117

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Contents

Spis treści

Introduction

The papers presented in the current volume discuss current problems of theoretical linguistics that are crucial to the development of these fields of science at the beginning of the 21st century.

The first part of the volume is devoted to translation and translator training. This part is a bridge between the articles in the field of applied linguistics that open this monograph, and the more theoretical papers that close it.

The second part of the volume is strictly theoretical, and includes papers in the area of pragmatics, morphology, phonology, and syntax.

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WRITER'S BILINGUALISM AS TRANSLATOR'S CHALLENGE

In literary translation writer's bilingualism may, potentially, cause quite challenging problems when reconstructing the author's text in a language which served as the source of linguistic interference or inspiration. Writer's bilingualism may be discussed from at least two perspectives: unintentional interferences and the conscious introduction of untypical lexical and syntactic elements. Whereas it seems that a translator may largely ignore the former types of influences if they result in grammatical errors and provide correct versions in the target text, the latter may prove more puzzling if bilingualism serves as a tool to create special effects. Such dilemmas associated with various types of linguistic influences stemming from being bilingual, and actually trilingual, may be illustrated by the examples from the works of Joseph Conrad – a Pole who wrote in English, and who learned French as his first foreign language. Translator of Conrad's works into this writer's native language faces the problem of how to deal with the feeling of alienation and/or novelty created by those traces of Polish found in this author's texts.

Conrad's writing has always been regarded as unique by English readers and critics, as testified by numerous reviews of which that concerning *Youth and Other Stories* is typical: "In more ways than one Mr. Conrad is something of a law unto himself, and creates his own forms, as he certainly has created his own methods" (*Athenaeum*, 20 XII 1902, in: Sherry 1973: 137). His writing was both appreciated: "the characters and descriptions are admirable" (J. Payn, *Illustrated London News*, 4 IV 1896, in: Sherry 1973: 66) and his exuberant style criticized: "Mr. Conrad is wordy; his story is not so much told as seen intermittently through a haze of sentences. His style is like river-mist; […] His sentences are not unities, they are multitudinous tandems" (H.G. Wells, *Saturday Review*, 16 V 1896, in: Sherry 1973: 74–75). The feeling of stylistic exoticism was from the onset attributed to his bilingualism: "Perhaps the unfamiliarity is explained by the fact that Mr. Conrad, for all his skilful adoption of our language, is not an Englishman" (*Bookman*, V 1896, in: Sherry 1973: 72). Critics noticed interferences from other languages, initially commenting on such phenomena euphemistically: "Mr. Conrad […] betrays an occasional fondness for the use of most unusual words" (*Glasgow Herald*, 9 XII

1897, in: Sherry 1973: 89), and later more explicitly, emphasizing: "the continual weakness of his grammar" (*Daily Mail*, 12 IV 1898, in: Sherry 1973: 103). The most balanced analysis came from John Galsworthy, who greatly appreciated Conrad's works: "The writing of these ten books is probably the only writing of the last twelve years that will enrich the English language to any great extent. [...] this writer, by the native wealth of his imagery, by a more daring and a subtler use of words, brings something new to the fund of English letters. The faults of style are obvious, the merit is the merit of unconscious, and unforced, and, in a sense, of accidental novelty" (*Fortnightly Review*, 1 IV 1908, in: Sherry 1973: 206). This novelty was frequently the outcome of combining words in a way untypical for the English language or employing phrases originally coming from Polish or French which were perceived as quite fresh by source readers.

Thus, a translator confronts two major groups of interferences: basic errors and syntactic or lexical idiosyncrasies which imbue the texts with a touch of strangeness or novelty. The majority of Conrad's grammatical errors are noticeable by a careful English reader, yet they do not have much effect on the reception of his works. For instance, the mistake in the sentence taken from *Chance*: "Almost at once Fyne **caught me up**," which in correct English would require the prepositional phrase "with me" rather than the direct object (Coleman 1931: 464), is immaterial to the ideological level of the text and does not serve as a specific stylistic device. Thus in Polish translation an adequate phrase is used: "Zaraz potem Fyne mnie dogonił" (*Gra losu* 60),[1] which does not change the interpretation of the story. Similarly, the ungrammatical lack of the expletive "there" in the sentence: "Followed complete silence" exemplifies "Conrad's so-called «elliptical' style» [...] traceable to the Polish" (Coleman 1931: 466), but does not affect the reception. The Polish translation simply eliminates the problem by using a correct structure which may have caused the error in the original: "Potem nastąpiło głuche milczenie" (*Gra losu* 445). Another problematical area of similar nature is the inappropriate use of articles. Generally, Conrad either omitted or confused definite with indefinite articles (Wheeler 1981: 154–155). Such mistakes may be slightly confusing for English readers, but they do not prevent them from understanding what is being said. In Polish versions this issue is absent since such grammatical category does not exist in this language. For instance, in the sentence "Cosmo had **the** time to notice all this", Conrad introduces a definite article where it is superfluous (Wheeler 1981: 154). Naturally, no mistake can be noticed in the translation even if the text was translated literally. The translator makes a minor shift emphasizing that the time was short: "Cosmo **zdążył** [managed/had enough time] to wszystko dostrzec" (*W zawieszeniu* 94).

Analogously, the confusions of the verb tenses are largely absent in the translation. For instance, Present Perfect Tense where Simple Past would be preferable cannot be reconstructed since in Polish such a distinction does not exist. Depending on the context, Present Perfect can be translated either by a present or a past tense.

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[1] All quotations are taken from two editions of Joseph Conrad's collected works specified in bibliography, and are localized by the abbreviated title and relevant page number. In case of translations from *Lord Jim*, the surnames of the translators are provided.

When Conrad employs it instead of the past tense, only one possibility is available, i.e. Polish past tense. This can be exemplified by the sentence from *Suspence*: "But the fearlessness of our seaman **has ceased** to astonish the world long ago" (Wheeler 1981: 155) and its translation: "Ale już od bardzo dawna śmiałość naszych marynarzy **przestała** zadziwiać świat" (*W zawieszeniu* 10). A slightly different problem arises when Simple Past appears instead of Past Perfect in a sequence of events, as exemplified by: "Count Helion, who **went** away very young from his native country and **wandered** in many lands, had amassed a large personal fortune" (Wheeler 1981: 155). As Wheeler notices this sequence requires "had gone" and "had wandered." He fails to add, however, that from a grammatical point of view this utterance is simply illogical implying that Helion became rich before he left home. In the Polish version the meaning is clarified by introducing a structure which links the sequence with respect to time and place: "Hrabia Helion bardzo wcześnie opuścił swą ojczyznę i podróżował po wielu **krajach, gdzie** [many countries where] zgromadził ogromną osobistą fortunę" (*W zawieszeniu* 38). Such and other numerous errors are fascinating to scholars indicating that "Conrad never freed himself from the influence, conscious or unconscious, of his native tongue" (Wheeler 1981: 159). For readers, such mistakes are relatively of less significance than those which create a feeling of novelty with respect to Conrad's writing, and are eliminated in translation.

An area which was perceived as idiosyncratic was Conrad's syntax. It was dominated by postpositioned adjectives, which, depending on the nationality of the scholars, was attributed either to Polish (e.g. Ujejski 1936; Jabłkowska 1961; Najder 1972) or French (e.g. Guerard 1974; Hervouet 1990) influences. Thorough comparative and linguistic investigations yielded a number of features characteristic for Conrad's style, which stemmed from these two languages (e.g. Lucas 2000; Morzinski 1994). Occasionally, the actual source of influence is impossible to determine specifically. Hervouet detects Gallic postpositioning of adjectives in the phrases taken from *Lord Jim*: "in a voice *harsh* and dead" or "in a voice *harsh* and lugubrious" (Hervouet 1990: 71), whereas identical structures are correct grammatically and stylistically in Polish. In the translation such phrases completely lose their touch of strangeness: "Wypowiedział jakąś zawodową uwagę głosem chrapliwym i głuchym" (Zagórska 29) and "Mówiło głosem ochrypłym, ponurym" (Zagórska 46). Consequently, Conradian sentence rhythm cannot be reconstructed by a Polish translator as distinctive or innovative. This also refers to the inadequate placement of adverbs, which can be illustrated by the following sentence: "Nostromo touched **lightly** the doctor's shoulder" (*Nostromo* 251). For the English reader the adverb is unnecessarily stressed and becomes emphatic since it is placed after the verb. In an unmarked sentence it would be in the final position (Nostromo touched the doctor's shoulder lightly). In Polish such marking is unnoticeable, since placing the adverb after the verb is typical, as illustrated by the translation: "Nostromo dotknął lekko ramienia lekarza" (*Nostromo* 280). The Polish version is perfectly natural. In many other examples, structures which can be perceived by the original readers as "odd", especially due to the untypical word order, lose this quality in Polish translation as the structure transfer occurrs from

this language. It is an open question as to what extent marking particular linguistic elements or structures was intended by Conrad. Assuming that we deal with an unconscious transfer of syntax, the achieved emphasis was not meant to be a marked stylistic device. This would lead to the conclusion that reconstructing it in the translation is unnecessary. Yet, the accumulation of linguistic idiosyncrasies differentiates Conrad's prose from that of other English writers of his epoch, as testified by numerous critical comments. Undoubtedly it influences the reception of his works by English-speaking readers, and as such it should not be totally ignored by the translators.

Apart from syntax, the most unconventional effects are caused by idioms or lexical items directly calqued from Polish. They form Conrad's linguistic heritage which crept into his works. But it is also possible that it could be a conscious strategy aimed at enriching the expressiveness of particular excerpts. Undoubtedly, for the source readers such expressions are more vivid than domestic phrases due to their exoticism. This is demonstrated by the idiom "mieć mleko pod nosem," which is used to emphasize a negative attitude to the character's young age. In *The Duel* the colonel, unnerved by his subordinate's behaviour, addresses Lieutenant D'Hubert as follows: "There's some milk yet about that moustache of yours, my boy" (*Duel* 197). The English reader, unfamiliar with this expression, treats it as a new metaphor created for the sake of this story. The Polish text is much more conventional: "Masz jeszcze mleko pod wąsem, mój chłopcze" (*Pojedynek* 212). Moreover, the introduction of further typically Polish phrases masks any traces of exoticism in the translation. The colonel claims: "życie żołnierzy mojego pułku tyle mnie obchodzi **co zeszłoroczny śnieg**" [last year's snow], sending soldiers to death he says: "takie miałbym przy tym skrupuły, jak **przy zabiciu muchy**!" [killing a fly], he differentiates between himself as: "człowiekiem **mojego pokroju**" [of my sort/ilk] and Lieutenant Feraud – "**młokos**" [whelp] (*Pojedynek* 212). The accumulation of lexicalized phrases in the utterance prevents target readers from experiencing surprise as felt by the source readers. In the original, Conrad adds variety to the colonel's speech. He uses a typical English idiom: "I **don't care a rap** for the life of a single man in the regiment", then a modified lexicalized phrase which functions in both languages: "no more compunction than I would **kill a fly**" (harm/hurt a fly), and finally a calqued Polish idiom. Other expressions are unmarked: "a man like me" and "fellow" (*Duel* 196–197), respectively. In Polish version the colonel's idiolect is not distinctive, whereas in the source text it is an idiomatic mixture, adequate to his non-English origin.

An interesting aspect of Conrad's Polishnes (and simultaneously difficult, if not impossible to achieve in translation), is the effect of originality created by assimilating Polish stereotypical phrases into the English language. In his first novel there appears a calque from Polish: "a sheaf of light" – *snop światła*. A typical English collocation is "a beam of light." Although the Polish *snop* can be rendered as both "sheaf" and "beam," these two nouns create different collocations. The former is used for instance in "sheaf of corn" or "sheaf of papers," whereas the latter collocates with light. In Conrad's novel a semantic neologism appears in the description of nature: "Suddenly a great **sheaf of yellow rays shot** upwards from

behind the black curtain of trees lining the banks of the Pantai" (*Almayer's Folly* 70). According to Pulc, Conrad transforms the visual aspects of the agricultural landscape into the symbols of hope and love of Nina and Dain (Pulc 1974: 121). It is difficult to evaluate whether this stylistic effect was conscious, or whether it is an example of the unconscious transfer, considering the period in which the novel was written. At the beginning of his career, when he was still acquiring proficiency in English, Conrad might have confused "sheaf" and "shaft", as in "shaft of light." What is important, however, is the created dialectics between familiarity and foreignness. Pulc classifies this example as an assimilated expression which does not strike the English reader as alien. This opinion seems simplistic. Undoubtedly, this expression is not typical and is bound to be interpreted as a novel metaphor. In fact, it is immaterial whether it originates in Polish, since what is crucial is the effect which draws attention to the uniqueness of the phrase. Unfortunately, in Polish version this quality disappears: "Wielki snop żółtych promieni strzelił nagle zza czarnej zasłony drzew okalających brzegi Pantai" (*Szaleństwo* 117). The semantics and symbolism of Conrad's metaphor are reconstructed, but the image is more stereotypical. *Snop światła/iskier/pary* [sheaf of light/sparkles/steam] are so common that the agricultural background is no longer noticed and the metaphor is dead.

Another example illustrates closer assimilation of the calque within the new language. The expression "the high **sky without a flaw**" (*End of Tether* 243) can be traced to the Polish *niebo bez skazy*. The noun *flaw* generally refers to imperfect material, inadequately operating devices or wrong reasoning. Collocation with sky is untypical. Conrad could have used standard expressions like: "brilliant/clear/cloudless sky," or less frequent and more poetic "spotless/unblemished sky." Also, the adjective "high" does not normally collocate with "sky" (Pulc 1974: 121). Generally in English one would find "spacious sky," whereas a poetical expression *wysoki nieboskłon* [high sky/horizon/firmament] frequently occurs in Polish. Thus a cliché in writer's mother tongue might have sound fresh and new in English. Because Conrad does not use grandiloquent words, the reader does not perceive the phrase as overly poetical, yet he can notice its novelty. Unfortunately, this poetical cliché was translated as: "wyniosłych niebios bez skazy" (*U kresu* 259). Thus, not only does the notion of originality disappear, but also the frugal style is unnecessarily shifted to a more lyrical one.

Unusual, both to the source and target readers, if translated literally, are those expressions in which Conrad introduces lexical shifts, as demonstrated in the comparison "drops of perspiration as big as peas" (*Nostromo* 447). Conrad plays here with the Polish phrase *łzy wielkie jak groch* [tears as big as peas], and adapts it to create an exaggerated description of sweat. The semantic and metaphorical qualities of both comparisons are similar: the drops are big. Concurrently, the created phrase is a new quality in itself. In English "pea" is most frequently used in the lexicalized comparison referring to similarity "like (two) peas in a pod." Thus the reader is taken by surprise by Conrad's comparison, though it is perfectly comprehensible and very imaginative visually. In the translation the phrase is also extraordinary: "krople potu, wielkie jak groch" (*Nostromo* 479). In this case, the substitution of

the noun results in an additional sense as the perspiration may be associated with tears. This is textually justified since the simile appears in the description of Hirsch just before he is tortured and as he sobs during his interrogation. The English reader is unable to create such an association and mental picture of this scene, and can only interpret the phrase as pertaining to the physicality of sweat.

Conrad's fondness of comparisons is also realized by less significant adaptations of Polish lexicalized phrases, as exemplified by the following description: "a long individual […], as dry as a chip and no stouter than a broomstick" (*Lord Jim* 40). In English a typical phrase would be "as dry as a bone," connoting physical dryness. In Conrad's text the emphasis is put on the slim figure of the character, thus a more appropriate colloquialism would have been "as thin as a rake/lath/stick." The author enriches, however, his literary language by drawing from the possibilities offered by his mother tongue. On numerous occasions he employs standard English phrases, yet unusual similes are a characteristic feature of his writing. He constructs the image consistently. Using the adjective "long," which is not normally applied with respect to height, instead of "tall" produces an internally coherent description. "Long" creates a semantic unity with the nouns in comparison: "chip" and "broomstick," with which it collocates naturally. This testifies to a conscious creative activity. Both comparisons have the quality of novelty which partially disappears in translations. Almost all translators employ lexicalized Polish phrases. This prevents reconstructing the creativity in Conrad's language: "długa osobistość […] tak sucha jak drzazga" (Węsławska 40), "długi osobnik […], suchy jak wiór i nie grubszy niż kij od szczotki" (Zagórska 48), "wysoki osobnik […], suchy jak wiór i nie grubszy niż kij od miotły" (Filipczuk 32), "drągal […], suchy jak szczapa, chudy jak kij od miotły" (Kłobukowski 37). Węsławska renders the excerpt literally which initially creates the effect of linguistic exoticism, yet she omits the second part of the sentence. Zagórska retains the untypical "long," yet employing the lexicalized phrase with the noun *wiór* diminishes the level of novelty. Filipczuk loses the original concept by providing three typical phrases. The most interesting solution is that of Kłobukowski, where the colloquial *drągal* [beanpole] referring to a tall person is associated with the second comparison. Stylistically it reconstructs the original description most efficiently; yet, it also lacks the untypical characteristics of Conrad's sentence.

Quoted types of Polonisms do not exhaust all lexical and grammatical influences from the writer's mother tongue which can be traced in his writing. They are just illustrations of some tendencies. Whereas syntactic idiosyncrasies are clearly perceived in Conrad's works, the number of lexical influences is not overwhelming. From the translator's point of view, the most important ones are those expressions which are unambiguously associated with Polish language and employed creatively. These are mainly the metaphors treated by English readers as invented by the writer, original comparisons, unusual collocations and also Polish proverbs. Introduced creatively within the English language, such expressions allow Conrad to avoid familiar clichés and to surprise readers with their freshness. Conrad's wife believed that "some part of his wonderful charm lay in […] his illuminating habit of presenting interesting similes. One had to stop and think, sometimes deeply, how

these similes bore upon the subjects under discussion. The connection would often be remote, but it was always there" (Conrad 1935: 52). Perhaps some of those comparisons were based on Polish expressions, thus being so extraordinary and yet so appropriate, referring to universal concepts expressed by dissimilar lexical means in those two languages. As numerous examples from Polish translations illustrate, many of the expressions which yield surprising effects in the original works lose their uniqueness when re-introduced into the Polish language. After the reversion they become cliché-like again. This, naturally, diminishes the quality and originality of Conrad's language in translation. A similar conclusion may be drawn with respect to syntactic idiosyncrasies, which are normalized in Polish texts. Thus the writer's bilingualism becomes a translator's challenge if the linguistic originality is to be reconstructed so that the effect upon the source and target readers is alike. Frequently, translations are evaluated positively if they "read naturally," that is, if they are domesticated at the level of language. In Conrad's case, the originals occasionally do not sound natural and astonish readers with unexpected solutions. Thus, striving for the most natural solutions in translations masks the linguistic distinctiveness of his writing and often banalizes his language.

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Dwujęzyczność autora wyzwaniem dla tłumacza

Streszczenie

Chociaż dwujęzyczność pisarza rzadko analizowana jest z punktu widzenia tłumacza, zagadnienie to można rozpatrywać biorąc pod uwagę dwie perspektywy: nieintencjonalne interferencje językowe lub świadome wprowadzanie nietypowych elementów leksykalnych i syntaktycznych w tekście oryginalnym. Tłumacz zwykle ignoruje wpływy przypadkowe i stosuje formy poprawne dla języka docelowego. Dużo poważniejsze wyzwanie stanowi sytuacja, gdy pisarz dwujęzyczny wykorzystuje bilingwizm jako narzędzie służące do kreowania specyficznych efektów w tekście literackim. Różnorodne typy interferencji językowej i świadomego korzystania ze znajomości języków obcych zilustrować można przykładami zaczerpniętymi z utworów Josepha Conrada – Polaka, który pisał po angielsku, lecz doskonale władał także francuskim. Tłumacz Conrada zmierzyć się musi z problemem, jakim jest (nie)możliwość rekonstrukcji wrażenia obcości i/lub nowatorstwa językowego tworzonego za pomocą zapożyczeń w tekstach oryginalnych. Sięganie w przekładzie po elementy zaczerpnięte z języka ojczystego pisarza, które w wersji angielskiej zaskakiwały czytelników swą niezwykłością, może potencjalnie prowadzić do zubożenia tekstów o jakości artystyczne i estetyczne charakterystyczne dla utworów oryginalnych i zamienić elementy twórcze w banały. Niniejsza analiza obejmuje wybrane przykłady, które można zaklasyfikować jako wpływy z języka polskiego lub francuskiego w utworach Conrada. Omówiona jest ich funkcja w danych tekstach oraz porównane są one z polskimi przekładami pod kątem recepcji przez czytelników angielskich i polskich.

