend- ēre*' to set on fire, kindle ('in-' + '*candēre*' to cause to glow, cf. '*candēre*' to glow, shine, cf. Italian '*incendere*' to kindle, inflame).

"...they that are sowre, be more expedient and holsome. for than the sweete do incende heate, and puffe vp the stomake." (Elyot 1541: 26 v).

(28) juuentute – (juventute)

'youth; the age of youthful vigour or early manhood'.

It is a noun of Latin origin ('*juventūs, -tūt -em*' the age of youth) although in French we can also find 'juventute.'

"Juuentute vnto.xlyeres, hotte and drye, wherin the body is in perfyte growthe." (Elyot 1541: 13 r).

(29) lassitude

In the fourth book in chapter I, Elyot explains that the word 'lassitude' is a word he made from Latin because no English term was available. In Latin the word from which it was derived is '*lassitūdo*' (a form of '*lassus*' weary). The word means 'the condition of being weary whether in body or mind; a flagging of the bodily or mental powers; indifference to exertion; weariness.'

"The one is callyd crudicie, y other lassitude, whyche althougle they be wordes made of latyne, hauynge none apte englyshe worde." (Elyot 1541: 74 v).

(30) metheglyn

'a spiced or medicated variety of mead, originally peculiar to Wales.' (Welsh 'meddyglyn,' a form of 'meddyg' healing, medicinal) [an adaptation of Latin 'medicus': 'medic' + 'llyn' liquor (= Irish 'lionn', Gaelic 'leann').]

"...be made lykors commodious to mākynd, as mead, metheglyn, and oximell." (Elyot 1541: 35 v).

(31) mulse – (muls)

an adaptation of the Latin 'mulsum' (neuter past participle of 'mulcēre' to sweeten) meaning 'a liquor made of honey mixed with water or wine, hydromel, mead.'

"...he prayseth moche Mulse, or the water of honye, specially yf some Isope be boyled in it." (Elyot 1541: 76 v).

## (32) nemiphār – (nenuphar)

'a water-lily, esp. the common white or yellow species'.

derived from the Latin 'nenuphar' (Italian and Spanish 'nenufar', French 'nénufar'), it is probably an adaptation of Arabic – Persian 'nīnūfar', 'nilūfar,' (meaning blue lotus, from 'nil' blue + 'utpala' lotus, water lily).

"...sirope of violettes, nemiphār or the wine of swete pomegranates..." (Elyot 1541: 81 r).

## (33) plummet

a leaden weight used in gymnastic exercises or a weight enclosed in a cestus. It originated probably from the French 'plommet', 'plombet', 'plummet' meaning ball of lead

"Also stirring vp and downe his armes, without plummettes, Vehement exercise is compounde of violent exercise and swifte..." (Elyot 1541: 48 v).

## (34) rigour – (rigor)

'a sudden chill, esp. one accompanied with fits of shivering which immediately precedes certain fevers and inflammations'.

It was probably created on the bases of Latin rigor 'numbness, stiffness,' related to 'rigēre' to be stiff, 'rigidus.' In Old French existed 'rigor,' 'rigour' (in the 13<sup>th</sup> century modified into French 'rigueur').

"...or agaynst the rigour, whiche hapneth in feuers, only I wyl remember the saying of Hippocrates." (Elyot 1541: 48 r).

## (35) ruen chese

'a kind of soft cheese'.

The noun of obscure origin used for the first time by Elyot. I was not able to track its origin.

"As mylke hot from the vdder, or at the lest newe milked, ruen chese, sweete almonds, the yelkes of rere egges, litel byrdes of é bushes, chickens, & hennes." (Elyot 1541: 65 v).

## (36) sacietie – (satiety)

'the state of being glutted or satiated with food; the feeling of disgust or surfeit caused by excess of food'.

The word derived probably either from the Latin 'satietatem' abundance, satiety, a form of 'satis' enough, or from the French 'satiété' (12<sup>th</sup> c. 'sazieted,' 16<sup>th</sup> c. 'saciété').

"...the breke fast lasse than the diner and the dyner moderate, that is to say, lasse than sacietie or fulnesse of bealy..." (Elyot 1541: 40 v).

## (37) sackbottes – (sackbut)

a musical instrument of the Renaissance; a bass trumpet with a slide like that of a trombone for altering the pitch. It must be an adoption of a French 'sa(c)quebute,'

earlier ‘saqueboute,’ ‘-botte,’ etc., not found as the name of a musical instrument earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century, but presumably identical with the Old Northern French ‘saqueboute,’ explained in the fourteenth century as a lance furnished with ‘aniron hook for pulling men off their horses.’ The first element is clearly ONF. ‘saquier’ to pull, draw (which accounts for all the senses of the compound); the etymology of the second element is obscure; some scholars connect it with ‘bouter’ to push. There is the Spanish ‘sacabuche’ (cf. the sixteenth century English form ‘shagbushe’), sackbut, also tube used as a pump, and the Portuguese ‘sacabucka,’ an adoption of the French word. The Portuguese word is identical in form with a word meaning a hook for drawing the wad from a gun. Possibly the French word may, when adopted into Portuguese, have undergone assimilation to the native word and then passed in the altered form into Spanish, but evidence is wanting.

“The entrayles, which be vnderneth the myddreffre, be exercised by blowinge, eyther by constraint, or playing on shaulmes, or sackbottes, or other lyke instruments, which do require moch wynde.” (Elyot 1541: 47 r).

(38) Saltion

‘leaping’

It is an adoption of the Latin ‘saltiōn –em,’ formed on salt-, participle stem of ‘salīrē’ to leap.

“...crampes in the bodye stertynge or saltion of the members, fulnesse of the vaynes, and thyckenesse of the poules.” (Elyot 1541: 52 v).

(39) scarifieng(e)

a form of ‘scarify’.

It is an adoption of the late Latin ‘scarificāre,’ an altered form of ‘scarifāre’ to scarify, which had been adopted from the Greek ‘skariphasthai’, and recorded in the senses of ‘to scratch an outline, sketch lightly.’ Scarifying means ‘making of a number of scratches or slight incisions in (a portion of the body, a wound).’

“And their drawyng is more conuenient for fulnesse of blod thanne scarifieng is....”  
(Elyot 1541: 61 r).

(40) stoole (stool)

[Old English ‘stól’ = Old Frisian., Old Scandinavian ‘stól,’ Old High German ‘stuol’ (Dutch ‘stoel,’ German ‘Stuhl’), Old Northumbrian ‘stóll,’ Gothic ‘stól- s’ throne].

From Late Middle English the word was used in the sense of a seat enclosing a chamber-pot; a close- stool, a commode, also, a privy, a lavatory. Elyot engaged it to describe the action of evacuating the bowels and also an act of discharging faeces. ‘By stool’ means the same as ‘by faecal’ as distinguished from other means of evacuation.

“Of the gardeyn, and rype, do dispose a man to the stoole, but they do bryng no maner of nouryshement.” (Elyot 1541: 27 r).

## (41) stufe

adapted from the Italian 'stufa' and anglicised. It means a hot-air bath.

"...moderate sweatynge in hot bathes or stufes be to this complexion necessary..."  
 (Elyot 1541: 72 v).

## (42) sublation

another medical term derived from Latin (an adaptation of 'sublātio -ōnem,' a noun of action of 'sublāt'). It means the middle part of a liquid that has thrown its sediment.

"If lyke thynges be sene in the myddell of the vrynnall, they be called sublations..."  
 (Elyot 1541: 88 v).

## (43) tisiknesse

'phthisic or asthmatic quality'.

It is an obsolete form of the word 'phthisic.' In Middle English there was a form 'tisik(e)', in Old French 'tisike, -ique,' later 'ptisque,' 'thisique' (replaced by modern French 'phthisie'). All the forms originated in the Latin 'phthisicus,' a form of the Greek 'phthisikos' consumptive.

"...dulnesse of syght, hardnesse of hearynge, tisiknesse or shortnesse of breth." (Elyot 1541: 84 r).

## (44) venenositie

'poisonous quality or property'.

The word was probably derived from the Latin 'venēnōsitas' poison.

"Wherfore men haue need to beware, what medicines they receyue, that in them be no venenositie, malayce, or corruption..." (Elyot 1541: 56 v).

## (45) vpbrading – (upbraiding)

'eructation of food; regurgitation'.

It probably originates from the Old English 'upbreōdan,' 'up-' + 'breōdan' braid (the originally strong past tense ('upbraid') gave rise to the reduced form 'upbray').

"If it be corrupted, it tourmeth also nourishment vnto corruption, whiche maketh vpbradinges fumishe or sharp, or of som yll qualitie, whiche can not be expressed."  
 (Elyot 1541: 78 r).

**Final remarks**

To sum up, I should say that *The Castel of Helth* is very interesting material for study. On the one hand, it is a handbook of physiology, hygiene, and diagnostics from which the reader can learn a lot about the Renaissance theories concerning health and ways of preventing and treating diseases. On the other hand, however, it is an excellent source of knowledge on the development of the English language. It shows to what extent English, and especially English dealing with matters medical, was influenced by Greek and Latin.

*The Castel of Helth* in fact, is a compilation of various theories concerning the human body and healthy lifestyle presented by such ancient authors as Galen, Hippocrates, Aetius, Avicenna, Dioscorides, Oribasius, Paul of Aegina and others. Renaissance translations of their medical works into the vernacular founded the modern Greco-Latin medical vocabulary, the terms of which gathered into glossaries gave rise to proper scientific dictionaries. Sir Thomas Elyot published his Latin-English Dictionary in 1538, republished in 1542 under the title *Bibliotheca Eliotae*. All this provides evidence that Thomas Elyot, Renaissance humanist, made an enormous contribution into the development of the English language.

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## Sir Thomas Elyot – słowotwórca ukierunkowany funkcjonalnie

### Streszczenie

W XVI-wiecznej Anglii język ojczysty na dobre zdominował się jako język literacki. Zaobserwować można jak ogólne działania w skali kraju zwiększały jego słownictwo, widać również powolne zmiany jego struktury gramatycznej i składni. Coraz więcej książek naukowych jest pisanych w języku angielskim, ale ich słownictwo techniczne było bardzo nieporadne i często mylące. Do tej pory tylko łacina, a do pewnego stopnia greka, były używane do wyrażania *materia medica*. Przed czasem panowania Tudorów nie było potrzeby znalezienia angielskich odpowiedników dla większości terminów medycznych. Wśród autorów, którzy pisali w języku angielskim o sprawach medycznych byli lekarze, ale i laicy. Oni to wprowadzili wiele terminów medycznych do języka angielskiego.

W artykule przedstawiono 45 słów wprowadzonych do języka angielskiego przez Thomasa Elyota, autora *The Castel of Helth*, oraz ich etymologiczne analizy.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Elyot, *Castel of Helth*, język macierzysty, etymologia

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## THE PASSIVE OF THE VERB *SEE*: A USAGE-BASED STUDY

### Introduction

In usage-based models of language, grammar is seen as an inventory of patterns that derive from repeated use and differ in their complexity and the degree of their conventionalization. Such a view of language entails the fundamental role of frequency in linguistic analysis, as “both a result and a shaping force of the system” (Kemmer and Barlow 2000: x). The aim of this study is to examine the usage of the passive *see* in the light of the above mentioned assumptions.

The passive construction offers an interesting area of research, as it can be easily observed that the frequency of the passive construction varies with different verbs or even different senses of the same verb. The choice of the verb *see* for the analysis was prompted by the fact that on one hand it clearly differs from typical transitive verbs, and on the other, paradoxically, it is one of the ten most frequently passivized English verbs (Biber et al. 1999: 478). The question arises which features of the verb could account for its high passivizability.

It is generally assumed that clauses which are most likely to appear in the passive construction are those with the highest degree of transitivity (Rice 1987: 422). A prototypical transitive clause can be described in terms of a cluster of features, which include two distinct participants, volitional agent and affected patient, involved in a dynamic perfective event connected with kinetic action and energy transfer (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252). The verb *see* clearly differs from the transitive prototype, as it denotes an act of perception rather than kinetic action, its primary participant, the perceiver, is not always volitional and controlling, while the secondary participant, the percept, usually remains unaffected by the event. Which features of *see* are then responsible for the high percentage of its passive uses?

For the purposes of this study, 500 tokens of the verb *see* were downloaded from the British National Corpus, 250 of them in the active and 250 in the passive. In the analysis of the corpus material, the study follows the procedures established by corpus-driven cognitive linguistic research. First the examples were coded for a number of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors to create a behavioural profile of the verb (Gries and Divjak 2009). Then they were submitted to multiple

correspondence analysis (Glynn 2014) by means of R statistical programming environment, in order to establish which of the features were systematically correlated in the data. Finally, the results of multiple correspondence analysis were confirmed with logistic regression to determine the statistical significance of individual factors. The categories of features that proved the most significant for the choice between the active and the passive are meaning, complementation pattern, *Aktionsart* (lexical aspect), affectedness of the percept and agency hierarchy of the perceiver.

## Meaning

The main problem in characterizing the verb *see* results from the fact that it is a high frequency verb with varied usage and many of its features, such as meaning or lexical aspect, vary from token to token and depend to a large extent on the nature of the percept. This causes difficulties in delineating the senses of the verb *see*: Alm-Arvius (1993: 350–351), for instance, distinguishes as many as nine distinct senses, while Gisborne (2010: 133–148) delineates five. The distinctions proposed below are based on one hand on the meaning of the verb and the possible paths of its extension (metaphor vs. metonymy) and on the other on the systematic correlations with specific structures, such as aspect and complementation patterns. The senses are as follows:

- (1) Visual perception ‘Perceive visually’  
*You saw the paper?*<sup>1</sup>
- (1a) ‘Scope of vision’  
*The grouse moors stretched further than she could see.*
- (2) Visualization ‘Imagine, recall’  
*He couldn’t see a horse playing badminton.*
- (3) Mental perception ‘Understand’  
*Why can’t you see how much I love you?*
- (4) Extensions
  - (4a) ‘Interact with’      *If you are depressed, see your doctor.*
  - (4b) ‘Control’            *My son will see to it that you have an allowance (...)*
  - (4c) ‘Check, find out’    *They’re trying me out – to see if I can manage.*
  - (4d) ‘Experience’        *The year 1165 also saw growing unrest in Saxony.*

Four basic senses of *see* have been distinguished. The primary meaning of the verb denotes visual perception and subsumes sense 1a, where there is no specific percept and the focus rests instead on the extent of the perceiver’s field of vision. Sense 2 relates to the ability of forming mental images of a percept which is non-existent or not directly accessible. In meaning 3 the original visual perception sense is metaphorically extended to include mental perception and the verb can be paraphrased as ‘understand’ or ‘realize’. The extended meanings listed in 4 are all based on the metonymy PART OF THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION (Kövecses

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all examples come from the BNC Corpus. Emphasis added.

2002: 152), as they apply the verb *see* to an activity a salient part of which is visual perception.

The starting point for the distinction above is Gisborne's (2010: 121–122) division into five meanings. However, Gisborne's classification does not include the extended senses, which proved quite prominent in the data, and it features sense 1a, 'the scope of vision', as a separate one. In this study, sense 1a is subsumed under the basic 'visual perception' sense, as what distinguishes it from typical instances of 'seeing' is not the mode of perception in itself, but the highly unspecific nature of the percept. Similarly, the evidential sense distinguished by Gisborne and exemplified in 5 below is here treated as a subtype of meaning 3, mental perception, with the perceptual source of the conclusion explicitly mentioned.

### *5. I see by the angle of the sun that the morning is almost over* (Gisborne 2010: 120)

The proportions of particular senses of the verb in the active and in the passive within the examined sample are presented in Figure 1 below.

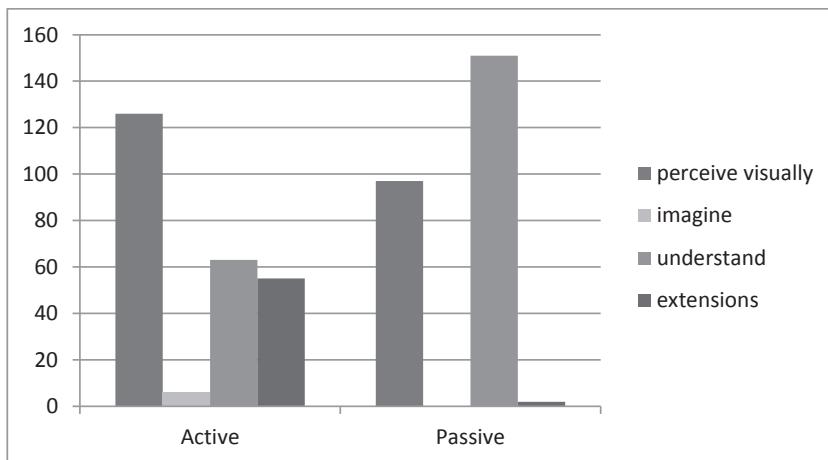


Fig. 1. The meanings of *see* in the active and in the passive<sup>2</sup>

The primary visual perception sense constitutes a significant percentage of the verb's uses, both in the active and in the passive. While in the active it is clearly the dominant sense, almost twice as frequent as the second most prominent meaning, in the passive it is the mental perception sense that takes the priority and appears in slightly over 60% of the sample. Another interesting regularity is the marked decrease of the dynamic metonymic meanings in the passive: they constitute 22% of the active sample, but the data suggest that they hardly ever passivize. Both of these tendencies in the passive of *see*, the increase in the mental perception sense and the decrease in the dynamic senses describing actions, run contrary to what could be expected on the basis of the transitive prototype, which favours dynamic, externally observable actions over mental processes.

<sup>2</sup> All the raw frequencies quoted in this study were submitted to the Chi-square test and were found to be highly significant statistically, with p-values well below 0.001.

### Complementation pattern

When it comes to the argument structure of *see*, a range of patterns can be distinguished. Since complementation patterns constitute one of the main types of evidence for polysemy (Gisborne 2010: 125), they could be expected to correlate with the meanings described above and possibly with the active or passive diathesis. Three basic patterns appeared in the data: intransitive, monotransitive with either nominal or clausal object and finally a range of complex transitive structures, with various types of object predicative. They are exemplified below:

#### Intransitive

- (6a) *I counted myself lucky to be able to see that far.*

#### Monotransitive

- (6b) *This species is rarely seen before late October.*

- (6c) *Council sees that the system has reached a very high standard.*

#### Complex transitive

- (6d) See-as *Such a home could easily be seen as a failure.*

- (6e) See-inf *He saw his sister gloat over the suitcase.*

- (6f) See-ing *Jed saw Carol walking across the lawn.*

- (6g) See-ed *But we would like to see dog owners registered.*

- (6h) See-Co *They were pleased to see me back.*

The intransitive uses of the verb proved quite marginal in the data, and predictably correlated with the active diathesis and meaning 1a. Similarly, two of the complex transitive patterns, labeled *See-ed* (past participle as object predicative) and *See-Co* (object predicative realized by an adjective or adverb), were extremely infrequent and for the sake of clarity were excluded from the analysis. Figure 2 below presents the proportions of the major complementation patterns within the examined sample, for this distinction limited to 485 tokens.

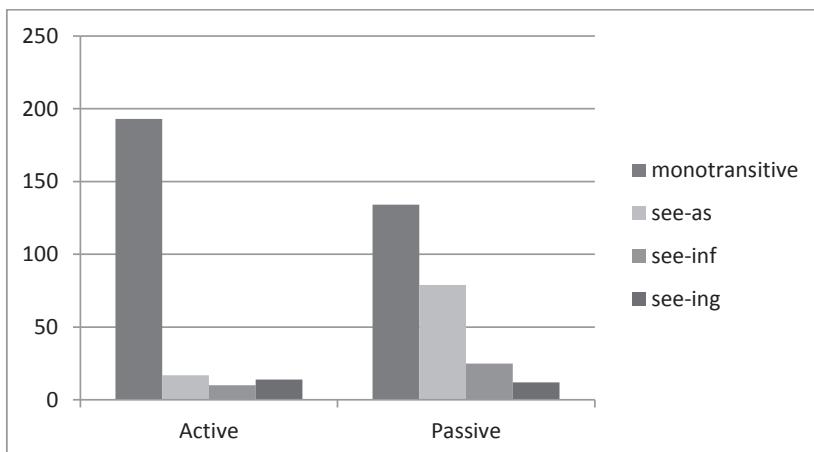


Fig. 2. The complementation patterns of *see* in the active and in the passive

In the active, the monotransitive pattern visibly prevails over the three complex transitive structures, whereas in the passive its dominance is less clearly marked, due to the increased frequency of two of the complex transitive patterns, *see-as* and *see-inf*. Interestingly, the frequency of the third complex transitive pattern, *see-ing*, describing the physical perception of an ongoing event, remains practically unchanged in both diatheses.

In the basic monotransitive pattern, the percept can be denoted either by a nominal or a finite clause. There are no dramatic disproportions between the active and the passive, although the passive shows slight preference for nominals (featured in 82% of monotransitive sentences, as opposed to 71% in the active) over clausal percepts (respectively 15% and 21%). This might suggest a tendency for simpler structures in the passive, which is, however, contradicted by the behavior of the complex transitive patterns, which gain more prominence in passive uses.

The results of multiple correspondence analysis of the two parameters discussed so far, the meaning and the complementation patterns, are presented in Figure 3.

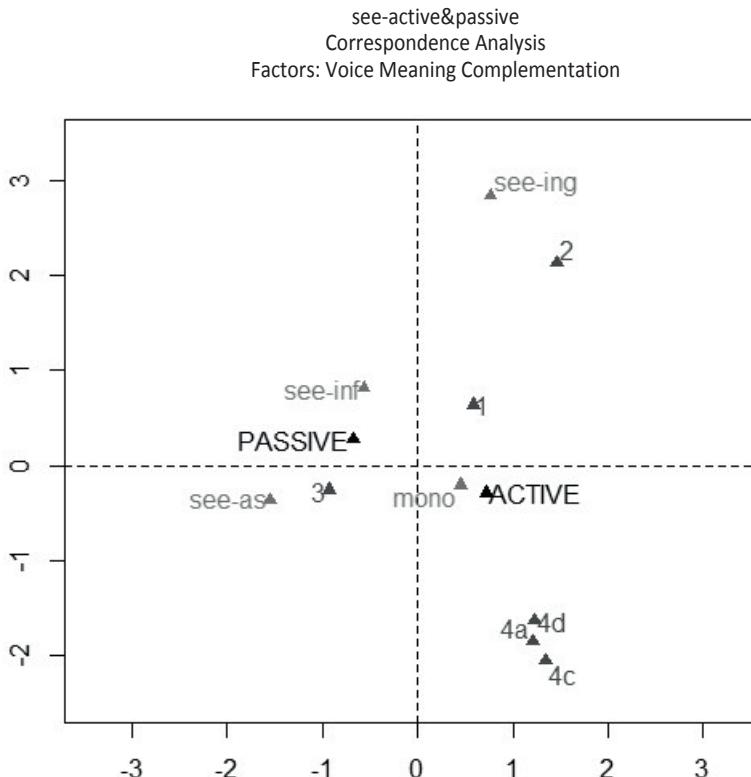


Fig. 3. Meanings and complementation patterns of *see* – correspondence analysis

Figure 3 above presents in graphic format the strength of correlation between particular factors: the factors which are more closely correlated in the data cluster together in the graph. The point representing the passive uses of *see* is surrounded

by such a cluster of three features: meaning 3 (mental perception) and two complex transitive complementation patterns: *see-as* and *see-inf*. The monotransitive pattern is more likely to occur in the active, while the *see-ing* construction is equally characteristic for both diatheses. Meaning 1 and meaning 2 both show slight preference for the active, whereas the three remaining metonymic meanings, 4a 'interact with', 4c 'check, find out' and 4d 'experience', cluster together and correlate with the active voice.

Multiple correspondence analysis was followed by logistic regression to establish the exact statistical significance of individual factors. The features highly significant for the distinction between active and passive uses of *see* are the *see-as* pattern with the p-value of 0.000283<sup>3</sup> and meaning 4a ('interact with') with the p-value of 0.006393. What is worth noting is that all the factors forming the passive cluster – meaning 3, *see-as* and *see-inf* constructions – proved statistically significant, with the p-value below 0.05. Thus, in terms of their meanings and complementation patterns, the passive uses of *see* form a unified, highly characteristic group.

### Aktionsart (lexical aspect)

The next feature which proved statistically significant for the active/passive distinction is Aktionsart, i.e. lexical aspect. As it has been mentioned above, the verb *see* is underspecified for aspect, which varies in different uses and depends on the context and the nature of the percept. What proved useful in characterizing the aspectual behaviour of the verb is the set of aspectual distinctions originally introduced by Vendler (1967), and adopted here in the form presented in Croft (2012: 44). The three relevant categories are state, achievement and accomplishment. States are durative and atelic: they extend in time but do not involve change or an inherent endpoint. Achievements and accomplishments both are dynamic and telic: they change through time and have an endpoint. Whereas achievements are punctual and describe events which instantaneously reach their completion, accomplishments are durative – they refer to extended mental or physical actions that gradually lead to an endpoint.

In most of its uses, the verb *see* is either a state or an achievement: an extended visual or mental experience or an instantaneous act of perception. The former case is exemplified in 7a and 7b, whereas the latter in 8a and 8b below, respectively in the active and the passive.

- 7a. *Families are like constellations of stars: we see each one as an entity, because they make some recognisable design (...)*
- 7b. *Low rents are seen as a form of bribery of the electorate.*
- 8a. *Diana is quite likely to open interesting-looking doors to see what is behind them.*
- 8b. *A modest, smiling, bespectacled figure was suddenly seen on the stairs.*

In some cases, the verb's aspectual construal is that of an accomplishment: an action gradually approaching its completion. This takes place mainly with the

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<sup>3</sup> P-value represents the probability of the result being random, so the lower the p-value, the more significant is the correlation.

metonymically extended meanings 4a–4c denoting an action, as in 9a below, where the meaning of the verb is that of ‘check, find out’ and involves actually performing the activity in question up to its completion, to be able to assess the result. Another characteristic context in which the verb *see* is construed as an accomplishment is the situation where the percept itself is a durative event with an endpoint, as in 9b.

- 9a. *See how long you can take to eat a meal or a sandwich, chewing every mouthful as slowly as possible.*  
 9b. (...) stopping off in Moscow to *see* the May Day Parade (...).

Figure 4 below shows the proportion of the three alternative aspectual construals in the active and in the passive.