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READER'S RESPONSE AS A SURVEY-BASED TOOL FOR TRANSLATION QUALITY ASSESSMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR TRANSLATOR TRAINING

Introduction

Translation as a product is an intellectual output and as such it avoids straight-forward evaluation (Samuelsson-Brown 2006: 42). A frequently asked question among translators and particularly translator trainees arising from their direct work with texts in translation concerns the concept of 'good translation' (House 2001: 243). The paper addresses the issue of translation quality assessment (TQA), focusing on quality and assessment in the translation classroom. It investigates the technique of reader's response, drawing data from empirical research. The paper discusses the results of the conducted questionnaire, answering the following questions: What is the popular perception of a 'good' translation? Why are some translations assessed as more successful? What is the assumed translator's role? If, and how does the knowledge that a text is a translation affect its assessment? Can any significant differences be detected between assessment carried out by the different respondent groups? How effective is reader's response as a translation assessment method? Can it be utilized in translator training?

Translation quality and reader's response

The growing preoccupation with translation quality assessment can be aptly illustrated by tracing the treatment of the terms *TQA*, *quality, assessment*, *evaluation* or *ocena jakości* in standard TS reference works (Dybiec 2011a: 52). Neglected in older works (with the exception of *Routledge Encyclopedia of TS* 1998/2011), they enter the lists of newer publications. For instance, *ocena jakości* was added in the latest, reworked and expanded edition of the Polish classic *Mała Encyklopedia Przekładoznawstwa* (*Small Encyclopaedia of TS*), now entitled accordingly *Nowa Encyklopedia Przekładoznawstwa* (*New Encyclopaedia of TS*) (2010).

Although the scholarly literature on the subject steadily grows (e.g. Nord 2006; Hansen 2008; Bartłomiejczyk 2010; Hejwowski 2010; Angelelli and Jacobson 2009), still much remains to be done in the context of translator training that is the subject of this article. The interest in TQA seems to correspond with and reflect on the market realities and resulting changes, called "«technicalization» tendencies

in the perception of translator's profession and competences" (Piotrowska 2007: 10; tr. JD-G). Individual translators and translation agencies are now frequently referred to as translation service providers or TSPs (cf. EN 15038: 2006). Translation service provision is also perceived as the central and controlling competence of professional translators by the expert group of European Master's in Translation programme (Gambier 2010).

With the focus shifting away from aspects of individual and artisan-like work to the functioning of translators and translations in the communicative contexts of professional and business milieus, the concept of reader's response is worth revisiting. The notion has played a prominent role in translation history and modern translation theory. It underlies numerous theoretical dichotomies based on the way translations represent their source texts, eg. Nida's classical distinction between formal and dynamic equivalence or Toury's between adequate and acceptable translations (1980, 1995). Both dynamic equivalence (i.e. activating the same or similar cultural function as the source text) and acceptable translation (in terms of the norms of the source culture) presuppose reference to readers' opinion. Defined as "the reaction of a reader to a particular text" which is "considered a measurement of the success of translation" (Sin Wai 2004: 189), the concept refers to potential end users and can help to establish current preferences in the reception of translations.

Questionnaire design

The survey-based research was designed to evaluate and measure the success of a number of translation solutions of a chosen English source text with the translation unit set at a sentence level. Referring to recommendations with respect to "construct-ing quality" (Moser-Mercer 2008), no particular concept of translation quality was imposed. The respondents as potential end users took the role of assessing subjects and their criteria of quality were followed. The questionnaire consisted of two sheets: A and B, both featuring the same set of seven sentences to assess. While Sheet A was monolingual, asking to evaluate the units "as most humorous continuations" of a given passage, Sheet B, distributed upon the completion of the first one, was bilingual, asking to evaluate the same sentences "as best translations" of a provided ST unit. The measuring scale corresponded to a conventional grading system used at Polish schools, with 5 as the highest and 2 as the lowest mark. Apart from evaluating the sentences, the respondents were asked to provide brief justifications of their evaluation for two lowest and highest marks (see the Questionnaire in Appendix at the end of the paper.)

Material: selection criteria and characteristic features

Since the aim of the project was to examine reader's response technique in the group of average, i.e. non-specialized end users, a non-LSP text was chosen for the analysis. Further, the technique was to be tested as a tool potentially facilitating translator's decisions, thus the unit for the analysis had to involve a translation problem the solutions for which were not straightforward. The unit was excerpted from Mark Twain's Polish translation of *The Innocents Abroad* (*Prostaczkowie za*

granicą, tr. A. Keyha 1992), i.e. the genre of travel writing, representing an example of the less "literary" pole of literature. Following a critical reading within the framework of what has been named *strategic analysis* (Dybiec-Gajer 2011), the chosen target text (TT) sentence was pre-selected in a monolingual reading of the Polish text because of its unclarity.

TT: Miejsca w sam raz na dwóch, by nie gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce, <u>choć z beczką byłyby już problemy</u>. (Sentence 6 in Appendix)

lit: There was just enough room for the two of us so as not to be squeezed together like herrings in a barrel, but there would be problems with the/a [?] barrel.

gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce (idiom) – be squeezed together like sardines (Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary)

The unclarity results from the extension of a standard idiomatic expression by the underlined phrase which implies, yet does not specify some potential problem with the barrel. Should the second barrel be fitted in the barrel mentioned in the main clause, it would be difficult to find the reason for such action. The comparison of the presented unit with the source text (ST) enabled an easy disambiguation:

ST: Notwithstanding all this furniture, there was still room to turn around in, but not to swing a cat in, at least with entire security to the cat.

The chosen sentence could be thus classified as both a reflection of a translation problem and a translation that needs improvement. The translation problem in question involves rendition of an element intended to be humorous, with the effect achieved by the use of an idiomatic expression and its modification based on a literal reading of the expression.

In a practical translation class[1], the example was discussed in detail. Having defined the humorous effect as the main function or translation dominant of the source text (ST) sentence, the group, working in teams, rendered the ST into Polish. Six of such renderings were used in the questionnaire which final version consisted thus of six student renditions and one professional translation.

The TTs used in the questionnaire can be classified in terms of humour rendition and techniques applied. As for the former, we are not concerned here with assessment of the humorous effect achieved in translation but we are interested in whether the translator has at least attempted to render it (= some humour) or not (= no humour).

TT 1: Pomijając owe meble, było tam wystarczająco dużo miejsca by wykonać obrót, lecz na przewrót już sposobności nie było.

play on words ('obrót'/'przewrót') → some humour;

TT 2: Pomimo tych wszystkich mebli, w pokoju wciąż można było się poruszać, jednak nie na tyle swobodnie, by nie ryzykować przy tym uszczerbku na zdrowiu.

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[1] The group consisted of 2nd-year students of M.A. translation specialization at the Pedagogical University of Cracow (2009/10).

levelling + register change (no play on words, formal vocabulary 'uszczerbek na zdrowiu') → no humour;

TT 3: Było tam wystarczająco dużo miejsca, aby się swobodnie obrócić, jednakże niemożliwym byłoby dokwaterować tam chociażby kota, bez uszczerbku na jego zdrowiu.

literal translation + unusual collocations ('dokwaterować kota', 'uszczerbek na zdrowiu [kota]') → some humour;

TT 4: Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, by nie gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce, choć więcej śledzi by już nie weszło.

modification of a standard idiomatic expression ('gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce') → some humour;

TT 5: Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, żeby się obrócić w koło, choć można było odnieść wrażenie, że nie da się już wcisnąć nawet szpilki, przynajmniej nie bez szkody dla któregoś z nas.

modification of a standard idiomatic expression ('wcisnąć szpilkę') → some humour;

TT 6: Miejsca w sam raz na dwóch, by nie gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce, choć z beczką byłyby już problemy.

modification of a standard idiomatic expression (the same idiom as in TT 4) → some humour

TT 7: Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, żeby się obrócić w koło, ale nie żeby wcisnąć jeszcze kota, jak mawiają moi rodacy.

literal translation of the idiom, omission of the idiom's extension + explication ('jak mawiają moi rodacy') → no humour

It is relevant to pay more attention to the last item, which, as the only rendition includes a translator's addition (lit.: 'as my compatriots say'):

Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, żeby się obrócić w koło, ale nie żeby wcisnąć jeszcze kota, <u>jak mawiają moi rodacy</u>. (Sentence 7 in Appendix)

lit.: Despite all the furniture, there was enough room to turn around, but not to swing a cat in as my compatriots say.

In this way the source language (SL) cultural element in the form of literal rendering with contextualizing explanation is introduced into the target language (TL) culture, thus illustrating a foreignizing translation technique, which also marks the translator's presence in the text.

Respondent groups

Polish target texts were evaluated separately by the three groups of native speakers: students of sociology (SG, 30 people), students of English studies (EG,

20 people; both groups in the 1st year of their M.A. programmes)[2], and academics from the field of English studies (AG, 10 people). In total sixty respondents returned the completed questionnaires. Sociology students were considered to represent the potential average readers of the selected text, while academics and – to a smaller extent – translator trainees were regarded as representatives of professional and semi-professional reader groups.

Results

   The evaluation of the questionnaire answers was carried out both in quantitative terms on the basis of the marks awarded by the respondents and in qualitative terms on the basis of the comments provided. The comments of the sociology students were the least numerous, the most brief and often very general, whereas those of the English students the most numerous and the most extensive of the three groups. Academics provided few comments which were however usually more informative and professional than others. The concept of translation quality emerging from the comments of the sociology students centres on exactness, faithfulness, literalism and adequacy, it reflects thus the general tenets of equivalence theories. Furthermore, it favours solutions that are comprehensible and anchored in the target language and culture, thus favouring domestication. Finally, brevity and clarity of expression seem to be appreciated. The students of English, on the other hand, tend to perceive a good translation as faithful but not literal, achieving similar effect with similar means, thus their concept of a successful translation corresponds with the theories of functional equivalence. Likewise, they favour domestication. They also express criticism of a marked translator's presence. Most characteristically, they seem to be more form-oriented, stressing in their comments creativity and ingenuity of translation solutions. Scanty comments of AG do not allow a fuller reconstruction of the perception of a translation concept, yet literal translation attracts criticism in this group, with one respondent calling "a literal rendition of an idiom […] a translator's failure."

   The directly expressed opinions are generally reflected in the values attributed to TTs. The sentence most appreciated by sociology students in both categories (as unmarked and marked translation) was TT 3 followed by TT 5 in A and TT 2 in B. Interestingly, similar results were obtained in the group of academics, with TT 5 and TT 3 scoring highest but changing places in A and B, while the answers provided by the students of English differed the most.

   The high scores of TT 6 and particularly of TT 1 in the last column seem to confirm that the students of English favoured what was in their view creative solutions, even if they affected the logic of the utterance. Probably the most routine procedure for rendering of the considered translation problem would be replacing the standard ST idiom with a corresponding standard TT idiom, which

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   [2] The participating sociology students came from the AGH University of Science and Technology in Cracow, whereas the English students from the Pedagogical University of Cracow. The academic teachers who consented to fill out the questionnaires are the staff of the English Philology of the latter university.

was indeed the case in three translations (TTs 4–6). Rather than following such a standard translation procedure, the translators of TT 1 offered a play on words ('obrót'/'przewrót', 'turn'/'somersault'). Yet this pun fails to evoke the notion of lack of room with such immediacy as idioms under consideration. As for the style and creativity, one of AG respondents called the pun "crude" and this negative opinion was confirmed by the results in the group of academics, with TT 1 as the lowest ranking sentence (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 1. A and B: 3 highest ranking sentences

Students of sociology SG		Academics (English studies) AG		Students of English EG	
A	B	A	B	A	B
3 (3.75)	3 (3.38)	5 (3.77)	3 (3.87)	6 (3.91)	1 (3.97)
5 (3.31)	2 (3.14)	3 (3.44)	5 (3.66)	1 (3.75)	5 (3.82)
1 (3.29)	5 (3.07)	2 (3.22)	2 (3.66)	4 (3.58)	4 (3.76)

Fig. 2. A and B: 3 lowest ranking sentences

Students of sociology		Academics (English studies)		Students of English	
A	B	A	B	A	B
7 (2.51)	6 (2.69)	1 (2.77)	7 (2.66)	7 (2.43)	3 (2.92)
4 (3.06)	4 (2.70)	6,7 (2.88)	1 (2.77)	3 (2.95)	7 (3.12)
2 (3.11)	1 (2.82)	4 (3.11)	6 (3.11)	2 (3.37)	2 (3.20)

With regard to the sentences with the lowest scores, sentence 7 appears three times. It also attracted the highest number of comments in all groups. The expression "jak mawiają moi rodacy" ("as my compatriots say") caused confusion as readers often identified themselves with the narrator's assumed Polish perspective and criticised the sentence ("does not make sense") because they could not identify the existence of such an idiom in the Polish language. Interestingly, the criticism became milder (groups SG and EG) when the respondents learnt that TT 7 was a translation (see Fig. 4). Yet, the comments in EG and SG remained largely critical because the translation used a calque and the added explanation was considered "crude." Most negative assessment of TT 7 as translation was found in AG responses.

The most striking finding was that the knowledge of whether a sentence was a translation did not significantly affect the assessment (see Fig. 3 and top scores in Fig. 1).

Fig. 3. Average scores for all sentences (1–7)

Students of sociology		Academics (English studies)		Students of English	
A	B	A	B	A	B
3.17	3.04	3.15	3.26	3.35	3.44

Finally, Figure 4 shows the scores for the professional translation (Sentence 6) and what proved the most controversial technique (Sentence 7). With the exception of AG, the former received lower scores as translation in students' ranking. This might be related to the popular (mis)conception of faithfulness as some students commented on what they perceived as incongruity: the presence of a cat in the English ST and a herring in the Polish TT.

Fig. 4. Scores for sentences 6 and 7

Students of sociology		Academics (English studies)		Students of English	
A	B	A	B	A	B
Sentence 6 (total average: 3.19)					
3.21	2.69	2.88	3.11	3.91	3.36
Sentence 7 (total average: 2.77)					
2.51	3.04	2.88	2.66	2.43	3.12

Translation assessment and reader's response – practical application in the translation classroom

A number of students of English, all of them from translation specialization, were actively involved in the conducted research in various roles: as translation critics, translators, revisers and assessors. Firstly, one group in an introductory translation course discussed the chosen translation issues comparing M. Twain's *The Innocents Abroad* and A. Keyha's rendering *Prostaczkowie za granicą.* Then, they prepared their own translations, some of which were used in the questionnaire. Secondly, two other groups completed the questionnaire. All students had the opportunity to discuss the study results in class.

Here, the context of translation assessment moved to the central stage. Students became active participants of the pedagogical process not only as text producers. Using the reader's response technique, they had an opportunity to assess the translations, compare their own evaluations with others and discuss the parameters of the translations that were appreciated or criticized by other readers. Such activities focus on raising students' awareness of translation reception, risks involved in particular translation techniques and popular perception of a successful translation. They also help to develop some aspects of the postulated translation provision competence mentioned at the beginning of the article. This competence, as drafted in the EMT expert group materials, includes such assessment and quality-related issues as "knowing how to self-evaluate," "being concerned with quality," "knowing the standards applicable to the provision of a translation service" or "knowing how to establish and monitor quality standards" (EMT: 4–5).

Shortcomings of the questionnaire and reader's response

The conducted survey-based research, which could be treated as a pilot study, showed some shortcomings of the questionnaire. Firstly, discriminatory

power of some TTs proved rather low as individual sentences combined a number of translation techniques and linguistic issues. For instance, the most successful rendition, TT 3, used a literal translation method, yet compensated for the literalism by non-standard collocations. Such combinations made both the respondent's assessment and researcher's analysis more difficult. For research purposes, one might consider using more straightforward TTs so that one assessment unit would represent one variable. On the other hand, the TTs assessed involved the use of authentic material and illustrated well the complexity of issues that are reflected in a translation product. Secondly, a greater respondent group size would make the study more representative. Finally, the conducted analysis showed that some comments and evaluations were contradictory. For instance, some respondents assigned high marks to TT 5 due to its "absurd sense of humour" while others considered it "unrealistic" because "no place could be so cramped that one could not stick in a pin there." Readers' responses, particularly to the issues involving perception of humour and reception of stylistic features, are bound to remain individual. Yet, certain tendencies in preferences can be detected. Furthermore, the discussion on the chosen comments and controversies can be profitable in the translation classroom to sensitize future translators to the issues involved in translation reception.

Conclusions

Despite some limitations, the results of the questionnaire utilizing the readers' response enable us to formulate a number of tentative hypotheses about the perception of the quality of translated popular literary texts. Most importantly, translations appear to be read in the first place as texts, thus their quality seems to be measured by the standards that are expected of written texts in general. In popular perception, as demonstrated in the responses of sociology students, a "good" translation is a well-written text, with comprehensibility and reader friendliness as one of the main factors. The expected ST – TT relation is that of faithfulness which reflects an underlying equivalence theory, yet the provided contradictory comments demonstrate unclarity about how and at what level equivalence should be achieved – the favoured type of translation seems to involve considerable literalness. A somewhat different view on translation quality was represented by the translator trainees who were able to be more specific about equivalence, referring to the notion of functional equivalence. What is more, they seemed to favour creativity and ingenuity of translation solutions, sometimes at the cost of logic. Interestingly, all respondent groups assigned the lowest marks to the most foreignizing rendition which would suggest that invisibility remains to be expected of translators. The reader's response technique, despite its weaknesses, allows an insight into the perception of the concept of translation quality and suggests what readers appreciate. It can be a useful and inspiring technique in the translation classroom.

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Appendix – the questionnaire

The questionnaire was conducted in Polish, the English translation is provided in brackets. The sentences (1–7) are translated literally and, where necessary, annotated to make philological analysis possible.

A

Które ze zdań (1–7), będących kontynuacją wytłuszczonego fragmentu, jest najdowcipniejszym opisem panującej w kabinie ciasnoty. Wpisz obok każdego zdania oznaczenia od 2 do 5 (2 – najmniej dowcipne, 5 – najbardziej dowcipne). Proszę o krótkie uzasadnienie dwóch najwyższych i najniższych ocen.

[Which of the sentences 1–7, which are a continuation of the passage in bold, are the most humorous description of the cramped space of the cabin. Mark sentences on a scale from 2 to 5 (2 – least funny, 5 – most funny). Please justify briefly two highest and two lowest marks.]

Kajuta miała dwie koje, lampkę nocną, sanitariat z umywalką oraz wygodnie wyścieloną skrzynię, która służyła nam za sofę i schowek na rzeczy osobiste.

B

Które ze zdań (1–7), będących kontynuacją wytłuszczonego fragmentu, jest najlepszym tłumaczeniem angielskiego oryginału. Wpisz obok każdego tłumaczenia oznaczenia od 2 do 5 (5 – najlepsza ocena). Proszę o krótkie uzasadnienie dwóch najwyższych i najniższych ocen.

[Which of the sentences 1–7, which are a continuation of the passage in bold, are the best translation of the English original. Mark sentences on a scale from 2 to 5 (5 – highest mark). Please justify briefly two highest and two lowest marks.]

PL: Kajuta miała dwie koje, lampkę nocną, sanitariat z umywalką oraz wygodnie wyścieloną skrzynię, która służyła nam za sofę i schowek na rzeczy osobiste.