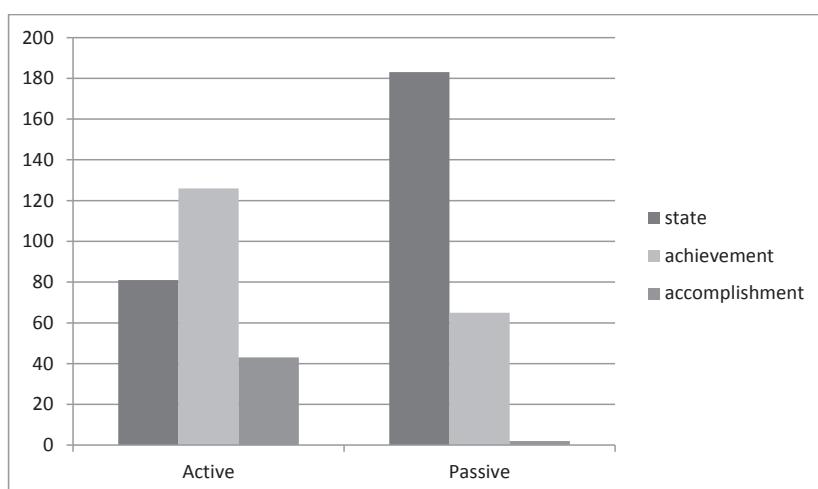


Fig. 4. The aspectual construals of *see* in the active and in the passive

In the active voice, the verb *see* is the most likely to describe an achievement, i.e. an instant act of perception, with states and accomplishments still visibly present. In the passive, however, it is the stative construal that takes precedence, with the number of achievements markedly decreasing and with accomplishments hardly present at all. Such a shift in the frequency of aspectual construals is coherent with the stativizing function of the passive: apart from reversing the hierarchy of salience between clausal participants, the passive “transforms a process into a state” (Langacker 1982: 60).

### Affectedness of the percept

The remaining two parameters are concerned with the two clausal participants of *see*, the perceiver and the percept, and the nature of their involvement in the act of perception. Object affectedness is one of the main characteristics of prototypical transitive clauses: as a result of the action, the secondary clausal participant undergoes a visible physical change of state. With verbs of perception, however, it is the perceiver rather than the percept that is more likely to be affected, and the

nature of this effect is mental rather than physical. With the verb *see* three main patterns of percept affectedness could be distinguished: affected, unaffected and effected percepts. First of all, it is possible for the percept to be affected by the event, which may happen in the metonymically extended action senses of the verb, or as a result of a specific context. For instance, in the examples below the percept is a person who is affected by the event because s/he enters into social interaction (10a) or is consequently discovered and pursued (10b).

- 10a. *Come and see me again, on your birthday.*
- 10b. *Marie had thought about telling him the truth: that Bella had seen him and the police would soon be after him.*

In most cases, however, the percept remains unaffected by the act of perception, which is exemplified in 11a and 11b below:

- 11a. *She had seen the two women leave the hospital.*
- 11b. *They failed to see that the principle was inadequate to a modern society.*

The object, event or proposition that is perceived does not undergo any change of state caused by the act of perception. This is particularly clearly visible when *see* has a that-clause as object, because then the verb is factive: it implies the truth of its complement. For instance, in 11b above, the principle is actually inadequate, whether the perceivers see it or not. Compare with 12a below, an example constructed for the purpose of comparison:

- 12a. *They saw the principle as inadequate to a modern society.*
- 12b. *The rewards, however, are seen to be worth the effort to master the new game.*

Here, the inadequacy of the principle is a subjective conclusion, reached as a result of the perceivers' thought processes. Similarly in 12b above, whether or not the rewards are worth the effort is a matter of individual judgment. Such examples, where the percept is in fact created in the act of perception, were labeled as cases of 'effected' percepts. The proportions of particular patterns of percept affectedness are presented in Figure 5 below:

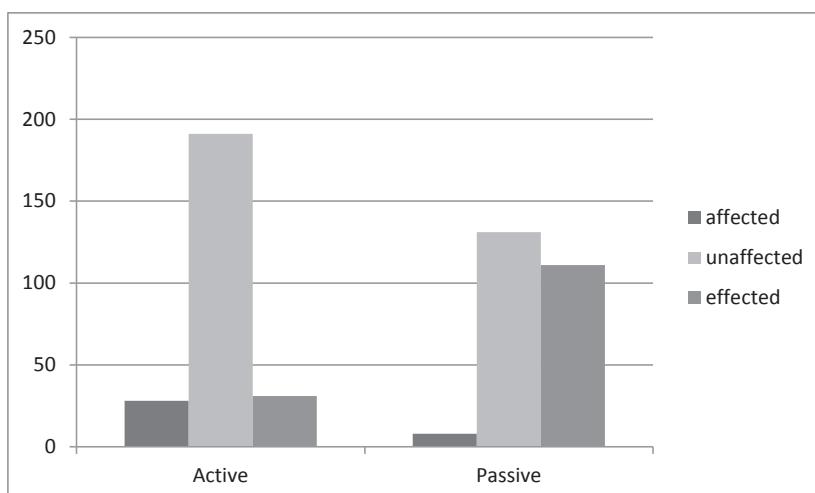


Fig. 5. Percept affectedness of *see* in the active and in the passive

In the active voice, the percepts generally remain unaffected and the other two patterns, affected and effected percepts, are minorities. In the passive the number of both affected and unaffected percepts decreases, and there is a visible increase in the number of effected percepts. This may contribute to the high passivizability of *see*, as effected percepts, which are created in the event, signify that the act of perception is here construed as a perfective action with a specific result.

### **Agency hierarchy of the perceiver**

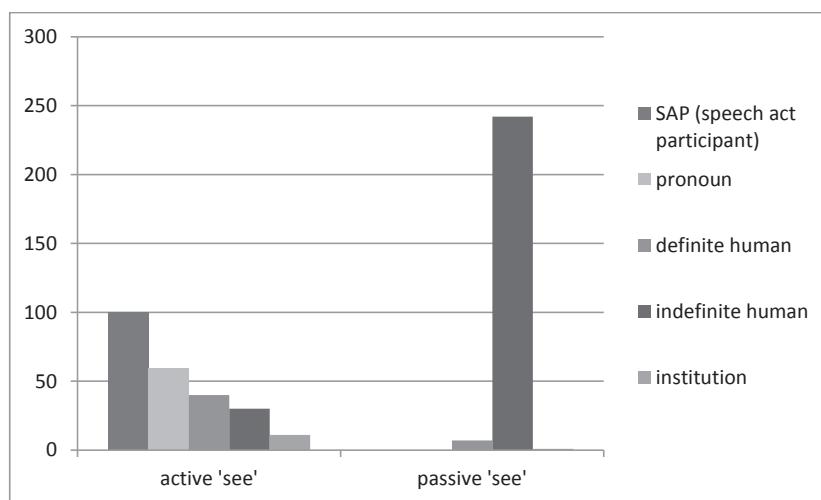
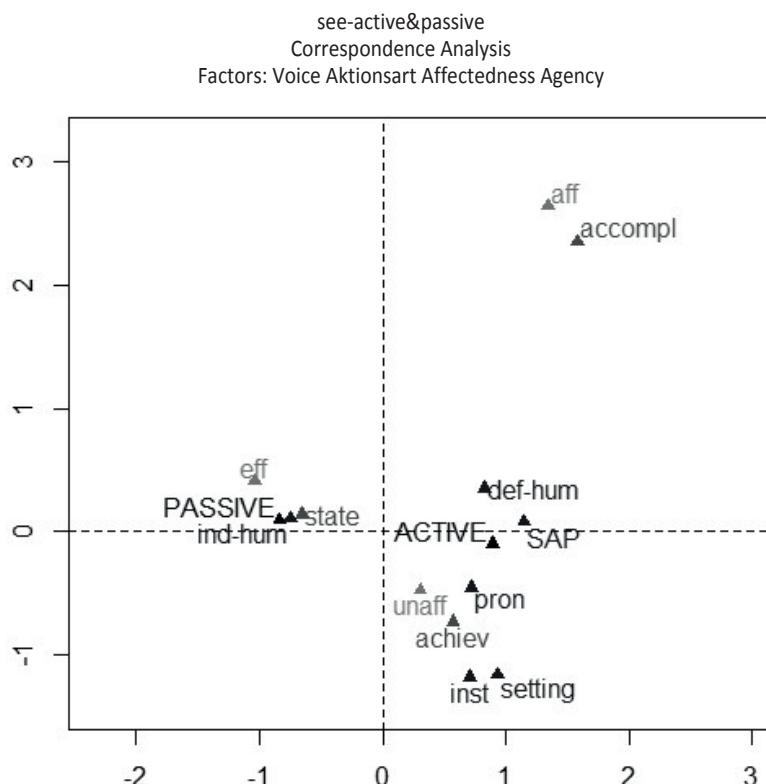
The last distinction to be discussed concerns the type of the perceiver, here described in terms of agency hierarchy – a person/animacy ranking correlated with semantic roles in such a way that elements higher in the hierarchy are more likely to be agents in typical, unmarked transitive sentences (Aissen 1999: 674). The agency hierarchy used for this study is a slightly adapted version of Empathy Hierarchy used by Shibatani (1998: 108) for a typological study of agents in the passive. The highest in the hierarchy are speech act participants – 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns (exemplified in 13a), followed by pronouns (here: third person pronouns with specific reference – 13b), definite humans (13c), indefinite humans (unspecific nominals, such as the one illustrated, as well as the cases where the perceiver is not explicitly present e.g. short passives or various non-finite constructions – 13d), and finally institutions (13e).

- 13a. *You can just see the kiosk, look, right along there.*'
- 13b. *He sees his own vision not as personal, but rooted in tradition.*
- 13c. *When Nellie saw them she asked, 'Why 'ave yer bought blue?'*
- 13d. *The show was seen by over 90,000 people.*
- 13e. *Geothermal power (...) is seen by the Government as an energy longshot.*

The agency hierarchy of the perceiver in the active and passive uses of the verb *see* is shown in Figure 6.

In the active uses of the verb *see* all the categories mentioned above are represented and their proportions are exactly as might be predicted on the basis of the agency hierarchy: the higher in the hierarchy a particular element is located, the more likely it is to become the clausal subject in the active. This seems to indicate that agency hierarchy is also valid for perception verbs, even though the primary clausal participant is not, strictly speaking, an agent. In the passive, however, the perceiver is predominantly indefinite, with the remaining categories hardly present at all. This is due mainly to the large number of short passives (94% of the passive sample), where the perceiver is not explicitly present.

The results of multiple correspondence analysis of the three factors described above, the Aktionsart, the affectedness of the percept and the agency hierarchy of the perceiver, are presented in Figure 7.

Fig. 6. Agency hierarchy of the perceiver of *see* in the active and in the passiveFig. 7. Aktionsart, percept affectedness and perceiver agency hierarchy of the verb *see* – correspondence analysis

Again, a tight cluster of features is visible around the passive, consisting this time of states, indefinite human perceivers and effected percepts. The other regularity that the multiple correspondence analysis reveals is that there is a close connection between Aktionsart, affectedness and voice: states with effected percepts are characteristic for the passive, while achievements with unaffected percepts and accomplishments with affected ones correlate with the active. Aktionsart proved to be the most statistically significant: the correlation between states and passives has the p-value of 0.00095, while that of achievements with the active – 0.00530. Another highly significant parameter turned out to be the indefinite human perceiver, with the p-value of 2.80e-13, but this correlation is predictable, due to the general high frequency of short passives, in which the agent, or as in this case, the perceiver, is not explicitly present. The other perceiver types cluster around the active voice, and those perceivers that are the highest in the agency hierarchy – SAPs (speech act participants), pronouns and definite humans – are the most closely correlated with it.

## Conclusions

In both stages of the correspondence analysis conducted above, the passive *see* presents itself as a specific construction with a clearly defined set of properties. The features characterizing the usage of *see* in the passive are state, meaning 3 (mental perception), *see-as* and *see-inf* constructions, indefinite human perceiver and an effected percept which is a proposition. The most typical examples of the passive *see* could be the following:

- 14a. *Female criminals are often seen as suffering from some physical or mental pathology.*
- 14b. *The feudal bond of duty and loyalty was seen to be almost as strong as the ties of blood relationship.*

The features characterizing the passive *see* are by no means typical for the active uses of the verb. The passive *see* is in fact very different from its active counterpart in its meaning, aspectual potential and the ability to combine with particular complementation patterns and types of clausal participants. The question arises if it is possible at all to account for the verb's passivizability by applying the notion of the transitive prototype to the active uses of the verb, or whether it would be more productive to treat the passive as a separate construction in the sense used by Goldberg (2006: 5–9). This question, however, remains beyond the scope of this study.

For the present, the tentative conclusion, limited by the preliminary nature of the investigation and the size of the data sample, would be that the main problem in explaining the high passivizability of *see* in terms of the transitive clause prototype results from applying the prototype to the verb as a whole. It seems that a finer-grained approach is required, taking into consideration the individual senses of the verb. The verb *see* is 'massively polysemous' (Gisborne 2010: 119). Although none of the meanings distinguished in this study is a direct reflection of the transitive

prototype, some of the verb's senses approximate it more closely than others. For instance, what makes the combination of meaning 3, mental perception, with the effected percept (exemplified in 14a and 14b above) compatible with the passive construction is the fact that it allows for the act of perception to be construed as a perfective event with a result. Additionally, the high frequency of stative aspectual construals reinforces the "final state" reading of the passive (Langacker 1982: 59). In other words, the passive of *see* is a typical passive with typical passive functions, but what makes it unusual is that the verbal meaning it most frequently correlates with is not the basic meaning of the verb in the active voice.

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## **Użycie czasownika *see* w stronie biernej**

### **Streszczenie**

Czasownik *see* jest jednym z dziesięciu najczęściej pasywizowanych czasowników w języku angielskim, choć nie przystaje on w żaden sposób do prototypu czasownika przechodniego. Celem pracy jest zbadanie, w ramach modelu języka opartego na uzusie językowym, jakie są możliwe przyczyny częstego (prawie 8%) użycia tego czasownika w stronie biernej. Dane z korpusu językowego British National Corpus zostają poddane analizie za pomocą środowiska oprogramowania statystycznego R, w celu ustalenia istotności statystycznej i wzajemnych korelacji poszczególnych semantycznych, pragmatycznych i składniowych czynników wyodrębnionych w materiale językowym. Kluczowe dla użycia czasownika *see* w stronie biernej okazują się: znaczenie, wzorce komplementacji, aspekt leksykalny, wpływ aktu percepcji na jego obiekt oraz pozycja postrzegającego w hierarchii agentywności.

**Słowa kluczowe:** tranzytywność, pasywizacja, czasowniki percepcji, badanie korpusowe

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## THE ROLE OF EXPLICIT STANCE ATTRIBUTION IN CRISIS COMMUNICATION

### Crisis Communication

Crisis Communication (CC) is a discipline that is a rapidly growing independent offshoot of Public Relations which deals with the complex phenomenon of *crisis* and the intricacies of *crisis response*.

There were two events, both in the 1980s, which set the stage for the development of the field. First, the Johnson & Johnson Tylenol case whose “image rescue project was quickly judged by most commentators as an unqualified success” (Heath 2010: 4) and the other, an extreme end on a scale of success, the Exxon Valdez oil spills case which “had become, in the minds of experts, a paradigm for how not to handle a corporate crisis” (Berg & Robb 1992: 97). Up to and including these landmark cases, organizations and companies handled their crises as best they could, without crisis management or crisis communication plans (Fearn-Banks 2011: 90).

First and foremost, CC should be seen in a wider context of Crisis Management where it has taken its direct roots. The roots of Crisis Management, in turn, reside in Emergency and Disaster Management (Coombs 2010). Thus understood, CC originated from a broad field of Public Relations. It was as early as 1923 that Edward Bernays who is widely regarded as the “father” of modern public relations, asserted in his book *Crystallizing Public Opinion* that corporations could no longer ignore the existence or effects of public opinion (Barton 1993). Seventy years later, in the introductory chapter of *The Handbook of Public Relations and Communications*, Philip Lesly called public relations “a phenomenon and a necessity of our times” (1991: 4), which due to high incidence of various crises, can nowadays be said about Crisis Communication.

Crisis Communication has been subdivided into: *pre-crisis*, *crisis* and *post-crisis*, which reflects the fact that any crisis occurs in stages. One of the first to make the observation about a stage-character of crisis, was Steven Fink who in 1986 published his seminal work in crisis management entitled *Crisis Management: Planning for the Inevitable*. As his model did not earn much recognition, over years new models emerged, among which the aforementioned three-stage model first propounded by Coombs (2007), has now been enjoying most popularity.

In the *crisis (response) phase*, which is the focus of attention in this analysis, all efforts are concentrated on how and what the organization communicates during a crisis. Until recently, research into crisis response focused on how to protect an organization or reduce the damage that is caused by a crisis episode (Fediuk et al. 2010). Recently, with a growing recognition of crisis response as persuasive communication, new approaches seek to help researchers shift from a sender-based understanding of crisis to an impact-oriented one, which provides understanding of the effects that crisis messages have on perceptions and behaviours of stakeholders, i.e. any group of people who can affect or be affected by the behavior of an organization (Agle et al. 1999; Bryson 2004).

### Evaluative language

The study of evaluation may appear a daunting task due to two reasons, the complexity of the phenomenon as such, and a variety of independent approaches and thus a multitude of terminologies used in the area of evaluation. This stems from the fact that the analysis of the evaluative language can be done along several different parameters (Thompson & Hunston 2000).

The number of different terms notwithstanding, two major distinctions can be made. The first and the most fundamental one, concerns the perspective from which language of opinion is approached. Within this perspective the analysis may focus either on language items (Lyons 1977), or on the language users (Ochs 1989; Besnier 1993; Halliday 1994).

The other, is the distinction which can be made within the approaches favouring language user perspective and it concerns two types of opinion the speakers express. Roughly speaking, it boils down to good/bad (attitudinal meaning) vs certain/uncertain (modality). As Thompson and Hunston (2000) observe, the linguists tend to either emphasize the differences, i.e. give each type a separate label and analyse them in the main as separate phenomena ('separating' approach) or conversely, emphasize the similarities, include both attitudinal meaning and modality under a single label and analyse them at least partly, if not chiefly, as aspects of the same phenomenon ('combining' approach). Among such 'combining' approaches to evaluative language is that of Biber and Finegan (1989), Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan (1999), and Conrad and Biber (2000). They examine the language of evaluation/ opinion through the perspective of *stance*.

### Grammatical marking of stance

Although Biber et al. (1999) appreciate the fact that people express stance meanings in a variety of ways including *grammatical*, *lexical*, and *paralinguistic*, their approach seeks to explore the *grammatical stance marking* as a three-dimensional phenomenon, i.e. 1) structural, 2) semantic and, 3) that of attribution of stance.

Therefore, the first dimension focuses on various types of structures that are used to express stance. Those structures (grammatical stance marking devices) have been grouped into five sets: 1) Stance adverbials, 2) Stance complement *that*- and *to*- clauses, 3) Modals and semi-modals, 4) Stance noun+ prepositional phrase, and finally 5) Premodifying stance adverb (stance adverb+ adjective/ another adverb/ numeral).

The other dimension in stance is concerned with the three major semantic distinctions between the *epistemic*, *attitudinal* and *style of speaking* stance. This level of analysis is likely to reveal a wide range of personal meanings, expressed by the speakers, spanning both the speakers' comments on the status of the information in a proposition, i.e. certainty (doubt), actuality, precision, or limitations, and strictly attitudinal meanings, as well as some information concerning style of speaking (Biber et al. 1999).

Finally, the approach provides structural patterns of looking into the attribution of stance and singles out three types of it: *explicit*, *implicit*, and *ambiguous* attribution of stance. Therefore, it may benefit the analysis in terms of speaker-audience/ *self-other(s)* relations (Terkourafi 2005). Communicating *stance* and in particular, attribution of stance invariably involves presenting/revealing *self* and its relation to the audience- *other(s)*. It is so since as Fahnstock (2011: 279) argues, attitudes and bids for alignment are encoded in every language choice, and the speaker's presence and his/her relation with the audience(s) are the indelible ground of all discourse. Probing that ground can best be done in English through examining the use of first, second and third person pronouns. Roughly speaking, there are three possible interactive dimensions between the speaker and audience(s): from above, across, or below. In other words, the speaker can talk to the audience from the position of superiority, equality or inferiority.

### Explicit stance attribution

To ascertain the force of any stance marking device, one needs to take into consideration the issue of whose stance is represented by a given stance marker. This brings us to the issue of stance attribution and the systematic relations between the grammatical form chosen for stance markers and the extent to which stance is attributed to the text producer (Biber et al. 1999: 976). Apart from *implicit* and *ambiguous* stance attribution, which are beyond the scope of this article, the speakers may overtly attribute stance to themselves, or to a third party.

The grammatical forms that make the attribution of stance explicit include the following:

a comment clauses, e.g. *I got lots of them, [I think].*\*<sup>1</sup>

b *I+ verb+ complement clause*, e.g. *[I] [know] [that the whole House will agree with me that (...)]*

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<sup>1</sup> All examples are taken from corpus unless marked with (\*). In this article, square brackets [ ] have been used for highlighting.

c *I+ be+ adjective+ complement clause*, e.g. [I] [am] [convinced] [they are the right thing to do].

d *It+ verb/ adjective+ me+ extraposed complement clause*, e.g. [It] [amazes] [me] [that they can just stand on the street].\*

e *My+ noun+ complement clause*, e.g. *Earlier on this afternoon I informed the Home Secretary, (...) [my] [intention] [to resign as Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service]* (Biber et al. 1999: 976).

All the above structures can be used with a first person plural pronoun, third person pronouns, or full noun phrases, to show that stance is attributed explicitly to a third party, rather than to the speaker.

### **Analysis: The role of explicit attribution of stance in crisis response**

The systematic relations between the grammatical form chosen for a stance marker and the extent to which stance is attributed to the speaker has been discussed in the above section. The following section is going to examine the linguistic variants of explicit stance attribution (to the speaker, or to a third party), and issues related to how it influences the discourse of crisis response.

Therefore, first the analysis will show how the use of the first person singular pronoun *I* intertwines with the first person plural *we* or occasionally, *you* for that matter, and how it influences stance attribution process. Then, the analysis will focus on noun phrases called *institutional metaphors* (Lerman 1985), e.g. *But [the News of the World and News International] failed to get to the bottom of repeated wrongdoing that occurred without conscience or legitimate purpose*, and other noun phrases which are used to explicitly attribute stance to the party other than the speaker, and what effect it has on the crisis response discourse. Finally, some attention is going to be given to the use of third person singular and plural pronouns and how they are used for stance attribution.

First and foremost, stance is most overtly attributed to the speaker by means of all structures with first person singular pronoun *I* and its possessive and objective variants *my*, and *me*, which leaves no doubt as to whose stance is being expressed, e.g. (...) *I have with great sadness informed both of [my] [intention] [to resign]*. Moreover, according to Biber et al. (1999) all the structures with first person plural pronoun *we* (with its possessive and objective variants) are on a par with first person singular *I* in that he claims that they show that the expression of stance is in both cases attributed to the speaker. I would like to argue that in case of crisis communication where the speakers quite frequently tend to avoid responsibility and apportion blame among other parties, *we* cannot be treated as automatically marking the speaker's stance, although it certainly does to a point. In many cases, which the analysis will show, first person plural pronoun *we* is an escape route which allows the speaker to downplay his/her own presence among the pronoun *we* referents. Therefore, although the *we-* constructions are classified as explicitly attributing stance, they are going to be given particular attention in the analysis.

### Explicit stance attribution: personal pronoun *we*

The aforementioned claim seems tenable when the referents of *we* are unambiguously present to the audience's perception (e.g. by means of anaphoric/cataphoric reference), as in the passage from [s7] *[My son and I] have come here with great respect for all of you, for Parliament and for the people of Britain whom you represent. This is the most humble day of my career. After all that has happened, [I know] [we need to] be here today*, or another one from [s8] *There will be a certain amount of uncertainty in the coming days, but [we] [should] all be clear that, [as Dow Jones journalists], [we owe] Les an enormous and irredeemable debt*. In both examples there is no doubt as to who else, apart from the speaker, should be attributed stance marked in the above sentences. Similarly, the speaker in the passage from [s13] makes the referents of the pronoun *we* unambiguous when he is saying the following: *Last night [the Deputy Prime Minister] and [I] met with [the Leader of the Opposition]. And [I] also met with [the Chairs of the Culture Media and Sport, Home Affairs, and Justice Select Committees] to discuss the best way forward. Following these consultations, [I] want to set out today how [we intend] [to proceed]*. Stance expressed by the verb *intend* which controls the *to-* complement clause that follows, can infallibly be attributed to the people who have been listed in the sentences preceding the last one, and referred to as *we*.

The above passage is immediately preceded by the following one: [s2] *Mr Speaker, [we] all [want] the same thing: press, police and politicians that serve the public*. Here, it is ambiguous whose stance is being conveyed by means of the stance verb *want* in *we all want*. The determiner *all* (in post position) is only apparently helpful as its scope is broad enough to include: people in the world, people in Europe, people in the UK, the Members of Parliament, the British government, the audience, to name just a few. Even if the speaker narrows down the group of people denoted by the pronoun *we* as in the example to follow, it still remains ambiguous, especially in *sensitive* discourses such as that of crisis response where the circumstances require precise apportioning of blame for the events in order to commence the repair process. Therefore, when the speaker is saying: [s9] *[We] [the Met] cannot afford this – not this year*, he is trying to justify his decision to step down as Metropolitan Police Commissioner with the well-being of the institution he leads rather than his own, which reflects itself in the pronoun used. Similarly, in the following example stance is apparently explicitly attributed to the group of people inclusive of the speaker but only vaguely defined, as in [s15] *Operation Elveden and Lord Justice Leveson's inquiry are charged with doing just that, but [I] believe that [we] can and must do more*. There are numerous cases of apparently explicit attribution of stance caused by the ambiguous reference of the pronoun *we*. This fact reflects what Lerman (1985) calls the problem of dual identity which is present in the speech of all public figures, whose *I* is fused with a public role and addressed to a mass audience, or, in other words, it reflects "the discourse of the *Institutional Voice*, the discourse of one who speaks in a dual role, as an individual, who also represents (as the journalists do) or personifies (as the President may) an institution" (Lerman 1985: 185). She further claims that the inherent paradoxes of

what she dubs *Institutional identity* (1983) “are most apparent in non-trivial and public discourse, in which serious propositions are asserted for which the speaker is not responsible, or whose propositional structure creates a level of ambiguity which defies logical analysis” (Lerman 1985: 185). Actually, all the speakers in both sub-corpora represent *institutional identity*, which is however, more pronounced in C2 due to the nature of the statements (section 5). In C1, as it includes resignation statements, *an individual* is apparently more enhanced than *an institutional identity*. With this in mind, it would be quite a challenge to maintain the claim concerning the explicitness of stance attribution in cases like these above.

Most intriguing however, and fairly numerous across the statements are cases where stance is unambiguously attributed to the speaker but the subject(s) of the proposition(s) framed by that stance and expressed by means of the first person plural *we*, has/ have got ambiguous reference, e.g. [s9] *However, as Commissioner [I] carry ultimate responsibility for the position [we] find ourselves in. With hindsight, [I wish] [we] [had judged some matters involved in this affair differently]. [I] didn't and that's it*, or another one from [s12] *So, just as [I acknowledge] [we have made mistakes], [I hope] you and everyone inside and outside the Company will acknowledge that [we are doing our utmost to fix them, atone for them, and make sure they never happen again]*, and yet another passage from [s14] *[I wish] [we had managed to see and fully solve these problems earlier]*. In each case above the speaker explicitly attributes stance to himself (*I wish, I acknowledge, I hope, I wish*) but dilutes his own participation in the activity expressed by the verb in the proposition framed by stance, by means of the pronoun *we* (*we had judged, we have made mistakes, we had managed to see*). The plural pronoun seems to shelter the speaker and not expose himself, esp. that in most cases the proposition concerns the crisis events. Furthermore, in many cases, the speakers introduce a different set of referents each time they make use of the first person plural *we*. Additionally, the examples above reveal the speakers' consistent tendency to alternate their use of the first person singular and plural pronouns for self-reference. The reason for that is that the speaker wishes to achieve certain communicative goals by conveying different persuasive messages to different people at the same time but “[p]roducing coherent statements in such situations is only possible by using various forms of indirectness or vagueness because different groups of the audience may have dissimilar (and even contradictory) wants” (Grubner 1993: 3).

Another issue that arises in connection with the use of the first person plural *we* is *clusivity* and how it is handled by the speakers in building their relationship with the audiences. In its regular use, the pronoun should be interpreted as “I in addition to one or more other persons” Lyons (1968); and the other persons may or may not include the hearer. If the set of *other persons* does include the reference to the hearer, it is customary to talk about an *inclusive* use of the pronoun *we*, if it does not, then the term *exclusive* is employed. Hence, *we* is not “the plural of *I*: rather, it includes a reference to *I* and is plural” (Lyons 1968: 277).

The speakers tend to juggle with inclusive and exclusive *we* at will, depending on which serves their communicative purposes better, which becomes evident when one studies longer passages from the statements of particular speakers.

A good example might be [s3] who uses self-reference first person singular pronoun *I* to commence his statement [s12], which might suggest that he wants to signal to his audience(s) that he represents himself as an individual and presents his own subjective position. Moreover, it may be indicative of his wish to be separated from Other(s) whom he later brings to the discourse. Nonetheless, right in the same sentence he fights shy of *I* and breaks into a run of *we*. In terms of pronoun use, this is the tendency that prevails throughout his statement. When the speaker is saying (...) *and the steps [we] are taking to address (...)*, he uses exclusive *we* (Lyons 1968), which has the effect of distancing himself from his audience but more importantly, enables him to melt into the group and dissolve his responsibility for the crisis. Torode (1976) refers to such use of *we* as a *transcendental voice* and suggests that the implication is that the decisions will be taken elsewhere and at another time. In case of [s12] quoted above, the implication might be that the steps are being taken somewhere else and in a broadly understood presence. When the speaker is saying *the steps [we] are taking*, he conjures up the idea of a group of people currently not on the scene whose deliberations will decide the matter, and for which the speaker is not fully responsible (Harré 1985: 138). Following Torode (1976), Harré (1985: 138) sharply contrasts the use of *we* as a *transcendental voice* with the *royal we*, in which the speaker is appearing as the embodiment of the collective will. It is the user of the *royal we* who makes the decision there and then, and as such can be addressed. The difference is that the decision once made is announced with the majesty of the one who is the sovereign, the embodiment of people, and not with the feeble authority of the human individual. Apparently, there is no clear clue as to who else, apart from the speaker, *we* in [s12] encompasses. Most probably, they are the powerful at the News International. The exclusive use of the first person plural in [s12] becomes even more intriguing inasmuch as it seems to contradict the speaker's intentions expressed in the beginning of his statement, when he is addressing his audience with the following words: *[you as colleagues] at the News of the World*. If the speaker were consistent in the way he uses first person plural *we*, this kind of address, would only strengthen inclusiveness of the previous *we*. On the other hand, if *we* were inclusive, the speaker would not need to inform the audience about *the steps being taken*, they would be well-informed as part of the team but they are not. Moreover, the next *we*, as in *[We] now have voluntarily given evidence to the police that I believe will prove that this was untrue and those who acted wrongly will have to face the consequences* is most probably exclusive.

The same tendency to form close alignments with the audience(s) by means of inclusive *we*, can be traced in the statements of other speakers as well. The only difference being their treatment of the plural pronoun *we*. Unlike other speakers, [S4] does not constantly alternate her use of the first person singular and plural pronouns. Instead, she uses the inclusive *we* to create a strong sense of community with her audience in the beginning of her statement when she is saying *[we] pride ourselves on, the reputation of the company [we] love so much, the press freedoms [we] value*, and later on consequently sticks to the first person singular pronoun *I*. Nonetheless, it is not only the spirit of community that the speaker wants to feed with the inclusive *we*, but in the same breath she is saying *[I] feel a deep sense of*

*responsibility for the people [we] have hurt and I want to reiterate how sorry I am for what [we] now know to have taken place*, thus apportioning blame among other referents of the pronoun *we*. The first person plural pronoun *we* functions as an escape route which allows the speaker to downplay her own presence among the pronoun *we* referents.

### Explicit stance attribution: personal pronoun *you*

So far, attention has been given to the switch from the first person singular *I* to the first person plural *we*, and its impact on crisis response. Below some attention is going to be given to how the speakers avoid the first person singular *I* for self-reference, by means of second person pronoun *you*, a colloquial alternative to the more formal and mainly upper-class *one* (Fairclough 2003).

Hence, in a passage from [s15] dealing with the speaker's alleged misjudged decision to employ Andy Coulson, the speaker first explicitly marks his stance twice when he is saying *With 20:20 hindsight and all that has followed, [I] [would not have offered] him the job, and [I] [expect] [that he would not have taken it]*. This way he responds to the criticism of his decision implying that the critics are unfairly judging the wisdom of the decision in light of information that was not available when the decision had been made. The speaker firmly and somewhat regrettably admits that he would not have made the same decision if he had had the knowledge he does now. When it comes to the second coordinate clause (*[I] [expect] [that he would not have taken it]*), he is less firm and expresses his stance with the attitude verb *expect* and this way he signals his lack of commitment to the truth of the information in the proposition in the *that-* clause. In the passage that follows the speaker further elaborates on his decision and its consequences referring to himself with the pronoun *you*, as in *But [you] do not make decisions in hindsight; [you] make them in the present. [You] live and [you] learn and, believe you me, [I] have learned*. The distinction should be made between the *you* which can refer to any or all people in an unspecific way and to the *you* speakers use to refer to themselves, in an impersonal way. "In this kind of usage, the apparent switch of person merely disguises a continuity of referent. It is an attempt to objectify what is a subjective argument since such usage present a personal opinion as if it was a general one, shared by all people (Hope & Wright 1996: 30). When the speaker uses *you*, he may either avoid being self-centred, which does not appear to be the case here, or attempt to deceive, to pass something contentious off as inevitable, or generally agreed upon (Wright & Hope 1996). In his attempt to justify the reasons for his misjudgement of the situation the speaker seeks to offer the arguments that would both appeal to the general public and be difficult to refute at the same time. Hence, the use of the pronoun *you* in the above passage might refer to any or all people in an unspecific way. The proposition (*you do not make decisions in hindsight*) is self-evident, and everyone has to admit that people take decisions in the present and not in the past. The personal confession he makes saying *believe you me, [I] have learned*, in which he does not hesitate to use the self-reference pronoun *I*, implies such a reading of *you* which refers to the speaker himself but in an impersonal, disguised form. The vicinity of the first person singular pronouns in the sentences

explicitly marking the speaker's stance only strengthen this interpretation of the pronoun *you*. His argument is additionally reinforced by means of the phrase *believe you me*.

### Explicit stance attribution: *institutional metaphor*

Similarly, noun phrases which denote an institution/ organization, or any other group of people, inclusive of the speaker may have the same function of sheltering the speaker and downplaying his/her role in the activities or states expressed in the proposition.

The speakers tend to act according to what Lerman (1985) calls a *general prohibition*, i.e. avoid the use of *I* or personal pronouns with P-topics<sup>2</sup> (problematic topics). Here, the problematic topic is the phone hacking scandal (the crisis under analysis), therefore, understandably, the speakers may wish to avoid any personal link with it. Actually, the speakers hardly ever use the word *crisis* meaning 'phone hacking scandal'. Altogether, there are two occurrences of the word with this meaning, first in [s3] *I have believed that the right and responsible action has been to lead us through the heat of [the crisis]*, and the other in [s15] *We believe that [this crisis] calls for us to stand back and take another, broader look at the whole culture of policing in this country, including the way it is led*. The speakers are fairly consistent in avoiding *I/we* pronouns with the *problematic topic*. Instead, they resort to the simplest device that the language provides for avoiding clear, unequivocal meaning, i.e. the substitution of metaphor for literal, explicit reference (Lerman 1995: 1999).

The cases below are representative of what is called an *institutional metaphor* (Lerman 1985), e.g., *the News of the World, News International, the paper, the Company, No.10, the Conservative Party, the last Government, the official Opposition, the Met, the Commissioner's office*, etc. whose literal referents usually include the speakers themselves. However, the human Actors are in the shadow, they are impersonalized (Fairclough 2003), or conversely, the institution is personified and it becomes the Actor and the subject of the verbs describing the activities, as in *The good things [the News of the World] [does] (...); the News of the World is in the business; The paper made statements to Parliament (...), The Company paid out-of-court settlements (...)*, or as in a longer passage from [s15] *They were missed by [the last Government] but, yes, missed by [the official Opposition], too*. Quite often, stance is explicitly attributed to such 'personified institutions', e.g. [s12] *But [the News of the World and News International] [failed] [to get to the bottom of repeated wrongdoing] that occurred without conscience or legitimate purpose, or As a result, [the News of the World and News International] wrongly [maintained] [that these issues were confined to one reporter]*, and yet another one *[The Commissioner's office] [informed] me this morning [that the team have so far made eight arrests and undertaken numerous interviews]*. Metaphorization enables the speaker to shift the

<sup>2</sup> Labov and Fanshel (1978) use the term „D-events“ (disputed events), which refers to the central events in a given discourse. Lerman's (1985) "P-events" is a more general category of difficult, problematic topics related to the subject matter of her research. Therefore, I follow Lerman's terminology.

blame without threatening somebody else's face. The metaphor compresses a set of presumably well known referents, yet nothing literal has been said, which frees the speaker from personal responsibility for his/ her words (Lerman 1985).

The noun phrases, other than *institutional metaphors*, which are explicitly attributed stance are also present in the statements but are less numerous. Among them are the following: *the public*, *people*, *Ed Llewellyn's reply*, *current circumstances*, *this crisis*, etc. Therefore, when [S10] is saying *He has led the Met through difficult times, and, although [current circumstances] [show] (that) [there are still serious issues to be addressed] (...)*, she avoids any overtly expressed personal connection with the proposition in *that-* clause, which would threaten the face of the subject of the verb *has led* (referred to as *He*). Similarly, [S2] in [s15], explicitly attributes stance to the first noun/ noun phrase in each example below, as in *[People] desperately [want] us [to put a stop to the illegal practices], [to ensure the independence and effectiveness of the police], and [to establish a more healthy relationship between politicians and media owners]*. Apparently, it's *people* who *desperately want*, but in fact, what follows allows one to believe that the speaker expresses his own stance. The sentences to follow strengthen the urgency of the desire expressed with the stance verb *want* whose force is enhanced with an adverb *desperately* (above) and adverbial phrase *above all*, as in *Above all, [they] [want] us [to act on behalf of the victims] (...)*, and also in *[The public] [want] us [to work together to sort this problem out], because until we do so it will not be possible to get back to the issues they care about even more: getting our economy moving, creating jobs, helping with the cost of living, protecting us from terrorism, and restoring fairness to our welfare and immigration systems*. Therefore, saying very little directly, the speaker manages to indirectly minimize the magnitude of the crisis when he is saying *because until we do so it will not be possible to get back to the issues [they] [care about even more]*. Lerman (1985: 204–205) observes that citation of others validates an opinion and if the others are generalized, as in, e.g. *Many people ...*, the concern or opinion is further legitimated, distanced from personal expression. She further maintains that the “[a]void speaking of your own opinions with regard to P-topics” rule, discussed above, creates and typifies the credibility problem common to impersonal discourse and that despite the manner of introduction of those topics, the audience knows, at some level, that the speaker is actually selecting facts and, however, covertly, expressing opinions.

#### **Explicit stance attribution: third person singular and plural pronouns**

Finally, there are occurrences of people referred to by name, third person singular pronouns (with their accompanying possessive and objective variants), and plural pronouns other than *we* which overtly indicate that stance is attributed to somebody else other than the speaker, e.g. *I am very sorry that [Andy Coulson] [has decided] [to resign as my director of communications] (...)*, *Mr Speaker, when I spoke to Sir Paul Stephenson yesterday, [he] [made clear] [that he is as determined as I am that all aspects of the police relationship with the media should be beyond reproach]*, *[He] [assured] me [that the investigation is fully resourced]*, *Above all, [they] [want] us [to act on behalf of the victims] (...)*. They are less numerous than the other cases

discussed above, and seem to have the function of distancing the speaker from the information in the propositions. Thus, the speakers indicate that they do not claim their personal role in the actions described in the propositions (*Andy Coulson has decided, they want us*), or commitment to the truth of the propositions (*He assured me*). On the other hand however, they want the information contained in the propositions to be heard publicly, and they want the audience(s) to know who imparted it. Lerman's (1985) rule: *Avoid speaking of your own opinions with regard to P-topics*, seems operative here.

### Phone Hacking Scandal

The public first heard of the phone and e-mail hacking scandal in 2005 when two people: the newspaper's royal editor, Clive Goodman, and a private investigator, Glenn Mulcaire, were arrested and then, having been found guilty, imprisoned for gaining illegal access into Prince William's voicemail. The list of people whose privacy has been, to a greater or lesser degree, brutally invaded, reportedly covers a few thousand victims including high rank politicians, celebrities, sports people and, more appallingly, victims of crime, the relatives of the British soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan and the 7/7 London terrorist attack victims. "Industrial scale" (Leigh, Wintour & Davies 2010) hacking, heinous as it is, turned out to be only a peak of an iceberg of illegal or criminal activity, with cases of out-of-court gagging settlements, bribery and corruption of police officers, exerting undue and illicit pressure on various people in a position of power and authority in the UK and, apparently, abroad. Several mutually independent investigations by some newspapers, the police, Parliament and other bodies were launched thus resulting in a number of prominent resignations and arrests of many people in top positions in the media, politics and police, to date. The magnitude and extent of the crisis inspired comparisons with Watergate scandal and earned it such nicknames as *Hackgate*, *Ruppertgate* or *Murdochgate*, in the press.

### The texts

The texts in the corpus amount to approximately 11 000 words. The corpus naturally divides into two sub-corpora, where the first one (C1) consists of 11 statements (resignations and replies to resignations) and amounts to 5309 words and the other, (C2) consists of 4 statements and amounts to 5650 words. The table presents the overall composition of the corpus with relevant data.

The corpus has been necessarily limited in terms of content, time-span and consequently, size. The two variables of content and time-span render the corpus homogenous, which is of significance to the results of the present research. First, the study deals with one multi-layered complex crisis but focuses on its second phase i.e. *crisis (response) phase* (section 1), which is when the speakers actually started crisis communication with their audience(s). Second, it was only actually the year 2011 that marked the onset of the second phase. The communication that had taken place before 2011 can be boiled down to one single strategy, i.e.

“Nothing happened”. As late as on 6 July 2011, one day before James Murdoch publicly announced the closing of the *News of the World*, Rupert Murdoch issued a statement in which he wrote that “the allegations of phone hacking and making payments to police with respect to the *News of the World* are *deplorable* and *unacceptable*” (emphasis mine). Therefore, including the messages released before 2011 into the corpus, would affect the results and most probably distort them. Consequently, the corpus consists of all the available statements released by the people in top positions in the media, politics and the police in the UK, directly implicated in the events. They were all issued between 21.01.11 and 20.07.11, with Coulson’s resignation statement triggering the series. In fact, all the statements, except for Coulson/ Cameron exchange, were made in July that year.

**Table 1.** Overall composition of the corpus

[Speaker's ref. no] [statement's ref. no]	SPEAKER	TYPE OF STATEMENT	NO. of WORDS	DATE
<b>Corpus 1</b>				
1 [S1] [s1]	Andy Coulson	resignation statement	158	21.01.11
2 [S2] [s2]	David Cameron	response to Coulson's resignation statement	136	21.01.11
3 [S4] [s3]	Rebekah Brooks	resignation statement	368	15.07.11
4 [S3] [s6]	James Murdoch	response to Brooks' resignation statement	473	15.07.11
5 [S5] [s4]	Les Hinton	resignation statement (to R Murdoch)	258	15.07.11
6 [S5] [s5]	Les Hinton	resignation statement (to Dow Jones staff)	181	15.07.11
7 [S6] [s7]	Rupert Murdoch	response to Hinton's resignation statement	415	15.07.11
8 [S7] [s8]	Robert Thomson	response to Hinton's resignation statement	166	15.07.11
9 [S8] [s9]	Sir Paul Stephenson	resignation statement	1679	17.07.11
10[S9] [s10]	John Yates	resignation statement	376	18.07.11
11[S10] [s11]	Theresa May	response to police officers' statements	1096	18.07.11
		sub-total	<b>5309</b>	
<b>Corpus 2</b>				
12 [S3] [s12]	James Murdoch	statement on closure of NOW	945	7.07.11
13 [S2] [s13]	David Cameron	statement to the HC on hacking scandal	1801	13.07.11
14 [S6] [s14]	Rupert Murdoch	statement to the CMS Committee	643	19.07.11
15 [S2] [s15]	David Cameron	statement to the HC on hacking scandal	2257	20.07.11
		Sub-total	<b>5650</b>	
		total	10959	

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## Rola jednoznacznego przypisania postawy w komunikacji kryzysowej

### Streszczenie

Pomimo tego, że jako dziedzina naukowa Komunikacja Kryzysowa (KK) istnieje już od połowy lat 80 ubiegłego wieku, jak dotąd nie cieszy się ona zbyt dużym zainteresowaniem naukowym w kregach jazykoznawców. W szerokim pojęciu, komunikacja kryzysowa to zbieranie,

przetwarzanie i rozpowszechnianie informacji potrzebnych do tego, aby stawić czoła sytuacji kryzysowej (Coombs 2010). Jedną z podstawowych faz w komunikacji kryzysowej jest faza reakcji (*crisis response phase*). Do niedawna badania naukowe dotyczące tej fazy komunikacji kryzysowej koncentrowały się wokół tego, jak osłonić organizację w kryzysie, bądź jak zredukować szkody jakie już się dokonały za sprawą tegoż kryzysu (Fediuk et al. 2010). Ostatnio, wraz z rosnącym uznaniem komunikacji kryzysowej jako rodzaju komunikacji perswazyjnej, pojawiło się nowe podejście, które ma na celu nakłonić naukowców do zmiany postrzegania kryzysu. Kryzys jest tu widziany nie przez pryzmat organizacji bezpośrednio zaangażowanej, ale pod kątem wpływu jaki wywiera na inne strony w jakikolwiek sposób nim poszkodowane. Taka zmiana w postrzeganiu sytuacji kryzysowej umożliwia zrozumienie oddziaływanego komunikatów kryzysowych na ich odbiór przez strony dotknięte kryzysem i zachowania tychże stron. Wydaje się, że badania w ramach szeroko pojętego języka wartościującego (Thompson & Hunston 2000) mogą umożliwić wgląd w to jak mówcy manipulują zasobami języka w celach perswazji. Dlatego też, poniższy artykuł ma na celu zbadanie tego jak jednoznaczne przypisywanie postawy (w wybranych gramatycznych znacznikach postawy) (Biber et al. 1999) używane jest przez mówców wygłaszających komunikaty kryzysowe w celu zmiany postrzegania kryzysu przez strony pokrzywdzone. Analiza dotyczy oświadczeń wydanych w 2011 roku, w związku ze skandalem podsłuchowym w *the News of the World*, przez kluczowe osoby ze świata mediów, polityki i policji.

**Słowa kluczowe:** komunikacja kryzysowa, faza reakcji w sytuacji kryzysu, postawa, przypisywanie postawy, skandal podsłuchowy

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## GOTHIC ART: A MORPHOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC COMPARISON OF POLISH AND ENGLISH ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

### Terminology

The description to follow will be of a Gothic church, which, to many people, is a prototypical and spectacular embodiment of a church building. However, the main traits of its skeleton should be sought in *Carolingian* and *Romanesque* temples, where the typical model is a *nave-and-chancel church* ('kościół z nawą i chórem'). Here, the main internal space for the congregation is the longitudinally located *nave* ('nawa główna'), extending up to the *altar* ('ołtarz'), which is the focal point of worship, and beyond the transepts. A *transept* ('transept, nawa poprzeczna') is a transverse space to either side of the *crossing* ('skrzyżowanie naw'), that is, an area where the nave, the transepts and the chancel intersect. The *chancel* ('chór, chór kapłański') is the space to the east of the crossing, which contains an altar, and often a choir and an apse. East of the choir is the *presbytery* ('prezbiterium'), where the high altar is situated. The easternmost section is the *apse* ('apsyda'), that is, a semicircular or polygonal space behind the high altar, often roofed with a *half-dome* ('półkopuła, koncha'). If the temple has three apses arrayed in a trefoil arrangement, then it represents a *triconch church* ('kościół trójkonchowy'), that is, a three-apsed church. The *choir* ('chór kapłański') is the area where the choir sits, typically in *choir stalls* ('stalla'), i.e. ornately carved benches. Thus, the nave, the transepts and the chancel form a *cruciform church*, or a *cross church* ('kościół na planie krzyża'), that is, one whose ground plan is in the shape of a cross. The nave is flanked on its either side by an *aisle* ('nawa boczna'), a longitudinal corridor which is bounded by a row of columns or an arcade. An *arcade* ('arkada') is a row of columns surmounted by a series of arches. An *arch* ('łuk') is a curved symmetrical structure which spans an opening and typically supports the weight of a building. The top of an arch is its *crown* ('wierzchołek, nasada'); its base is the *springer* ('wspora, nóżka, kliniec wezgłowiowy, wezgłowie'); its main part is the *haunch* ('pacha'), the inside area of which is the *intrados* ('podlucze'), whereas the masonry area on the outside of an arch is its *spandrel* ('żagielek'). Sometimes an arch is only a decorative element filled up with masonry; it is then called *blind arch* ('łuk ślepy, blenda'). The *column* ('kolumna, podpora') consists of the *base*, ('baza') that is, the part resting on the floor, the *pier* ('trzon'), which is its main

bulk, with vertical *flutes* ('żłobek, profil'), that is distinctly carved ribs running along it, and the capital at its top. The *capital* ('głowica') is a separate block or a thickening at the top of a column, which has both decorative – Gothic especially favoured *vine-leaf capitals* ('głowica liściasta') – and structural functions. Columns are usually round in plan; if they are other than round, they are called *pillars* ('filar'). Another element of structural importance is the *respond* ('służka'), that is, a half-pillar or half-pier (*demi-column*: 'półkolumna') attached to a wall to support an arch. Support is also provided by *corbels* ('kroksztyn'), i.e. ornamental masonry brackets projecting from the face of a wall.

The basic outline of the church's body is completed by some attached structures like chapels, a sacristy or a porch. A *chapel* ('kaplica') is a small space for private worship and it can be located in various places about the church. On the other hand, a *sacristy* ('zakrystia') is always situated near the presbytery and it is a chamber where robes and other utensils are kept and where the priest prepares for the service. Wherever the entrance to the church is, it can be enclosed in a *porch* ('kruchta, przedsionek'), i.e., a covered shelter projecting from the wall. Another structural attachment to the body of a cathedral can be a *chapter house* ('kapitularz'), that is, a chamber originally used by canons of the chapter, i.e. the church governors, for meetings and discussion.

As discussed above, these fundamental features typifying the structure of the church building were developed in the early Middle Ages but it was only the Gothic style that, while drawing upon them, endowed the church building with a sense of overwhelming grandeur and intricate sophistication. With an increased volume of the building, the lateral walls of the nave can now be divided into levels. The ground level is formed by an arcade separating the nave from the aisle; above the isle is an emporie; still above it there can be a triforium, and the top of the wall is surmounted by a row of large windows called a *clerestory* ('górne okna, clerestorium'), the AmE spelling being "clearstory". An *emporie* ('empora') is a columned gallery above an aisle, whereas a *triforium* ('tryforium, okna trójdzielne') is an inwardly facing open wall passage, usually within the thickness of the wall, typically equipped with triple arcades, just below the clerestory. If the arches of an arcade or of a triforium have been blocked up with *masonry infill* ('kamienne wypełnienie'), the effect is a *blind arcade* ('ślepa arkada') or a *blind triforium* ('ślepe tryforium').

The Gothic church is usually much wider than its Romanesque antecedent and therefore, its volume often needs to be divided into smaller spaces; hence, a *five-aisled church* ('kościół pięcionawowy') with the nave and four symmetrically situated aisles separated with arcades or *colonnades* ('kolumnada'). A colonnade is a row of columns supporting an *architrave* ('architraw'), i.e. a horizontal beam resting on their tops. With as many as five aisles, the transepts become less conspicuous in the floor plan of the building. The increased width of the church's body also offers new solutions in the design of the area east of the crossing. The chancel and the presbytery are now surrounded by an *ambulatory*, ('ambit, obejście'), its other names being *chancel aisle*, and *apse aisle* and, which is a semicircular extension of side aisles forming a walk behind the high altar. Attached to the ambulatory is a *chevet* ('wieniec kaplic'), a kind of a large apse

consisting of a ring of *radiating chapels* ('promieniste kaplice') facing outwards but with entrances from the ambulatory. The central chapel, which is the easternmost part of the church, is the *Lady Chapel* ('kaplica mariacka'). Each chapel is separated from the ambulatory by a *parclose* ('balustrada'), in the form of a railing or a screen. The job of dividing spaces is also performed by the *rood screen* ('ściana teczowa'), which separates the nave and the chancel and is intended to carry a crucifix or rood mounted on a *rood beam* ('belka teczowa'). Near the rood screen, a *lectern* ('lektoriem, przegroda chórowa') can be set up, which is an ornamental structure enclosing a stand with a desk from behind which scriptures are read aloud.