ENG: Notwithstanding all this furniture, there was still room to turn around in, but not to swing a cat in, at least with entire security to the cat.

Wyjaśnienie: no room to swing a cat (*także* **(there's) not enough room to ~ a cat**) nie ma się jak obrócić (= *jest bardzo ciasno*);

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1. Pomijając owe meble, było tam wystarczająco dużo miejsca by wykonać obrót, lecz na przewrót już sposobności nie było. [Despite all the furniture, there was enough room to do a turn but there was no chance of doing a somersault.]

2. Pomimo tych wszystkich mebli, w pokoju wciąż można było się poruszać, jednak nie na tyle swobodnie, by nie ryzykować przy tym uszczerbku na zdrowiu. [Despite all the furniture one could move about in the room, but not freely enough as not to risk grievous bodily harm.]

3. Było tam wystarczająco dużo miejsca, aby się swobodnie obrócić, jednakże niemożliwym byłoby dokwaterować tam chociażby kota, bez uszczerbku na jego zdrowiu. [There was enough room to turn around, however it would be impossible to put up even a cat there without risking its grievous bodily harm.]

4. Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, by nie gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce, choć więcej śledzi by już nie weszło. [Despite all the furniture, there was enough room not to be squeezed together like herrings in a barrel (idiom), but more herrings would not fit inside.]

5. Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, żeby się obrócić w koło, choć można było odnieść wrażenie, że nie da się już wcisnąć nawet szpilki, przynajmniej nie bez szkody dla któregoś z nas. [Despite all the furniture, there was enough room to turn around, but one could feel that it would not be possible to stick in a pin (idiom), at least not without doing harm to one of us.]

6. Miejsca w sam raz na dwóch, by nie gnieść się jak śledzie w beczce, choć z beczką byłyby już problemy. [There was just enough room for the two of us so as not to be squeezed together like herrings in a barrel (idiom), but there would be problems with the/a [?] barrel.]

7. Mimo tych wszystkich mebli miejsca było dość, żeby się obrócić w koło, ale nie żeby wcisnąć jeszcze kota, jak mawiają moi rodacy. [Despite all the furniture, there was enough room to turn around, but not to swing a cat in, as my compatriots say.]

Reakcja czytelnicza jako narzędzie badawcze do oceny jakości tłumaczenia i jej wpływ na kształcenie tłumaczy

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest analizie możliwości zastosowania metody badania reakcji czytelniczej (*reader's response*) do oceny jakości tłumaczenia i wykorzystania tej metody w kontekście dydaktyki przekładu. Główne pytania badawcze dotyczą preferencji czytelników oraz ich koncepcji pojęcia „dobrego przekładu". Bazę materiałową stanowią dane zebrane w dwuetapowym badaniu ankietowym obejmującym trzy grupy respondentów: studentów socjologii, studentów filologii angielskiej i pracowników naukowych filologii angielskiej; w sumie ankiety wypełniło sześćdziesiąt osób. Ocenie podlegało siedem polskich przekładów wybranej jednostki tłumaczeniowej na poziomie zdania, w której występował problem tłumaczeniowy (humor). Wyniki badań pokazują, że tłumaczenie było oceniane przede wszystkim jako

samoistny tekst w języku docelowym – znajomość tekstu wyjściowego nie wpływała znacząco na opinie o tłumaczeniu. Wszystkie grupy respondentów najniżej oceniły egzotyzujące rozwiązanie problemu tłumaczeniowego, które niejako demaskowało tekst jako tłumaczenie. Wyłaniająca się z badań koncepcja udanego przekładu to idiomatyczny tekst w języku docelowym, nieujawniający obecność tłumacza. W przeprowadzenie badań zaangażowane były różne grupy studentów przekładoznawstwa, nie tylko jako respondenci, ale również jako autorzy większości ocenianych przekładów. Pomimo ograniczeń metoda badania reakcji czytelniczej z czynnym udziałem studentów może być inspirującą techniką dydaktyczną, uwrażliwiającą na różne aspekty recepcji tłumaczenia.

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SYNTACTIC REALISATIONS OF PRESENTATION ON THE SCENE IN FICTION NARRATIVE

Introduction

The theory of functional sentence perspective (hereafter abbreviated FSP) as aptly elaborated above all by Jan Firbas (summarised in Firbas 1992) seems to have vindicated its legitimate place in the area of functional linguistics. It has been an integral and recognised part of the research into the theories of information structure.

Following late Firbasian tradition, the author's research into the area of the theory of FSP has recently dealt with the role of the English verb operating in the sentences implementing the so-called Presentation Scale (Adam 2009, 2010). The present paper offers an FSP analysis of the sentences implementing the Presentation Scale excerpted from C.S. Lewis' novel *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (abbreviated "N" in the corpus data). The corpus consists of ca 40,000 words and their FSP analyses. Based on what has been said above, the key research objectives may be formulated as follows: (1) the syntactic typology of Pr-scale sentences, and (2) the semantic character of the English verb functioning within the Presentation Scale (henceforward Pr-verb).

The theory of FSP

Combining the approaches adopted by both structuralist and functionalist linguistics, the theory of FSP draws on the findings presented by the scholars of the Prague Circle. The founder of FSP himself – Jan Firbas – drew on the findings of his predecessor, Vilém Mathesius. As early as in 1911, Mathesius had noticed the language universal of every utterance having a theme (topic) and a rheme (focus/comment), and formulated the basic principles of what was to be labelled FSP later on.

In Firbas's view, sentence is the field of semantic and syntactic relations that in its turn provides a distributional field of degrees of communicative dynamism (CD); Firbas defines a degree of CD as "the extent to which the element contributes towards the development of the communication" (Firbas 1964: 270). The most prominent part of information is the high point of the message, i.e. the most dynamic element; other elements of the sentence are less dynamic (have a lower

degree of CD). The degrees of CD are determined by the interplay of the three FSP factors: linear modification, context and semantic structure (Firbas 1992: 14–16). In spoken language, the interplay of these factors is joined by intonation, i.e. the prosodic factor. It is the continuum of the degrees of CD along with the interplay of the basic FSP factors that make FSP specific within the field of text linguistics.

The phenomenon of presentation

The idea of presentation of a phenomenon on the scene seems to be at the core of human existence and communication. To make use of Mathesius' ideas, it is possible to claim that first one has to present a phenomenon to be able to say something about it. According to Mathesius' studies on the Czech word order, the theme of a sentence represented the point of departure, i.e. what is being talked about, while the rheme was connected with the core of the message, i.e. what is being said about the theme (Mathesius 1975: 91–92). Thus, though usually infrequent, the sentences presenting somebody/something on the scene are obviously vital for further information conveyed by the rest of the text.

As early as during the initial stages of his FSP research, Firbas came up with the idea of the so-called dynamic semantic scales that are implemented in sentences (thoroughly treated in Firbas 1992: 109–110). In the framework of FSP every sentence implements one of the dynamic semantic scales: Presentation Scale (Pr-Scale) or Quality Scale (Q-Scale) respectively, which functionally reflect the distribution of communicative dynamism and operate irrespective of word order. It occurs that the phenomenon of presentation, which is under investigation in this paper, is projected into the so-called Presentation Scale. The Presentation Scale includes three basic dynamic semantic functions. Firstly, every act of communication is set by the scene (the dynamic semantic function «DSF» of a Setting; abbreviated as Set) of the action, i.e. typically temporal and spatial items of when and where the action takes place. Secondly, the existence or appearance on the scene is typically conveyed by a verb (Presentation of Phenomenon; Pr) and, thirdly, the major, most dynamic element (Phenomenon; Ph) is literally ushered onto the scene. Cf. a prototypical sentence implementing the Presentation Scale in its interpretative arrangement, i.e. from the least to the most dynamic elements (the Phenomenon is in bold and the Pr-verb is underlined):

(1) *And now* (Set) ***a very curious thing*** (Ph) *happened* (Pr). (N 70)

Setting	Presentation of Phenomenon	Phenomenon Presented
(Set)	(Pr)	(Ph)
theme	transition	rheme
And now	*happened*	***a very curious thing***

In the framework of the Firbasian theory of FSP the English verb prototypically tends to be the mediator (i.e. transition) between the theme and the rheme (cf., e.g. Firbas 1992: 59–60 and Adam 2009: 92–94). However, from the point of view of static semantics, verbs represent the main organising elements in the formation

of the sentence. The verb operating in Pr-Scale sentences (Pr-verb) presents something new on the scene; Firbas claims that it does so "if it expresses the existence or appearance on the scene with explicitness or sufficient implicitness" (Firbas 1992: 59–60; 1995: 59). Prototypically, these are verbs such as *come, appear, occur, turn up* and the like. The point is that also other types of verbs are apparently capable of expressing the existence or appearance even if they do not convey the meaning of appearance in a straightforward manner; in other words, they do so with sufficient implicitness.

Syntactic-semantic classification of Pr-sentences

Within the corpus (ca 40,000 words), there are 3067 basic distributional fields, which are technically counted as finite clauses; non-finite clauses are regarded as separate communicative units within the basic distributional fields. Out of all fields in the corpus, 247 instances of sentences that implement the Presentation Scale were identified, which represents 8,05%. Though seemingly low, it is possible to claim that the number of Pr-scale occurrences is – in comparison with other texts – still relatively high. For example, in other fiction narrative texts under scrutiny, in terms of FSP the incidence of sentences implementing the Pr-Scale is usually about 5–7% (see the results published in Adam 2010).

The corpus data were processed in terms of different syntactic subtypes (cf. Adam 2010 and Dušková 1998, 2008) and, as a result, four separate syntactic patterns were identified and labelled as Subtypes 1–4 (see below).

Subtype 1: Existential construction

By far the most frequent subtype of Pr-Scale sentences is definitely represented by the existential construction (64%). The existential *there*-clauses represent a somewhat specific phenomenon in the area of FSP interpretation. Firbas speaks of "permanent obviousness" (permanent presence) of the *there*-constructions in the immediately relevant context (Firbas 1992: 24). He argues that this construction, "though semantically very weak, is not totally stripped of all meaning, [...] and acts as an indicator of a scene expressed by a genuine adverbial of place" (Firbas 1992: 24). It means that the existential construction explicitly indicates existential predication, which is a constitutional component of the syntactic-semantic structure of the Presentation Scale (cf. Dušková 2008). Consequently, the existential *there* is invariably assigned the Set-function and is entirely context-dependent.

It is also worth mentioning that the existential *there*-clauses are specific in their linear modification, i.e. word order arrangement: unlike most sentences that implement the Pr-scale, in the existential clauses the notional subject is invariably postponed towards the end of the sentence. In other words, the Phenomenon is not presented in the initial part of the sentence, but on the contrary, it actually represents the culmination peak of the information structure; the English grammatical principle requiring the SVO wording is thus overridden by the linear modification FSP factor.

(2) <u>There'll be</u> **hawks**. (N9c)

(3) <u>There's</u> **a wireless and lots of books**. (N10a)

In example (2), for instance, the notional subject (*hawks*) is context-independent and conveys the information towards which the communication is perspectived. Thus, it carries the highest degree of CD and performs the Ph-function. The verbal element is then transitional and mediates between the theme and the non-theme. Variably, the classical *there+be* construction may be realised as *there*+verb other than *be*:

(4) *Instantly* <u>there appeared</u> **a round box, tied with green silk ribbon** […] (N38c)

(5) *Out of the hair* <u>there stuck</u> **two horns**. (N13c)

Among other things, the corpus findings show that a relatively large number of existential contractions manifest the use of a negative element, such as *no, not, nothing, none, never,* etc. It seems that the frequent occurrence of negation in existential constructions has to do with the presentation of something new on the scene, even if in such cases it concerns rather a non-existent element:

(6) *But there's never been any of your race here before.* (N82a)

(7) *And of course there was no chance of going back to get it now.* (N91a)

Subtype 2: Rhematic subject in preverbal position

The second most recurring subtype of the Pr-Scale sentence pattern may be described as that with a rhematic subject in initial, preverbal position (22%); it is undoubtedly the prototypical, "canonical" type connected with the Presentation Scale. The initial sentence element in it is typically represented by a context-independent subject, which is only then followed (in concord with the requirements of the English word order principles) by the verb, which expresses existence or appearance on the scene. The sentence may be also opened with a scene-setting temporal or spatial thematic adverbial.

(8) *And now* **a very curious thing** <u>*happened*</u>. (N70)

(9) **A slow cruel smile** <u>came over</u> *the Witch's face.* (N99b)

Obviously, the word order of this subtype actually violates the end-focus principle observed in English. If fully implemented, linear modification induces the sentence elements to manifest a gradual rise in CD in the direction from the beginning to the end of the sentence. It should be recalled at this point that while e.g. in Czech language the FSP linearity principle represents the leading power governing the syntax of sentences (i.e. the further an element is in the sentence the more prominence it carries), in English the prominent word order principle is the grammatical one. The English sentence has to satisfy the requirements of ordering the individual sentence elements in accordance with their syntactic functions.

A special subcategory is then represented by the sentences in which the verb of appearance manifests itself in a passive form, such as in:

(10) *Just below them* **a dam** <u>had been built</u> across this river. (N71)

(11) **Word** <u>*has been sent*</u> **that you are to meet him**. (N81b)

Passive constructions follow the same pattern of a context-independent subject and a Pr-verb; the scene is prototypically set by an adverbial. The primary reason for the use of passive in these sentences is obviously the vagueness of the agent. It seems that the passive construction within Pr-Scale sentences enables certain detachment from the agent of the action and allows for the grammatical subject to be highlighted. Such Pr-verbs usually come from the lexical field of so--called *verba efficiendi* (i.e. verbs of production) – such as build or make; the result of the action is a particular production (cf. Firbas 1992: 62–63).

Subtype 3: Fronted adverbial and S–V inversion

In this subtype, an adverbial is fronted and the subject is highlighted through the principle of end-focus (NB: unlike Subtype 2); as a result, subject-verb inversion takes place. The subject is, of course, context-independent and the verb fulfils the role of presentation on the scene. Such presentation constructions are usually used in literary style and, therefore, their incidence in the corpus is relatively high (13%).

(12) *And next to Aslan <u>stood</u> **two leopards of whom one carried his crown and the other his standard**.* (N125)

(13) *Behind them <u>were</u> **coats hanging on pegs**.* (N57b)

(14) *And here<u>'s</u> **a packet of tea**.* (N100b)

Example (14) is an instance of a fronted adverbial *here*. At first sight, it may seem to perform an analogous role to the existential *there*; however, it is not so grammaticalised and carries without any doubt locative meaning.

Subtype 4: Locative Th-subject and Rh-object

(15) *The banner <u>bore</u> **a red rampant lion fluttering in the breeze**.* (N123d)

(16) *Inside, the cave <u>had</u> **the damp feel and smell of a place that had not been lived in for several days**.* (N59d)

By far the least frequent subtype of Pr-Scale sentences (1% in the corpus) is modelled by a peculiar transitive construction that – at least at first sight – seems to implement the Quality, rather than the Presentation Scale, displaying a thematic subject and a rhematic object. Nevertheless, such an approach would adopt only a surface stance. In its deep structure (stipulated both by FSP and its semantic roles), "the scene-setting nature of the subject (the theme) finds expression in adverbial construction, while the phenomenon appearing on the scene (the rheme) assumes the syntactic function of a subject" (Dušková 1998: 40). This interpretation may be corroborated by two other corresponding syntactic variants of (15):

(15a) *~ There was a red rampant lion fluttering in the breeze on the banner.*

(15b) *~ On the banner there was a red rampant lion fluttering in the breeze.*

Finally, it should be said that the relative incidence of the four subtypes that were identified in the corpus appears to be dependent on the text genre and register. Whereas the corpus under discussion (fiction narrative) displays the highest

number of the existential constructions (64%), other text types manifest preference of the rhematic subject in preverbal position (e.g. in biblical narratives with theological load it is ca 76% vs. 21% of existential constructions; see: Adam 2010). Also the overall number of Pr-Scale sentences may substantially differ in terms of various text types; e.g. religious written discourse generally displays higher percentage of Pr-Scale sentences, such as ca 12% in New Testament gospels (see: Adam 2010). Below is a summative chart with individual incidence of the four subtypes of Pr-sentences discussed above:

Pr-Scale Sentences	Occurrence	%
Subtype 1 – Existential construction	158	64
Subtype 2 – Rhematic subject in preverbal position	54	22
Subtype 3 – Fronted adverbial and S-V inversion	32	13
Subtype 4 – Locative Th-subject	3	1
Total	247	100

Preliminary semantic classification Pr-verbs

Within the theory of FSP, the verb in English is perceived as relatively semantically weak; for instance Vachek claims that "in English the old Indo-European function of the verb i.e. that of denoting some action has been most perceptibly weakened" (Vachek 1995: 23). Apart from that, operating within an analytical language, "the English finite verb form appears to be much less dynamic in character" (Vachek 1976: 342).

As has been noted above, semantically, however, the English verb seems to play a vital role in constituting and perspectivising the sentence. Since the topic of the present paper is the sentences that implement the Presentation Scale, only the Pr-verbs will be examined in this section. It is important to recall that, according to Firbas (1992: 59–60), the Pr-verbs express the existence or appearance on the scene with explicitness or sufficient implicitness. The corpus findings contain the instances of both verbs that do so in an explicit way and those which achieve the same semantic goal in a more-or-less implicit manner.

Explicit expression of existence or appearance

The corpus data revealed basically two static semantic groups of verbs that may be seen clearly as those expressing the existence or appearance on the scene in an explicit way. First, these are the verbs of going and coming – e.g. *come, arrive, enter, step in, fall, rush up, step out, come down*; second, these are the verbs that convey the notion of appearance proper, such as *appear, occur, be born, turn up, go up*.

The Pr-verbs falling into the category of verbs of going and coming are, in their nature, dynamic and carry the meaning of certain motion. Fulfilling the Firbasian idea of existence on the scene, they mediate this existence from the dynamic point of view, placing the emphasis on the motion process proper. Cf.:

(17) *And soon after that **a very strange person** <u>stepped out</u> from among the trees.* (N13b)

(18) [...] *and from **a hole in the roof smoke** <u>was going up</u>.* (N72a)

Such Pr-verbs denote a simple movement action performed by the Phenomenon that is being presented on the scene of communication. The set of verbs as such is not extremely varied as to the meaning carried by the verbs; these verbs rather convey simple motion actions (like going and coming) that actually lack further specification of a more subtle meaning. In other words, it is the final localisation of the mover that is semantically most prominent.

The verbs of appearance, proper in their nature, exactly reflect the definition of Firbasian appearance on the scene with explicitness. Such Pr-verbs are concerned more with the appearance *per se* rather than with the motion involved. It is possible to speak of appearance as a non-scalar, polar phenomenon; somebody or something appears on the scene without any prior presence, i.e. from zero to full existence.

(19) [...] *and* **horrible ideas** <u>came</u> *into his head*. (N73b)

(20) *Instantly* **the same dwarf whom Edmund had seen with her before** <u>*appeared*</u>. (N99c)

Implicit expression of existence or appearance

Interestingly, all different sorts of verbs, such as *send, strike, await, buzz, wake (the silence), chirp, shine* were identified in the research corpus. Seemingly, they come from different semantic groups of verbs and do not have much in common. The question may arise: what is the implicit semantic load that enables a verb to serve as Pr-verb in the Presentation Scale?

The research shows that one of the most significant features of such Pr-verbs may be described as a certain degree of semantic affinity between the Pr-verb itself and the clause subject (cf. Firbas 1992: 60). In other words, the action is so semantically inherent and subject-related that it is the subject that takes over the communicative prominence at the expense of power of the verbal content. The static semantics of the verb then – even if expressing a specific type of action – is reduced to that of presentation.

(21) **A bee** <u>buzzed</u> *across their path*. (N120e)

(22) *At that moment* **a strange noise** <u>woke the silence</u>. (N128)

Typically, the action content of the verbal element is so natural and typical of the agent (cf. buzzing and the bee) that the full verb is employed – from the point of view of dynamic semantics – to denote a form of existence or appearance on the scene.