Overhead, the walls are spanned by the *ribbed vault* ('sklepienie żebrowe'), a three-dimensional arched ceiling construction which supports the roof. Its basic structural unit is the *rib* ('żebro, łęk'), a protruding line of brick or stone. The whole vault is divided into *bays*, or *traves* ('przęsło'), that is, areas marked out by the adjacent arches or beams. Each bay consists of *cells* ('pole sklepienne') or *severies* ('wysklepka'), that is panels or surfaces between the ribs. The severies are terminated by *haunches* ('grzbiet'), that is, curved parts of arches. The ribs which converge diagonally are called *groins* ('szew') or *ogives* ('ostrołuk') and the point of their intersection is a decorative knob, called a *boss* or *keystone* ('zwornik, klucz, kliniec szczytowy'). The ribs which run horizontally and define individual bays are called *transverse ribs* ('gurt, łęk jarzmowy, żebro jarzmowe'). A more intricate vault structure may contain additional ribs, such as a *tierceron* ('żebro poboczne') or a *lierne* ('żebro dekoracyjne'). Depending on the pattern formed by the ribs, vaults represent the following types: *stellar vault (star vault)* ('sklepienie gwiaździste'), *net vault* ('sklepienie sieciowe'), *fan vault (palm vault)* ('sklepienie wachlarzowe, sklepienie palmowe, sklepienie kielichowe'), *parasol vault* ('sklepienie parasolowe'), *curved net vault (swung ribbed vault)* ('sklepienie krzywoliniowe'), *loop vault* ('sklepienie pętlicowe'), *loop stellar vault* ('sklepienie wężowe') and *crystal vault* ('sklepienie kryształowe').

While in the Romanesque architecture windows are small and round-topped, in Gothic they are huge and pointed. The early variety is represented by the *lancet window* ('okno lancetowe'), which is slender and sharp-pointed, with a *lancet arch* ('łuk lancetowy, łuk podwyższony') also called *acute arch* ('łuk ostry'). The later variety, the *depressed arch* ('łuk obniżony') also known as the *drop arch*, is less sharp and it is composed of segments whose radii are less than the span of the arch. The *Tudor arch* ('łuk Tudorów') is a four-centered pointed arch, whereas the *ogee arch*, also called *inflected arch* ('łuk w ośli grzbiet'), consists of two mirrored *ogees* ('sima, esownica'), i.e., S-shaped curves, which meet at an apex. In all these large-sized windows, glazing needs support, which is provided by vertical masonry shafts called *mullions* ('laska') and, in more intricate designs, by horizontal bars called *transoms* ('szpros poprzeczny'). They are basic members of the Gothic *tracery* ('maswerk'), which is an ornamental stone and woodwork decoration forming a framework of ribs for the upper parts of openings such as windows or perforated screens. Early Gothic introduced fairly simple forms representing *plate tracery* ('pływta z przezroczem, maswerk negatywowy') consisting of a simply divided arched opening with a solid plate of masonry or a *spandrel* ('pacha'), which

is the area bounded by an arch, into which a *foil* ('liść'), i.e. a leaf motif, or some other shape has been cut. The plate tracery may contain an *oculus* ('okulus'), that is, a decorative circular element. The foil motifs vary depending on the number of lobes, and they include *trefoils* ('trójliść'), *quatrefoils* ('czteroliść'), *cinquefoils* ('pięcioliść'), *sexfoils* ('sześcioliść') and *multifoils* ('wieloliść'). The later, more sophisticated traceries contain a large number of thinner, slender elements and represent the class called *bar tracery* ('maswerk z laskowaniem'); they also exhibit a wide spectrum of patterns. In a *rayonnant tracery* ('maswerk promienisty') all of the ornamental lines seem to radiate from one centre. In an *intersected tracery* ('maswerk z przecinającego się laskowania') also called *flamboyant tracery* ('maswerk płomienisty'), parallel mullions are bent over at their upper ends to form a series of interlaced pointed arches. In a *geometric tracery* ('maswerk geometryczny') slender vertical bars support a pattern of foils and circles. In a *reticulated tracery* ('maswerk sieciowy') vertical members are interlaced in the upper arch of a window with undulating ogee forms. A *curvilinear tracery* also named *flowing tracery* ('maswerk krzywoliniowy') contains free-flowing patterns and ogives. A *panel tracery*, also known as *perpendicular tracery* or *rectilinear tracery* ('maswerk prependykularny') is typified by the use of a lacework of vertical glazing bars. The typical motifs in Gothic traceries are the *dagger* ('sztylet') and the *mouchette* ('rybi pęcherz'), whereas a characteristic small ornament where two small tracery arcs intersect is the *cusp* ('nosek').

The outer face of the church building, the *façade* ('fasada'), often has a round window in its focal point and it is called *wheel window* ('okno okrągłe') or *Catherine wheel window* ('okno w kształcie koła św. Katarzyny'), as its shape is based on the Catherine wheel, a decorative motif consisting of a spiked and burning wheel with radiating spokes, which alludes to an instrument of torture to which St Catherine of Alexandria was bound. A more intricate type of such a round ornamental window is the *rose window*, also named *marigold window* ('rozeta, różyca'), which has a very elaborate tracery.

The Gothic church is usually reached through a door embedded in a *portal* ('portal'), which is a grand, often ornamental arched gateway, called *archway* ('sklepione przejście'). Gothic portals are usually *recessed* ('uskokowy'), that is, located in a depression of a wall in plan. The door is flanked by *jambs* ('ościeże'), i.e. vertical side posts or surfaces on its either side. In a *sculptured portal* ('portal rzeźbiony'), jambs are adorned with human figures, that is, *jamb statues*. If the statues are of kings and queens, their set is referred to as a *royal portal* ('portal królewski'); if the statues represent Mother Mary and saints, the section of the portal is called the *Gate of Heaven* ('Brama Niebios'). The whole structure is secured in the centre by a *trumeau* ('filar międzyościeżowy'), that is, a masonry column which supports the *tympanum* ('tympanon'): a panel or a space enclosed within the arch, usually containing sculptures or reliefs. The arch itself is accentuated by a decorated band called *archivolt* ('archiwolta') and frequently surmounted by a *wimperg* ('wimperga'), that is, an ornamental gable often containing a *blind tracery* ('słepy maswerk'), which, in fact, is a form of relief ornament.

The tall walls of a Gothic church need to be stabilized and this is the role of *buttresses* ('przypora'), i.e., vertical masses of masonry providing lateral support to the walls. Also, the vault exerts a lateral *thrust* ('parcie') on the wall tops, which need to be secured by flying buttresses. A *flying buttress* ('łuk przyporowy, łęk przyporowy'), then, is a slender bar of masonry which transmits loading to a heavy pier on an outer wall. Buttresses, as well as doorways and roofs, are often adorned with *pinnacles* ('pinakiel, fiala, sterczyna'), i.e., small pointed turrets. Pinnacles as well as spires, gables and wimpergs can be surmounted by *finials* ('kwiaton'), that is, typically Gothic florid decorations. Another characteristic Gothic decoration is the *crochet* ('żabka, czołganka, szpon'), which is a small carved ornament, typically a bud or curled leaf, usually arranged in a series on the inclined side of a pinnacle or gable. A purely decorative element is the *frieze* ('fryz'), that is, a decorated horizontal band adorning a wall, but a *dripstone* ('gzymś okapnikowy'), i.e. a raised protruding moulding above a masonry arch, which is intended to throw off rainwater, is both ornamental and practical. The same applies to another device channeling the rainwater: the *gargoyle* ('rzygacz, gargulec, plwacz'), that is, a projecting stone water-spout at the eaves, which has been carved into the form of a grotesque animal or head.

The tallest part of the church is the *church tower* ('wieża kościelna'), usually located over the crossing or at the west end of the structure. The pointed steep roof of the tower is the *spire* ('iglica, hełm') and it is round, polygonal or square in plan. Some churches have a single tower dominating the whole building, others may have two or four towers situated symmetrically in pairs. The general height of the building depends on whether it is a basilica church or a hall church. In a *basilica church* ('kościół bazylikowy') the isles are much lower than the nave, this leaving room for the clerestory providing profuse light to the central part of the interior. On the other hand, a *hall church* ('kościół halowy'), no matter whether it is aisled or not, has a single roof of relatively uniform height.

The main bulk of the church building is surmounted by the inclined roof extending from the *ridge* ('kalenica') at the top to the *eaves* ('okap') at the bottom, and suspended on *rafters* ('krokwie'), that is, large timber beams, arranged into a complicated structure called *rafter framing* ('wieźba dachowa'), where individual rafters are named according to their function. A *collar beam* ('jętka') is a transverse beam between eaves level and ridge connecting two principal rafters. A *brace* ('zastrzał') is the element which stiffens and reinforces the angle between two members. A *purlin* ('płatew pośrednia') is a horizontal beam running parallel to the ridge. A *strut* ('słupek, trempel') is a secondary member carrying the thrust from purlins or otherwise adding support to a rafter. *Andrew's cross* ('krzyż św. Andrzeja, krzyżownica') is a frame composed of two *rafters* or poles meeting transversely. A *king post* ('słupek centralny, król') is a central vertical strut carrying a ridge purlin. A *tie beam* ('tram, podciąg') is a beam tying the ends of supporting rafters together. An *arched brace* ('jarzmo, krokiew łukowa, wieżar jarzmowy') is a naturally curved timber member for bracing the junction between a post and a beam. A *wind brace* ('wiatrownica') is any structural member designed to maintain the rigidity of the roof against the forces of wind. A *corbel*

(‘wspornik, konsola’) is a bracket projecting from a wall, while a *wall post* (‘belka naścienna, murłata’) is a beam adhering to a wall and supporting a *hammer beam* (‘kroksztyn’), that is, a short horizontal member cantilevered out from a wall top.

## Analysis

The analysis to follow is intended to highlight selected aspects of the morphological structure and meaning of chosen architectural terms.

### Morphology

The three word-formation processes which play significant roles in creating architectural terms are compounding, derivation and conversion.

### Compounding

A technical term relates to a specific type of item, object or method; therefore, its structure often requires a more general concept to be modified by another, more specific one. Hence, many of architectural terms are nominal compounds, and they are typically *endocentric*. This term applies to cases where a compound is a hyponym of its head (Bauer 1983: 30). The head of a nominal compound is a noun but, non-heads in English compounds can be nouns, adjectives or verbs. The lists below exemplify the three patterns:

(1)

N + N

*choir stall, cross church, chapter house, masonry infill, chancel isle, Lady Chapel, rood screen, rood beam, keystone, star vault, lancet window, lancet arch, Tudor arch, ogee arch, plate tracery, bar tracery, wheel window, rose window, jamb statue cross church, church tower, basilica church, hall church, collar beam, king post, wind brace, wall post, hammer beam*

A + N

*Norman style, Decorated style, Perpendicular style, stellar vault, rayonnant tracery, flamboyant tracery, perpendicular tracery, royal portal, blind tracery, lateral thrust*

V + N

*drop arch, dripstone*

The classic type of Polish compounds (*złożenia*) involves the fusion of two elements with a linking vowel inserted in between, as in *śrub-o-kręt*, or *wod-o-wstręt* (Grzegorczykowa 1979: 59). Among architectural terms this type is represented by:

- (2) *ostrołuk* (*ostry* ‘acute’ – *o* – *łuk* ‘arch’)  
*czteroliść* (*cztery* ‘four’ – *o* – *liść* ‘leaf’)  
*pięcioliść* (*pięć* ‘five’ – *o* – *liść* ‘leaf’)

- sześcioliść (*sześć* 'six' – *o* – *liść* 'leaf')  
 wieloliść (*wiele* 'many' – *o* - *liść* 'leaf')

The same type of link occurs in compound adjectives, as shown by the following examples:

- (3) pięcionawowy (*pięć* 'five' – *o* – *nawa* 'aisle'- *owy<sub>SufAdj</sub>*)  
*wczesnoangielski* (*wczesny* 'early' – *o* – *angielski* 'English')  
*krzywoliniowy* (*krzywy* 'curved' – *o* – *liniowy* 'linear')  
*dwupoziomowy* (*dwa* 'two' – *u* – *poziom* 'level'- *owy<sub>SufAdj</sub>*)

Polish also contains the so-called *solid compounds*, that is, complex lexemes composed of elements engaged in syntactic relationships, such as *Wielkanoc* 'Easter' or *psubrat* 'varlet' (Grzegorczykowa 1979: 59). The link between *wielk-a* 'great' and *noc* 'night' is based on agreement in gender and number, which predetermines the selection of the suffix *-a*, whereas the Dative-case suffix *-u*, in *ps-u-brat* is a realization of government obtaining between the compound's units. The architectural terms analysed in this study do not include such forms.

What prevails among Polish multi-word architectural terms is *juxtapositions* (*zestawienia*), that is, fixed word combinations, usually of the A+N type. Whether they belong to morphology raises controversy: on the one hand, their elements are combined through syntactic links and should be regarded as "syntactic objects" (Szymanek 2010: 219), but on the other, each such formation corresponds to a fixed concept. Below are some examples of such terms:

- (4) kaplica mariacka (*kaplica<sub>N</sub>* 'chapel' + *mariacki<sub>Adj</sub>* 'Mary<sub>Attr</sub>' = 'Lady chapel')  
*ściana tęczowa* (*ściana<sub>N</sub>* 'wall' + *tęczowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'rainbow<sub>Attr</sub>')  
*belka tęczowa* (*belka<sub>N</sub>* 'beam' + *tęczowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'rainbow<sub>Attr</sub>')  
*przegroda chórowa* (*przegroda<sub>N</sub>* 'screen' + *chórowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'choir<sub>Attr</sub>')  
*sklepienie żebrowe* (*sklepienie<sub>N</sub>* 'vault' + *żebrowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'ribbed')  
*pole sklepienne* (*pole<sub>N</sub>* 'area' + *sklepienny<sub>Adj</sub>* 'vault<sub>Attr</sub>' = 'sever')  
*kliniec szczytowy* (*kliniec<sub>N</sub>* 'wedge' + *szczytowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'peak<sub>Attr</sub>' = 'keystone')  
*łuk jarzmowy* (*łuk<sub>N</sub>* 'arch' + *jarzmowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'yoke<sub>Attr</sub>' = 'transverse rib')  
*żebro jarzmowe* (*rib<sub>N</sub>* 'zebro' + *jarzmowy<sub>Adj</sub>* 'yoke<sub>Attr</sub>' = 'transverse rib')

Just as the terms above are based on the syntactic link of agreement, those listed below are based on government and they create the same kind of controversy:

- (5) skrzyżowanie naw (*skrzyżowanie<sub>N</sub>* 'crossing' + *nawa<sub>GenPl</sub>* 'nave' = 'crossing')  
*wieniec kaplic* (*wieniec<sub>N</sub>* 'wreath, ring' + *kaplica<sub>GenPl</sub>* 'chapel' = 'chevet')  
*łuk Tudorów* (*łuk<sub>N</sub>* 'arch' + *Tudorów<sub>GenPl</sub>* 'of Tudors' = 'Tudor arch')  
*Brama Niebios* (*brama<sub>N</sub>* 'gate' + *niebiosa<sub>GenPl</sub>* 'heaven' = 'Gate of Heaven')

The most complex multi-word terms are *lexicalised phrases*. The glosses in the examples below are literal translations which are intended to render their syntactic structure:

- (6) *płyta z przezroczem* ('plate with a transparency')  
*maswerk z laskowaniem* ('tracery with bars')  
*dach z łukowymi wiatrownicami* ('roof with arched windbraces')  
*dach z łukowymi krokwiami* ('roof with arched rafters')  
*kościół na planie krzyża* ('church according to cross floor-plan')  
*okno w kształcie koła św. Katarzyny* ('window in the shape of St. Catherine's wheel')  
*łuk w ośli grzbiet* ('arch like a donkey's back')

An interesting but rare category is the class of *exocentric compounds*. A compound of this type is not a hyponym of its head, as in the classic example, *pickpocket* (A pickpocket is not a kind of pocket). In the context of architecture, the Polish term *rybi pęcherz* ('mouchette') is an exocentric compound, since the combination *rybi<sub>Adj</sub>* 'fish<sub>Attr</sub>' + *pęcherz<sub>N</sub>* 'bladder' does not denote a special kind of bladder but a particular type of decorative pattern in a gothic tracery.

## Derivation

English architectural terms formed through derivation confirm a general tendency whereby native bases are typically married with native affixes, and Latinate bases are matched with Latinate affixes. However, since OE origin prevails among common house-building terms (like *house* (*hūs*), *door* (*duru*), *floor* (*flōr*), *hall* (*hall*, *heall*), *kitchen* (*cycene*), *roof* (*hrōf*), etc.) and they reflect fundamental concepts, such words tend to be monomorphemic. Consequently, there are few derivatives of entirely OE origin among architectural terms. On the other hand, Latinate word-origin stands for sophistication, which is reflected by words of increased morphological complexity, and hence, the combination of the Latinate base with Latinate suffix is quite richly represented. The examples below are typical Latinate suffixes, as used in architectural terms:

- (7)
- |               |                          |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| <i>-ian</i>   | ( <i>Carolingian</i> )   |
| <i>-esque</i> | ( <i>Romanesque</i> )    |
| <i>-ar</i>    | ( <i>Perpendicular</i> ) |
| <i>-ism</i>   | ( <i>Mannerism</i> )     |
| <i>-ion</i>   | ( <i>elevation</i> )     |
| <i>-al</i>    | ( <i>finial</i> )        |
| <i>-ance</i>  | ( <i>Renaissance</i> )   |
| <i>-ery</i>   | ( <i>tracery</i> )       |
| <i>-ade</i>   | ( <i>colonnade</i> )     |
| <i>-er</i>    | ( <i>springer</i> )      |
| <i>-el</i>    | ( <i>corbel</i> )        |
| <i>-ory</i>   | ( <i>ambulatory</i> )    |
| <i>-tern</i>  | ( <i>lectern</i> )       |
| <i>-ant</i>   | ( <i>flamboyant</i> )    |
| <i>-ress</i>  | ( <i>buttress</i> )      |

Polish exhibits a considerable variety of derivational patterns, which is well reflected by architectural terms. Many of them are denominal nouns, like those in the right-hand column in the cases below:

(8) <i>głowa</i> ('head')	→	<i>głow-ica</i> ('capital')
<i>igła</i> ('needle')	→	<i>igl-ica</i> ('spire')
<i>pętla</i> ('loop')	→	<i>pętl-ica</i> ('loop ornament')
<i>róża</i> ('rose')	→	<i>róż-yca</i> ('rose window')
<i>wiatr</i> ('wind')	→	<i>wiatr-ow-nica</i> ('wind brace')
<i>klin</i> ('wedge')	→	<i>klini-ec</i> ('arch stone')
<i>kapituła</i> ('chapter')	→	<i>kapitul-arz</i> ('chapter house')
<i>laska</i> ('bar, mullion')	→	<i>lask-ow-anie</i> ('bar tracery')
<i>kolumna</i> ('column')	→	<i>kolumn-ada</i> ('colonnade')
<i>kwiat</i> ('flower')	→	<i>kwiat-on</i> ('finial')

These derivatives represent different classes when viewed semantically. Thus, such suffixes as *-ica*, *-nica* and *-ec* typify Polish *nomina instrumenti*, as in the words *głow-ica*, *klini-ec*, *pętl-ica*, *róż-yca* and *igl-ica*, where the derivative signifies a device functioning in the way suggested by the meaning of the base. For instance, *głow-ica* ('capital') is an instrument which behaves like *głow-a* ('head'). The suffix *-arz* in *kapitul-arz* is one of those characteristic of *nomina loci*, whereas *-anie* in *laskowanie* puts this noun in the category of *nomina resultativum*.

Another group of denominal nouns are diminutives, with their typical suffixes: *-ek* and *-ka*. These nouns constitute a significant fraction of architectural terms, as shown by the instances below:

(9) <i>wierzch</i> ('top')	→	<i>wierzch-ołek</i> ('peak, point')
<i>żagliel</i> ('sail')	→	<i>żagliel-ek</i> ('spandrel')
<i>żłób</i> ('trough')	→	<i>żłob-ek</i> ('flute')
<i>nos</i> ('nose')	→	<i>nos-ek</i> ('cusp')
<i>słup</i> ('post')	→	<i>słup-ek</i> ('small post')
<i>noga</i> ('leg')	→	<i>nóż-ka</i> ('springer')
<i>sługa</i> ('servant')	→	<i>służ-ka</i> ('respond')
<i>żaba</i> ('frog')	→	<i>żab-ka</i> ('crocket')
<i>koleba</i> ('a hollow')	→	<i>koleb-ka</i> ('cradle' → 'barrel vault')

Some terms originate from verbs: hence, they are classified as deverbal nouns:

(10) <i>wypełniać</i> ('to fill in')	→	<i>wypełni-enie</i> ('infill')
<i>obejść</i> ('to bypass')	→	<i>obejś-cie</i> ('ambulatory')
<i>zwierać</i> ('to clench')	→	<i>zwor-nik</i> ('boss, keystone')
<i>sterczeć</i> ('to stick out')	→	<i>stercz-yna</i> ('pinnacle')
<i>czołgać się</i> ('to crawl')	→	<i>czołg-anka</i> ('crocket')
<i>rzygać</i> ('to puke')	→	<i>rzyg-acz</i> ('gargoyle')
<i>plwać</i> ('to spit')	→	<i>plw-acz</i> ('gargoyle')

A more complex kind of structure is displayed by nouns and adjectives derived from phrases, as in the examples below:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (11) <i>pod łukiem</i> ('under arch')        | → <i>podłucz-e<sub>N</sub></i> ('[under arch] <sub>N</sub> ' = 'intrados' )  |
| <i>przed sienią</i> ('before entrance-hall') | → <i>przedścion-ek<sub>N</sub></i> ('porch')                                 |
| <i>między ościeżami</i> ('between jambs')    | → <i>międzyoścież-owy<sub>Adj</sub></i> ('[between jambs] <sub>Adj</sub> ' ) |
| <i>po środku</i> ('in middle')               | → <i>pośred-ni<sub>Adj</sub></i> ('medial')                                  |
| <i>po bokach</i> ('along sides')             | → <i>pobocz-ny<sub>Adj</sub></i> ('lateral')                                 |

## Conversion

Some English terms show effects of the operation of *conversion*. This can be observed in compounds whose non-heads end in the *-ed* suffix but originally come from nouns, such as: *sculptured portal*, *recessed portal* or *ribbed vault*. On the other hand, the perfect examples of verb-to-noun conversion are: *respond* and *lateral thrust*. With reference to Polish, Szymanek uses the term *paradigmatic derivation*, which he calls "a special form of conversion" (2010: 234). The architectural terms which exemplify this process are *okap* ('eaves') and *podciąg* ('hold-up'). The bases for the process here are the verbs *okap-ać* ('drip') and *podciąg-ać* ('hold up') which have been deprived of their verbal inflectional markers, with no nominalizing suffix having been added.

## Semantics

The semantic analysis to follow concerns selected issues connected with lexical relations and some problems related to the notions of polysemy and metaphor.

### Relations between lexemes

A useful tool in the examination of word meanings is the study of *lexical relations*. The set of terms under this analysis does not include cases of all lexical relations. For example, there are no instances of *antonymy* here. This is not surprising, considering the nature of the terms, which do not typically reflect processes or states, for which antonyms could be provided. This set of terms, however, exhibits other lexical relations that are dealt with below.

Assuming that words of seemingly identical meaning usually differ in connotations, and therefore, absolute synonymy is rare, the below-listed pairs or clusters of terms should rather be regarded as sets of *near-synonyms*:

- (12) *cruciform church: cross church*
- ambulatory: chancel aisle: apse aisle*
- bay: trave boss: keystone*
- stellar vault: star vault*
- fan vault: palm vault*
- curved net vault: swung ribbed vault*

*depressed arch: drop arch  
 ogee arch: inflected arch  
 curvilinear tracery: flowing tracery  
 panel tracery: perpendicular tracery: rectilinear tracery  
 wheel window: Catherine wheel window  
 rose window: marigold window*

Architectural terms include many endocentric compounds, where the relationship between the elements is based on *hyponymy*, since each such compound is a hyponym of its head. This, rather intrinsic form of hyponymy can be found dwelling in the examples given below:

(13)

*Romanesque style, Gothic style, Early English, Decorated style, Perpendicular style, nave-and-chancel church, triconch church, choir stall, cruciform church, cross church, vine-leaf capital, blind arch, chapter house, masonry infill, blind arcade, chancel isle, radiating isle, Lady Chapel, rood screen, rood beam, keystone, star vault, transverse rib, stellar vault, fan vault, parasol vault, lancet window, lancet arch, acute arch, depressed arch, drop arch, Tudor arch, ogee arch, inflected arch, plate tracery, trefoil, quatrefoil, cinquefoil, sexfoil, rayonnant tracery, archivolt, flamboyant tracery, wheel window, rose window, marigold window, sculptured portal, jamb statue, royal portal, lateral thrust, flying buttress, dripstone, basilica church, hall church*

An interesting case is that of *trefoil, quatrefoil, cinquefoil, sexfoil* and *multifoil*. Each of them, in its own right, can be interpreted as an endocentric compound based on hyponymy. But at the same time *multifoil* is a hyponym of *trefoil, quatrefoil, cinquefoil* and *sexfoil*.

The lexical relation which structures the field of architectural terms in a very natural way is *meronymy*. Since the present study focuses on the terms related to church structure, most of them can be regarded as meronyms of *church*, as in *church: nave*. With holonyms other than *church*, other meronymies can be identified, such as those given below:

(14)

<i>arch:</i>	<i>crown, springer, haunch, intrados, respond</i>
<i>column:</i>	<i>base, shaft, pier, capital</i>
<i>blind arcade:</i>	<i>masonry infill</i>
<i>blind arch:</i>	<i>masonry: infill</i>
<i>colonnade:</i>	<i>architrave</i>
<i>vault:</i>	<i>rib, trave, cell, severy, bay</i>
<i>chevet:</i>	<i>radiating chapel</i>
<i>chancel:</i>	<i>rood screen</i>
<i>rood screen:</i>	<i>rood beam</i>
<i>bay:</i>	<i>boss, keystone, lierne, tierceron</i>
<i>window:</i>	<i>mullion, transom, tracery</i>
<i>tracery:</i>	<i>trefoil, quatrefoil, cinquefoil, sexfoil, multifoil, mouchette, cusp</i>
<i>portal:</i>	<i>Gate of Heaven, wimperg, jamb, trumeau, dripstone, tympanum</i>

<i>vault:</i>	<i>arch, bay, rib</i>
<i>façade</i>	<i>rose window</i>
<i>roof:</i>	<i>ridge, plane</i>

*Transitivity* is felt to be inherent in meronymy (If *foot* is part of *leg* and *leg* is part of *body*, then *foot* is also part of *body*), but, in fact, it does not apply to all meronymies. With *functional-component-to-its-hole* type of meronymy, transitivity does not obtain, as it would be bizarre to say that *crochet* is part of a church, whereas regarding *crochet* as part of *wimperg* is correct.