Apart from the verbs denoting sensory manifestation of an action, the Pr-verbs may be recruited from the semantic category of verbs denoting natural phenomena that are typically unaffected by people, such as weather – see (23) and (24). Such interpretation may be easily corroborated by the placement of the nuclear stress on the rhematic subject in English. Cf.:

(23) *Then* **a wind** <u>*sprang up*</u>. (N92a).

(24) *And* **the moon** <u>came out</u>. (N92c)

To be more specific, the corpus findings show that 33% of all sentences of Subtype 2 (i.e. rhematic subject in preverbal position) manifest such semantic affinity. Such occurrence seems to reveal a significant semantic feature which may express the existence or appearance on the scene in an implicit, yet legitimate way.

Conclusions

The analysis of the corpus data definitely speaks in favour of a fruitful interface of both the dynamic semantics (FSP) and static semantics towards language material. Not only is such an approach a helpful tool for a more in-depth FSP analysis, but it also appears to make the FSP interpretation more precise.

Regarding the future research, a larger corpus of Pr-verbs and their analysis should be made, along with the more detailed analysis of the syntactic semantic features of Pr-sentences (especially syntactic characteristics such as verb valency, complementation or transitivity). In addition, a functional comparison of various genres and registers in terms of Pr-Scale sentences should identify further significant differences as all these issues generally represent the promising steps in FSP research into the phenomenon of presentation.

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Syntaktyczne realizacje prezentacji w narracji fikcyjnej

Streszczenie

W teorii perspektywy funkcjonalnej zdania (FSP) Firbasa (1992) zdanie zawiera dynamiczne skale semantyczne, które funkcjonalnie odzwierciedlają rozkład dynamiki komunikacyjnej i działają niezależnie od kolejności wyrazów w zdaniu. Firbas rozróżnia dwa typy dynamicznych skali semantycznych: Skala Prezentacji i Skala Jakości.

Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia potencjalne realizacje Skali Prezentacji w narracji literackiej, tworząc syntaktyczno-semantyczną typologię. Zjawisko prezentacji lub pojawienia się na scenie wg. Firbasa jest przeanalizowane i przedstawione za pomocą analizy statystycznej korpusu oraz analizy FSP w oparciu o tekst literacki: C.S. Lewis: 'The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe'. Korpus składa się z 40 000 słów i ich analiz FSP. Artykuł zwraca również uwagę na semantyczny charakter czasownika angielskiego funkcjonującego w Skali Prezentacji.

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LOVE AND FEAR IN TRADITIONAL HISPANIC LULLABIES

Scope and aim of the study

Lullabies, also called "bed-time songs" or "nanas" in Spanish, are popular songs, of essentially oral communication and transmission in which many of the first words uttered to a little child can be found. Lullabies are short songs which are complimented by a motion, rocking children back and forth, as a means of inducing sleep. They are generally used when a child does not want to go to sleep or when it is having trouble falling asleep. The link between voice, song and rocking gives bed-time songs much meaningful singularity. Orta (1984) affirms that lullabies have two characteristics of expression: they rock with a slow and loving rhythm, and their tone, which is characteristically melodic and repetitive, incites sleep.

In any classification of Children Songs that takes into account the age of the child, lullabies should be included in the part that refers to the first moments of a child's life, that is, the stage that goes from its birth up to the moment when it is able to express itself with a certain level of autonomy. Of course this would not impede that lullabies would be practised for a longer period of time. However, it is advisable to differentiate between the lullaby sung to a new born and that which is sung to a child that has begun to walk and talk. In the former, the infant is entertained with the song's tune. The emphasis is placed on the physical rhythm of the tune rather than on the actual song lyrics. The latter is geared towards somewhat older children making the lullaby's message play a more important role because now, at this stage, children can understand the meaning of many words and therefore can understand the appeal or threat that the lullaby transmits in certain occasions.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the communicative function of lullabies throughout Hispanic tradition. At first the speakers of lullabies, generally female characters will be presented. Then we will talk about their affectionate and familiar tones. Next, the special attention will be given to the origins and characteristics of Hispanic lullabies, as well as to the similarities and differences found in lullabies over the distinct areas in which they were produced and transmitted. Later on the frightening characters that frequently make an appearance in these songs will be presented. The article ends with the reflection about the importance

of these traditional and melodic manifestations in the early years of childhood. It also emphasizes the necessity of maintaining these cultural manifestations of popular tradition alive.

The cradler: The speaker of the lullaby

Lullabies are one of the few genres of Children Songs in which the singer is an adult. In Hispanic tradition this role has been assumed by women: mothers,[1] aunts, grandmothers and babysitters who fulfill the function of cradlers, watching over the child patiently, allowing him/her to sense their presence, even in those cases in which they are not explicitly present in the text. In lullaby 1[2], it is evident that the singer is a mother. In fact, by the seventeenth century Rodrigo Caro had already referred to the feminine condition characterizing speakers in lullabies.[3]

(1) *En los brazos te tengo*
y considero
qué será de ti, niño,
si yo me muero. (Cerrillo 1994: 5)

Generally they are women from the immediate family of the child, with mother taking on the most prominent role; even though sometimes tired, she still manages to serenely sing her child to sleep (see excerpt 2):[4]

(2) *Duerme, niño chiquito (go to sleep),*
duérmete y calla;
no le des a tu madre
tanta batalla.

It usually is a mother who is always attentive watching her child while it sleeps (3). In other lullabies the mother requires the child's sleep so that she can continue with her own work (4):

(3) *Duérmete, vida mía,*
duerme sin pena,
porque al pie de la cuna
tu madre vela.

---

[1] Lo primero que me viene a la cabeza es la figura de mi madre, la primera transmisora del folclore, la primera dispensadora del tesoro comuna (The first thing that comes to mind is the figure of the mother, the first reporter of the folklore, the first giver of the communal treasure) (Alatorre 1973: 36).

[2] It was not considered appropriate to translate the lullabies into English. This is due to the fact that the rhythm and tune achieved by the original version in the Spanish language could get jeopardized in the translation process. However, there has been an intention to reference the contents dealt with in such a manner that the story line may be understood (see Appendix).

[3] Mothers are so good at consoling that they can settle the child down with any tone ("little girl, little girl and lala, lala") and children don't get surprised by any voice no matter how bad sounding it is. This is a condition known to mothers (Caro 1978: 240).

[4] For the following examples see Cerrillo (1992: 62–63 and 80).

(4) *Duerme, niño mío,*
que tengo que hacer,
me han traído el trigo
y está por moler.

The mother is the main character of the feelings faced: tenderness and anger, nervousness and patience, loneliness and accompaniment, happiness and sadness as well as the lack of and abundance of basic needs. But above all mother's love to the child is always unconditional. However, when the adult man appears in the song, he does not usually intervene directly. In fact, his absence tends to be signaled. As can be seen in examples 5 and 6, the adult male, if quoted, tends to be absent because he has left to travel or work (Cerrillo 1994: 24–25):

(5) *El padre del niño*
se fue a Villafranca,
y el aire solano
lo empujó "pa" casa.

(6) *Este niño tiene sueño,*
no tiene cama ni cuna.
A su padre carpintero
le diremos le haga una.

The communicative simplicity of Hispanic lullabies, in which the speaker transmits a brief, direct and concise message to a listener from whom no response is expected, does not impede that the song contains literary elements that enrich it. The fact that the speaker uses specific characters (which fulfill secondary functions) to incite the children to fall asleep, sets a good example. Some characters of religious tradition appear: Saint Miguel (Spain, Colombia, Mexico, etc.), The Guardian Angel (worldwide), Saint Ana (Spain, Mexico, Chile, etc.), Saint Margarita (Colombia), Saint Joaquín (Spain, Mexico, etc.), Saint John (Juan) (Spain, Mexico, Chile, El Salvador, etc.), and so on. The lullabies also include the animals, like the rooster, the hen, the ox, the donkey, the little bird, the deer, or inanimate elements of nature such as the sun, the moon and the trees. The other motives which sometimes appear are the Moroccan woman, the gypsy woman, the female shepherd, the wolf and the mythical bogeyman. This character will be referred to on .

The affectionate tone of the chorus

The frequent presence of the mother, the quotes to the absent father, the references to the different household tasks (washing, cooking, ironing, etc.; see excerpt 7) and the constant reminder of the parent's love for the child give Hispanic lullabies a special affectionate and familiar tone, which identifies them.

(7) *Dormite, niñito*
que tengo que hacer:

lavar los pañales,
ponerme a coser. (Nicaragua)

This affectionate tone is reinforced by the presence of the abundant diminutives (little one, little boy, little house, little birds, little eyes, etc., and the frequent use of choruses. These are typically characterized by a repetitive and tiresome rhythm which induces the child to sleep. These expressions are repeated in almost every country. The chorus "arrorró, arrorró," present in Spanish, Mexican and Colombian lullabies, are repetitions of sounds which create a sensation of rocking with the aim of helping the child to fall asleep: *A la ro, ro, ro; A la nea, nea; Ea, ea, ea; Arrorró, arrorró; Ea la ea, ea la ea,* these are some of the most commonly heard Hispanic choruses.

Many lullabies contain topical elements which stand out by themselves, mainly those, in which the adult (who sings them) expresses various personal feelings in an attempt to strengthen communication with the child. As can be seen in excerpt 8, they are usually sentimental references or expressions that range from the typical declaration of maternal love (*que tu madre te quiere mucho*/your mother loves you a lot) to the allusion of unspecified love:

(8) *Corazoncito mío,*
calla y no llores,
que te traigo noticia
de tus amores.

Sometimes the feeling is much more sad:

(9) *En los brazos te tengo*
y considero
qué será de ti, niño,
si yo me muero.

In other cases, the feelings are shown when the parents child is ill or when the parents are struggling through economic difficulties. There are even some examples that foresee tragedy (see excerpt 10). However, in the end they are just a comical resource used by the mother to momentarily entertain a child that resists falling asleep (children between 3–4 years of age who start talking; see extract 11):

(10) *¡Ay, mi niño del alma,*
que se me ha muerto!

(11) *No me llore usted, madre,*
que estoy despierto.

Yet, this is not the tone that stands out the most in this genre. The tone that stands out the most is the imperative tone, which demands the child's sleep. Precisely, the lullabies in which this imperative mode is more explicit are the ones that are most frequently used in Spain and in other parts of the Hispanic world.

The lullaby in Spanish tradition

Bed-time songs are a type of popular lyrical poetry that is still alive in the tradition of Spanish speaking countries, in spite of the threat from the mass media, like television and cinema, which are viewed more and more often by children. The richness of these compositions and the magic that the child feels when they are interpreted[5] have contributed to keeping this genre alive. The other factors that have contributed to this are the acceptance of the rocking function by children, mainly girls, who have used it to put their dolls to sleep in an attempt to imitate the adult world, and the creations invented by other authors devoted to other genres. We are referring to the great interest that writers such as Carmen Conde (1985) and García Lorca (his dissertation on "Las nanas infantiles", 1996: 113–131) have shown. In this respect, we find it difficult to resist the temptation to remind the beautiful lullaby of Andalucian origin, that García Lorca picked up as a popular song and that is still interpreted in different ways in several regions of Spain and in other Hispanic countries. Federico García Lorca, for example, commented upon the lullaby found in excerpt 12. In this song the speaker calls the child to sleep while referring to the dramatic absence of the deceased mother:

(12) *Duérmete, niñito mío,*
que tu madre no está en casa;
que se la llevó la Virgen
de compañera a su casa. (García Lorca 1996: 125)

The genre has been greatly enriched with the creation of the latest lullabies made up by various Spanish authors (such as Lorca himself, as well as Gerardo Diego, Vicente Aleixandre, Rafael Alberti, Miguel Hernández, Carlos Murciano, Gloria Fuertes or Carmen Conde) and also Hispanic-American authors (such as Nicolás Guillén, Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda). In *Nana del Sueño* (*Lullaby of Sleep*) by Carmen Conde (1985: 16–17; see 13) the singer brings on sleep itself so that it is sleep that actually rocks the child:

(13) *Al sueño le crecen*
cabellos de yerba.
Al sueño le nacen
azules gacelas,

---

[5] Serra y Boldú, referring to these songs, states: [...] se avienen con el balanceo de la cuna y a los cuales va acostumbrándose progresivamente el rorro, fijándose en los piropos y halagos, y aun en los dicterios, de que están llenos. (1988: 540). ([...] the child accepts and gets used to the moving of the cot, paying attention to the compliments and beautiful words that the mother sings for him). Carmen Bravo Villasante (1984: 8) makes a reference to the ludical component of lullabies: "Jugamos con palabras casi desde que nacemos. Cuando la madre canta las nanas, está jugando con el niño, y las palabras acompañan este juego de dormirle de una manera lúdica. Podría decirse que las nanas sirven para el juego de dormir. Al cantar la nana, se balancea al niño y hasta se bail." (We play with words almost from birth. When the mother sings a lullaby, she is playing with the child [...] We could say that lullabies are useful to incite sleep. When singing a bed-time song, the child is rocked and sometimes the mother and the child even dance together [...]).

que muerden los prados,
que triscan las eras;
que pacen las noches
sin que el sueño pueda
cortarse sus ramas
de verdes almendras.
Al sueño le llaman
y el sueño contesta,
con sus ojos claros
y su boca lenta,
que dice palabras
que el sueño se inventa.
Duérmete, mi vida,
niña de la tierra:
que el sueño te canta
para que te duermas.

As a result, lullabies as popular children's poetry still remain alive in Spanish speaking countries under the names: *arrullos, cantos de arrorró* or *rurrupatas*. It is evident that lullabies have always existed in the Spanish speaking world. However, they have simultaneously existed in other countries and languages in the rest of the world (with other names but the same contents and similar forms).

Already in the 19th century, Francisco Rodríguez Marín (1981) discovered similarities that existed between the Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and French lullabies. He found out that not only did they influence each other, but they also belonged to a common and unique romanic tradition. In his *Cantos populares españoles* (dated from May 18, 1883), Rodríguez Marín makes reference to some examples: among them the Spanish lullaby reproduced in example 14, and the one taken from a Sicilian bed-time song, already picked up by Pitré[6] (1871).

(14) *Duérmete, niño chico,*
duérmete, mi bien;
que aquí está la cunita
que te ha de mecer.

Although they have existed for so long in the Hispanic tradition, these songs – often with different names, but with the same contents and similar forms – were interpreted and are still interpreted in other countries to different language. Besides, there are other compositions, not from Latin origin, that are considered to be along the same line as the Spanish lullabies. We are referring to the English nursery rhymes, which Isabel Ian (1969: 56) describes as:

Ces petits poèmes, dont l'origine reste obscure, créations enfantines collectives qui se transmettent de bouche à oreille et organisent un rituel autour du jeu, existent bien dans tous les pays, mais, particuliérement abondants en Angleterre […] (These

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[6] "Figghiu mio, figghiu d'amari/la naca ti cunzai p'arripusari." (Pitré 1871: 47).

little poems, whose origin is unknown, are collective creations for children which are passed on by oral tradition. They may be found in all countries, but specially in England).

The origins of Hispanic lullabies

Hispanic lullabies are considered to be of Spanish origin, the same as the other genres of children's folklore. In fact, only in this way the similarities or even the exactitudes that exist between the compositions of different Spanish speaking countries may be explained. The shipment registrations of Spanish expeditions to America indicate that, alongside religious books, saint's biographies, sermons, ecclesiastical vocabulary, works by Garcilaso de la Vega or Fray Luis de Granada, collections of romances and songs as well as collections of popular verses and first reading books[7] were also taken across to the other side of the Atlantic. Besides, the indirect testimonies of some chroniclers on India confirm this transfer: Bernal Díaz del Castillo,[8] in his *Conquista de Nueva España* (1928: 316) gives information confirming that in Mexico the arrival of Spanish romances and songs took place in 1519 when Hernán Cortés started his trip around Aztec territory; as indicated by García Romero and Rubio Hernández (1987: 262):

> [...] In 1519, when Cortés' boats were found before the Mexican shores, Alonso Hernández Portocarrero commented to his captain: "'Cata(taste) Francia, Montesinos,/cata the city of París,/cata the waters of the Duero/do van a dar a la mar (that goes towards the sea)//'." These verses belong to the well known Romance by Montesinos, which was very popular at that time.

Many well known versions throughout several Latin America countries can be found about topics such as Mambrú, Delgadina, Bartolo or La pájara pinta, to cite some examples; all of them keep constant basic elements of their original Spanish composition. Although every song has its own history, most of them generally come from Spain and in some cases are dated back to 400 years ago. Margit Frenk (1973: 25), in her magnificent work on the poetic folklore of Mexican children, referring to the origins of lullabies, says:

> There are many similarities between those testimonies (making reference to those by Rodrigo Caro and other Spanish poets of the Golden Age – Alonso de Ledesma, Lope de Vega, etc.) and the children's rhymes of our time: as if children of today were the same – almost the same – as those who lived in the 16th and 17th centuries. We can even say that they were the same as those who lived in the Middle Ages, since those songs were already old when they were picked up. As if children were immune to historical change and the renovation of cultural and poetic fashions.

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[7] As an example, let's quote the shipment registrations by Lázaro de Castellanos, Juan de Bustinea, Francisco Gutiérrez and Francisco Muñoz, all from 1586 (Archivo de Indias, Sevilla).

[8] The same could be said about other chroniclers such as Pedro Cieza de León (*Crónica del Perú*. Amberes: Juan Lacio, 1554) or Diego Fernández Palencia (*Crónicas del Perú*, ed. De J. Pérez de Tudela. Madrid: Atlas-BAE, 164 y 165, 1963).

Although the transmission of these popular children's compositions is essentially oral, some of them should have been heard, for the first time, with the help of Spanish texts. For instance, Margit Frenk (1973) herself picked up the following lullaby, already known in the 16th century in Spain. It is an old song used to put children to sleep and is included within the written collection *Cancionero de obras de burla provocantes de risa*, 1519 (*Collection of comical works that provoke laughter*).

The bogeyman (El Coco)

Tradition seems to indicate that lullabies carry an implicit threat, but the truth is that the imperative tone does not always imply a threat. What can really be found is an invitation to sleep, but not necessarily an implicit or explicit punishment. As shown in excerpt 15, in some situations the adult induces the child to sleep with the offer of a treat or a prize:

(15) *Si este niño se durmiera,*
yo le diera medio real,
para que se comprara
un pedacito de pan.[9]

In other cases (16) adults calm children down so that fear present in certain moments (for example during nightfall) may be alleviated:

(16) *Duérmete, niño de cuna,*
duérmete, niño de amor,
que a los pies tienes la luna
y a la cabecera el sol.

However, in other circumstances there is also an explicit sense of threat: the tradition of the infamous bogeyman, for instance. Although this character appears in very few Spanish lullabies, everybody knows of its existence as Covarrubias pointed out in 1611. He picked up the term in the following way:

„En lenguaje de los niños, vale figura que causa espanto, y ninguna es tanto como las que están a lo oscuro o muestran color negro de 'cus', nombre propio de Can, que reinó en Etiopía, tierra de negros." (In the delicate language of children the figures that above all cause the most fear, are those of which live in darkness or show the black color of Cus, proper name for Can, who ruled Ethiopia, the land of black people) (Covarrubias 1987: 330).

In this sense, Lorca (1996: 118–119) also stated that:

La fuerza mágica del coco es, precisamente, su desdibujo. Nunca puede aparecer, aunque ronde las habitaciones. Y lo delicioso es que sigue desdibujado para todos. Se trata de una abstracción poética y, por eso, el miedo que produce es un miedo cósmico, un miedo en el cual los sentidos no pueden poner sus límites salvadores [...] porque

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[9] For this and the following example see Cerrillo (1992: pages 110 and 74, respectively).

no tiene explicación posible [...] El miedo que el niño le tenga depende de su fantasía y puede, incluso, serle simpático.