### Relations between senses of a lexeme

Many of the terms under this study are *polysemous*. In the examples below, the architectural sense of a lexeme is derived from a more general, non-technical sense:

(15)

*crossing, presbytery, choir, aisle, crown, springer, haunch, base, pier, shaft, capital, respond, ambulatory, rib, bay, cell, groin, boss, cusp, tympanum, thrust, ridge*

On the other hand, the next list comprises another set of polysemous words, where the primary meaning is rooted in architecture and the derived meanings are its extensions:

(16)

*arcade, arch, column, pillar, chapel, masonry, colonnade, vault, ogive, tracery, facade, portal, buttress, spire, brace, strut, truss*

Many of the Polish “cathedral terms” are of polysemous nature, too. The list given below comprises lexemes whose primary meanings are not connected with architecture but their derived senses are architectural terms:

(17)

DERIVED SENSE		PRIMARY SENSE	
<i>chór</i>	‘chancel’	<	‘group of singers’
<i>łuk</i>	‘arch’	<	‘bow’
<i>nóżka</i>	‘springer’	<	‘small leg’
<i>wezgłowie</i>	‘springer’	<	‘bedhead’
<i>pacha</i>	‘haunch’	<	‘armpit’
<i>żagielek</i>	‘spandrel’	<	‘small sail’
<i>głowica</i>	‘capital’	<	‘big head’
<i>służka</i>	‘respond’	<	‘servant’
<i>żebro</i>	‘rib in a vault’	<	‘rib bone’
<i>grzbiet</i>	‘haunch’	<	‘back of a human or an animal’
<i>żabka</i>	‘crocet’	<	‘small frog’
<i>szpon</i>	‘crocet’	<	‘claw’
<i>rzygacz</i>	‘gargoyle’	<	‘vomiter’

<i>plwacz</i>	'gargoyle'	<	'spitter'
<i>hełm</i>	'spire'	<	'helmet'
<i>jarzmo</i>	'arched brace'	<	'yoke'

On the other hand, there are few cases of polysemous words whose primary meanings are related to architecture. These can be exemplified by *fasada* ('facade') and *portal* ('portal'), but since their English counterparts exhibit exactly the same pattern of polysemy, the words may well be cases of borrowing.

## Metaphor

The classical theory of metaphor interprets its operation in terms of a particular type of tension between *Topic*, *Vehicle* and *Ground*. According to Goatly, the Vehicle (marked in bold) is the conventional referent, the Topic (underlined) is the actual referent whose introduction is unconventional, whereas the Ground (italicised) is a reason for analogy or similarity (1997: 9). In the example below, Goatly's typographic convention is used in order to illustrate metaphor structure:

- (18) My home is my castle: *I feel secure and independent there*.

On the other hand, in cognitive linguistics, metaphor is viewed either as an effect of *blending* of two mental spaces (Fauconnier), or of *mapping* from a *source category* to a *target category* (Lakoff). For instance, in *haunch* the structure of the source category HAUNCH operating within the domain HUMAN BODY is mapped onto the relevant category in the domain ARCH.

If a metaphor is extended in such a way that correlated images proliferate, an *allegory* is conceived. A good source for allegories is *altar*. Originally, the word denotes a table or a flat-topped block located in the presbytery but its allegoric extensions drift further away towards such images as idealistic offering (as in *sacrifice something at the altar of*), or matrimony (as in *lead someone to the altar*). According to Goatly, an extension occurs when in succeeding metaphors Vehicles belong to the same semantic field, and Topics share a semantic field, as well (1997: 264). This can be exemplified by a piece from Golding's fiction, where the context is a gothic cathedral (here, again, Vehicles are marked in bold and Topics are underlined):

- (19) The model was like a man lying on his back. The nave was his legs placed together, the transepts on either side were his arms outspread. The choir was his body; and the Lady Chapel, where now services would be held, was his head. (Goatly 1997: 265)

Like in English, the Polish word *ołtarz* ('altar') participates in forming extended metaphors. It can be found in allegoric descriptions of sacrifice, as in *na ołtarzu ojczyzny* ('at the altar of homeland'), or depictions of wedding ceremonies, as in *zaprowadzić kogoś przed ołtarz* ('lead someone to the altar').

Some of the Polish compounds listed in this paper reveal a considerable degree of *idiomaticity*, or, in other words, are not fully analyzable. These include:

- (20) *ściana tęczowa* 'rood screen': literally 'rainbow wall'  
*belka tęczowa* 'rood beam': literally 'rainbow beam'  
*wieniec kaplic* 'chevet': literally 'wreath of chapels'  
*rybi pęcherz* 'mouchette': literally 'fish swim-bladder'

In the first three cases listed above, only one of the two lexemes in a compound has metaphorical meaning. But the last one, *rybi pęcherz*, is metaphorical in full. From the point of view of morphological classification, it is a case of exocentric compound, as *mouchette* is not a special type of bladder, but a decorative pattern. Similar architectural terms which exhibit the same property are *flyway* and *skylight*, as *flyway* ('length of a log that stands out or extends outwards beyond a notched corner joint') is not a kind of *way* (unless in the ornithological sense), and *skylight* is not a kind of light but a type of window. These two terms, however, are not applicable to Gothic cathedrals. Another interesting case is *łuk w ośli grzbiet* ('ogee arch'), whose literal translation is 'an arch like donkey's back'. It is metaphor-based in full but it has not been included in the list above, as it is not a compound but a lexicalized phrase.

At this point, this study returns to its starting point, with the notion of exocentric compound overlapping with the idea of metaphor, and this is where morphology meets semantics.

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## Sztuka gotycka – morfologiczno-semantyczne porównanie terminów architektonicznych w językach polskim i angielskim

### Streszczenie

Katedry gotyckie były arcydziełem średniowiecznej sztuki, rzemiosła i myśli. Niniejszy artykuł skupia uwagę na zaledwie małej części tego co niesie w sobie zjawisko katedry. W pierwszej części artykułu typowe terminy z dziedziny architektury sakralnej poddane zostały synchronicznej analizie morfologicznej. Terminy angielskie zestawione są z polskimi odpowiednikami, co umożliwia równoległe prowadzenie dwóch analiz i wyciągnięcie wniosków. Na przykład, angielskie terminy w znacznej mierze stanowią paletę różnych typów złożień, jak i zawierają przykłady konwersji. Z kolei w języku polskim dominują zestawienia, ale są też złożenia oparte na związku rzędu, jak i derywaty niosące w sobie subtelne rozróżnienia semantyczne. Po analizie słowotwórczej następuje semantyczne porównanie angielskiego i polskiego leksykonu architektury. Większość relacji semantycznych przebiega równolegle w obu językach, ale wyraźne różnice widoczne są w dziedzinie polisemii. Dzieje się tak, ponieważ polisemia i idiomatyczność opierają się na powiązaniach metaforycznych, które często podążają innymi ścieżkami w różnych językach. Kolejna część artykułu przywołuje klasyczne i nowe teorie metafory, aby w tym świetle skupić się na terminach architektury. Pojęcie metafory sprowadza artykuł na powrót ku morfologii, aściślej mówiąc ku złożeniom eksocentrycznym i metaforycznym.

**Słowa kluczowe:** złożenie, derywat, relacje leksykalne, polisemia, metafora

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## COMPLAINING IN ENGLISH BY ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA USERS

### Introduction

Conveying dissatisfaction may seriously threaten the hearer's as well as the speaker's face, which is the reason why in Anglo culture great care is given not to impose too much while complaining or criticising. As an egalitarian speech community, English native speakers avoid direct criticism even in unequal power relationships e.g. parents to children, teachers to learners, bosses to employees, lest the relationship is threatened. The idea is basically to criticize behaviour not a person, and start one's dissatisfaction statements with "I am, I feel" etc., rather than "you are", "you have", etc., and to mitigate complaining with downgraders: "I am deeply concerned about your performance" as an expression of a boss's dissatisfaction with an employee's work would take a much direct or even harsh form in languages such as Turkish, Russian or Polish for that matter.

In the context of English used as a lingua franca by a number of speakers of different cultural backgrounds, a question arises of the extent to which non native users converge with native speaker strategies when performing the speech act of complaining? Research as well as informal observation show that foreign/second language learners (users of English) often "fail" to produce statements and fixed expressions characteristic of native speakers (Bardovi-Harlig and Vellenga 2012). If compared to native speaker production non native speaker use will be called *marked* or simply *deviant*. But Cook (1999: 189) names the practice of judging non native users' language by the standards of native speaker use "the comparative fallacy". He claims that given the right to decide what becomes the ELF norm, lingua franca users might conceive ELF patterns in their own right and he calls for the development of "multicompetent speaker rather than an imitation native speaker" (Cook 1999: 203).

There are reasons why multilinguals might behave differently in English from English monolinguals. According to Kachru (2009), the Inner Circle, that is native speakers' strategies may be difficult to reproduce by other users of English as a global language. However, unlike the Outer Circle users i. e. those from post colonial countries with long history of institutional English use, the Expanding Circle, which includes European countries, have a tendency to look up to the native

speaker model. This positions European users as those likely to converge with the native speaker model. On the other hand, non English speaking European nations often represent systems of values different from the values of the native English speaking community.

Thus in the pragmatic aspects of speech, multicompetent users of ELF (global/international) English should easily switch between value code driven behaviour of their own languages and cultures and the lingua franca one, associated primarily with the Anglo code. Does cultural awareness of experienced LF users lead to giving up their home culture values? The aim of the research described in this article is to check the realizations of the act of complaining in elicited informal language tasks presented to non native speakers (Lingua Franca speakers) of different L1 backgrounds. The database of nonnative users' expressions of dissatisfaction should bring in useful insights into the teaching of pragmatic competence in English as an international language.

## **Complaining across cultures: how the system of values dictates communicative choices**

### **Cultural values behind speech acts**

The individualism-collectivism continuum is one of the cultural value systems which dictate speakers' choices in communicative situations. In this discussion American culture serves as an example of the individualistic end.

#### **Individualism**

Individualistic cultures, of which American culture is a paragon, value "individuality, respect, rooted in the conviction of equality of people, moderate emotionality, and the promotion success and solidarity" (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010: 168). In language the individualistic need for freedom of action and freedom of imposition is expressed by means of different face saving devices, such as "restraint, hedges, questions, expressions of deference, polite pessimism and conventional indirectness" (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010, after Ting-Toomey 1988; Johnson 1985; Wierzbicka 1985 and Lubecka 2000).

In cultures which value individualism less, imposition, face saving, and politeness may be understood differently. Collectivistic cultures, such as Russian or Ukrainian, for example, place 'the needs of the group above their personal needs' (Triandis 1995 in Nelson 2000: 78). Thus, the hearer is more likely to be less sensitive to his or her negative-face wants as the individual wants of the members of a collectivistic culture are treated as less important than the wants of others (Kozlowska 2004: 99). It is common to rely on other's help and advice, so simple directives are not treated as impositions (Wierzbicka 2003; Doughty 2012), sincerity is valued more than restraint and being direct suggests small social distance, that is treating others as one's own folk.

In Europe, the individualism index of non-English speaking countries is in general lower than index of English speaking countries in the world (Hofstede 2001). It is interesting to see to what extent differences in the individualism index

of a LF speaker's home culture may influence his or her use of speech acts in English, especially the face threatening acts, such as complaints.

### **Emotionality**

In American culture unrestrained expression of emotion, which refers both to positive and negative feelings, is perceived negatively (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010). Expressing emotions is identified with irrationality and may threaten self-face. In Polish culture, in contrast, interpersonal relations and everyday communication are shaped by emotionality (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010). This shows in the exchange of greetings (sharing the information how one really feels), exchange of opinions and feelings, which may take the form of heated debates between family, friends, but also strangers (see Termińska 2006 on verbal attacks on strangers by a group of others). As Poles do not often know how to hedge emotions in polite ways of speaking, dissatisfaction will not be revealed at all or will be revealed violently (Kłos-Sokol 2010).

Lubecka (2000) identifies emotionality with the femininity of cultures. Apart from interest in other's life, strong sympathy, sincerity and genuine expression of feelings, feminine cultures practice courteous treatment of women, resulting from gender roles perception of reality, expressing apologies for psychological rather than material damage, resulting from high values put on relationships, and overbearing hospitality which shows in invitations and party rituals.

If pragmatic knowledge is transferred from L1 into L2 (second, foreign or international language), LF speakers from more feminine countries might not be able to abandon their emotionality, or at least will not abandon it completely.

### **Assertiveness versus modesty**

The Anglo, especially north American, assertiveness rooted in individualism and masculinity of culture (Lubecka 1997) means personal autonomy, tolerance for otherness, unambiguous expression of communicative needs. In some cultures, such as Polish, the need for acceptances prevails over the need for autonomy (cited in Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010: 184) Frequent *Dziękuję* as an expression of gratitude characteristic of Poles, their timidity and lack of assertiveness may result in playing down dissatisfaction (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010). Once dissatisfaction is voiced it may be voiced more directly and emotionally than in the Anglo community.

Kłos-Sokol (2010) describes Poles as speakers who do not believe in cushioned criticism. Instead of using an *off record* criticizing strategy or irony, speakers of Polish might need to express criticism more directly, or, as it threatens the hearer's face, never at all. Either the hearer is discouraged by the negative element of what he or she took for a praise, or they do not take it seriously, as it is not direct. On the other hand, for the lack of the gentle indirect strategies, Poles might, according to Kłos-Sokol, tolerate certain dissatisfaction states suffering in silence (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010).

## Ritual order/etiquette

According to Goffman (1976), all social encounters are potentially face threatening (cited in Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010). Languages offer ritualised statements, expressions for typical interactions to help interactants maintain balance. Ritual constraints have to do with "how each individual ought to handle himself with respect to each of the others, so that he does not discredit his own tacit claim to good character or the tacit claim of the others that they are persons of social worth whose various forms of territoriality are to be respected" (Bogdanowska-Jakubowska 2010, 203).

For example, Chinese speakers use linguistic forms reflecting solidarity politeness when complaining to a person of higher rank, a soft, tentative "I hope" would be used to give face to the hearer by showing respect. Similar expressions are perceived as impolite by Americans, who hedge their want statements with "I would like", or other modals (Chen et al. 2011).

## Strategies of providing negative feedback in English

### English native speaker strategies

Mitigation, being an "indirect mechanism" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70), might lower the risk and thus lessen the face threat. The value system based on individualism, democracy, and especially in the case of American English, staying positive (Wierzbicka 1999) makes the speech act of criticism an art of indirectness, where implied criticism may even take the form of a positive statement:

- *How was the dinner party?*
- *oh, the food was nicely displayed*

(Bouton 1988, in Kasper 1997)

When it comes to complaining, indirectness serves the function of expressing one's dissatisfaction while protecting the face of the hearer (and the speaker). In Hartley's 1998 study of complaints (Chen et al. 2011: 256), for example, American students' direct complaints (that is Interrogation and Threat, most direct complaint strategies) collected with a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) occupied only 20% of the utterances. It may follow that speakers who want to imitate the native speaker (NS) style should keep emotions at bay, avoid using a dominating tone, or trespassing the personal space of the interlocutor, by implying guilt or incompetence. This is actually the style we can encounter in English course books.

### Course book English

When consulting different web pages addressed for English language learners the following patterns for criticizing and complaining can be found:

- Sorry to bother you but...
- I/m sorry to say this but...
- Excuse me but there is a problem  
([www.myenglishpages.com](http://www.myenglishpages.com))

- Can you help me with that?
- I'm afraid there may be a misunderstanding
- I understand it is not your fault
- Excuse me but I understood that...  
(www.englishtown.com)
- Maybe you forgot.../I think you might have forgotten
- Don't get me wrong but I think we should...  
(www.about.com)

#### Critical remarks at workplace

- Overall it is good but there are a few things that could be improved
- Don't take it wrong bit it needs to be...
- Just be more careful next time
- If you are unsure, ask me

As we can see, the language used in the situations of dissatisfaction performance on the part of the hearer, is mild and non aggressive. The hearer's face or public image is protected and care is taken not to be too straightforward, direct or too explicit.

#### Speakers of other languages and other English varieties

The question remains, if speakers of other languages, speakers of other varieties of English and multicompetent ELF English users converge with the strategies based on mitigating complaints? What other strategies do they use when speaking English?

Differences between different varieties of English show that the typical Anglo style of criticizing, characteristic of Inner circle speakers is not easily reduplicated. Kachru (2009: 372) quotes Liao's (1997) data from Taiwan English and American English speakers:

*AE: I'm (greatly) concerned about your performance. I think you are not (...)*

*TE: I don't like your performance. I'm not pleased/satisfied.*

Many English speakers from different cultural backgrounds may retain their more direct style into English as a second, foreign or international language, even at advanced levels. This may be a result of their first languages (and cultures) dictating choices other than the ones normally made in native speaker English.

#### The French

Comparing the way in which French and Australian employees talk among themselves and to their bosses at workplace, Beal found out that the French style, often carried over into the French speaking English is much more direct. For the French the Australian English speakers' style sounded like "beating around the bush", and while they were seen as bossy by Australians, they also created a (negative) stereotype of an indecisive Australian themselves.

### The Germans

House and Kasper (1981) found that the Germans expressed direct complaints to a greater extent than their English counterparts (cited in Chen et al. 2011: 257). This is in line with a general opinion that Germans value honesty, hence directness, bordering on harshness is not avoided by German speakers, despite the fact that in both English and German languages conventional indirectness is used e.g. in requests (Ogiermann 2009).

### Ukrainians

"Ukrainian friends apply the whole rank of complaint strategies from the least offensive to the most severe [while] native speakers of American English use the most indirect and conventionally indirect strategies", found Prykarpatska (2008: 101). An American would say "I was worried." "Everything all right?", "What kept you so long?" while "Ukrainians are the ones who tend to aggravate their complaints with different kinds of intensifying particles and slang words (Prykarpatska 2008: 100). They are likely to say" *Ciemu spiznajesz sia?* (Why are you coming late?), *O sliszko mozna ciekati?* (Oh, well for how long it may be waited?), *Nastupnowa razu ja spiznius* (Next time I'll be late). Emotionality seems to translate into open disapproval strategies (such as Interrogation and Threat used in Chen & Chen research). Also social distance between North American friends is greater than the Ukrainian counterparts (Prykarpatska 2008: 96).

## Research: ELF patterns for critical communication

### Research Questions

In order to discover to what extent complaining in Lingua Franca differs from complaining in English as L1 and whether there are any ELF variety specific ("marked") ways of providing negative feedback the following research questions are posed:

- (1) How do Lingua Franca English speakers express dissatisfaction used in different social contexts i.e., in public domains, at work and among friends? What strategies are used?
- (2) To what extent do ELF users use fixed expressions when complaining? Is there a tendency towards downgraders (hedges and downtoners, politeness markers) or upgraders (intensifiers)?

### Sample

31 adult speakers of English as a Lingua Franca participated in the study by providing answers to an internet survey of a Discourse Completion Test type. There were 4 native speakers and 27 non native speakers of English: seven Polish, one German, two Russian, four Ukrainian, nine French, three Spanish and one Dutch speaker. As native speaker participants admit to frequent intercultural contacts, in the present study they are also considered Lingua Franca users.

### Tool for data collection

The Discourse Completion Test asked the participants for open-ended answers (complaints) in nine situations of dissatisfaction, in three different combinations of social distance and power: talking to strangers, acquaintances and friends (see Table 1).

**Table 1.** Overview of the DCT used to collect data

Situation	Distance and Power relationship	Problem	Setting	Interlocutor
1	+D strangers +P (age)	Door left open	restaurant	Customer to younger customers
2	+D strangers -P (age)	Foot stepped on	street	Younger passerby to older one
3	+D strangers +P (service relationship)	Unclean room	hotel	Client to clerk
4	-D acquaintances +P (experience)	Misplaced file	workplace	Employee to younger employee
5	-D acquaintances P	Mistaken pigeonhole	workplace	Colleague to colleague
6	-D acquaintances -P	Untimely call	business	Employee to client
7	-D friends P	Being late	-	Friend to friend
8	-D friends P	Call promise	-	Friend to friend
9	-D friends P	Wrong information	-	Friend to friend

### Method of data analysis

Chen et al. (2011), who compared complaint strategies of American English and Chinese speakers adopted the following six type strategy classification (the order of increasing directness):

- (1) Opting out (OP) the complainer does not say anything.
- (2) Dissatisfaction (DS) simple statement of dissatisfaction, no mention of the complainee.
- (3) Interrogation (IN) presupposing guilt, questioning about the offence (leaves room for explanation).
- (4) Accusation (AC) charges against the complainee.
- (5) Requests for repair (RR) complainer asks for compensation and/or behavior change.
- (6) Threat (TH) attack on the hearer, stating potential consequences.

What is important, in their study 70% of the respondents' productions employed combined strategies in a complaint sequence. Also in the present study many strategies were often used side by side, the most common combination being dissatisfaction and requests for repair (see results). The classification used by Chen et al. as well as the results obtained by them by the native speaker group will be used for comparison in the analysis below.

## Results of the study

### Quantitative analysis

The ELF respondents produced 451 strategies in total. The quantitative comparison of the six strategies as used by native speakers (AE) in Chen's study and ELF speakers in the present study is presented below.

Strategy type	Native speakers (Chang et al. 2011)	ELF speakers
Opting out (OP)	0.64%	12.19% ↑
Dissatisfaction (DS)	<b>45.34% ↑</b>	<b>30.59%</b>
Interrogation (IN)	4. 82%	<b>13.74% ↑</b>
Accusation (AC)	7.72%	7.09%
Requests for repair (RR)	<b>38.26%</b>	<b>35.25%</b>
Threat (TH)	3.22%	0.01%

As we can see, Dissatisfaction and Requests for repair are the most common strategies for both groups. Within the most indirect strategies, there is more opting out (that is saying nothing) in ELF speakers production,. The overall use of the two most indirect strategies looks similar for the two groups (46 % and 43 % respectively). In the middle of the directness scale there seems to be more interrogation (that is presupposing guilt) on the non natives' side, who prove to be more direct at this point of the scale. As for the most direct strategies, overall there is no considerable difference, or even native speaker results show more inclination towards directness (more threats are used!). It is interesting, however, to see how these particular strategies are realized in practice by the ELF users in the present study.

### Qualitative analysis

We will now look at examples of particular expressions collected in the DCT from the ELF speakers. For brevity of space three situations have been chosen for presentation: situation no 3, 4 and 7, in which the interlocutor is a stranger, acquaintance and friend respectively.

#### Talking to strangers (a service encounter)

The following indirect ways of complaining were recorded:

(1)

- **I'd like to** have my room cleaned (PL)
- I just entered my room and noted that it was not cleaned **particularly well** (PL)
- **Excuse me, but** it is unacceptable, my room has not been cleaned. (U)<sup>1</sup> in which hedges, understatement and mitigated personal statements of will are used.

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<sup>1</sup> In his example the downtoning 'Excuse me', in fact loses its mitigating function as it is followed by an intensifying 'unacceptable'.

More direct (explicit) complaints were:

(2)

- Please could you clean the room properly. It's **simply dirty** (G)
- **You** forgot to clean my room! (FR)
- **I want to go to another room!** (R)
- **I hope** that you will clean my room well **tomorrow** (F)
- Please provide me a clean room. **For the wait let it be delux room** (U) RNN
- **Look**, I need to have my room well cleaned. Please ask the person who cleaned it to **pay attention** (S)
- I want to express my dissatisfaction with the fact that my place has not been cleaned. Therefore could you clean my room **until 5pm? Otherwise I won't pay for this day** (PL)

As we can see, in this context some speakers declared to use quite indirect ways of expressing dissatisfaction, similar to typical NS strategies. Many other, however, strengthened their complaints with explicit description ("simply dirty", joking exaggeration ("deluxe room"), personal indication of fault ("ask the person who cleaned it") or a deadline and customer threat (last example). The personal statement of will was not mitigated ("I want to"). Thus it is visible that the ELF users do exhibit a tendency towards greater directness.

### **Communication at work (colleagues)**

Indirect complaints (statements):

(3)

- You seem to have put your things in my ph by mistake (E)
- I've just checked my ph and I found some of your things in there (E)
- It's my ph<sup>⌚</sup> (U)

More direct (explicit) complaints: from interrogation through request for repair to threat:

(4)

- **Have you got your ph?** I've got a lot of books and i need more space (R)
- **Where is your pigeonhole?** (PL)
- **Could you please** remove your stuff from my ph? (PL)
- **Please take care** that it is not your pigeonhole but mine (F)
- **Hey**, this is my ph, can you take your things? (PL)
- I have noted you keep putting your stuff in my ph. It bothers me since there is not enough space for me then. Please start using your ph **as of now** (PL)
- You often use my ph instead of yours. **Please take care** (F)
- **This is the last time I told you**, do not put your things in my place! (SP)
- Each of us has his own ph and **it's disturbing** to find always your things in mine's. **I don't want to repeat it again!** (SP)
- Excuse me that is my ph. **Keep distance!** (U)

Humour

(5)

- I don't know if you already recognized it but 's my name on the ph. Use yours instead, it will have the same result. **Next time it will cost you a beer** (G)

This example of peer to peer social English demonstrates that the English strategies are difficult to follow. Natives would (and did!) normally be friendly in a way that stresses personal freedom and avoid getting emotional, explicit or threatening, they would avoid implying guilt, too. Most ELF speakers, many of which use English on a daily basis, used very direct requests for repair or even threats in this context. They strengthened their utterances with such intensifiers as joking threat (last example), very explicit directive ("keep distance") or interrogated in a way that does not sound very polite in English. (Have you got...?", "Where is your...") Although some utterances do sound rather formal and cold ("Please start using your ph as of now"), many of the examples do still sound friendly – they carry the element of friendly teasing and their directness is probably not meant to abuse. Of course, the phonetic level, intonation and tone of voice, element which are not present in a pen and paper elicitation tool would be crucial to confirm this thesis.

### **Communication with friends**

As the responses presented below refer to the "Your friend is late" situation, used by Prykarpatska (2008) in her study, it will be good to refer to her findings for comparison. To discuss the present study findings first, the following groups of examples were elicited:

(6)

- Is everything ok with you? **We'd agreed** to meet at xxx and it's now xxx (E)
- **About bloody time... what kept you?** (E)
- **Have trouble putting your shoes on the right foot again?** (E)
- What happened? I was worried about you (SP)

in which restraint is matched with an emotional reaction, which is, however, mitigated with concern over the friend or irony on his time management.

There are also examples of more emotional, unmitigated outbursts, in which slang, irony but also threats are used to let the friend know about one's dissatisfaction:

(7)

- **Come on**, where have you been??? (SP)
- **Where** have you been? (PL)
- Don't **piss me off!** You are late again! (PL)
- **Come on! Why you have a cell?** Use it, you better tell me you'll be late **or I won't wait for you** (SP)
- **It would be necessary to** warn the delay! (R)
- **Wow...** Merely 20 min... (PL)
- **Right on time as always! So you volunteered to pay the eve. Perfect!** (G)
- It's a **pleasure** to see you! (FR)

Finally, some rather non-emotional complaints, suggesting that punctuality is treated almost in a business-like manner and the choice of words may suggest coldness or paternalistic approach:

(8)

- **Really**, you could call me (F)
- **Next time please** let me know that you are late so that I can organise myself (FR)

- **Glad to see you but as unfortunately** you are very late I will not have time to spend with you (F)
- **Excuse me** you are late. **Next time I will not wait for you** (U)

It seems that many ELF speakers (see group 2 of examples) share the use of aggravated, internally modified complaints, like the ones used by Ukrainians in Prykarpatska's study (2008: 98), which are made in a single move, "briefly but strongly", (cf. *Z tiebie kawa, the coffee is on you*). The use of supportive external moves to justify complain strategy proper, found by Prykarpatska (2008: 109) to be a Anglo American pattern (e.g. *Next time please call if you know you will be more than 10 minutes late*) is also present in ELF users' responses (group 3), but the it is not equally successful in reducing the risk of hearer's face damage.

## Conclusions

As the quantitative analysis has shown, taken broadly, ELF speakers use a similar set of strategies to native speakers, as there seems to be a balance of less and more direct strategies in use. However, the original value systems (hidden in L1 communicative behaviour) might be responsible for the qualitative differences, visible in particular examples.

Where the individualism of ELF speakers does not match the Anglo culture indexes, there might be more conventional directness, and the ELF speakers' utterances may sound less polite. However the "less individualistic the more direct" principle, however, seems to be a generalization. Only if strengthened by cultural emotionality (feminine feature), the ELF speakers will sound more direct in complaining:

(9)

- **This is the last time I told you**, do not put your things in my place! (SP)

So it is not only the Poles who do not often know how to hedge emotions in polite ways of speaking hence their dissatisfaction will not be revealed at all or will be revealed violently (Klos-Sokol 2010). On the other hand, at least in some circles of the traditionally collectivist cultures, individualism, strengthened by the use of English, is on the increase: speakers tend to hold their horses when speaking, avoid advice giving, ordering and direct complaints:

(10)

- I just entered my room and noted that it was not cleaned **particularly well** (PL)

On the other hand, the highly individualistic but hierarchical culture of French speakers of English seems to influence their choices: there is more formality than emotion and distance than solidarity in their complaints:

(11)

- **Please take care** that it is not your pigeonhole but mine (F)

In general, the non native (ELF) speakers' production does sound more direct and explicit. Aggravation (slang, threats, strong adjectives) seems to be present more in ELF complaints than mitigation (hedges). The mitigation processes, when attempted, are more successful with irony, I think, than they are with the

politeness marker “please”, which does not genuinely soften the messages. This is a well known phenomenon, in many cultures *please* makes a bigger difference than in English. As ELF speakers rub shoulders with other, both native and non native, speakers they do not necessarily feel there is anything wrong with that.

As the frequency of the participants’ contacts with other users of English ranged from rare to daily, so must their cultural awareness, understood as a function of this frequency. Some examples showed that under certain circumstances, ELF speakers may adopt a style very much similar to native speakers, while others seem to express themselves in ways uncharacteristic to native speaker English. This “markedness” may be a result of lack of exposure to native speakers’ input, subconscious transfer of first language strategies (values) or finally, a marker of identity. After all, why should we all sound the same?

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## Wyrażanie niezadowolenia przez użytkowników języka angielskiego jako języka międzynarodowego

### Streszczenie

Wyrażanie niezadowolenia stanowi wyzwanie dla tak zwanej twarzy rozmówców. W kulturze anglosaskiej dokłada się więc starań by chronić twarz przy realizacji tego aktu mowy, unikając otwartej krytyki, nawet w relacjach typu hierarchicznego, a więc pomiędzy rodzicami a dziećmi czy pracodawcami i pracownikami. Krytykować można zachowanie, ale nie osobę, a niezadowolenie wyraża się „ogólnie”, przy użyciu zwrotów takich jak “wydaje mi się”, „chciałbym aby” oraz innych strategii mitygacyjnych. Jednak uczący się języka angielskiego, jego użytkownicy z różnych stron świata, często tworzą wypowiedzi różniące się od tych należących do native speakerów, czy podawanych w podręcznikach do nauki języka angielskiego. Takie wypowiedzi określa się wtedy jako odbiegające od normy. Podejście to Cook (1999) nazywa „pułapką porównania” i wzywa do używania pojęcia multikompetencji w miejscowości modelu native speakera oraz nowego spojrzenia na użycie angielszczyzny międzynarodowej. Artykuł przedstawia przykłady wypowiedzi zaawansowanych, nienatywnych użytkowników języka angielskiego w sytuacjach niezadowolenia i jest próbą przyjrzenia się międzynarodowemu kodowi, jakim jest angielski w wersji lingua franca pod względem realizacji poszczególnych aktów mowy przez użytkowników z różnych kultur.

**Słowa kluczowe:** English as a Lingua Franca, modele użycia angielszczyzny, strategie interakcji

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## AGENT? PATIENT? WHO'S TO BLAME? ERROR GRAVITY AND THE THETA-ROLE OF THE ERROR-AFFECTED ARGUMENT

### Introduction

The present study is a fragment of a larger research project which was aimed at investigating the acceptability of particular syntactic errors. In view of the research results, the thematic role of the argument affected by the error seems to be of some significance. Therefore, first the notion of thematic roles will be clarified, its connection to error examination will be outlined, the syntactically determined hierarchies of thematic roles will be presented and it will be shown that they are at least partly reflected in the acceptability ranking of the syntactic errors investigated in the research.

### Thematic Roles

The notion of thematic relations appeared in linguistic studies in the late 1960s, although it derives from some older concepts and theories: Lyons (1977: 84–86) mentions Hjelmslev and Tesnière as the precursors of Fillmore's Case Grammar, and, at the same time, calls it “the most distinctive post-Chomskyan challenge to the standard [TG] theory”.

The original argument in support of introducing thematic roles into grammar was that they made possible correlating semantic and syntactic properties of lexical items; the need for such correlation followed the realization that “syntactic and semantic generality cannot both be captured by a single level of deep structure with its deep grammatical relations such as deep subject and deep object” (Rozwadowska 1992: 8). Throughout the decades of development of the thematic role theories, it has been argued that there exist certain syntactic phenomena which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for without referring to the thematic relations, as the available syntactic mechanisms turn out to be inadequate (Wilkins 1988: xi). Further paragraphs show the various theories of thematic roles, and the hierarchies of thematic roles, established by various authors on the basis of syntactic behaviour of the verb and its arguments – also on the basis of the correctness criterion.

### **Fillmore's Case Grammar**

Charles J. Fillmore introduced the principles of his Case Grammar in 1968 in the article "The Case for Case". His postulate was to replace the notions of deep subject and deep object with cases – e.g. Agent, Instrument, Place – as constituents of the clause at the deepest level of syntactic analysis; the choice of Deep Cases present in a clause depends on the verb, the central element of the clause, which governs a set of obligatory and/or optional cases, the number and nature of which are specified in the lexical entry for each verb; the cases are realized by expressions which at a later stage of sentence derivation may surface as subject NPs, object NPs, or PPs (Lyons 1977: 86). With a number of surface structure sentences related to a common deep structure, the semantic similarities between them can be accounted for by referring to a "system of a relatively small class of universal case relations, where semantic notions like Agent, Instrument, etc. are explicitly marked" (Rozwadowska 1992: 8). The possible range of eligible deep cases together with the selectional restrictions concerning their realizations ("case frames") are specified in the lexical entries for particular verbs.

The list of cases proposed by Fillmore in "The Case for Case" included:

- agentive, instrumental, dative, factitive (the result of the event), locative, objective (the most "neutral" role, "theme" in other authors). The list was modified in 1971 and included:
- agent, counter agent – "the force or resistance against which the action is carried out", object – "the entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration", result, instrument, source, goal, experiencer (Palmer 1994: 5).

The process of mapping the deep cases onto the syntactic functions (the process of "association") is organized along certain rules; the basic one – repeated and reformulated many times in works developing this theory – is that a particular case can appear only once in a simple sentence; Fillmore also suggested that the cases are organized hierarchically, i.e. some are more prominent than others, which is significant in assigning the cases to particular NP positions in the sentence, e.g. the choice of the subject must follow the hierarchy Agentive – Instrumental – Objective (Polański 1999: 217).

### **Gruber and his followers**

Another approach, proposed by Gruber and later developed by him and Jackendoff, introduces a level of pre-lexical structure, a common base for both the syntactic and semantic layers, from which the deep structure is derived. This "derivational semantic theory" shows how the syntax and semantics are related at the pre-lexical level, which accounts for similarities between certain constructions. In a later work Gruber states that the necessity to postulate the existence of thematic relations as conceptual entities results from the fact that they are needed in determining grammatical arguments (Gruber 2001: 257). Gruber starts his analysis with concrete verbs, of motion, possession, etc., using a set of roles which are all in a relation to the central one, the Theme, defined as "the NP understood

as undergoing the motion, or whose location is being asserted" (in Rozwadowska 1992: 11). Other roles are: location, source, goal, agent and instrument.

In 1972, Jackendoff's "Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar" argued for the existence of a hierarchy of thematic roles. Jackendoff claims that certain syntactic phenomena<sup>1</sup> can be explained using thematic roles, not syntactic relations, and postulates the following ranking of roles: agent – location, source, goal – theme (Rozwadowska 1992: 12). The question of hierarchy of roles will reappear in this study, one of whose goals is to investigate the relation between the acceptability judgements and the thematic structure of the erroneous constructions.

### The GB Theta Theory and the Theta Criterion

The development of the Government and Binding Theory in the 1980s brought the introduction of the notion "theta role" and the formulation of rules that govern the assignment of theta roles to the argument NPs. Theta roles are assigned at the level of Logical Form, according to the thematic information contained in the Lexicon; following the Projection Principle, "a syntactic representation" must observe the "lexical properties of the items it contains" throughout the derivation of a sentence, including their thematic structure (Radford 1988: 394). Fillmore's "uniqueness" restriction on case assignment was reformulated in the "theta criterion", saying that "each argument bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument" (Chomsky 1982: 36). Unfortunately, such wording of the rule generates problems in analysing certain syntactic structures (e.g. reflexive constructions) where more than one NP aspires to be assigned the same theta role, or a single NP seems to receive more than one theta role. Jackendoff's solution was permitting a NP to be a shared argument of a number of "semantic subfunctions" at the level of semantic representation (Rozwadowska 1992: 17). Jayaseelan (1988: 102) claims that in the case when a single NP is assigned more than one role, "congruent roles can be superimposed on each other" (they can blend, or amalgamate). Williams (1994: 29) suggests reformulating the theta criterion in the domain of an "argument complex", in which "...each phrase is assigned only one theta role". The concept of and constraints on R-structure proposed by Wilkins and Cullicover (1984) and their idea of role-transmission represent another attempt to solve the problem of multiple role assignment. Wilkins (1988: 193) also brings up the distinction between the intensional and extensional<sup>2</sup> roles and points out that an argument may be assigned two roles as long as they do not belong to the same set. Chomsky himself rewrites the theta criterion in the final chapter of "Lectures on GB" and defines it in terms of chains of arguments rather than individual arguments (Chomsky 1982: 335). On the other hand, some linguists argue for rejecting the theta criterion as

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<sup>1</sup> Such as the extraposition of the active subject to the *by*-phrase in passivization, relation of the reflexive to its antecedent, and co-reference of arguments in control construction.

<sup>2</sup> After Gruber 1967; Intentional roles include: Agent, Patient and Instrument; Extensional roles are: Source, Goal, Location, Theme.

it is and insist on weakening its force (e.g. Jackendoff 1972: 59; Broadwell 1986 *Multiple Theta-Role Assignment*).

### The “Argument Structure” of Lexical-Functional Grammar

In Lexical-Functional Grammar, the lists enumerating the theta roles assigned by predicates have evolved into a construct called “argument structure”. Similarly to what its pioneers claimed about the significance of thematic structure, argument structure also “represents a complex of information critical to the syntactic behaviour of a lexical item” (Grimshaw 1992: 1). The existence of an internal structure in theta grids and the hierarchical ordering of their elements is posited in order to account for a number of syntactic phenomena, e.g. adjectival and verbal passives, middle verbs, light verbs, causative verbs, nominalization (Grimshaw 1992: 1), or such general syntactic mechanisms as predication, binding, and control (Bresnan 2001: 302). Argument structure is postulated as an interface between the semantics and the syntax of predicates, a level intermediate between the lexical semantics and the initial syntactic structure (Rappaport, Levin) / deep structure (Grimshaw), or between the lexical semantics and the final syntactic structure (Bresnan). Other LFG linguists follow Jackendoff’s idea<sup>3</sup> of Lexical Conceptual Structure, which is indexed to syntactic realizations at the level of functional structure (Bresnan 2001: 305).

The crucial issue in the argument structure theory is the hierarchy of roles, or prominence, which is reflected in the syntactic behaviour of predicates: Agent > Beneficiary > Experiencer/Goal > Instrument>Patient/Theme > Locative (Bresnan 2001: 307)<sup>4</sup> or Agent > Experiencer > Goal/Source/Location > Theme (Grimshaw 1992: 8).

The most prominent role is the “logical subject”, which for Grimshaw (1992: 3) stands for the “external argument”.

A notable point of the theory is its parallelism with the GB Theta theory, especially visible in two constraints, reflecting the Theta Criterion and the Extended Projection Principle:

- The Function-Argument Bi-uniqueness – each argument structure role must be associated with a unique function, and conversely, each function must be associated with a unique argument structure role.
- The Subject Condition – every predicator must have a subject (Bresnan 2001: 311).

For the present study, it will be interesting to determine whether the hierarchy of roles, which is significant in various syntactic processes, is also relevant to the degree of acceptability of erroneous constructions.

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<sup>3</sup> As Bresnan acknowledges, in 1990 “Semantic Structures” Jackendoff gave up the concept of argument structure as a separate level and included the argument information in the lexical semantic representation;

<sup>4</sup> Wilkins (1988: 209) obtains quite a dissimilar ordering from her investigation of reflexives and their antecedents: Agent > Patient > Affected/Location, Source, Goa > Theme

### Feature-based definitions of theta-roles

Stemming from Gruber's, Jackendoff's, Dowty's and other linguists<sup>5</sup> ideas concerning the semantic content of thematic roles, various "feature" approaches have been devised that compare and systematize the thematic roles. This study relies on two such approaches – by Rozwadowska and Reinhart – for the analysis of the research material, and the following paragraphs present their general assumptions.

Rozwadowska (1992) analyzes a number of constructions in Polish and English with respect to the thematic structure of the predicates they contain; she concludes that the distribution patterns of particular thematic roles in those constructions overlap, and that this overlap is rather irregular, i.e. certain roles share features with different other roles in different grammatical processes. Her feature approach to defining thematic roles allows her "to find a common denominator for different types of arguments and to state simpler, more general rules" (Rozwadowska 1992: 70). In her study she investigates the thematic structure in derived nominals, reflexive verbs and impersonal constructions, and comes up with a set of three features crucial to describing thematic relations: Sentience, Change and Causation. Sentience denotes "human involvement which entails at least a certain degree of conscious participation". Change is a feature of arguments which are affected by some change, either physical or metaphorical. Causation is a quality possessed by entities that bring about changes (Rozwadowska 1992: 70–71). Table 1. shows the definitions of thematic roles in terms of these three features.

Table 1. Interpretation of thematic roles in terms of features (after Rozwadowska 1992: 75)

SENTIENT	CAUSE	CHANGE	THEMATIC ROLE
+	+	+	Affected Agent (traditionally Agent and Theme at the same time, e.g. <i>John rolled down the hill</i> )
+	+	-	Agent (agents of prototypical agent-patient verbs: <i>kill, hit, write</i> , etc.)
+	-	-	Experiencer, possibly Recipient and Possessor
?	+	+	Instrument <sup>6</sup>
-	+	-	Object-Cause of Emotion (e.g. traditional neutral, Rappaport's experienced, Jackendoff's percept)
-	-	+	Patient (affected objects of agentive verbs)
-	-	-	Neutral viewed as a mere object rather than a cause

Reinhart (2002) based her description of the theta system on the assumption that the cognitive systems of language must be inter-legible, or at least some information that they store must be legible to other systems. The theta system is the central system, containing information legible to all other systems (Reinhart 2002:

<sup>5</sup> e.g. M. Halliday, C. Barker, B. Levin and M. Rappaport share these views.

<sup>6</sup> Rozwadowska sees instruments as „intermediate” between Agents and neutrals: they are not consciously involved in the activity, but still possess some power of control over other entities; therefore „?” marks their degree of sentience (Rozwadowska 1992: 75)

229). The information from the theta system must be legible to the syntactic system and the “inference”, i.e. the semantic system. Thus the theta information must be encoded, and the code proposed by Reinhart is a binary system of two features: “cause change” (c) and “mental state” (m). She defines eight feature clusters, named by the most commonly associated role labels (Reinhart 2002: 230–232).

Table 2. Definitions of theta feature clusters (after Reinhart 2002: 238)

cause change “+/- c”	mental state “+/- m”	theta role
+	+	agent
+	-	instrument
-	+	experiencer
-	-	theme/patient
+	unspecified	cause
unspecified	+	sentient <sup>7</sup> e.g. subjects of verbs like <i>love, know, believe, laugh, cry, sleep</i> /
unspecified	-	subject matter/locative source
-	unspecified	internal roles such as goal or benefactor, typically dative or PP

### The set of theta roles used in this study

The list of theta roles used in this research is a mixture of various sets of labels and definitions. Since most authors that I have consulted decided to create their own systems of roles, enriching the existing ones or modifying their definitions, it is justified as well as practical for me to come up with a blended system as well, and one that would suit the section of language and the particular syntactic problems that constitute the research material of this study.

The first classificatory notion that seems indispensable is the distinction between external and internal arguments, introduced by Williams (1981). This distinction basically corresponds to the traditional distinction between the subject of a sentence and the elements inside the predicate phrase.

The following points briefly present my assumptions for the analysis of the sample sentences.

- I assume the verbs to be the chief theta-markers in sentences; I also assume that APs and PPs functioning as complements of copula verbs theta-mark the subjects of such verbs; I assume that the theta-role-receivers are NPs and nominal clauses,
- I assume that prepositions do not assign their own theta-roles if they are heads of verbal complements, but only reinforce the role assigned by the verb; NP complements in such PPs receive a theta role compositionally, from the verb and from the preposition (Chomsky 1982: 93),

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<sup>7</sup> Reinhart (2002: 238) labels this feature-cluster “sentient” for the lack of any other term, to mark its dissimilarity from the “experiencer” cluster.

- I assume that the theta-role assigned by the complement of a copular verb to the subject is Theme or Cause of emotion,
- I assume the following list of theta-roles, on the basis of the theta-role systems presented in Polański 1999, Wilkins 1988, Huddleston 2002, Dowty 1988, Rozwadowska 1992, and Reinhart 2002. The basic set of roles includes,
- Cause = the cause of event, either a conscious initiator (subtype Agent) or an unconscious cause of emotion (Theme-cause of emotion),
- Affected= the entity affected by the event, either aware (subtype Experiencer) or unaware (subtype Patient),
- Instrument= the entity through which the Cause operates,
- Theme = the entity whose role is neutral in the event; this label also subsumes “subject matter”, “factitive” (the result of an event), and stimulus or percept (the object of sensory perception).

### General rules of theta marking

Within the framework of the Government and Binding theta theory, theta roles are assigned only to arguments, as opposed to non-argument elements of the sentence (e.g. empty “it” or “there” subjects). Theta-marking is local, i.e. theta-roles are assigned to the closest available argument position(s). Theta roles are assigned by verbs, most prepositions, and many nouns and adjectives (Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 31–40). In the present study, most of the analysed examples contain a problem in theta marking by a verb. There are also a couple of examples containing an adjunct problem (group 3); although the standard theta theory excludes adjuncts from the argument structure of a predicate, it is possible for elements within the adjunct to assign theta roles to elements outside the adjunct phrase or clause, that is to elements of the main predicate (Williams 1994: 91).

Thematic information is contained in lexical entries. Theta roles are assigned at the level of Logical Form and at all levels of syntactic representation they must remain associated with the selected arguments and their traces. This results from the two main principles of theta marking. One is the *Projection Principle*, which states that:

In structural configurations of the form: a)  $[\gamma \dots \alpha \dots \beta \dots]$  and b)  $[\gamma \dots \beta \dots \alpha \dots]$ , where  $\alpha$  is the immediate constituent of  $\gamma$ ,

- (i) if  $\beta$  is an immediate constituent of  $\gamma$  at  $L_i$ , and  $\gamma = \alpha'$ , then  $\alpha$  theta-marks  $\beta$  in  $\gamma$ .
- (ii) if  $\alpha$  selects  $\beta$  in  $\gamma$  as a lexical property, then  $\alpha$  selects  $\beta$  in  $\gamma$  at  $L_i$
- (iii) if  $\alpha$  selects  $\beta$  in  $\gamma$  at  $L_i$ , then  $\alpha$  selects  $\beta$  in  $\gamma$  at  $L_j$

where:  $L_i$ ,  $L_j$ , etc. are the syntactic levels: Logical Form, D-Structure, and S-structure (Chomsky 1982: 38).

In a), “ $\alpha$  is a lexical element that subcategorizes and hence theta-marks  $\beta$ ” (Chomsky 1982: 38). In b),  $\beta$  is the subject of  $\alpha$ . Thus, a) shows a structure in which direct theta-marking occurs, and b) represents indirect theta-marking, by the lexical head of  $\alpha$ . Selection here means direct or indirect theta-marking.

To simplify its message, the Projection Principle can be reformulated as in the "Lexicon of Linguistics":

- (i) representations at each level of representation  
are projections of the features of lexical items,  
notably their subcategorization features, and
- (ii) if F is a lexical feature, it is projected at each syntactic level of representation  
(Logical Form, D-structure, S-structure)

The other principle of theta marking is the Theta Criterion, which states that "each argument bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument" (Chomsky 1982: 36).

Having considered the movement transformation and its effects on syntactic structures, Chomsky (1982: 335) redefines the Theta Criterion for chains. This new definition may be briefly formulated as follows: "Each theta-position is in a unique chain, and each chain contains a unique theta-position." (Lexicon of Linguistics)

Williams (1994: 28) reformulates the rules governing theta marking in terms of three characteristics: obligatoriness, uniqueness, and locality.

The requirement of obligatoriness rules that every NP in a sentence be an argument of another element, and that there be a NP to fill a certain argument position. It is, in a sense, restating Chomsky's Case Filter:

\*NP if NP has phonetic content and has no case (Chomsky 1982: 49)

which entails that each overtly realized NP argument must be case marked, or be associated with a case position; the "obligatoriness" condition seems to be rooted in the requirement of the Full Interpretation Principle, that every element of Phonological Form and Logical Form (more generally: of any interface) must receive an appropriate interpretation (Lexicon of Linguistics).

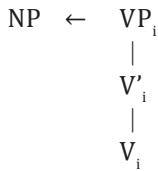
The requirement of uniqueness is in fact redefining the standard Theta Criterion in the domain of the "argument complex", i.e. the verb – or another predicate – together with its arguments, and its arguments' arguments: this helps to block the theta marking of subjects of raising verbs, e.g. *John seems sad*, without ruling out the cases of double predication, e.g. *John arrived sad*. In the latter example, the two predicates, *to arrive*, and *sad*, form two separate argument complexes, sharing one argument, *John*, which is assigned two theta roles, but from different predicates (Williams 1994: 29–30)<sup>8</sup>.

Theta relations are also subject to a locality constraint: the constituents which can be connected by the theta relation must be immediate sisters (Williams 1994: 29). This claim seems to exclude the subject as an argument of the verb, since subject NPs are not sisters to Verb nodes, but to the maximal projections of V. A solution to this problem is offered by Williams (1994: 32–33), who reanalyses the external theta marking as a two-stage process: a transfer of the unsatisfied external role

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<sup>8</sup> Williams also admits the possibility that the solution to the problem of double predication is introducing PRO, controlled by the main subject, as the external argument of *sad*: *John arrived PRO sad*, with each predicate assigning one external role (Williams 1994: 29).

from the Verb to the Verb Phrase, followed by a regular role assignment by the VP to its sister NP:



In other systems of representation, where S is represented as IP, the subject is not even a sister of VP, but of the I' node. The VP – Internal Subject Hypothesis explains how external theta roles are assigned: VP-ISH states that the surface subject position is not a theta-position, but a landing site for the subject NP, raised from [spec, VP], the base position for subject, in which it receives its theta role from V' (Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 232).

Chomsky's (1982: 37, 40–42, 103) idea, included in the content of the Extended Principle, is that verbs theta mark their subjects indirectly, or compositionally, via the VP node<sup>9</sup>. Starting with this assumption, Jayaseelan (1988: 98) suggests that this manner of theta marking the subject is not an exception, but a general rule, and that except for the verb and its immediate sisters, every case of theta marking is done by a phrasal node.

Another example of such type of theta marking, namely by the phrase, is the relation between the relative clause and its antecedent. In Williams' (1994: 226) understanding, the relative clause remains in a theta-relation with the head noun, yet not as its argument, but as a one-place predicate, taking the head as its only argument, similarly to the NP-VP predication relation.

## The Research

### The method

The present study is a section of more extensive research on the acceptability of erroneous sentences. The linguistic material for the whole research consisted of 60 sentences, and was tested on a group of 60 native speakers of English. Having decided whether they understood the sentence or not, the respondents were asked to spot the error and correct it, if possible. They were also asked to position each erroneous sentence on a scale, from 1 – entirely unacceptable, to 5 – perfectly acceptable. This grading of the sentences was then used as the criterion in creating a ranking of errors. This approach was adopted after James (1977)<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> This is acceptable in a non-binary representation, where the subject node would be a sister to VP together with the INFL node; in a binary analysis, the subject NP is not a sister of VP, which thus is not able to theta-mark it. Various linguists (e.g. Williams, Wilkins, Larson) discuss the transmission of the unsaturated theta-role to the higher node; this could be a solution to this problem.

<sup>10</sup> His method was based on the direct question approach: 20 NS teachers and 20 NNS teachers of English were presented with 50 sentences, each containing an error; they were asked to underline the mistake, correct the sentence, and evaluate it on a five point scale.