(The magical power of the bogeyman is precisely its lack of a definite shape. It never appears although it lurks around the rooms. And the exquisite part is that it keeps shapeless for all. It is a poetic abstraction and for this the fear produced is a cosmic fear, a fear of which the senses are unlimited [...] because there is no possible explanation [...] The fear that the child depends upon its imagination and this fear may even be pleasing to him).

The Dictionary, Real Academia Española, refers to the "bogeyman" in entry four as "a ghost that was created to scare children." And in the dictionary of the Spanish Usage by María Moliner (1987: 665) it is defined as a "fantastic being assumed to be a demon which scares children." It also refers to similar creatures, such as: *bu, camuñas, cancón, cuco* and *papón*, to which category we would also add *El tío del saco* and *el Sacamantecas*. We don't think that the bogeyman, just because it is present in a reiterated manner in lullabies, may release scary qualities only at bed time. It also scares children that do not eat well or those who are disobedient towards adults. In all cases the bogeyman, as well as other beings, serves similar functions: to eat, scare or take little children away. The bogeyman is a character related to a deformity or ghost that inflicts fear in young children.

One of the first appearances of the bogeyman associated with lullabies is found in the songbook *Cancionero* by Antón de Montoro, 1445, extract 17 (vid. 1984: s/p):

(17) *Tanto me dieron de poco*
que de puro miedo temo,
como los niños de cuna
que les dicen: ¡cata el coco!

In the XVII century, in a theatrical text by Juan Caxés, en titled *Auto de los desposorios de la Virgen* (*Virgin's Nuptials)* there is another lullaby in which the bogeyman is present:

(18) *Ea, niña de mis ojos,*
duerma y sosiegue,
que a la fe venga el coco
si no se duerme. (Vid. Masera 1994: 199).

References and quotes may be found pertaining to the bogeyman in Lope de Vega, in Quevedo, in Calderón de la Barca and in Cervantes; remembering the epitaph of Sansón Carrasco in the tomb of Don Quijote (1977: 577) reproduced in excerpt 19:

(19) *Yace aquí el hidalgo fuerte*
que a tanto extremos llegó
de valiente, que se advierte
que la Muerte no triunfó
de su vida con su muerte.

Tuvo a todo el mundo en poco;
fue el espantajo y el coco
del mundo en tal coyuntura,
que acreditó su ventura
morir cuerdo y vivir loco.

In America references to the bogeyman can also be found in some works: the Mexican writer Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1992: 109), a great protagonist in Hispanic-American Baroque era, wrote a "philosophical satire" (as she herself called it). In this satire men are accused of being inconsistent in their treatment of women and they are compared to children that call upon the bogeyman and later become afraid. The beginning of this satire is presented in excerpt 20:

(20) *Hombres necios que acusáis*
a la mujer sin razón,
sin ver que sois la ocasión
de lo mismo que culpáis;
si con ansia sin igual
solicitáis su desdén,
¿por qué queréis que obren bien
si las incitáis al mal?
Combatís su resistencia
y luego, con gravedad,
decís que fue liviandad
lo que hizo la diligencia.
Parecer quiere el denuedo
de vuestro parecer loco,
al niño que pone el coco
y luego le tiene miedo.

In hispanic tradition there are examples that are still very much alive; three examples are reproduced in extracts 21, 22 and 23:

(21) *Duérmete, niño mío,*
que viene el coco,
y se lleva a los niños
que duermen poco. (Spain, vid. Cerrillo 1994: 31)

The next excerpt found in Colombia (Castrillón 2009: 13) does not differ much from the previous examples:

(22) *Duérmete, niño,*
duérmete ya,
que ya viene el coco
y te llevará.

The repeated reference to the bogeyman sometimes suggests that the child begins to become less afraid:

(23) *Con decirle a mi niño*
que viene el coco,
le va perdiendo el miedo
poquito a poco.

Another less known lullaby is reproduced in excerpt 24. In this case the bogeyman is referred to through an indirect quote:

(24) *Las mujeres de la sierra,*
para dormir a sus niños,
en vez de llamar al coco
les cantan un fandanguillo.

In the following extract (25), after making reference to the bogeyman's arrival, the cradler compensates the threat with the protection that the Virgen of Remedy will provide the child with during his slumber:

(25) *Y arrorró, canelica,*
que viene el coco
y se lleva a los nenes
que duermen poco.
Mi chico se va a dormir
porque tiene mucho sueño,
y por cabecera tiene
a la Virgen del Remedio.[10]

The figure of the bogeyman has also been used by the authors who have cultivated the genre of the lullaby. Gloria Fuertes (1978: 147–148) is an example. She had recreated the figure of the bogeyman in her moving lullaby "Nana al niño que nació muerto (Lullaby to the stillborn child)." As the text is unique and peculiar we have rewritten the complete lullaby below (26):

(26) *Original persona pequeñita*
que al contrario de todos
no has nacido.
Vívete, niño, vívete,
que viene el Coco
y se lleva a los niños
que duermen poco.
Late un momento rey
– la madre dice –,
deja que me dé tiempo
a que te bautice.
Te iba a poner Tomás,
y ya te vas.
¿Para qué habrás venido

[10] For the two previous lullabies and this one see Cerrillo (1992: 57, 101 and 114, respectively).

sin más ni más?
¡Qué frío tienes, hijo,
sin un temblor,
creo que dentro estabas
mucho mejor!
– En el lago de llanto
de tu madre
jugabas en la orilla… –
¡Que el demonio se lleve
tu canastilla!
– Tiene ojos de listo,
es un pequeño sabio.
Y otra vecina dijo:
– De buena se ha librado.
Pequeño criminal,
dulce adversario
– sin nacer ni morir
a tu madre has matado –,
mientras tú,
mi niño diferente,
ni blanco ni negro,
mientras tú…
¡Échate un sueño largo,
mi niño azul!

The bogeyman as the main character in many stories was given a body, a face and a form. Fernando Lalana and Estrella Fagés (1992: 7) did this in *El Coco está pachucho* (*The bogeyman is feeling sick*), describing it in the following way:

> It had a grand long head, sunken black eyes, enormous hands, protruding cheekbones and a pointed nose. It dressed in a grey raincoat almost touching the heels and it protected its bald head from the cold with a Scottish hat. In hand it carried a leather briefcase. And of course it wasn't the neighbor from the fifth floor.

This was without a doubt about the bogeyman. However, the tradition of the bogeyman is not unique in Spanish, or Hispanic culture; it is known by this term or with variations of the name all over Europe, where children are frightened by the Boogie Man, who is understood as an imaginary character that provokes fear. This fear can be either great or small depending on the imagination of the child that is scared.

Other beings provoking fear in Hispanic lullabies

In Spain, together with the bogeyman, the bu (ghost), the dwarf, Camuñas uncle or the cancón (imaginary being) are mythical characters typically used to threaten kids. In addition to the aforementioned beings, Spanish lullabies also bring in real characters to scare children. As García Lorca (1996: 120) points out:

In the south the "bull" and the "Moorish queen" are the threats. In Castilla, it is the "female wolf" and the "gypsy woman."

Rafael Alberti (1988: 101–102), who also wrote quite a few lullabies of clear popular inspiration, threatens the child with scary beings such as wind, dogs, owls and the sparrow hawk, as can be seen in *Nana del niño malo* (*Lullaby for naughty children*) (27):

(27) *¡A la mar, si no duermes,*
que viene el viento!
Ya en las grutas marinas
ladran sus perros.
¡Si no duermes, al monte!
Vienen el búho
y el gavilán del bosque.
Cuando te duermas:
¡al almendro, mi niño,
y a la estrella de menta!

In Latin America children that don't sleep are being scared with both real and imaginary beings. Let's see some of them. The warlock, for instance, threatens in México (28):

(28) *Dormite, niñito,*
dormite, por Dios,
si no viene el brujo
y te va a comer.[11]

The "doe" also threatens in Chile (Gil 1964: 177), as can be seen in 29:

(29) *Dormite, guagüita,*
que viene la cierva
a saltos y brincos
por entre las piedras.

Or the "coyote" in Nicaragua (30):

(30) *Dormite, niñito,*
cabeza de ayote;
si no te dormís,
te come el coyote. (Gil 1964: 156).

Together with these the night and the little angles also threaten in Spain (31). The latter has a double meaning: they can either take away the child that does not sleep or they can go away from its side ceasing to protect him.

(31) *Duérmete, niño chiquito,*
duérmete y no llores más,
que se irán los angelitos
para no verte llorar. (Cerrillo 1994: 19).

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[11] "If you don't sleep, the witch will come and will eat you."

In a more comical sense the threats come from the terrible worms (32):

(32) *A los niños buenos*
Dios los bendice;
a los que son malos
les da lombrices.[12]

The threat may even come from a physical punishment (33), especially in those situations in which the person who sings the lullaby is getting angry:

(33) *Duérmase mi negrazo,*
cara de pambazo,
que si no se duerme
le doy un trancazo.

The lullaby sometimes invokes a being that provokes fears, nervousness and even loud cries in children. To prevent this, the cradler intends to free the child from it with rhythmic, affectionate and maternal qualities. The protective and loving mother takes the child into a state of calm sleep aided by the tune of the lullaby. The singing voice of mother or any woman filling the role of a cradler will calm the nerves, dominate the fears and give comfort or gently scold.[13] This is something that children understand perfectly and sometimes even better than adults.

Also some lullabies made by children are reproduced here. They are the result of an activity that we programmed years ago for 9–10-year-old boys and girls. First of all, we commented upon the meaning and the function of these compositions, recalling some childhood memories. In each lullaby the child authors offered the basic characteristics of the genre: maternal love, an invitation to sleep or the fears that accompany nightfall. Alba, age 9, wrote this lullaby full of serenity and rhythm (34):

(34) *En la paz de la noche,*
el niño duerme,
la luna le mira
y se entretiene.
Ro, ro, ro, le quiero yo,
ro, ro, ro, duérmete flor.
Su mamá le canta
y le mece en sus brazos,
las estrellas le miran
con arrumacos.
Ro, ro, ro, le quiero yo,
ro, ro, ro, duérmete flor.
Sus sueños felices

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[12] For this and the next lullaby see Cerrillo (1992: 46 and 59, respectively).

[13] From early age, children develop capacity to capture voiced stimuli. This capacity is also believed to exist in the fetus; which may mean that small children have a special sense to capture rhythm, tones, accents, pauses and voice inflections.

quisiera velar,
tenerle en mis brazos
y volverle a besar.
Ro, ro, ro, le quiero yo,
ro, ro, ro, duérmete flor.

Tania, Leticia and Cecilia (all age 9), together created a lullaby in which a mother calms her little one with her presence alone (35):

(35) *Duérmete, niño,*
ea, ea, ea, o,
duérmete, niño,
que la noche llegó.
Duérmete, niño,
ea, ea, ea, a,
que mamá en sus brazos
te acurrucará.
Duérmete, niño,
ea, ea, ea, i,
tranquilo, que mamita
no se va de aquí.

The final example (36) was written by Leticia Romero, another 9-year-old from the Conquense village of Valverde del Júcar, who composed a lullaby allowing her thoughts to be expressed with total freedom. As for someone of such a young age, she picks up the essence of this genre including the presence of the bogeyman. Although she does not pay attention to the typical rhythm of these compositions, her lullaby is a magnificent example of the powerful yet creative capacity that all children possess (the transcription is literal):

(36) *La niña cuando duerme*
sus papás le cantan una nana,
y se titula DUÉRMETE NENA
y sigue duérmete ya que si
no viene el coco y se come
a las niñas que no duermen
ya, y sus padres la convencen
para que se duerma la nena
que los padres ya están cansados
y empiezan los padres ea ea
e, duérmete ya, hijo o hija.

Conclusions

Literature presents stories that have happened years ago or foreshadows future events throughout people's lives. Its main aim is to accompany them on fantastic journeys or to partake in the feelings of legendary characters. Popular

literature which has an oral tradition is something that we seek and we find. It teaches us to get to know our own bodies or to feel the magic found in our first mimicking games. It makes us laugh at predictable tricks and invites us to repeat word games that may be difficult to pronounce ("tongue twisters"). Literature introduces us to the world of fairy tales filled with fairies, gnomes and ogres. Also, as previously stated, from birth onward literature (through the means of lullabies) actually puts one to sleep or calms fear itself.

The literary richness of lullabies over the passage of time, through generations, makes us want to maintain them. In this way, this is a contribution to the continuation of popular tradition, in which the worlds of children and adults alike may converge. This cultural manifestation is also the heritage of hundreds of millions of people who express themselves in the same language and that also coincide with populations speaking different languages.

Lullabies are the synthesis of parents' love for their child and of provoked fear, affection and explicit threat as well as reality and fantasy. Hispanic lullabies show the duality of real life from its own origins: they deal with feelings of threat, obsession and hope.

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Appendix: the storylines of the quoted lullabies

(1)   When I hold you in my arms I think of what would happen to you if I died.

(2)   Sleep and be quiet and don't give me such a hard time.

(3)   Sleep calmly for your mother stays at the foot of the crib.

(4)   Sleep for I have many things to do. They have brought in the wheat and I have to grind it.

(5)   The child's father went to Villafranca but the wind will bring him home.

(6)   This child is sleepy but he had no crib. His father is a carpenter so we will have him make one.

(7)   Sleep child for your mother has house work to do: wash the nappies and sew.

(8)   Little child, I have brought news from your loved ones.

(9)   When I hold you in my arms I think of what would happen to you if I died.

(10) Child of my soul, you have died on me!

(11) Don't cry mother I am awake, not dead!

(12) Sleep child for your mother is not at home. The Virgin had taken her home.

(13) Sleep makes up words so that you may fall asleep. Sleep child for sleep itself is singing so that you may fall asleep.

(14) Sleep child and rest well. Here is the cradle that will rock you.

(15) If this child sleeps I will give it a bit of money so that it can buy a morsel of bread.

(16) Sleep child with love, at your feet you'll find the moon and at the headboard of your crib you'll find the sun.

(17) I get just as afraid as a little child whenever the bogeyman is mentioned.

(18) Sleep child because if not the bogeyman will come.

(19) Here lies the gentleman that when faced with death, he was overcome. He was feared just like the bogeyman. He died sanely and lived crazily.

(20) In this lullaby Juana Ines criticizes men who falsely accuse a woman. She compares them to children who mention the bogeyman and afterwards are afraid.

(21) Sleep child, the bogeyman is coming and he takes little children away if they don't sleep much.

(22) Sleep already; well, if you don't, the bogeyman will come and take you away.

(23) When talking about the bogeyman to my child, he starts to loose fear little by little.

(24) Instead of calling the bogeyman, the women living in the sierra sing popular songs to their children to put them to sleep.

(25) Off to sleep little girl, the bogeyman comes and he takes kids that don't sleep. My child goes to sleep as he is very tired (sleepy). The Virgin of Remedy is at the head of the bed.

(26) This is a lullaby dedicated to a child that passed away and that they wanted to name Thomas. Despite the fact that he was still born in one of the verses the bogeyman is referenced: live child because the bogeyman is coming to take children that sleep little.

(27) If you don't sleep, I will go to the sea where it's windy and dogs bark. If you don't sleep, I will take you to the mountain or the forest where there are owls and hawks. If you do sleep, however, you will see the almond tree and the mint stars.

(28) If you don't sleep, the witch will come and eat you.

(29) If you don't sleep, the deer will come and trample you.

(30) If you don't sleep, the coyote will eat you.

(31) If you don't sleep and you keep crying, the angels will leave your side.

(32) If you are good, God will bless you. If you are bad, God will give you worms.

(33) If you don't sleep I'll hit you.

(34) In the calm of the night the child sleeps. Its mom sings and the moon watches over. They want to kiss it and have it in their arms.

(35) Sleep child mother watches over your dreams and will not leave your side.

(36) Sleep. If not, the bogeyman will come and eat you. The parents sing to the child, they are tired and want to convince it to go to sleep.

Miłość i strach w tradycyjnej kołysance hiszpańskiej

Streszczenie

Kołysanka, zwana 'nana' w języku hiszpańskim, jest rodzajem popularnej pieśni mającej funkcję komunikacji ustnej. Kołysanki są syntezą miłości rodzica do dziecka, strachu, uczucia, groźby, świata realnego i fantastycznego. Hiszpańskie kołysanki pokazują dychotomię realnego życia od swych początków: typowe ludzkie uczucia, obsesje, nadzieje.

Celem tego artykułu jest analiza funkcji komunikacyjnej tradycyjnej kołysanki hiszpańskiej. Jej prototypowi użytkownicy, kobiety usiłujące uśpić swe dzieci, postaci występujące w tych kompozycjach, ich emocje i ton są tematem pierwszej części. Szczególną uwagę poświęcono pochodzeniu i cechom charakterystycznym hiszpańskiej kołysanki, podobieństwom i różnicom w różnych regionach jej występowania. Ostatnia część jest poświęcona przerażającym postaciom występującym w kołysankach. Artykuł kończą refleksje na temat ważności kołysanki we wczesnych latach życia i konieczności zachowania tej kulturowej tradycji.

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MUSICALLY-CONDITIONED METRICS IN TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH BALLADS[1]

Origin, evolution and formal characteristics of the English ballad

When dealing with the ballad, we must bear in mind the multiple types of poetic and musical compositions encompassed by such term. The English word "ballad" arose from the Provençal *ballada*, meaning "a dancing song," derived in turn from the Latin and Italian *ballare*, "to dance." Originally, a ballad was a narrative song. Later, the term started to be used to refer to both narrative and lyrical compositions. Around the nineteenth century, its meaning was reduced and came to mean a love poem or song – its current meaning.

Traditional English ballads are often written in quatrains of alternating iambic tetrameter and trimeter lines – what is known as "common metre" (4, 3, 4, 3) (see [1] below). Thus, a prototypical ballad stanza comprises fourteen stresses, with a pause after the seventh set off by a rhyme between the seventh and the fourteenth stressed positions. When the ballad is performed as a song, the pause after the seventh stressed position is usually filled in by an extra stress – corresponding to a musical beat – in which case a further stress is also added at the end of the quatrain. The pause which occurs at the halfway point of the stanza corresponds to the middle cadence in the tune, which "in the majority of our tunes comes on the dominant – musically the most satisfying point of rest after the tonic" (Bronson 1969: 38–39). This is also the locus where rhyme takes place.

An example of a core ballad quatrain written in common metre is observed in the following excerpt from *The Traders Medley*, an old broadside ballad published by Thomas D'Urfey in his *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1698–1720).

(1)

Line	Metre	Rhyme scheme
Here's pippins lately come from Kent,	x / x / x / x /	a
Play, taste and then you'll buy,	x / x / x /	b
But mind my song and then e'er long,	x / x / x / x /	c
You'll sing it as well as I!	x / x (x) / x /	b

The fact that the second and the fourth line of each quatrain often rhyme, as observed in (1), has been taken to suggest that ballads might have started as couplets of rhymed verses (Head & Ousby 2006: 66), an example of which can be seen in (2), which reconstructs the above quatrain as a rhyming couplet (rhyming syllables in italics).

(2)

Ballad quatrain converted into a couplet
Here's pippins lately come from Kent, play, taste and then you'll *buy*
But mind my song and then e'er long, you'll sing it as well as *I*!

Despite the fact that the quatrain was the most common ballad stanza, there existed considerable variation on this pattern in almost every respect, including stanza length, line length and even rhyming scheme. This renders the formal characterisation of ballads extremely difficult. Nevertheless, if one thinks of ballads as songs and not uniquely as verse, the heterogeneity of the form at hand appears natural, as musical patterns are more varied than poetic patterns – music allows for multiple rhythmic and melodic combinations.

The first stanza of the well-known ballad *The Twa Sisters* – published in Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882–1898) – is shown in (3) as an illustration of the heterogeneity exhibited by the corpus of extant English ballads. *The Twa Sisters* shows a threefold repetition of the first line of each stanza, in lines 1, 3 and 5, in such a way that the narrative advances only two lines per stanza (for a detailed analysis of this ballad see Bronson 1969: 46).