The procedure of error analysis adopted in the research was based on Corder's (1973: 278) algorithm for identification of errors. Next, for each sample, the predicate or all predicates related to the error were identified and its/their theta grids were presented. Next, the actual realizations of arguments were listed. The role assigned to the external argument (subject) is underlined in the grid. An example of such an entry is given below:

*Sample no.... (a missing Theme argument)*

*But is it really important? No, I don't think.*

*Predicate: think (Experiencer, Theme)*

*Arguments: I; ---;*

### The results

Once the erroneous sentences were marked by the judges, a ranking of individual sentences was prepared, and average scores for particular types of error were calculated. Further, error-type ranking lists were compiled, presenting the acceptability hierarchy of errors. One of the ranking reflected the hierarchy of errors according to the thematic role affected by the erroneous construction. The results were sorted and analysed according to the theta-role involved in the erroneous structure. In this analysis, the surface form of the error (omission, addition, malformation, etc.) was not taken into account. The samples containing empty, non-theta elements were excluded from this analysis. Also the prepositional problems were not included in these calculations. The scores of the remaining sentences were analysed in the following sets:

- Agent-problems,
- Theme problems, when the Theme is the external argument,
- Theme problems, when the Theme is an internal argument,
- all Theme problems, regardless of the position of the Theme argument,
- Affected problems, when the Affected is the external argument,
- Affected problems, when the Affected is an internal argument,
- all Affected problems, regardless of the position of the Affected argument.

Table 3 below shows the results calculated for particular theta-roles, regardless of the surface form of the error: (scale 1–5). The results were sorted according to the average score in each set:

Table 3. Research results for particular thematic role involved in the error

theta-role involved	average mean score in this set
Theme-internal	2.99444
Theme-all	2.91859
Affected-external	2.8
Affected-all	2.78264
Affected-internal	2.77685
Theme-external	2.74792
Agent	2.64167

Agent-problems are the least acceptable; Theme-problems are more acceptable than Experiencer problems, with the exception of external Themes – probably the reason is the strength of restrictions concerning external arguments (subjects) in English, regardless of the theta-role involved. It seems, thus, that the general tendency in acceptability is for the Theme-problems to be slightly more acceptable than the Affected problems (with the exception of the external Theme).

More detailed comparisons were also conducted, combining the surface form of the error, i.e. omission and addition, and the thematic role involved. First, the missing Theme and the missing Affected sets were compared. The average score for the two sets is 3.14 and 2.9, respectively. In both groups the results are rather scattered: the top samples heighten the average significantly, and the lowest score is considerably lower than the middle section of the ranking. After cutting off the extreme scores, the average scores are 3.28 for the Theme set, and 2.9 for the Affected set. Additionally, what is more important, a comparison of all individual marks scored in the two groups shows that the difference is statistically significant ( $p<0.05$ ). Thus I should conclude that a missing Affected argument makes the sentence less acceptable than a missing Theme argument. This conclusion is in agreement with the syntactic hierarchy of theta-roles proposed by Bresnan (2001: 307), and that proposed by Grimshaw (1992: 8), in which Experiencers/Goals outrank Themes.

The additional Theme sentences and the additional Affected / Experiencer sentences were also compared, although there were only four sentences in each set. This comparison was combined with the external/internal opposition. Table 4 below shows the approximate average scores for the sets. As might have been suspected, the differences were not statistically significant.

Table 4. Research results for External and Internal Experiencers and Themes

	Experiencers	Themes	ALL
External	2.91	2.68	2.8
Internal	2.37	2.96	2.66
ALL	2.64	2.82	

It seems that in general, doubled Experiencers make a sentence less acceptable (2.64) than doubled Themes (2.82). It is definitely so when the internal Experiencer and the internal Theme sets are compared (2.37 and 2.96, respectively). Yet, it is just the opposite when we take into account only external arguments (2.91 and 2.68, respectively). It may be supposed, then, that the differences in evaluation of the Experiencer and Theme problems do not depend on the theta-roles solely, but also involve some other factors.

One more comparison was carried out which may be interesting from the perspective of the general status of theta-elements in a sentence. All argument sets and all non-argument sets were compared, in other words, the set of sentences in which a theta-role problem occurred was compared with the set of sentences in which a non-theta problem appeared, which in this research was limited to preposition problems. The results for the addition/omission of prepositions (3.07

and 2.78, respectively) are different from the addition/omission of theta-elements (2.73 and 2.96, respectively). This shows that the absence of an obligatory theta element is more acceptable than omission of a preposition, and a redundant theta element makes a sentence less acceptable than a redundant preposition. The explanation for this is probably the different grammatical status of theta-elements and prepositions; while the former are determined by the theta-grids, the latter are more unpredictable. In other words, predictability of theta-roles facilitates their retrieval in omission errors, but hinders their identification in addition errors.

## Conclusions

The main point of this study was to investigate the significance of thematic roles in the acceptability of erroneous syntactic structures in English. It was assumed that the acceptability ranking of erroneous sentences, marked for the theta-role involved, should at least vaguely correspond to the hierarchies (or even one hierarchy) of theta-roles established theoretically.

Let us recall the theta-role hierarchies, discussed in the beginning of this paper:

- Agent > Beneficiary > Experiencer/Goal>Instrument > Patient/Theme > Locative (Bresnan 2001: 307),
- Agent > Experiencer > Goal/Source/Location > Theme (Grimshaw 1992: 8),
- Agent > Location -Source- Goal > Theme (Jackendoff 1972),
- Agent > Patient > Affected/Location-Source-Goal > Theme (Wilkins 1988: 209).

In each case, the Agent role is the most prominent. It is also visible that in each of the hierarchies, the Affected / Experiencer and Goal roles outrank the Theme role. Drawing on the feature-based definitions of thematic roles (by Rozwadowska or Reinhardt) we could formulate a generalization, that the +Sentient argument (which is the Experiencer subtype of the Affected role) is higher in the hierarchy than the - Sentient argument (which undoubtedly is the Theme).

Taking into consideration the results of the acceptability survey, I should conclude that they tend to be in agreement with the theoretically established hierarchies of thematic roles. As the comparison of theta-role sets indicates, the sentences in which the Agent argument was affected by the error were considered less acceptable than the Theme and Affected sets. In turn, the Affected problems were less acceptable than the Theme problems. Thus the theoretical hierarchy is reflected in the acceptability hierarchy of roles:

$$\text{Agent} > \text{Affected} > \text{Theme}.$$

Unfortunately, in one combination of examples this assumption is disconfirmed, that is when the external Themes and Experiencers are compared. We must, however, remember about the importance of the external argument in English clauses, which might have influenced the acceptability judgments in these sets.

On the other hand, the comprehension index seems to confirm the adopted hierarchy: the total number of miscomprehension cases was 63 for the Theme problem sentences (including one rather serious case of a sentence which was not understood by as many as 39 judges), and 84 for the Affected problem sentences. This again emphasizes the significance of the Affected /+Sentient/ arguments in the sentence structure.

Obviously, this research did not produce statistically-significant results in each set of samples. Another study, perhaps a more specified one, should be conducted to confirm the claim that acceptability ranking reflects the hierarchy of theta-roles. If a questionnaire, or a series of questionnaires, focusing on sets of two theta-roles could be compiled and administered, statistically significant results could be obtained to ultimately confirm that theta-roles play a part in error acceptability. But it seems more adequate to state, perhaps, that it is the native speaker's awareness of the "+/- Sentient" nature of the malformed arguments that is significant for the level of tolerance and the overall acceptance or rejection of an erroneous predicate.

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## **Waga błędu gramatycznego a rola semantyczna dotkniętego błędem argumentu**

### **Streszczenie**

Role semantyczne (zwane tez rolami tematycznymi i rolami Theta) przydzielają swym argumentum predykaty. W wielu wypowiedziach uznanych za niegramatyczne to właśnie struktura argumentowa predykatu ulega zmianie, np. z powodu pominięcia, przesunięcia, lub niewłaściwej formy argumentu. Aby ustalić wagę ról semantycznych w ocenie akceptabilności wypowiedzi, przeprowadzono badanie akceptabilności różnych błędnych wypowiedzi w języku angielskim, których autorami byli Polacy uczący się tego języka. W badaniu ustalono poziom akceptabilności poszczególnych błędnych wypowiedzi w odniesieniu do roli semantycznej pełnionej przez argument, w obrębie którego wystąpił błąd. Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia wyniki badania oraz wnioski. Ramy teoretyczne badania to tradycyjna wersja gramatyki transformacyjno-generatywnej, a szczególnie teoria rzędu i wiążania (Chomsky, Haegeman & Gueron, Williams, itp.), tradycyjna gramatyka opisowa języka angielskiego (Quirk & Greenbaum), oraz teoria analizy błędów (Corder). Badanie przeprowadzono na podstawie testu akceptabilności w formie kwestionariusza, zawierającego 60 zdań, który został przedstawiony 60 rodzimym użytkownikom języka angielskiego. Materiał językowy został oznakowany ze względu na różne kryteria, między innymi ze względu na role semantyczną argumentu, którego dotyczy błąd. Najważniejsze role uwidocznione w materiale językowym to Theme (Temat) oraz Affected (Obiekt działania) a zwłaszcza podtyp Experiencer (Obiekt doświadczający). Analiza wyników wykazała, że niepoprawna realizacja pewnych ról semantycznych przyczynia się do ogólnej negatywnej oceny akceptabilności wypowiedzi w większym stopniu niż w przypadku niepoprawnej realizacji innych ról.

**Słowa kluczowe:** role semantyczne, hierarchia ról theta, struktura argumentów, ocena akceptowalności, analiza błędów

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## THE THEORETICAL ELABORATIONS ON THE DEFINITE ARTICLE *THE*

### Introduction

The definite article ‘the’ has been examined by linguists for many years, but still its complete and accurate meaning seems not to have been completely studied and explained. Researchers have examined this article in various fields of science, namely linguistics in particular, but also in philosophy, logic and psychology. Apart from these fields, they also investigated the definite article from a spectrum of miscellaneous theoretical perspectives, e.g. computational linguistics, logical semantics, psycholinguistics, functionalism, etc. The former studies on the definite article *the* proved to be fairly similar when taking into account the types of obtained data and their examinations as well as the general theoretical queries they attempt to answer. To specify our elaboration more profoundly, we may state that the research that was observed so far concentrated on “the referential function” of the article, namely on the use of a noun phrase with *the* to make a selection of an individual, to be able to choose the unit from all other accessible entities in the whole spectrum of existing entities. What is subsequently denoted by the appropriate use of *the*? Mostly, we come across a term “uniqueness”, “identifiability”, “unique identifiability”, “familiarity”. These are the main terms observable in many scientific articles, research studies, research results and linguistic comments, where the definite article simply reflects a matter of reference, e.g. by means of distinguishing individuals. The following scholars are supporters of this claim: Abbott 1999; Birner and Ward 1994; Chafe 1994; Chesterman 1991; Clark and Marshall 1981; Fraurud 1990; Grosz 1981; Hawkins 1978, 1984, 1991; Hintikka and Kulas 1985; Karttunen 1968; Kempson 1975; Kleiber 1992; Lambrecht 1994; Lewis 1979; Löbner 1985; Lyons 1980, 1999; Ojeda 1991; Poesio and Vieira 1998; Prince 1992; Searle 1969 and Wilson 1992. Their studies have been based on the assumption that there is slightly more to the meaning of *the* than its ability to select referents: “unique identifiability is both necessary and sufficient for appropriate use of the definite article *the*” (Gundel et al. 1993: 277).

Obviously the results of their studies must have led to very intriguing responses to posed queries and desired expectations, but no one has seriously managed to explain the meaning that was exposed thanks to conducted studies

that can account for all uses of the definite article in English. Therefore it is worth considering and elaborating on a different approach to the problem of definiteness, which is extension and two theories coined by Fauconnier (1994) – a theory of mental spaces and accessibility theory by Ariel (1990). They will be a matter of elaboration in the following parts of the article.

### **Extension and its definitions**

In any of available studies that concern the use of *signs*, for example, linguistics, the *extension* of a concept, idea, or sign is related to the things to which it applies, in contrast with its *comprehension* or *intension*, which consists approximately of the ideas, properties, or corresponding signs that are implied or suggested by the concept in question.

The term ‘extension’ is defined differently depending on available paper or electronic sources. Below we may follow some of the available, relevant definitions.

In philosophical semantics or the philosophy of language, the *extension* of a concept or expression is the set of things it extends to, or applies to, if it is the sort of concept or expression that a single object by itself can satisfy (Wikipedia, online source).

The next definition of this term is that “the extension of a linguistic expression is the class of elements that the expression denotes” (Bussmann 1996: 160).

Concepts and expressions of this sort are *monadic* or “one-place” concepts and expressions (New World Encyclopedia, online source), e.g. the extension of the word “*dog*” is the set of all (past, present and future) dogs in the world. The set includes Fido, Rover, Lassie, Rex, etc.

In the context of formal logic, the extension of a whole *statement*, as opposed to a word or phrase, is sometimes defined (arguably by convention) as its logical value. That is why in that view, the extension of “Lassie is famous” is the logical value *true*, since Lassie is famous.

Some concepts and expressions do not apply to objects individually, but rather serve to relate objects to objects. For example, the words “*before*” and “*after*” do not apply to objects individually, it makes no sense to say, e.g. “*Jim is before*” or “*Jim is after*”, but to one thing in relation to another, as in “*The wedding is before the reception*” and “*The reception is after the wedding*.”

Such “relational” or “polyadic” (“many-place”) concepts and expressions have, for their extension, the set of all sequences of objects that satisfy the concept or expression in question.

The extension of “*before*” is the set of all (ordered) pairs of objects such that the first one is before (precedes) the second one.

### **Extension and the definite article *the***

Having introduced the basic concept of extension, there remain several queries that need to be posed and most probably answered here.

They are the following:

- how does it all apply to the definite article?
- is its meaning extended or not? If so, how can it be justified and conveyed to potential addressees?
- how can its meaning be fully comprehended and subsequently appropriately used by any potential volunteers, so practically anyone who is willing to use English properly – from pre-primary school learners to young advanced adults graduating from English philology courses?

As far as the notion *extension* and its relation to the definite article in English are concerned, we may state that such a relation is observable, however it is not approved by many scholars, hence the extended meaning of this article is not so widespread or publicly known, let alone taught to L2 users.

Two researchers, Clark and Haviland (1977: 7–8) use the term *addition* to refer to the phenomenon, whereby *the* serves to introduce a new discourse referent at the very beginning of any passage, report or story. They claim that such violations of the uniqueness requirement on definite descriptions are appropriate and relevant because they become a conventionalized aspect of literary discourse (see also Lambrecht 1994: 197). While this phenomenon is apparently a literary convention, we have also seen that it is more general than that. The use of *the* to introduce new topics is not confined to literature, nor does it occur only at the beginning of a text. In the following examples, listed below, *the* appears at the beginning of an episode with a narrative or it occurs at the midpoint of a narrative sequence:

- (1) Regulations are obeyed when possible but are breached in emergencies. There was the case of *the ice pier*, for example.  
(The excerpt derives from a scientific research outpost in Antarctica named McMurdo Station).
- (2) This example about *the monkey trap* will be further quoted and described in section 7 (Discourse prominence).
- (3) [Elias Ayuso] had been an academic gypsy ever since *the fire* (New York Times, 1 August 1995, p. B11)
- (4) – Did you hear about *the fight*?  
– What fight?  
– Between Charles and Steven.  
(This example was heard by the author of the article mentioned by one of his colleagues).
- (5) – [hh]  
– Uh huh.  
– Until, about an hour later, when *the ...mosquitoes*. Hit.  
– Oh, no.  
(The same reference as in example 4)

Bearing that in mind, we could suggest that, instead of analyzing *the* as a marker of accessibility, the rudimentary meaning of the article should remain unique identifiability and that the prominence associated with the entities in

the instances above should be derived pragmatically as an *extension* from this basic meaning. For example, Abbott (1999) questions that “emphatic *the*” conveys prominence through hyperbole. In her opinion, a sentence such as “*Outside the US, soccer is THE sport*” literally means that soccer is the only (e.g., unique) sport in other countries, which is apparently not true. She claims that “standard Gricean mechanisms” are then invoked, constructing the hyperbolic conviction that soccer is a highly prominent sport (Abbot 1999: 3).

### The definite article *the* and its functions

We distinguish several functions of the definite article in English. They were outlined in the introduction and are exemplified below:

- referential function – use of a NP with *the* to pick out an individual, ‘to distinguish it all from all other individuals in the universe of discourse’ (Lyons 1977: 19),
- conveying the idea of particularity (Mańczak-Wohlfeld et al. 1998; Murphy 1994),
- familiarity (Christophersen 1939; Heim 1982; Murphy 1994; Foley and Hall 2003),
- uniqueness (Russell 1905; Kadmon 1990; Hewings 2005),
- specificity (Hewings 2005),
- identifiability (Chafe 1976; Du Bois 1980; Yule 2006),
- unique identifiability (Givon 1984; Gundel et al. 1993),
- the referent's presence in the speakers' ‘shared world’ (Foley and Hall 2003).

### Available theories of *the*

Previous theories of the definite article *the* concentrated on two main ways of analyzing this type of function words, namely: *identifiability analysis* and *familiarity analysis*.

Identifiability denotes that ‘the referent of the NP must be identifiable to the hearer’ (Birner and Ward 1994: 93), identifiable meaning must be unique, therefore ‘definite NPs refer to (the unique set which is) the maximal collection of things which fit their descriptive content’ (Kadmon 1990: 274).

Familiarity, on the other hand, refers to the use of *the* which requires the referent to be introduced into the discourse; “the article *the* brings it about that to the potential meaning (the idea) of the word is attached a certain association with previously acquired knowledge” (Christophersen 1939: 72).

Identifiability and familiarity are not identical but overlapping notions, in other words “an entity must be familiar in a given discourse to be identifiable” (Birner and Ward 1994: 96). Following we may state that the main analysis of *the* focused on identifying the sources of definiteness, in other words factors permitting the speaker to consider a discourse referent as familiar or uniquely identifiable for the addressee.

Hawkins (1991) in his typology of definiteness referred to the terms of identifiability/familiarity as to:

- situations in which an entity is a member of the “previous discourse set”, e.g. “mention of *a professor* permits subsequent reference to *the professor*” (Hawkins 1991: 408),
- an entity identifiable/familiar in the immediate situation of utterance in which the speaker and the hearer are situated, e.g. “*Pass me that bucket*” becomes unambiguous for the addressee if there is just one bucket in his/her field of vision’ (Hawkins 1991: 408),
- knowledge shared by people in the same physical location (“larger situation set”), for instance, a city or a country, may justify the assumption that a referent is identifiable/familiar: “inhabitants of the same town who have never met before can immediately talk about *the mayor*, meaning the unique mayor of their town” (Hawkins 1991: 408),
- a very general kind of common knowledge shared by e.g. a given community regarding predictable coincidences or co-occurrences of entities providing the appropriate grounds for identifiability and familiarity, as in the instance below:

after a previous linguistic mention of *a class*, the speaker can immediately talk of *the professor*, *the textbook*, *the final exam*. All members of the relevant linguistic community know that the set of things which make up a class typically include these (Hawkins 1991: 409)

- a referent considered identifiable/familiar when the relevant information is provided within the definite NP itself, e.g. via a genitive phrase or a relative clause, for instance *the roof of my house*, *the professor we were just talking about*.

Now there exists one question which needs to be posed here and answered. What problems are faced with previous theories of *the*? Such notions as “identifiability”, “uniqueness” and “familiarity” are continuously difficult to be defined in a relevant way. For example, Hawkins (1984: 649) states that:

defining what it means for something to be ‘identifiable’ is, however, no easy matter... an adequate definition of identifiability covering every single use of a definite description is probably doomed from the start.

Many researchers treat the term of identifiability for granted and do not make any subsequent efforts to define it precisely. There are some who do attempt to define it, but they usually confine themselves to elaborating on distinguishing, picking out of individuating a referent in question. Such names as *distinguish*, *pick out*, *select* or *individuate* are not more precise than the term *identify*. As far as *uniqueness* is concerned, we come across a rudimentary query related to this notion, which is, as Hawkins (1984: 650) puts it, “unique in what sense?... What are, in general, the parameters relative to which singular definite NPs refer uniquely?” Some of the main parameters and much of the current literature are devoted to it, namely, e.g. a previous mention. It is clear and evident that when we use an indefinite article *a* or *the*, we are supposed to use the definite article when we mention something, someone for the second and -nth time. However, in many cases, it is challenging to indicate the relevant parameter (domain) within which the uniqueness of a definite description is preserved. The considerable diversity

of indirect anaphora (bridging) derives from this problem of delimiting domains. Similar problems arise when we attempt to use uniqueness to many of the above instances. Concluding, Heim (1982) has defined "familiarity" precisely and formally, but her definition is rather so confined that a heavy empirical burden overwhelms the notion of "accommodation", which itself is very badly comprehended: "I can say only very little about the rules that govern accommodation" (Heim 1982: 372).

### **Mental spaces theory and accessibility theory**

In order to distinguish the appropriate use and meaning of the definite article *the*, the following theories contrasting with the available ones have been coined. They are: accessibility theory of Ariel (1990) and mental spaces theory of Fauconnier (1994), each of which consider grammatical elements to be discourse processing instructions. In the processing of any discourse *the* triggers the establishment of connections between various sorts of cognitive domains and the mental entities within these domains. All uses of *the* mark the "*accessibility*" of the discourse referent, namely that the article is a grammatical signal contributing both to the construction and retrieval of mental entities.

Speakers select *the* for miscellaneous reasons. Mainly to:

- distinguish (identify) discourse entities,
- convey the prominence of a discourse entity (entity's status as a role function, a shift in point of view).

The notion "accessibility", outlined above, also refers to the degree of activation of information in long or short-term memory. Highly accessible mental entities, those which are most active in consciousness, require less processing effort to be retrieved and implemented than do entities of low accessibility. Ariel (1990: 22–30) distinguishes 4 factors affecting accessibility:

- (1) Recency of mention (the more recent the last mention of an entity, the more accessible it will be).
- (2) Saliency (physical or discourse salience).
- (3) Competition (relative salience of an entity compared to other entities).
- (4) Unity (whether an antecedent is within the same paragraph/frame/point of view as an anaphor).

A number of researchers have suggested accessibility hierarchies, in which nominal referring expressions ranked on a continuum ranging from the highest accessibility markers at one end, e.g. zero anaphora and pronouns, to lowest accessibility markers at the other, e.g. proper names (Ariel 1988, 1990, 1994; Givón 1983, 1992; Gundel et al. 1993).

Following these hierarchies, they state that definite descriptions are markers of low accessibility, referring generally to entities not highly active in memory. Evidence from their research proves that, in the first place, definite descriptions can abound in information. Moreover, definite descriptions are usually used to refer back to relatively distant antecedents, for example:

There's a cat and a dog in the garden. *The cat* is eating a mouse.

The presence of the dog lowers the accessibility of the cat, making the definite description a natural choice in this context. Let us provide the subsequent example:

There's a cat in the yard. *It's* eating a mouse.

There's a cat in the yard. *The cat* is eating a mouse.

*The cat* is odd as its antecedent is too highly accessible.

The basic meaning of *the* is as follows: signal to the addressee the availability of an "access path", e.g. the article indicates that the knowledge required for interpreting a given noun phrase is accessible. If it is, then the entity designated by the noun phrase will be accessible as well, by means of the path (the set of cognitive links) that can be constructed between it and the accessible knowledge.

Access paths triggered by definite descriptions (markers of low accessibility) are typically more complex, they tend to comprise a larger number of elements, links and/or mental spaces, than paths triggered by markers of intermediate or high accessibility. The addressee must usually seek information beyond the noun phrase itself, e.g.

*I bought a book* – a clear meaning.

*I bought the book* – some additional information is needed to interpret this definite description.

Knowledge necessary to interpret the definite descriptions ranges from textual to cultural, from specific to general.

What specific factors motivate speakers to choose a definite description in any given situation, to choose an expression indicating that a discourse entity is of low accessibility?

The definite article serves a variety of functions in discourse besides the earlier mentioned identifiability/familiarity. It also denotes:

- the discourse prominence of an entity,
- the entity's status as a role function,
- the fact that an entity is presented from a noncanonical point of view.

### Discourse prominence

The definite article is used to evoke the interpretation that a discourse entity is highly prominent, e.g. that such entity plays a significant part in the broader discourse context. One instance of discourse prominence is the common literary strategy of making use of a definite description to introduce a significant entity at the commencement of a narrative, for the purpose of arousing the recipient's attention to that entity (e.g., the opening sentence of H.G. Wells's *The Invisible Man*: "*The stranger* came early in February", cited by Christophersen (1939: 29).

The subsequent example is a brief excerpt from a story about James Hall, a psychologist who has suffered a debilitating stroke and is now paralysed (New York Times Magazine, 18 August 1996, 22–24):

Hall has been thinking about God, psychiatry, analysis, fairy tales, dreams and *the monkey trap*.

The definite article in *the monkey trap* is used to introduce the entity that will be the central topic of concern in the immediately following discourse. Discourse entities are constructed through the use of definite descriptions, namely “role functions”.

Noun phrases here are used to refer to a fixed property, not to a particular individual. The use of definite descriptions to designate roles is illustrated through noun phases in which the speaker has a choice between a definite and an indefinite article, as in the following passage about a boxing match:

Now Foreman's feet were planted. Now Moorer made *the big mistake*. His chin was on a straight line with Foreman's feared right. It came straight and true and Moorer never had a chance. (New York Times, 7 November 1994, p. B13)

The definite article in the italicised part of the sentence is employed to convey the idea that in any boxing match (or maybe in any sporting event), one participant typically makes a major mistake that cause him/her to lose the fight. *The big mistake* is employed to refer to a role in the frame representing our stereotypical knowledge of the events that characterize boxing matches.

### Point of view

This function of the definite article is to contribute to shifts in point of view. Here all language is regarded as reflecting the point of view of the speaker or writer. Other perspectives are also possible, however, all languages are equipped with a wide range of formal mechanisms allowing to convey distinct points of view, including the definite article *the* as well. This section of the article will be devoted to the presentation of instances in which noun phrases with *the* demonstrate that a discourse referent is accessible from the noncanonical point of view. The example quoted below reflects the core function of the definite article *the*. It is the opening sentence of Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*:

In the late summer of that year we lived in a house in a village that looked across *the river* and *the plain* to *the mountains*.

The referents of these noun phrases with *the* are identifiable only to the narrator of the story, not to the readers. Similarly, unfamiliar uses of *the* in poetry can be interpreted as indicators of the narrator's point of view, in particular to depicting an entity as discourse prominent.

Another strategy, however slightly different, literary strategy makes use of the article to indicate that a portion of any text should be interpreted as describing point of view from a perspective of a discourse protagonist. This can be illustrated by another opening sentence of Hemingway's short story “Big Two-Hearted River”:

*The train* went on up *the track* out of sight, around one of the hills of burnt timber. Nick sat down.

As Chafe (1984: 284) indicates, “there is evidently no point in asking with whom the knowledge of the train or the track was judged to be shared”. These

entities are identifiable only to Nick, the character from this story, not to potential recipients of the story, namely readers. The definite articles in *the train* or *the track* possess the function indicating that this part of the discourse refers to the protagonist's (Nick's) point of view. This interpretation of the passage is favoured by the pragmatic context of the occurrence of definite descriptions in the first sentence whose referents are not accessible to the addressee as well as the immediate inclusion of Nick at the beginning of the second sentence.