(3)

There lived an old lord by the Northern Sea
Bowee down!
There lived an old lord by the Northern Sea,
Bow and balance to me!
There lived an old lord by the Northern Sea,
And he had daughters one, two, three,
I'll be true to my love,
If my love'll be true to me!

Despite the more than common departs from the basic organisation in iambic tetrameter quatrains, there is a tendency to support the view that whenever there is a text that does not conform to a four-line pattern, there must be an error in the lineation provided. However, taking into account that ballads were originally intended to be sung, it might be the case that any observed variation in the poetic metre or rhyme scheme was determined by the melody and the musical metre, to which a text often had to be adapted. The connection between verse and music constitutes the nuclear issue addressed by the present paper, which aims at deeper understanding of the rhythm of the ballad poetry by examining it primarily as a type of song.

Broadside ballads

Broadside ballads were printed compositions intended to be sung in the streets and fairs of towns and villages. These ballads were popular in England – and also in Scotland and Ireland – during the period from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century. They were cultivated with notable intensity during the seventeenth century (from the time of Elisabeth I reign to the time of William and Mary rule).

The term "broadside" alluded to the fact that these ballads were printed on a single sheet of paper, which meant that they were cheap to print and buy – many of them were sold for as little as a penny. However, the term is rather vague from the literary point of view, as "it made no distinction between narrative and lyric, or even between song and verse" (Livingston 1991: 32). What made broadside ballads a unified genre was the fact that they were written as songs.

Broadsides worked as an early form of tabloid journalism as well as mere entertainment, which had a direct impact on their literary quality and their linguistic characterisation. Actually, they were not intended as "cultivated" poetry. They made use of vocabulary "directly derived from everyday speech" (Gregory 2006: 3–4), as well as rough rhyme.

Most broadside ballads were sung by the hawkers who were selling them, and the tunes "were either established favourites or new tunes which would become familiar if one bought the sheet of words to jog one's memory" (Shepard 1973: 21). The more popular an early broadside ballad was in its times, the less likely it is to survive on a broadsheet today, as it would have probably passed from singer to singer without ever being written down. Old tunes were incessantly being re-fitted with new words and pictures, and this mixture of old and new was often summarised in phrases such as "sung to the tune of...," which addressed the singer to a tune that he must have known, or in much vaguer "to a most excellent new tune," all of which, in Bertelsen's (2005: 72) words, "served in lieu of expensive musical notation" (Figure 1).
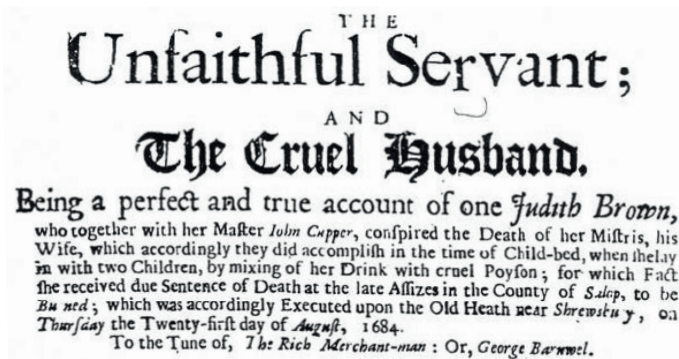
Fig. 1. Ballad "to the tune of..."

A limited number of broadsides printed a few bars of music notation, but these were often meaningless devices of decorative value only. Even when the tune was

printed down, its correspondence with the full text was seldom made explicit (Figure 2). As Skeaping (2005: 7–8) observes, "an underpaid and overworked ballad-hack and his publisher were usually more concerned with a quick turnover than with proof-reading so that while the first few verses of a ballad usually match the tune pretty well, the metre or rhyming system will sometimes go awry as the song progresses, leaving room for a little «creative input» from the singer."

Fig. 2. Ballad stanza with its tune

Broadside ballads present the idiosyncratic characteristic that the same tune was often associated with different texts for various reasons, namely (i) certain tunes or tune families were strongly and ineradicably rooted in traditional singing, (ii) some tunes resembled one another, and so they often coalesced, (iii) there existed some narrative or verbal connections between texts which made the ballad possible to be sung to different tunes, and (iv) the singer established connections, changing the narrative or the tune itself (Bronson 1969: 49).

All in all, we can confidently state that the development of broadside ballad texts took place in the form of songs, which determined their metrical and rhyming structure. The remaining part of the paper is devoted to the analysis of two seventeenth-century broadsides as the way to prove the interdependence between text and music in ballads.

Corelation of text and music on the example of two seventeenth-century English broadside ballads

The following section presents the analysis of the interaction between text and tune in two seventeenth-century broadside ballads. The aim is to prove that the metrical pattern and the musical metre interact inextricably with each other and that the rhyme scheme has been set in accordance to the melodic and harmonic progression of the song.

The ballad entitled *Barbara Allen*, found in several broadside collections with slightly different names and varying tunes, comprises fifteen quatrains rhyming A, A, though by no means is this rhyme scheme followed at all times – in fact,

several stanzas follow the scheme A, B, A, B. Figure 3 corresponds with the version printed in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765) and reproduced in Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1859), which sets the lyrics to a very well-known traditional tune.

As can be observed in Figure 3, the verse line is the minimal musically significant melodic unit. Each line stretches over two bars, while structural transition points between the relevant constituents are to be found in the music – in the cadences set every two measures, which determine the locus for the rhyme as well as the binary nature of the stanza constituents:

[stanza/tune [phrase 1 [period 1 [bar 1] [bar 2]] [period 2 [bar 3] [bar 4]]] [phrase 2 [period 3 [bar 5] [bar 6]] [period 4 [bar 7] [bar 8]]]].
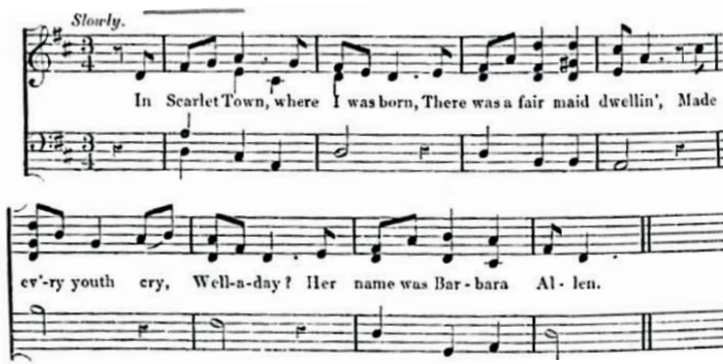
Fig. 3. *Barbara Allen*

Table 1 marshals the distribution of metrical positions in stanza 1 – a quatrain of iambic tetrameters and trimeters (common metre).

Table 1. Scansion of *Barbara Allen* (stanza 1)

Line	Metre	Rhyme
In Scarlet Town, where I was born,	x / x / x / x /	–
There was a fair maid dwellin'	x / x / x / (x)	a
Made ev'ry youth cry, Well-a-day?	x / x / x / x /	–
Her name was Barbara Allen.	x / x / x / (x)	a

In this stanza every syllable is set to a single musical event except for "cry," which is made to correspond to two different musical pitches – what is known as "melisma." If the text is analysed as a stanza composed to be performed as a song, the different lines are to be scanned according to the musical bars in Figure 3. Thus, the apparently pervading iambic pattern established in Table 1 will be turned into a trochaic pattern, as in music the first beat in a bar is always stronger than the rest. Also the first syllable in each line, which in music is set to an upbeat, will be left out as extrametrical, so that once again the trochaic pattern naturally established by the bar division is respected. The metre established in the score

is reinforced by the melody, as the upbeat syllables are set to a lower pitch than the on-beat syllables (see Figure 3): *In* (D) *Scar-* (F); *There* (E) *was* (F); *Made* (C) *ev-* (D); *Her* (E) *name* (F). This is problematic if one compares metre and melody, as the latter contradicts the pattern established in Table 1, where the extrametrical syllables are the very last ones in lines 2 and 4.

Let us turn now to Table 2, which corresponds to stanza 14. As can be noticed, this stanza presents several ambiguities regarding the metrical organisation of the lines.

Table 2. Scansion of *Barbara Allen* (stanza 14)

Line	Metre	Rhyme
Hard-hearted creature him to slight,	x / x / x / x /	–
Who loved me so dearly:	x / x / x / (x)	b
O that I had been more kind to him	x / x / x (x) / x /	–
When he was alive and near me!	x (x) / x / x / (x)	b

The stanza makes a number of adjustments to the text so that the metrical pattern established in stanza 1 stays unchanged. Thus, line 2 realizes "loved" as a disyllabic word, while line 3 adds one extra syllable (the line had 9 instead of 8 syllables), which forces the melisma seen in line 1 (whereby the word "cry" was sung over two quavers) to disappear in order to accommodate the syllable ("more" is thus set to the second quaver). Line 4 also has one extra syllable (that is 8 instead of 7), but providing that the first stanza does not make use of melisma at this point, the two solutions which could be used to accommodate that syllable would be (i) inserting one extra musical event/note (a quaver) at the end of the bar six or (ii) not pronouncing the first syllable in "alive," that is, realising an aphaeresis on that word.

From this succinct analysis we can draw a number of conclusions, namely (i) in broadside texts all lines tend to have roughly the same number of syllables distributed equally, (ii) in broadside tunes musical beats are distributed equally throughout the various stanzas, and (iii) the scansion of the text alone gives rise to a pattern which does not necessarily correspond to the musical metrical schema.[2]

The ballad *Sir Eglamore* is recorded in a seventeenth-century manuscript (Figure 4). Although the musical notation might look confusing to the contemporary reader, the time of this ballad is equivalent to 6/8, as the stemless black notes are twice the length of those with stems (Bronson 1969: 57).

Similarly to *Barbara Allen*, the ballad *Sir Eglamore* establishes a binary structure, although in this case the tune comprises sixteen bars divided into two eight--bar phrases by the middle cadence, which appears after the second element of the refrain (on bar 8):

[stanza/tune [phrase 1 [period 1 [subperiod 1 [bar 1] [bar 2]] [subperiod 2 [bar 3] [bar 4]]] [period 2 [subperiod 3 [bar 5] [bar 6]] [subperiod 4 [bar 7] [bar

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2   These tendencies are analysed as Optimality Theory constraints in Rodríguez-Vázquez (2010a; 2010b).

8]]]] [phrase 2 [period 3 [subperiod 5 [bar 9] [bar 10]] [subperiod 6 [bar 11] [bar 12]]] [period 4 [subperiod 7 [bar 13] [bar 14]] [subperiod 8 [bar 15] [bar 16]]]]]]

Fig. 4. *Sir Eglamore*

    This ballad responds to a metrical organisation which is quite different from the one in *Barbara Allen*. In this case, the progression of the narrative developed in the first quatrain is slowed down by the introduction of a one-line non-word refrain (italics in Table 3) as a part of each stanza – similarly to the refrain in *The Twa Sisters*. Hendren (1936: 100) defines a refrain as "any element in a stanza that does not contribute to the narrative and is repeated from stanza to stanza in a given ballad." Although refrains in ballad collections have not been given much importance, their placement and metrical organisation is essential for the song. This refrain divides the first couplet ("Sir Eglamore, that valiant Knight,/He took up his Sword, and he went to fight") but not the second one, which is kept as an iambic tetrameter rhyming couplet and allows the narrative to progress.

Table 3. Scansion of *Sir Eglamore* (stanza 1)

Line	Metre	Rhyme
Sir Eglamore, that valiant Knight,	x / x / x / x /	a
Fa la lanky down dilly;	/ x / x (x) / x	b
He took up his Sword, and he went to fight,	x / (x) x / (x) x / x /	a
Fa la lanky down dilly;	/ x / x (x) / x	b
And as he rode o'er Hill and Dale,	/ x / x / x /	c
All Armed with a Coat of Male,	x / x / x / x /	c
Fa la la, la la la, lanky down dilly.	/ x x / x x / x x / x	b

    In this ballad, which comprises four quatrains with three interspersed refrain lines – that is, each stanza is made up of seven lines –, the number of syllables per line varies between seven and ten. The melisma observed in the first line in Table 4, where the syllable "-more" is set to two pitches, allows accommodating any extra syllables in the subsequent stanzas. Thus, the first line of the second stanza fills every note with a different syllable, in such a way that the original melisma disappears, while the first line of the third stanza leaves the initial upbeat unfilled, giving rise to non-parallel settings of the text (see Rodríguez-Vázquez 2010a; 2010b).

Table 4. Melisma in different stanzas of *Sir Eglamore*

Musical events	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Stanza 1, line 1	Sir Eg- la- more_____, that val- iant Knight,								
Stanza 2, line 1	There leap'd a Drag- on out of her Den,								
Stanza 3, line 1	Then the Trees_____ beg- an to shake								
Stanza 4, line 4	But all in vain_____ it was to fear,								

The apparent iambic pattern of the couplet lines contrasts with the trochaic pattern of the refrain lines. As it was in *Barbara Allen*, the first syllable in each line is set to an upbeat – although in this case the upbeat syllable is not set to a lower pitch than the on-beat syllable: *Sir* (G) *Eg-* (G); *He* (G) *took* (G); *And* (G) *as* (B); *All* (B) *Arm-* (A) – so that the trochaic pattern wins over the iambic pattern.

The length of the musical phrases together with the slow narrative progression of the ballad might have occurred due to the fact that this was a dancing tune, as "the greater length gives space for the figures to develop, and the slow rate of narrative progression permits concentration rather on the dance than on the story" (Bronson 1969: 46).

We can conclude that the tune has imposed a formal structure on the ballad. On the one hand, it determines the type of stanza that can be used. The refrain is there because the tune "needs" it; actually, the intercalation of the refrain compels a self-contained syntax in lines one and three in order to sustain these lines as separable units of thought as well as separable melodic units. On the other hand, the syllables/metrical positions are distributed according to the musical beats, rhymes coincide with musical cadences, and the metrical pattern of the text remains secondary to the metre established by the time signature and rhythm of the tune.

Conclusions

If we seek to fully understand the metrics of ballad poetry it is necessary to analyse ballads as songs, where text and music interact in very particular ways. Although many old broadside ballad tunes have been lost or are difficult to trace back, the metrical characteristics of the existing texts must be analysed in the light of the metrical and melodic organisation of the tunes to which they were written, as those tunes determined the type of stanza used, the length of the lines, the type and use of refrains and even the rhyming scheme. With this analysis of two early broadside ballads, I hope it has been proved that the logical point of departure for a study of ballad rhythm is to be found in ballad melody.

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Wpływ muzyki na metrykę
na przykładzie dwóch siedemnastowiecznych ballad angielskich

Streszczenie

Ballada, jako gatunek literacki o specyficznych cechach metrycznych, została już dokładnie przeanalizowana w ramach badań literackich. Jednak, o czym się zapomina, niezależnie od tematyki badań, ballady były napisane by je śpiewać. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest wskazanie tego intymnego związku między tekstem i melodią na przykładzie dwóch siedemnastowiecznych ballad, twierdząc, ze nie jest możliwe pełne zrozumienie rytmu tekstu ballady bez zrozumienia struktury melodii, z której tekst ballady został wyjęty.

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THE LANGUAGE OF BIOMEDICINE:
THE LINGUO-PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

Success in today's competitive environment requires professionals to be on a cutting edge of the excessive demands set by contemporary business. Even if job functions vary from company to company, from institution to institution, there are common requirements to be met in today's labour market in communication across boarders.

In view of this, the present paper aims at examining the selected linguistic and pragmatic means underlying the application of the English language in the area of biomedicine. For the purpose of this study, the paper puts forward its definition to specify the analized subject

> English for biomedicine represents a subject-bound language, which exhibiting the common-core linguistic properties of the English language is used to reveal biomedicine area related information via particular linguo-pragmatic means and pragmatic principles applied in the context of respective transaction.

With reference to the subject matter of the discussion, the study was carried out in a selected domain of the research area mentioned, i.e. health care management, where the linguo-pragmatic means determining the language use in the sub-domain of health care management, i.e. health waste management (HWM), were examined. The obtained study results are seen as a valuable source for further analysis and examination of the linguo-pragmatic means and pragmatic principles applied to communicate information in the HWM domain.

The data on which the subsequent research discussion is based are drawn from the findings obtained from the research conducted within the framework of ERSP project "Support for the University of Latvia projects and other international cooperation events in science and technologies," which aimed at examining the selected linguo-pragmatic means governing HWM-related texts by using applied discourse analysis as *a research method*. The research conclusions drawn from the project will enable the authors of the paper to specify in the future a common set of linguo-pragmatic means determining the use of English as an instrument of professional communication in the domain of HWM. The corpus for the analysis,

which comprised 500,000 words, was based on examining the authentic materials published in *Medical Waste Management and Disposal* (2009).

In this context, the present paper aims to:

– examine the selected linguo-pragmatic means in order to determine some of the lexical level peculiarities that are typical for professional discourse in the HWM domain;

– identify the selected pragmatic principles in order to determine their employment in the communicative events related to the communicative purpose of the HWM domain.

Discourse of the specialist area-related communication

According to Bhatia (1998), "discourse analyses of institutionalised use of language in socio-cultural settings" exhibit an evident focus "on communication as social action" (Bhatia 1998: 4). This means that language tends to display specified characteristics of its use in different contextual situations. Professionals are interested in distinguishing how specific linguistic features are employed to construct professional discourse that is based on real-life communicative situations, settings and contexts.

To characterise a discourse community, Swales (1990) has listed five features: mechanisms of intercommunication among its members, common public goals, one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims, specific lexis and members with relevant content and discourse expertise (Swales 1990: 8).

Regarding applied discourse analysis as an approach to language study in applied linguistics, it establishes a growing research area in the present time investigation on effective communication strategies and tools applied among professionals in different sections and settings of the society. Applied discourse analysis builds on the investigation of on-going differentiation and specialization of the linguistic, pragmatic, socio- and psycholinguistic principles underlying communication in real-life situations, where the goal of the investigation is to analyse, understand and solve problems related to applying the language in practical contexts.

Thus, the central focus of the applied discourse analysis is not on language *per se,* but on language use in authentic contexts. The use of language in authentic contexts as well as its societal developments have created new forms for professional communication. They involve specified transactional principles observed among the transactants, on the one hand, and the use of advanced technical equipment and systems, on the other hand. In view of this, Gunnarsson (2006) asserts that "medical discourse, communication in social wealth care and natural science settings […] and genre issues in different settings are examples of applied discourse research areas in the 1990s" (Gunnarsson in van Dijk 2006: 285–303). Thus, it can be presupposed that professional level communication is determined by the internal and external level commonalities that govern the principles underlying modern forms of specialist communication. Without doubt, textual forms and created structures play powerful roles in staging daily activities of individuals performing on behalf of these professional areas. Consequently, the texts created for the HWM

domain present their own rhetorical patterns considering the specific linguistic and pragmatic means that characterize the respective discourse community, i.e. social health care system.

Pragmatics of specialist level communication

Within the framework of professional discourse study, the present paper intends not only to shed the light on examining the selected linguistic means governing the texts, but also on investigating the selected pragmatic principles that determine the meaning as it is implied in a professional communicative event.

According to Mey (1994), any communicative event is a social act that is implemented so that the participants of communication share their common knowledge, principles and rules of communication. Consequently, meta-pragmatics emphasises "the circumstances and conditions that allow people to use their language adequately" (Mey 1994: 27).

Drawing on Kant's four logical functions of reason, the linguistic philosopher Paul Grice postulated four maxims of conversation: maxim of quantity (make your contribution as informative as necessary for the current purposes); maxim of quality (make your contribution true); maxim of relevance (make your contribution relevant); maxim of manner (be clear, brief, orderly, avoid ambiguity) (Grice 1975). The use of conversational maxims to imply the meaning during interaction/transaction is known as conversational implicature, and the "co-operation" between the language users in applying the maxims is known as the cooperative principle.

Thus, it can be presupposed that professional subject-bound communication is a type of communicative event in which its participants are expected to employ certain linguistic means and pragmatic principles to cooperate with each other when making their contributions. It is generally known that conversational implicatures depend on the context of their use; therefore, according to Mey (1994: 20), "the pragmatic turn in linguistics can thus be described as a paradigm shift […] from the paradigm of theoretical grammar to the paradigm of the language user."

In view of this, it can be asserted that a professional communicative event in a respective area is expected to be based on specified linguistic properties and on identified pragmatic principles that contribute to creating professional discourse that presents information as informatively as requested (the maxim of quantity). Furthermore, creating professional area-related texts means assessing their relevance for the purpose of the reader (the maxim of relevance). Although much professional discourse follows standard formats and phrases, the characteristics of high quality text (the maxim of quality) are ensured if it represents the following features: a clear focus and significance, up-to-date information being relevant, sufficient and accurate, coherent organization, professional layout and presentation as well as compelling and appealing style (the maxim of manner).

Regarding the above stated points, the present paper tries to prove that a successful and effective professional discourse can be established, if conventionalised syntactic, specified semantic properties of the English language are applied, the communicative event being backed up by the Gricean Cooperative principle.

Kramina (2000: 123) asserts that language users can ignore this principle with good purpose; however, it is important that they develop an awareness of when and to what extent such violation of the conversation maxims is appropriate and effective.

To sum up, considering the above discussion about the principles underlying the English language use in the domain of HWM, the subsequent analysis attempts to reflect on some of the research results obtained at the empirical level of the study.

English for health waste management: the linguistic perspective

The domain of health waste management (HWM) is concerned with a wide range of processes – from handling waste as nonhazardous material to observing strict regulations of its segregation, packaging, labelling and tracking imposed by state regulations. Waste treatment technologies include steam sterilization, incineration and a number of recycling and reuse methods. The English language used for communication purposes in this domain employs specialized vocabulary and grammar to describe the processes. Thus, creating and understanding HWM-bound texts involve both the comprehension of the field and the awareness of specific linguistic means and grammatical forms.

Typical HWM texts include various types of genre: procedures and manuals, reports, explanations, research articles and technical notes. Each genre representing a professional-level subfield employs large numbers of operational lexical units that are systemically related to each other, which, with no doubt, can be easily recognized as one of the specifics characterising the nature of specialist area-related discourse. However, what is more difficult to recognize are the specific patterns of lexicon that play an important, if not central role in HWM text comprehension and production.

In this respect, Nation (2001) states that "knowing a word involves what words it typically occurs with" (Nation 2001: 56). Consequently, to gain a revealing insight into the subject areas of the HWM corpus, the present study attempts to analyse the selected co-occurrence patterns of the vocabulary employed.

It is generally accepted that there are two basic types of collocations: grammatical/syntactic collocations and semantic/lexical collocations (Benson 1985; Bahns 1993). Halliday (1989) in his turn asserts, that specialist area-related texts display the use of lexical collocations with a low frequency of use (Halliday 1989: 64). Thus, if the concept of word frequency refers to specialist context, it can be linked to the notion of register. Consequently, it can be presupposed that the HWM texts constructed in a formal register employ formal words and tend to apply less frequently used lexical items. Furthermore, Hill (1999) asserts that "collocation is the way words occur together in predictable combinations and any analysis of naturally-occurring text shows how densely collocations occur" (Hill 1999: 3–7).

In view of this, the present study has considered the selected density forming principles of the HWM topic-related words and has examined some instances of

their use in the text selection under analysis (*Medical waste management and disposal,* 2009).

In order to establish the methodological framework for this analysis, the study has applied McCarthy's (1991: 78–84) method established to examine professional discourse-organizing principles. This aims at revealing the nature of the topic-related words that develop a problem-solution-evaluation pattern in the discourse being examined.

Thus, to investigate the co-occurrence patterns of the selected content words, the present paper looks at the ways in which words tend to combine in collocations. As the volume of this paper is limited, it considers only a few instances regarding the use of content-related words, such as the nouns "health," "waste," "management," which, in general, in the discourse of HWM are employed as high-frequency words.

Considering that the above-mentioned nouns occur in frequently used fixed phrases and collocations in factual texts in the HWM context the study aims at examining whether the respective multi-word items function as elements of strong, weak or medium-strength collocations on the one hand, and whether the patterns proposed by Hill (1999) *verb+noun*, *adjective+noun* function in the HWM context, on the other hand. In addition, the study also attempts to identify the lexical uses of the words "health," "waste," "management" to create the problem-solution-evaluation pattern.

Applying Hill's (1999) lexical approach, it is evident that a large number of words occur frequently in particular combinations. Hill asserts that "they are strong collocations and they remain patchy in the quantity and quality of information. Weak collocations co-occur «with a greater than random frequency»" but "[…] for communicating meaning […], it is the area of medium-strength collocations" (Hill 1999: 3–7).

Thus, by employing the pattern *verb+noun*, the following collocations with the content word "waste" were identified in a restricted corpus of 4400 words of the source under analysis (2009: 13–133):

> to abolish, cause, treat, reduce, incinerate, combust, burn, eliminate, detect, eradicate, configure, utilize, penetrate, compact, reuse, recycle, mix waste; for example:

> To <u>mix</u> the <u>waste</u> with the combustion of high temperature air is another parameter that affects the completeness of combustion.

> To be effective, the sterilizing agent in a gas-sterilizing unit must be able to <u>penetrate</u> the <u>waste</u> and must be present in a sufficient concentration.

The respective pattern *verb+noun* was applied to identify the co-occurrence pattern regarding the content words "health" and "management" in the same corpus of texts. It turned out that the noun "health" forms a limited number of collocations in the HWM texts. To exemplify the above-stated, the study focused on examining the cases of co-occurrence to distinguish which verbs in the text collocate with the noun "health" with the highest rate of frequency. The following verbs forming the collocations corresponding to the Hill's (1999) pattern *verb+noun*

were identified: *to maintain, promote, recover, deteriorate, fail* smb's <u>health</u> (2009: 13–133), for example:

> The potential threat to <u>deteriorate</u> human <u>health</u> is posed by medical waste or the incineration thereof.

> Wastes falling into the category that can <u>fail</u> human <u>health</u> include insulin syringes.

As regards the content word "management," the study identified that the above discussed HWM-bound texts employ only a limited number of cases of co-occurrences that correspond to the pattern *verb+noun,* such as to *regulate*, *base, transfer, estimate, provide* management, for example:

> The <u>management</u> and disposal of these sources of medical waste will not be <u>regulated</u> by the tracking rule.

To consolidate the results of the data analysed above, it might be presupposed that the discourse of HWM employs its content words in specified collocations to refer to particular directions of the whole HWM activity. Thus, the noun "waste" being the content word used with the highest rate of frequency makes a vast range of collocations to follow the pattern *verb+noun*. Accordingly, the collocations involving the noun "waste," which are considered to function as the HWM discourse characterising lexical items, might be classified as the type of medium-strength collocations, because "they are used to communicate meaning" (Hill 1999: 3–7). Despite the fact that the collocations involving the nouns "health" and "management" are used with a low rate of frequency, the study presupposes that they might belong to the type of medium-strength collocations as well, because they communicate a significant contextual and situational meaning in the HWM discourse. In addition, "waste" collocations forming lexical phrases function to communicate information about medical waste handling methods, medical waste treatment methods, medical waste recycling methods and medical waste combustion methods. As regards "health" and "management" collocations, they function to communicate information about health hazard assessment, estimated costs of managing medical wastes and hospital medical waste maintenance.

As regards the content word co-occurrence corresponding to the *adjective + noun* principle, the study asserts that this principle is extensively applied in the HWM texts. The content words that follow the above-mentioned principle function as discourse-organizing and information-flow organizing linguistic and discursive instruments. The study shows that the identified occurrence patterns of specialist lexicon represent such stages in the HWM discourse as:

– stating the problem (e.g. characterization of medical waste: such as *infectious*, *contaminated, pathological, biological waste*; medical waste generation: such as *hospital, laboratory, clinics, dentists', physicians' blood bank waste*; health hazard assessment problems, problems arising due to improper management of medical wastes),

– suggesting solutions (e.g. medical waste handling methods: such as *national, safe management*; establishment of health care effectiveness; selection of waste management options),

– evaluation of solutions (e.g. assessment of medical waste maintenance; assessment of operational solutions with hospital waste management; waste minimization options and alike).

To consolidate, McCharty's (1991) problem-solution-evaluation pattern employing a frequent occurrence cases of certain content words in specified collocations, functions for the purpose of characterising a particular theme. This enhances the information flow associated with the description and characteristics of a certain phenomenon (what something is like), instruction (how to do something) and the evaluation of the situation or process.

English for health waste management: the pragmatic perspective

If the information stated above were referred to Halliday's (1989) theories of language functions, it would be safe to assert that in situational context, the collocations examined are employed as the linguistic means to organize the language user's experience of the real world (the ideational function) advancing the display of factual information in order to create texts (the textual function). For this reason, factual writing appears to be considered as an activity that is carried out in specified contexts with the target audience in mind. In other words, the audience analysis determines the choice of content (what and how much information is required) and the style of how the communicative event is presented.

To link the above discussion to the Gricean Cooperative principle, it would be safe to assert that the display of factual information in the professional area is revealed with clarity, precision, conciseness and the target audience analysis in mind. Pragmatically speaking and within the framework of the present study, the HWM-bound texts attempt to follow a logical pattern of text organization, going from more general to more specific issues, from their definition to the analysis or solution. Since the specialist texts are as specific as possible, they reveal only relevant information; thus, they ensure the clarity of the communicative event. Precision in the HWM-related texts means avoiding the words, lexical items and expressions that have many meanings and can result in ambiguity. Conciseness in professional discourse assures that it is direct and to the point.

Referring to the above-stated, the paper attempts to assert that the analysed professional texts seem to be drawn up successfully because the writer-reader relationship is observed in the text production process. Thus, Bhatia (1998: 9) referring to Grice's cooperative principle asserts that "in written discourse, the writer assumes a hypothetical reader for whom he/she is supposed to be writing, anticipating his/her reactions and adjusting his/her writing accordingly to facilitate communication." For this reason, the texts created for the HWM professional purposes appear to be multi-generic because they contain more than one type of mode of expression. One of the reasons for this is the specific and distinctive characteristics of the use of specialist vocabulary, style and the distinguishing criteria of audience dynamics.

Conclusions

To summarize the whole article, the study has drawn several conclusions, which might serve as a basis for understanding some generalities underlying professional discourse in the domain of HWM:

At a linguistic level, the professional area-related texts have markedly specific linguistic profiles. Factual, information-bearing professional discourse makes use of prefabricated medium-strength lexical collocations which function as discourse structure and information-flow organizing instruments, thus exhibiting subject--corpora distinguishing linguistic patterns.

At a pragmatic level, the communicative purpose and communicative events displayed through professional discourse are social acts, which are made possible by understanding the shared pragmatic principles to meet the professional needs of the participants in communication. In this context, the cooperative principle offers general guidelines for communication of specialist area-related information in the HWM domain.

In addition, applied discourse analysis can function as a pragmatic approach to study essential features of professional discourse because its principles serve to distinguish linguo-pragmatic means and pragmatic principles in professional discourse used by the participants in the relevant discourse community for the purpose of revealing professional-bound information.

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Język biomedycyny: perspektywa lingwistyczno-pragmatyczna

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł analizuje zastosowanie języka angielskiego w zarządzaniu zdrowiem publicznym. W ramach badań dokonano pragmatycznej analizy zastosowania języka w dziedzinie zarządzania odpadami medycznymi (HWM). Badania oparto o dane projektu ERSP. Jako metodę badawczą zastosowano analizę dyskursu. Wnioski przedstawiają listę typowych środków pragmatycznych decydujących o użyciu języka angielskiego jako narzędzia komunikacji w ramach HWM.

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L$_1$- AND L$_2$- INDUCED MISANALYSIS OF THE SOUND AND SUPRASEGMENTAL STRUCTURE IN PHILOLOGY STUDENTS' ENGLISH

Suprasegmental features of a language have been found to exert powerful impact on comprehensibility and communication, and thus, alongside the actual segmental inventories, form an integral part of oral communication. As Jenkins (2000: 78) underlines: "there is evidence that phonological problems regularly get in the way of successful communication not only in **inter**national contexts, but in **intra**national ones, too." And so, the differences between the varieties of a target language as exhibited by speakers of various mother-tongue backgrounds, appear to be greater in respect of phonological and phonetic patterns.

The present paper investigates cases of deviant pronunciation as observed in English (L2) speech by Polish students of English Philology. The focus, however, is not simply on the general substitution of English segments with their Polish counterparts – a practice familiar to any teacher of English. We concentrate mainly on one of the suprasegmental features, namely, the word stress.

The data collected as well as their analysis seem to unequivocally point to two major tendencies in wrongly applied word stress. It transpires from the observations and studies conducted, that numerous mispronunciations of diverse nature stem from either the strong L$_1$ substratum effect, especially when the suprasegmental features of word stress are taken into account, or, alternatively, the misanalysis is the result of wrongly perceived L$_2$ regularity. A third tendency may possibly be related to learners' psychological factors which are particularly at play with respect to the acquisition of L2 prosody. The consequence is a persistence of such errors in the development of an accent that could become acceptable in the sense that it approaches the standard.

In what follows, exemplification of the above-mentioned tendencies is going to be provided, as well as certain attempts at principled explanation will be offered. To begin with, an introduction to certain fundamental principles of second language phonology will be presented. This is to be followed by a brief description of word accent and a review of considerations into the role of L1 in L2 phonetic performance. The data and their analyses will be presented next, to be concluded with some principled explanation.

What is second language phonology?

The acquisition of the second language (L2) phonology involves a number of factors that are intermingled with the phonological system of the target language and that of the learner's first language (L1). Additionally, the development of L2 phonology exhibits certain regular patterns that are highly reminiscent of some language universals.

As implied in Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (1990), second language phonology involves the acquisition of the L2 phonetic inventory, but also the rules and processes obtained in the target language. However, during the L2 acquisition, the access to universal processes is more difficult since the phonological system of an adult learner is already formed, being limited to the selected processes, rules and representations. Thus, the L2 learner, in a conscious and controlled manner, has to re-learn some of those processes, unsuppressing and reordering some of the previously established patterns. Magdalena Wrembel (2007) proposes that it should be done in several stages: beginning with learning to adequately perceive the second language surface realizations, moving on to attempts at decoding L2-specific sound intentions and forming mental representations on the basis of adequately perceived L2 outputs, through consciously using phonological knowledge to relate inputs with outputs and thus discover the phonological processes operating in the second language, to finally reaching the stage when "perception feeds into production and conscious knowledge of articulation assists a learner's phonetic performance" (Wrembel 2007: 192–193).[1]

One idea transpires from work in the field, and that is that the second language phonology as a system "differs both from that of the target language (the one being learned) and that of the source language (the learners' own mother tongue)" (Atoye 1994: 38). The task of the language learners will be to acquire the contrasts within the segmental inventories[2] as well as those connected with the suprasegmental patterns. Juli Cebrian (2008: 107) rightly notices that "in addition to learning the phonemic inventory and phonetic variants, second language learners also face the task of learning the prosodic structure and phonotactic constraints of the target language." In both areas deviant forms (mispronunciations) are to be expected.

Mispronunciation generally refers to incorrect or inaccurate reproduction of an linguistic item. For the second language speaker, there may be *segmental* errors of pronunciation (generally those involving substitution of the L2 segment with the similar unit existing in the mother tongue) or *suprasegmental* mispronunciations (typically occurring in lexical stress, utterance-level stress, intonation and

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[1] Wrembel (2007) argues for the inclusion of phonological metacompetence, understood as conscious knowledge of and about the grammar of a language, into L2 phonology instruction. This is to be achieved through making the learner metalinguistically aware of the second language phonetics and phonology.

[2] It has to be underlined here that segmental issues in L2 phonology have been researched thoroughly and extensively; as a result rules and regularities have been elaborated to account, for example, for segmental substitutions and transfer (see Eckman, Elreyes and Iverson 2003; or Eckman, Iverson, Fox, Jacewicz, and Lee 2008).

phrasing) (Qian, Meng and Soong 2010). Some of those suprasegmentally inade-quate pronunciations appear quite idiosyncratic, that is, speaker-dependent and constrained to a limited number of speakers, while others are repeated, so that the particular error generalizes among speakers. It is this second type that is of particular interest for our analysis. The general assumption seems to be, though, that a learner must first perceive any given contrast to be able to implement it in production (Eckman et al. 2008). This applies both to segmental as well as suprasegmental patterns. Let us presently discuss one of those features, namely, the word accent.

Word stress[3] and its patterns

As Anthony Fox (2000: 114) warns, "accent has proved to be one of the most controversial of the prosodic features generating a considerable amount of theo-retical debate." A factor contributing to the complexity of the matter is the con-fusion concerning the terminology, where terms such as "stress," "accent," "ac-centuation" and "prominence" are implemented sometimes interchangeably, and sometimes explained tautologically.[4]

The definition of the word accent that appears to have gained general accept-ance is based on the implied notion of prominence, without specifying what this notion entails:

> Accent (stress) refers to the linguistic phenomenon in which a particular element of the chain of speech is singled out in relation to surrounding elements, irrespective of the means by which this is achieved (Fox 2000: 115).

The above definition is further clarified in van der Hulst (2010a: 4), who claims that the stressed syllable is pronounced in a manner "perceptually more «salient» than other syllables." This is usually perceived by native speakers as involving more "force" of articulation. This articulatory force, phonetically, com-prises a number of distinct properties which the stressed syllable possesses to a greater degree in comparison to the unaccented syllables. These properties may concern more precise (and sometimes longer) articulation of the vowel, higher amplitude levels and higher pitch – all this is sometimes subsumed under a cover term "intensity." Likewise, it frequently happens that the consonants of the ac-cented syllables are also characterized by articulatory precision, longer duration, aspiration, affrication, etc. Unaccented syllables will then show these properties to a lesser degree, with vowels or consonants pronounced "weakly."

The above-mentioned features belong to the so-called *phonetic (allophonic) cues* of an accent. Besides these, accent may also have *phonotactic cues*, notably the regularities that decide upon the distribution of segments in the word, such as segment structure constraints (inventory of phonemes) and sequence structure

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[3] In this paper we shall use both "stress" and "accent" to refer to the same phenomenon of accentuating within the domain of the word.

[4] For example, in statements such as "Accentuation is achieved by means of accents" (Fox 2000: 115).

constraints (possible combinations of those) (van der Hulst 2010a). When compared to accented syllables, which allow more segment types and more complex combinations of those, the unaccented ones display a reduction is segmental and sequential options. To give but one example, in languages in which there is a phonemic length contrast among vowels, that contrast may be demonstrated only in stressed syllables, with only short vocalic nuclei permitted in unaccented ones.[5] The cues for stress/accent are repeated below after van der Hulst (2010a: 9), for ease of reference:

(1) Phonetic and phonological properties of accented syllables:
a. The syllable has greater duration,
b. The syllable has a balanced spectral tilt,
c. The syllable has greater amplitude,
d. The syllable has a higher fundamental frequency (pitch),
e. The segments are pronounced with greater precision or extra phonetic traits (such as full vowel quality, aspiration),
f. There are some extra phonotactic possibilities, i.e. greater complexity,
g. The syllable marks sites for morphological processes,
h. The syllable is an anchor for intonational tones.

In English, apparently, the location of accent is signaled by all those cues together, thus it can be said that accent in English is manifested as an amalgam of several different properties which need not be equally important under all circumstances.