### **Conclusions and implications for future studies**

Concluding the above considerations and summing up the brief characteristics of the main assumptions related to previous theories of *the* and two theories coined by Ariel (1990) and Fauconnier (1994), we may state that the definite article is a marker of low accessibility. It is apparently a discourse processing instruction which signals that the means for interpreting the NP in which it occurs is available in the configuration of mental spaces. As long as the appropriate spaces, elements and connections can be constructed by the recipient, its selection is dependent on referent construction, hearers are induced by speakers. Hearers subsequently construct discourse referents to accept the referents into the discourse. Speakers, on the other hand, employ the article to achieve specific communicative goals in local communicative contexts.

Here we may refer to speaker-oriented approach vs. hearer-oriented approach (hearer-orientation originates from Hawkins 1978). Hearer-oriented approaches emphasize that relevant use of *the* is dependent not only on the speaker's referential intent but on the speaker's assessment of the hearer's knowledge of the referent. If the speaker believes the hearer cannot identify the referent, *the* should not be selected.

In contrast to hearer-oriented approach speakers do not simply select article in a relatively passive way, responding chiefly to what they think hearers know. Speakers often choose, as the examples provided here demonstrate, *the* even when they know that the hearer is not able to pick out the referent in question.

Article selection is a matter of the active, dynamic process of referent construction, in which speakers use discourse referents in such a way as to encourage hearers to accept the referents into the discourse under apparent intentions.

The content of the article is a brief attempt to comprise the account of the meaning and distribution of the definite article *the* in English. It is believed that the notions of *identifiability* and *familiarity* should be described more profoundly. In addition, such terms as *low accessibility* and *discourse prominence* must be analyzed in-depth as well. The author of the article is convinced that the concept of accessibility is worth studying because it possesses an advantage over the previous quoted approaches. And finally, the theoretical grounds provided in this article constitute a perfect foundation for a more detailed study of all uses of the definite article, for instance corpus-based study, which will be conducted in the upcoming future. It will certainly provide much more relevant sources to study the core meaning of the definite article.

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## Teoretyczne rozważania nad przedimkiem określonym *the*

### Streszczenie

Celem tego artykułu jest teoretyczne studium nad potencjalnym znaczeniem przedimka określonego "the", który jest często źle rozumiany przez nie-natywnych studentów, co powoduje jego późniejsze błędne użycie. W celu ułatwienia zrozumienia tego trudnego determinanta i składnika grupy wyrazów funkcyjnych, zostaną postawione następujące pytania: do jakiego stopnia przedimek określony posiada swoje standardowe znaczenie, jak daleko jego znaczenie może być rozszerzone i zrozumiane, jak również jeżeli może być zrozumiane, to czy istnieją jakieś ograniczenia w tym zakresie?

Artykuł odnosi się również do studiów teoretycznych w relacji do szeroko rozumianej semantyki przedimka określonego dotyczącej jego potencjalnego użycia, jego braku lub szerokiego użycia w różnych frazach rzeczownikowych i kontekstach zawierających ten przedimek (np. ang. *The tiger is dangerous* vs. *The tigers are dangerous*), ale artykuł będzie obejmował również różne, liczne przykłady innych zastosowań tego przedimka.

Szerokie zastosowanie przedimka określonego opiera się na wielu przykładach. Przykłady będą podane w relacji do interpretacji wielu wybitnych i szanowanych naukowców, którzy zajmują się ogólnie pojętym językoznawstwem. Ponadto, krótki opis znaczenia dostępnych teorii na temat użycia 'the' będzie przedstawiony w tym artykule. Ten opis będzie skontrastowany z analizami przeprowadzanymi przez uczonych, których wyniki nawiązują do trochę innego aspektu językoznawstwa, mianowicie językoznawstwa kognitywnego. Wszystkie te analizy zostaną przedstawione w kolejnych podrozdziałach tego artykułu.

**Słowa kluczowe:** znaczenie, użycie, przedimek określony, funkcje

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## REVIEWS

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**HOW MUCH WOOD WOULD A WOODCHUCK CHUCK? ENGLISH  
PRONUNCIATION PRACTICE BOOK, A. MAŃKOWSKA, M. NOWACKA,  
M. KŁOCZOWSKA (EDS.), WYDAWNICTWO KONSORCJUM AKADEMICKIE,  
KRAKÓW–RZESZÓW–ZAMOŚĆ 2009**

The book reviewed in this paper is a much needed English pronunciation handbook, which, according to the authors, is aimed primarily at first year students of English Studies. It is also recommended for anybody who wishes to improve the quality of their oral skills in English, including secondary school students who are about to take their final exams in English. It claims to be geared towards the specific needs and difficulties experienced by Polish learners of English. The authors themselves admit that it is fundamentally a practice book that at university level supplements other well known but more theory-oriented handbooks. As such it offers valuable help to trainers and students alike, partially filling an important gap in the materials available. The design and content of the book is comprehensive and consistent, making it easy to use among the plethora of similar books available on the market. It can therefore justifiably be claimed that the book is an important and welcome contribution to the discipline.

The range of material selected for presentation in the book comprises, first and foremost, all the vowels (long and short) of English, arranged and numbered according to Cardinal Vowels sequence, as well as diphthongs and some triphthongs. The vocalic part of the handbook is the most comprehensive of all. The second part deals with English consonant segments, of which 13 have been selected as they are the most problematic for Polish speakers. The problems range from the non-existence of certain items in Polish, differences in the details of pronunciation (e.g. the place of articulation, the velarised quality of [l] in many contexts) to the absence of certain co-articulating phenomena, cf. aspiration of [p, t, k] in English. The final part is devoted to four aspects of connected speech, namely stress-shift, assimilation, elision and weak forms. The glossary of terms included at the end of the book is a helpful tool for users, especially those relatively phonetically-untrained who try to make sense of some of the exercises headings.

The units in the handbook follow the same clear organizational structure. The organization is both coherent and compact, as well as predictable and logical, which makes it exceptional and at the same time easy to follow. For example, with vowels we begin with a very brief description of the segment, followed by

words for practice, all containing the target sound, sentences for practice, sections on deceptive spellings and proper names, all to be concluded with practice of the sound in context in the forms of proverbs, rhymes, limericks and tongue twisters. Words for Practice sections (and sentences for practice too, for that matter) are grouped into two parts, with Words for Practice 1 – the easier, more commonly used words – and Words for Practice 2 – the supposedly more difficult or sophisticated and less common words. The latter is the “English philology students” section. Additionally, the words are subdivided into groups according to the number of syllables and stress position in the items, with clear progression from easier to harder elements. Part 2 – the consonants – seems to be organized similarly, although this time, however, special care is taken to show the segments as used in a variety of contexts, with such details as degree of voicing, aspiration, release type and, occasionally, function (e.g. the *-es ending*). The part dealing with connected speech is organised independently, namely it tackles each feature in an appropriate manner: examples, contexts and meaningful practice. All this demonstrates that the authors had a clear idea of what they wanted to achieve and how the progression was to be developed: from words in isolation, through progressively longer stretches of speech to rhymes, proverbs and limericks that are naturally used by speakers of English. All this is accompanied by carefully prepared and systematically presented phonetic transcription.

The main advantage of this handbook are the recordings that accompany it. Over three hours of spoken material cover all the exercises. The recordings are professional and done exclusively by native speakers of English in its Standard British English variety. The clear and straightforward coding of tracks makes them truly user-friendly. The recordings allow the book to be used in a self study mode, based on the listen-and-repeat procedure. The only problem that can be detected is that since the speakers say the words and the lines in a way that is completely natural to them, they produce variants which are still acceptable within the standard model trained. These variants have been transcribed with attention given to minute details and alternative, dictionary citations are offered in the form of a footnote. This could be confusing for students, who may wonder, first of all, which pronunciation to follow – the recording (“but then the sound is not there!”) or the dictionary form (“why is it different from what is in the sentence?”). The intentions of the authors are clear, this was probably meant to show that the transcription reflects the pronunciation as closely as possible, but from a didactic point of view it is rather unfortunate and confusing.

The sub-sections on Proper Names as well as Deceptive Spelling are a good idea as they tackle typical problematic items. Within these, however, the criteria for selecting some of the items are rather unclear. Whereas trap-items such as *victuals*, *lieutenant* or *corps* can be truly deceptive, others such as *idyllic*, *calm* or *stagnant* are hardly so. Many of the words cited tend to follow a certain regularity: *heather* – *leather*; *meadow-weapon*; *stealth* – *wealth*, *calm-palm*. It is difficult to understand why the spelling in these particular cases is so confusing. As for Proper Names, while they truly cover the most notorious problems speakers have with English proper names, they also contain many items that the majority

of students are unfamiliar with and therefore cannot relate to in any meaningful way. Individuals' first names (*Arthur, Martha*), place (or other geographical) names (*Prague, Niagara*) or some of the surnames of important figures in British or European history and culture (*Presley, Boleyn, Dante, Socrates*) are useful and meaningful, yet many others do not evoke any associations (*Reynolds? Beauchamp? Shaughnessy?*) and are treated by students as unnecessary and a rather useless nuisance.

An attractive feature of this handbook is that it manages to smuggle many desirable elements of natural speech into the many diverse exercise forms that it introduces. The sections with Sentences for Practice (1 and 2), introduced in the form of a back-chaining drill with sets of rhythmic word-groups, first provide a connection with the preceding section on individual words as they incorporate at least one of them in the chain and then they demand very rhythmic repetition, with clearly marked strong syllables, word-linking and weak forms. All this is done in a consistent manner even before any systematic study of these phenomena – especially the weak forms – is attempted. Thus the connected speech phenomena are introduced and practised as if incidentally and indirectly, and yet students, with their still highly efficient mimicking abilities, are able to cope successfully. The same can be said about the rhymes and limericks sections. It needs to be pointed out that, again, the linking marked in the transcription part frequently departs from what is heard in the recording or is applied with little logic or reason. From the didactic point of view, the "little arches" as the students call them are best ignored in the script.

The units of the first part of the book are arranged according to the Cardinal Vowels sequence, the close front unrounded vowels being the first that are dealt with. Our experience of working the book for the last few years has shown that such a sequence, although well justified linguistically, appears to be of questionable didactic merit. The opening vowels, the long and short "i", as they are often called in phonetic jargon, prove to be a serious challenge. It is a well-known fact that a Polish secondary school graduate, even one who can boast of a very high score in English in the final exam (*matura*), may have a rather vague idea of English pronunciation rules. Sadly, schools generally favour communication skills over grammatical precision, let alone phonetic accuracy. The didactic problem with the first two vowels of the book arises from the fact that the vast majority of the words selected for practice are too sophisticated, both phonetically and semantically. Our students have often complained that they find it very difficult to get both the sound and its environment in the word right, thus having no sense of achievement. In their opinion the book concentrates on trap words rather than on actual pronunciation practice. Interestingly, the students' opinions change radically when the order of teaching departs from the chronological, or rather the cardinal suggested by the book. Students who are first exposed to "easier" monophthongs, for instance such as /e/, /ʌ/ or /ɒ/, develop a better attitude to matters of phonetic detail and are later on more willing to tackle *allegiance* or *epitome*.

Of the two opening vowels, it is the short "i" or /ɪ/, where the special needs of the Polish learners, stated in the introduction, seem to have been slightly overlooked.

The presentation of the material does not reflect the fact that increasingly many borrowings from English into Polish contain the sound in question in the donor language. This sound, due to the visual aspect of its graphic representation, loses its original quality and eventually emerges as /i/ in the mouths of Polish speakers. It is only natural that words like: *film, ring, lifting, doping, parking, billing, windows, hit, click, service, drink*, etc. are pronounced in Polish with /i/. However, this adaptation into Polish strikes back when the same words have to be used in English with the original sound, that is /ɪ/. This aspect is not suitably addressed in the book. Consequently, students are made to struggle with *exquisite* or *omniscient*, while they may still stumble over *sit* and *bit*.

The chapter on fricatives concentrates on only four such consonants: /θ/, /ð/ and /s/, /z/, on the grounds that the first two do not occur in Polish and the latter two are articulated in a different place. The choice of dental fricatives is obvious: Polish speakers dislike them and will avoid them at all costs. The book deals with the "th" sounds accurately and in depth. The time and attention devoted to the sound /z/ is justifiable too: it suffers in Polish from final obstruent devoicing and, on top of that, is mostly represented graphically as the letter "s", which Polish speakers interpret phonetically.

It is not at all clear why the English palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ and affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ have been ignored. They are not considered in the book at all, although the difference in the articulation between these sounds and their Polish equivalents is much more audible and striking than the acoustic difference between the English /s/ (which is studied in the book) and the Polish /s/. Very few Polish speakers will of their own accord be able to hear the difference between the initial sounds in the English *some* and the Polish *sam*. They will, however, immediately detect a foreign accent in the palato-alveolar articulation of the fricatives or affricates in words such as: *show, lunch, jogging, DJ* or *HBO*, especially when they are pronounced in this manner in an otherwise Polish context.

The plosives are the largest group of consonants practised in the book. This is so because of the differences in the articulation, the absence of aspiration and dissimilar voicing strategies. All these aspects are carefully and minutely dealt with in the exercises; however, what seems to dominate in each unit is the meticulous attention paid to various types of release. It is not clear why students have to practise processes that are to a large extent present in their native language: *tadny, tnę, kopmy, róbmy* (nasal release), *tlen, dla* (lateral release), *oddać, lekki* (inaudible release). One might argue that the inaudible release in Polish works only in homorganic environments, whereas the English context is wider and, therefore, needs further practice. Interestingly, on close inspection the audio materials show that the various types of release, as presented in the exercises, hardly ever find their realisation in the mouths of the recorded native speakers: the various types of release are by and large inaudible.

The book was first published in 2009, four years after the onset of the new formula of the final exam in secondary schools in 2005. Interestingly enough, the pedagogical approach to the phonetic material as presented in the book goes back to the time preceding the introduction of the changes. In the late 1990's and the

early 2000's the average level of language proficiency of students entering English Studies was much higher than today and as such it clearly shaped the authors' didactic experience. This finds its reflection in the selection of the aspects of phonetic detail and, for the most part, in the choice of the vocabulary to practise. What used to be an undeniable asset only a decade ago may prove to be a major drawback nowadays. When confronted with a number of unintelligible words, students get discouraged and easily lose interest in the practice. As a result, their pronunciation is not getting better.

It is almost certain that in the years to come we cannot expect a significant increase in the language proficiency level of students leaving secondary schools and entering English Studies. If this is really the case, it may happen that many parts of the book reviewed in this paper will become too difficult for an average 1<sup>st</sup> year student of English. These observations are justified also by the fact that the book was used by the authors of the review in three full cycles of teaching, both with day and extramural students. It has become increasingly more evident that, although valuable, the book proves both somewhat insufficient and at the same time slightly too challenging for a good number of students.

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**M. HILPERT, CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR AND ITS APPLICATION  
TO ENGLISH (EDINBURGH TEXTBOOKS ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE),  
EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS, EDINBURGH 2014, 220 pp.**

The approach to language defined as Construction Grammar has been present for over two decades, but until very recently there was no authoritative overview of its theoretical foundations. While Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013 offer such a comprehensive reference work, *Construction Grammar and its Application to English* by Martin Hilpert is intended as an accessible introductory textbook, which presents the main tenets of the theory and demonstrates how it can be applied in various areas of linguistics. The purpose of the volume is twofold: firstly, it introduces the reader to Construction Grammar as a non-transformational, non-modular framework, built on the premise that linguistic knowledge boils down to constructions: form-meaning pairings which can be traced at all levels of language. Secondly, the book applies the theory to the description of various areas of the English language, from morphology to pragmatics, which makes it a potential element of a course on descriptive grammar or linguistics.

The book lends itself well to academic uses: it is clearly structured and engagingly written, in a lively, conversational style. The author frequently addresses the readers, posing questions or anticipating objections, thus making them partners in the exploratory enterprise, but without overwhelming them with too much information. More general conclusions are arrived at gradually, through a number of exhaustively discussed examples and vivid explanatory metaphors. Each chapter finishes with a summary, a list of study questions and detailed guidelines for further reading. For each of them there is also a video lecture available online, which gives a detailed summary of the content and could be used as homework assignment or the basis of an e-learning task.

The book divides into two main sections: chapters 1–5 give the reader “a grand tour of English grammar” (p. 23) as seen from the constructionist perspective, first defining the fundamental notion of constructions (ch. 1), then zooming in on their specific types: argument structure constructions (ch. 2), abstract phrasal and clausal constructions (ch. 3), morphological constructions (ch. 4) and finally information packaging constructions (ch. 5). The second part of the book focuses on the interconnections between CG and various areas of linguistic research, such

as psycholinguistics (ch. 6), language acquisition (ch. 7) or language variation and change (ch. 8).

Chapter 1 explains and motivates the constructional framework. The author argues against the 'dictionary and grammar model', i.e. a clear cut division between lexicon and syntax, demonstrating that language is permeated by expressions of different degrees of idiomticity, which cannot, however, be treated as fixed strings, as they are productive in various ways and have 'slots' sensitive to grammatical distinctions. Such expressions pose a problem for the 'dictionary and grammar model', as they constitute a large grey area between lexicon and syntax. CG proposes instead that all linguistic knowledge can be represented in terms of constructions, defined as "units of linguistic knowledge that pair form with meaning" (p. 2), characterized by formal and/or semantic non-predictability. The chapter subsequently explores practical procedures for the identification of constructions, based on features such as non-compositional meaning, syntactic patterns different from canonical ones, idiosyncratic constraints and collocational preferences.

Chapter 2 shows that the notion of constructions can be effectively applied not only to idiomatic structures, but also to the core of 'normal syntax' – the argument structure. Basic sentence patterns are more than just structural templates: they carry schematic meanings that reflect event types basic to human experience, e.g. the concepts of motion, transfer or causation. Such notions do not arise directly from the individual elements of the structure; on the contrary, often it is the construction that imposes the meaning on the verb, as in the classic example *to sneeze the napkin off the table*, where the meaning of resultant motion derives from the construction rather than the verb itself. To explain how verbs and constructions combine, the author relies on the distinction between syntactic valency and semantic event structure expressed in terms of thematic roles. A particular verb can occur in a construction if the argument structure of the construction and the event structure of the verb match semantically to an extent which allows for the fusing of their respective semantic contents. For instance, the verb *play* can enter the RESULTATIVE construction (as in *John played the piano to pieces*.) since both of them require an agent in subject position.

The chapter examines in more detail selected examples of valency-increasing constructions: the DITRANSITIVE construction (*Sally baked her sister a cake*.), the CAUSED MOTION construction (*The audience laughed Bob off the stage*. ) and the WAY construction (*John elbowed his way across the room*.). Then it moves on to valency-decreasing constructions: the PASSIVE, the IMPERATIVE and the NULL INSTANTIATION, in which an element of the verbs event structure is not overtly expressed (*Chill before serving*.). Finally, the chapter touches on the thorny issue of syntactic alternations: pairs such as active and passive or ditransitive construction and prepositional dative. In the generative paradigm, those are usually accounted for in terms of transformations, but within CG each member of the pair is analyzed as a construction in its own right, as any affinities between the two are believed to be outweighed by the similarities that hold among the realizations of each individual pattern.

Chapter 3, devoted to more general theoretical issues such as the structure of linguistic knowledge and the nature of generalization in language, proves that the CG framework really is “very young, highly diverse, and undergoing rapid development” (p.xi) since there is no consensus among construction grammarians on many of the points discussed. The author carefully navigates those murky waters, relating the diverse opinions clearly yet without too far-reaching simplifications and explicitly indicating which of the opposing views is adopted in the book. The first of those problematic questions is if each and every construction is meaningful or whether some of them have a purely formal import. The author argues for the former view and shows two possible routes of analysis to account for the problematic cases (e.g. highly generic constructions such as subject-predicate, inversion or ellipsis): the ‘schematic’ approach looking for a common semantic core and the ‘prototype’ approach aiming for a network of lower-level constructions linked by family resemblance.

The central part of the chapter examines how speakers’ knowledge of language is organized in the construct-i-con, a network of form-meaning pairs from words and idioms to more generic constructions. Its elements are connected by various types of inheritance links: more specific patterns instantiate more generic ones, but there are also connections at the same level of abstraction, so the construct-i-con is a highly structured network rather than a straightforward hierarchy. Opinions differ as to the exact nature of linguistic knowledge stored in the construct-i-con: does it contain only constructional schemas or does it also comprise some of their specific instantiations? The author sees the construct-i-con as essentially usage-based, i.e. arising from and constantly shaped by the speakers’ experience with language, which results in a certain amount of redundancy – even fully regular forms can be stored in memory in addition to the generalized rules if they are frequent enough in language usage. On the basis of evidence from corpora and psycholinguistic research, primary importance within the model is given to more specific, low-level linguistic generalizations, pertaining to particular constructions. Notions such as syntactic categories or phrase structure rules are not treated as ‘an assembly manual’ for linguistic structures, but rather highly abstract generalizations over repeated instances of usage, whose practical import is limited. As can be seen from the above, CG aims for a theory of language that is empirically plausible, though it may not be the most economical model possible.

Chapter 4 focuses on constructional approach to morphology, recasting morphological processes as morpho-phonological constructions, which resemble syntactic constructions in that they are selective in the choice of their input elements (*runner* but not *\*stander*) and they exhibit coercion effects when speakers stretch the limits of the constructional schema (as in *skypable* or *cut-and-paste-able*). The author gives an overview of selected inflectional and derivational constructions, discussing some of their basic features: productivity determined on the basis of corpus data, non-compositional meaning that they may convey and their paradigmatic organization – the fact that they rely on sets of interconnected lexical elements.

The final part of the chapter demonstrates how the constructivist framework can be used to solve two 'morphological puzzles'. First, the author relates Hay and Plag's (2004) psycholinguistically motivated account of affix ordering in English: the tolerance of particular morphological constructions for complex forms as their bases increases with their parsability; in other words, the more easily a particular form can be analyzed into its components, the more likely it is to accept words that themselves contain other affixes. This regularity results in a usage-based hierarchy of suffixes, reflecting the order in which they occur in particular words (e.g. *relativize* but not *\*generalizive*). As the second problematic case the author explains how the idiosyncratic characteristics of minor compounding processes such as compounds with plural non-heads (*claims department* but not *\*cars factory*) can be accounted for in terms of low-level constructional schemas and sub-part links with other constructions.

Chapter 5 moves in the direction of pragmatics, discussing information packaging constructions: sentence-level constructions which relate discourse-new information to the information already shared by the speakers. The author introduces basic theoretical concepts (based on Lambrecht 1994), such as pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion (roughly corresponding to discourse-old and discourse-new information), the terms topic and focus, and finally the distinction between active, semi-active and inactive referents. The notions are subsequently used to demonstrate that several syntactically similar constructions (e.g. different types of cleft sentences, right- and left-dislocation, topicalisation and nominal extraposition) exhibit functionally motivated differences in information structure. The chapter closes with a pragmatic account of syntactic island constraints: phrase types that cannot be the focus of a wh-question essentially occur in the parts of information packaging constructions that are conventionally associated with presupposed information, and as such they cannot felicitously be questioned.

While chapters 1–5 introduce the basic tenets of CG and exemplify its applications to various areas of the English language, in the final three chapters the emphasis is placed on substantiating the framework with empirical evidence as the author relates psycholinguistic experiments and corpus research that give credence to the notion of constructions. Chapter 6 deals with language processing and reports on a growing body of research on the role of constructions in speech comprehension and production. It argues that hearers rely on constructions in understanding novel linguistic items and in making acceptability judgements. Moreover, in guiding the listeners' interpretation of the whole sentence, the construction seems to play a more pivotal role than the lexical meaning of the verb. Discussing speech production, the author refers, though without too much technical detail, to the statistical methods developed to determine how characteristic a particular lexical item is for a construction (e.g. Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003; Hilpert 2014) and demonstrates that this factor can account for certain phenomena in speech production, such as phonetic reduction effects, syntactic priming and the speakers' ability to complete sentence fragments.

Chapter 7 gives an overview of constructional theory of language acquisition, contrasting it with a more traditional account, based on continuity hypothesis, i.e. the assumption that mental representations of syntactic rules are essentially the same in child language and in adult language. By contrast, CG holds that the acquisition process is item-based: children initially acquire concrete phrases, which very slowly give rise to more abstract schemas. Children build up their construct-i-cons step by step, first forming pivot schemas, mini-constructions with one fixed element and one open slot, and then gradually generalizing over them to form increasingly complex structures. Instead of a language acquisition device, the process relies on several socio-cognitive skills, not specific solely to language learning, such as joint attention, intention reading and pattern recognition. The ‘poverty of stimulus’ argument is countered with empirically attested poverty of output: children are found to be less creative than usually assumed, and the vast majority of novel structures they produce involve a substitution of a single element in a previously heard or produced pattern. It is doubtful then whether they possess adult-like, reliably productive syntactic rules.

Chapter 8 puts forward an account of language variation and change based on corpus research and grounded in well-established work in quantitative sociolinguistics. Constructions are far from fixed; they change across time and from speaker to speaker. They permit variation both in their form and in their meaning, so they are in fact many-to-many mappings: connections between a number of related forms and a number of related meanings. Such variety is a part of the speakers’ knowledge of language. The speakers distinguish not only between variants that are possible and those that are not, but also between the ones that are more and less frequent. The actual occurrence of a particular pattern is probabilistic in nature, as contextual features, ranging from morpho-phonology to discourse factors, make the speakers’ choice of the structure more or less likely. Consequently, quantitative corpus-based methods can effectively be applied to assess the degree of variation and the impact of each individual factor, thus producing a detailed model of a particular construction across geographical or social varieties of contemporary English as well as different stages of its historical development.

The book closes with a short concluding section, offering practical guidelines for readers who wish to continue their acquaintance with CG, namely tips on further reading and on starting out one’s own research projects. This is further facilitated by the fact that throughout the text the author systematically refers the readers to more exhaustive publications, such as for instance the classic works by Goldberg (1995, 2006) or *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar* (Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013), a more specialist-oriented reference work.

The volume is slim and not meant to be comprehensive in its description of English grammar. However, it provides a reasonably full picture of the CG framework, introducing the readers to its principles, scope and methods. What makes the book particularly valuable is the author’s consistency in adopting a usage-based perspective and emphasizing the need for empirical validation of linguistic theories, with clear examples of how this can be achieved in each

particular area of study. In summary, *Construction Grammar and its Application to English* is an informative yet accessible primer, well-documented with up-to-date research. It can safely be recommended both as an introductory text for undergraduate students and as a pleasant read for linguists unfamiliar with the framework.

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