Van der Hulst (1999: 5) remarks interestingly on the scope of accent as a prosodic feature, saying that the symbol marking a stressed nucleus is introduced as a property of a particular syllable and the accent is clearly the property of the whole word. This property is further supported by two functions that, typically, stress accent may assume, namely the (potential) *cumulative* and *demarcative* functions of accent. The first of these is seen when we observe the fact that "accents are «maxima» of some kind, which implies that each accent «signals» the presence of one accentual «domain.» If we take the domain to be the «word» [...] one might say that accents function to signal the number of words in a sentence." (van der Hulst 1999: 5). The other function assists in uniquely determining the exact boundaries between the words, especially in languages in which the location of stresses is fixed on a particular syllable of the word.

This is not to say that a given syllable cannot be singled out by a different set of prominence cues. In some phonological systems, the special status of the stressed syllable is achieved through association with (higher) pitch. Hence, in different traditions[6], a distinction has been maintained between *stress-accent systems* (like English or Polish) and *pitch accent systems* (like Tokyo Japanese). Consequently, the

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[5] Van der Hulst (2010a) discusses a number of phonetic and (distributional) phonotactic differences between accented and unaccented syllables. Presentation of all these goes beyond the scope of this paper, the reader is therefore referred to this position for detailed discussion.

[6] See Fox (2000) for a detailed and insightful discussion of those facts.

more general term *accent* is seen as the overall property of "standing out," *stress* refers to a heterogeneous collection of phonetic cues/properties, whereas *pitch* stands for the case when the location of the accented syllable is cued by (possibly higher) pitch (Fox 2000; van der Hulst 1999, 2010a).

Since, as has been mentioned above, the accent is the property of the word rather than individual syllables, it seems natural to treat the syllable that prevails over all other in the given domain as the location of *primary accent*. The other syllables are then recognized as *unaccented*. The fact that also monosyllables[7] can bear accent suggests that "being accented" is not a purely relative notion. The importance of the distinction between accented and unaccented (mono)syllables becomes clear if we consider the pronunciation of utterances and the *intonational melody* associated with them.

Not all syllables that bear the primary accent are felt to be equal in salience. In English, for instance, syllables marked with a non-primary accent cannot have pronunciation with a schwa-like vowel, characteristic for unaccented ones. These secondary-stressed syllables have full-vowel quality, a property shared with primary accented vowels and yet they are felt to be less salient than the primary accented syllables.

To sum up this part of the paper, it can be stated that, phonologically, stress is considered as a specific implementation of a constituent structure. At the level of a word, the constituent structure in question is some sort of metrical structure. That is, for a syllable of a phonological word to be stressed it has to occupy a relatively stronger position in the metrical constituent structure that other syllables of the same phonological word. The strength relations may be directly coded into the metrical tree or they may be derivable from more general parameters like, for example, headedness, edge marking or foot typology. All that constitutes a unique representation with its own rules and principles, which only on the input-output interface exchanges information with the morphological and phonological components (Dogil and Williams 1999: 273).

The word-stress patterns typologies

Harry van der Hulst (2010a) somewhat euphemistically remarks that the diversity in accentual patterns is substantial. As many as 132 different manners in which languages can encode the location of primary accents have been identified. In an attempt to present some major trends in a typology of basic parameters underlying surface accentuation, van der Hulst (2010a: 33) divides the languages into two major groups:

(2) a. Group 1: *fixed accent languages:* these languages always have primary accent on a particular syllable in the word (e.g. Czech, Finnish, Turkish, Macedonian, Polish).

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[7] Among monosyllabic words in English there is a majority which must always be pronounced with a full vowel quality, i.e. not a schwa, likewise there is also the subset where schwa-like pronunciation is fully acceptable in utterances (van der Hulst 1999: 6).

b. Group 2: *variable stress languages*: here the location of stress is not the same for every word but depends on one or more word-internal factors. This location is fully determined for every word, but across the lexicon different locations are observed (Epena Pedee, Malayalam, Ossetic, English (?)).

When analyzing the primary accent in fixed primary accent languages (group 1) one notices six possible positions for accent location (van der Hulst 2010a: 33):

(3) *Primary accent positions*:
    a. Left: Initial, Second, Third
    b. Right: Ultimate, Penultimate, Antepenultimate

It appears that these patterns are not all encountered equally frequently: the penultimate possibly being the most common and exceeding the initial location, with the ultimate coming in the third place. It has been advocated that metrical phonology convincingly expresses the restricted edge-based nature of fixed accents (ibid., 37).

In Group 2 of languages, the accent is not fixed on one particular syllable in the word, it location being sensitive to internal properties of the target syllable, notably to *syllable weight*. Syllables are thus treated as either heavy or light in such a *quantity* sensitive accent system (ibid., 38), and, naturally, heavy syllables will attract stress. Light syllables receive stress only if the heavy ones are not available for accentuation. What makes a syllable light or heavy will differ from one language to another, yet there are certain important (if not universal) determinants. Among the typical ones we can enumerate vowel length and syllable closure, both as independently or jointly working factors. Consequently, we speak of light syllables when they are open and with a short vowel in the nucleus, while long ones regularly are those where the nucleus contains a long vowel, where the syllable is closed by a consonant or an interplay of both factors.

Apart from the accent systems outlined above, the typology distinguishes also lexical stress systems where the position of the accent is completely unpredictable and thus marked lexically, as it can fall anywhere in the domain.[8] Some languages may additionally opt for partial lexical marking, i.e. only a part of its vocabulary will have lexical marking for accent placement.

All in all, two factors appear to play a critical role in determining the position of primary accent: domain and syllable weight.

Having outlined the main typological distinctions concerning accent patterns, let us proceed to describe the accentuation systems[9] of two languages which are immediately relevant to the forthcoming analysis of subjects' performance.

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[8] As in Russian or Tokyo Japanese.

[9] As expected, out of necessity and space limitations, this is going to be only a piecemeal outline of the elaborate system, with no attempts at principles explanation. For this, the reader is referred to, e.g., Trommelen and Zonneveld (1999) for English and Dogil (1999), Dogil and Williams (1999) for Polish.

The word-stress pattern of English

The stress pattern found in English has been compactly defined in, among others, van der Hulst (2010b: 445) and repeated below in what he calls "approximation:"

(4) *The regularities of English stress*

Primary stress falls on the final syllable in nouns if the vowel is long, in verbs if the vowel is long or there are two closing consonants.

In other cases, stress falls on the penult if it contains a long vowel or coda.

Else stress is antepenultimate.

Secondary stress falls on alternate syllables to the left (many exceptions).

Trommelen and Zonneveld (1999: 479) put these ideas in the following way: "main word stress in English is assigned leftward from the righthand edge of the word, in a quantity-sensitive fashion," and thus it falls on "the rightmost available vowel," given that "(i) any final rhyme is skipped, and (ii) a prefinal rhyme with a short vowel in an open syllable is disregarded" (ibid., 479). Thus, it appears that English has a quantity-sensitive right edge system. Moreover, heavy syllables assume all the shapes listed above: a long vowel (or diphthong) in an open syllable, a short vowel in a closed syllable as well as the so-called "super-heavy rhymes" – long vocalic segment followed by a coda consonant. The final consonant in a word domain is typically extrametrical – it does not count for the purposes of stress placement. In derived words, English observes a distinction between stress-determining and stress-neutral affixes. Van der Hulst (2010b: 449) remarks that in English the antepenultimate accent is generally more widespread than in its sister languages. This seems to be a direct consequence of the way English implements the extrametricality rule.

The words-stress pattern of Polish

Polish, being the member of West Slavic group within the Indo-European family, together with its sister languages shares the trait of having a weight-insensitive accentuation system, where the location of the primary accent is independent of the phonological structure of the word and insensitive to its morphological make-up. Generally, the West Slavic stress systems do not refer to quantity distinctions, since stress parameters fix stress onto a particular syllable irrespective of its weight or whether its nucleus is a long or a short vowel (Dogil 1999: 437). In the succinct words of van der Hulst (2010b: 453) the following stress pattern regularity is observed for Polish:

(5) The Polish stress type

    a. Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

    b. Secondary stress on alternate syllables counted from the left (not on the antepenult).

Thus, accent appears to be bounded and usually purely edge-based.

Dogil (1999) shows that the same pattern is found in Polish under narrow focus, where the prominence relation is reversed – primary stress falls on the initial syllable and secondary one on the last but one. However, in a subset of words, possibly lexically marked, the main stress is located on the antepenultimate or ultimate syllable. They belong to the so-called "learned vocabulary" and come in two groups. In the first group, the stem is penultimately stressed if it appears alone, e.g. *gra'matyk* ("grammarian," nom, sg. m), but when a monosyllabic inflection is added to it, the stress moves to the antepenultimate locus, e.g., *gra'matyka* ("grammarian," gen, sg, m). If two or more inflectional endings are added to the stem, stress is penultimate again *gramaty'kami* ("grammarian," instr, pl, m). The second group of words consists of words which have antepenultimate stem stress – e.g. *uni'wersytet* ("university"), *'opera* ("opera"), but a penultimate stress with endings – e.g. *uniwersy'tetu, ope'rowy.* The words with exceptional final stress bear it in isolation, but endings follow, penultimate stress is created – e.g. *re'żim, re'żimu, reżi'mowi* ("regime," nom./gen./dat., sg, m) (ibid., 833). The antepenultimate or even preantepenultimate stress may also be observed in a verbal paradigm in Polish. The conditional affix {-by}, and 1 and 2 person past tense endings {-śmy}, {-ście} never receive stress.

An additional interesting fact about this system is that stress is not moved to the right when affixes are added. This is due to their clitic status. It is proposed that these enclitics are not metrified at all in Polish and, thus, never participate in the computation of stress (ibid., 835).

The suprasegmetal handicap of speakers of Polish

The widespread assumptions concerning suprasegmetal contrasts such as tone, length, stress or pitch accent also give rise to perceptual difficulties for speakers of languages where such contrast do not occur. Peperkamp, Vendelin and Dupoux (2010) refer to the difficulty of perceiving stress at the phonological level as "stress deafness." In their experiment they tested and contrasted speakers of several languages with predictable stress (Southeastern French, standard French, Finnish, Hungarian and Polish) comparing them to speakers of Spanish as a control group, where stress can have a contrastive function in the word domain. Two factors were considered critical here, namely the domain of stress assignment and lexical use of one or more phonetic correlates of stress. With French having phrase-level stress assignment on a fixed position (the phrase-final syllable) and the remaining languages having predictable stress, either on the initial syllable (Hungarian and Finnish) or regularly assigned to the word's last but one syllable (Polish)[10], it turned out that the domain factor needs to be considered in tandem with differences regarding the presence or absence of lexical exceptions. Only Polish shows a small number of exceptional words, mostly of Greek or Latin origin or foreign places names, with irregular stress placement on the antepenultimate

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[10] This does not mean that all words regularly end in a sequence of stressed syllable followed by an unaccented one, since Polish has numerous monosyllabic lexical words which also receive stress (Peperkamp et al. 2010: 423).

or final syllable. In their research they concluded that as far as the perception of stress is considered, the listeners apparently fall into three sub-classes listed below:

(6) "Stress deafness" categories (Peperkamp et al. 2010: 428)

    a. no "deafness:" exhibited by speakers of languages with unpredictable stress and a large number of lexical exceptions – Spanish

    b. weak "deafness:" exhibited by speakers of languages with predictable stress and few lexical exceptions – Polish

    c. strong "deafness:" exhibited by speakers of languages with predictable stress and no lexical exceptions irrespective of variability of stress position and its domain

On the whole, Polish speakers generally performed much better than speakers of other languages (like Spanish), at least on perception tasks. These results offer a promising "path" in which it can possibly be assumed that this discriminating ability can be implemented to the speakers' advantage when a suprasegmental pattern of a foreign language is being acquired, a line of thinking that we would like to pursue and verify.

However, before this is even attempted, several issues concerning the notion of phonological transfer need to be addressed.

L_1 phonological transfer

Generally speaking, there is no ground to suppose that L_1 will not influence the phonology of English as a Second Language if the first language influence on the acquisition of English as L_2 has been confirmed by numerous studies.[11] As Hickey (1990: 219) rightly remarks, the interaction of two languages must invariably lead to interference, which will not be limited to one linguistic level. Silva (2008), when considering what she calls the traditional account on L2 phonological level of acquisition, notes that "interphonology plays a special role during the acquisition process, since we can find in it facts from both languages – the subject's native language and the second language he is acquiring" (Silva 2008: 446). It is likewise assumed that, typically, the mother tongue phonology can exert some influence on the acquisition of the target language phonology, so that learners transfer at least some facts of their L1 phonology to the second language.

A number of analyses in this field assumed that, basically, the L2 learners will apply the phonological characteristics of their L1 to the target language, and this appears to be the dominant pattern. The (negative) result of this phenomenon is a number of possible mispronunciations, deviating in a number of significant ways from the canonical shape of the L2 item. The idea was compactly presented in X. Qian, H. Meng and F. Soong (in press) and is reproduced below:

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[11] See for example Wee (2009) for a review of the Asian situation.

(7)   L1 negative transfer

$$C \longrightarrow O$$

(where C stands for canonical pronunciations; and O – for observed pronunciations)

Most of these analyses concentrate on segmental errors of pronunciation, and as such, the causes of those identified by the authors generally seem to fall into three categories (X. Qian, H. Meng and F. Soong [in press]):

(8) Causes of mispronunciation:
    1. L1 negative transfer
    2. Incorrect letter-to-sound conversion ("mispronunciation by analogy:" analyst ['ænəlaɪst])
    3. Misread words ("cloak" read as "clock")

Of these, only the first cause will be treated in this paper to investigate the process of mispronunciation production, the remaining two concerning mostly instances of deviation in the segmental make-up of words. It is hoped that exploring the L1 – L2 relationship in the acquisition of the second language prosodic structure may prove instructive in trying to account for a number of prosodically deviant forms.

The most characteristic manifestation of L1 influence on L2 performance, as pointed out by Rasier and Hiligsmann (2009), is the notorious "foreign accent," where the phonological features of the mother tongue seem to perceptibly dominate over the target language phonological pattern. This has been particularly well-documented in the area of segmental issues, neglecting suprasegmental matters.

Rasier and Hiligsmann (2009) explain that the first step in any examination of L1 – L2 (phonological) relationship must begin with a contrastive analysis of comparable data, a comparison which ought to result in a contrastive-typological description of native speech which preferably should have predictive and explanatory value for L2 facts. In other words, a typological difference between the two systems is sought. An example in the area of language prosody is presented below:

(9) Typological (prosodic) difference:
    L1: fixed locus of stress
    L2: variable locus of stress

Research also reveals that there are rather substantial differences between languages in terms of their patterns of utterance-level accentuation. Mennen (2007), for instance, advocates the claim that there is evidence that transfer or interference from the L1 is an important factor in the production of L2 intonation. A contrastive evaluation of the two languages can generate predictions as to the kind and, importantly, degree of difficulty of certain aspects of L2 intonation. He compares the influence that L1 and L2 have on each other as far as intonation is concerned to the types of relationship demonstrable at the level of the segment.

In such instances the cross-linguistic phonological influence will manifest itself in segment substitution, accompanied by differences in phonetic details. This, in principle, ought to help in determining the actual source of the L2 error, rather than simply ascribing it broadly to the native language interference.

Hirschfeld and Trouvain (2007), although discussing German (not English) as a foreign language, remark that "some features of [German] prosody nearly always lead to difficulties for language learners: typical melodic contours […], assignment and production of lexical stress, structuring and realization of rhythm" (Hirschfeld and Trouvain 2007: 174). These problems will naturally be different, both in type and degree, depending (among others) on the speakers' first language.

Generally, many researches seem to agree that the first language influence on the L2 phonological (including suprasegmental) structure is a viable cause, though by no means the only source of (accentual) mispronunciations. Data presentation and analysis is now called for in an attempt to arrive at some sort of principled and uniform explanation.

The data: collection and analysis

Ulrike Gut (2007) points out to currently existing limitations of current research methods in second language prosody. The major one of those is that the research tends to be based on a relatively small database with a limited number of participants. She explains this limitation in the following way: "due to the scarcity of learner speech corpora the analysis of learner phonology or prosody have so far been impossible" (Gut 2007: 146).[12] The common conviction appears to be that L2 learners benefit in a number of ways from working on comparisons of native and non-native speech, likewise, their overall language awareness increases. In the pages to follow, the data collected through small-scale college-classroom research are going to be classified and examined.

The material collected

The samples of English spoken by students of English Philology in the Pedagogical University of Cracow were collected in the period of one and a half academic year (October 2009 – March 2011). The individual words, rather than being recorded or saved digitally, were first transcribed in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) font and then stored. The data comprise primarily instances of phonetic performance of first year students, however, these are supplemented by instances occasionally collected in other groups of students, for example students of German or French doing English as a minor. Thus, the general language proficiency of the subjects was, to the extent it was possible to judge, approximately similar. Overall, nearly 400 non-canonical (mis)pronunciations were observed, all involving misplacement of the primary accent in the target word.

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[12] Gut (2007) then goes on to advocate the pedagogical value of learner's corpora and mentions specifically the LeaP (Learning Prosody) Corpus, providing a fully annotated base of English and German learners. While agreeing with her on the general principle, we shall nonetheless opt for a small scale data investigation – such as is available to the author.

The deviant forms were observed during the classes in different subjects, mostly, however, during the classes in practical phonetics. This was indeed rather unexpected since the practice stage of most of these classes consists of numerous repetitions of the assigned material, most of which is recorded in IPA phonetic transcription either prepared earlier by the students themselves (and verified with the help of the lecturer through class practice) or included in the printed material.[13] Thus, the data collection took place among subjects who were, at least partially, phonetically trained. This may have contributed to some extent to the occurrence of certain deviant forms, since their overall spoken language awareness is much greater than that of an average non-native language user. This awareness manifested itself in the regular vocalic melody shifting, namely, in a word where the accent was misplaced; the concomitant changes in vocalic quality occurred as well: in unstressed positions the vowel was reduced to schwa, in a newly/wrongly stressed one full vowel quality regularly appeared. Likewise, students frequently applied secondary accentuation in agreement with the regular patterning found in English.

Let us presently move on to exemplify the observed cases and discuss the implications behind the wrong accentuation.

Non-canonical forms observed

Three separate sets of data are presented for the subsequent analysis. The instances shown below are but a part of the actually observed mispronunciations. The presentation will be organized according to the grouping of the data into three major categories of mistakes, believed to stem from a different deviance source. As expected, a number of border cases will not be small. The tables will include the spelling variant of the word, the canonical (British) English form[14] and the observed mispronunciation.

Atoye (1994: 38) proposes the following conclusions for his research in the similar area of grammar:

(10) Deviant stress pattern regularities

a. speakers of an interlanguage (IL) from the same language background use the same rules to generate common deviant forms;

b. these rules are based upon linguistic knowledge commonly available to speakers;

c. the incorrect forms are generated mainly by the rules of speakers' native language.

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[13] The primary source for practice material is the recently published *How Much Wood Would a Woodchuck Chuck? English Pronunciation Practice Book* (Mańkowska, Nowacka and Kłoczowska 2009), where the organization of the book is such that words (or sentences) for practice are spelled orthographically and accompanied by IPA transcritption.

[14] The canonical form transcription is taken from Wells (1996) *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*, assumed to be the reliable recording of what is considered the standard accent. No page reference is given alongside the transcription.

The first two points appear uncontroversial. It remains to be verified whether for the data collected in this sample the third conclusion is valid too. This is why we begin with the examples where the L1 interference appears to play a role.

L$_1$-induced suprasegmentally deviant forms

Table 1 lists twenty-five examples of wrongly accented words as observed in the sample, arranged in random order. All of them are three-syllable long or longer. In several deviant forms secondary stress has been recorded.

Table 1. Exemplification of penultimately mis-accented words

	The word	Canonical form	Observed form
1	stereo	ˈsterɪəu	steˈriəu
2	development	dɪˈveləpmənt	devəˈləupmənt
3	mischievous	ˈmɪstʃɪvəs	mɪsˈtʃiːvɪəs
4	ambassador	æmˈbæsədə	ˌæmbəˈsædə
5	moustache	məsˈtɑːʃ	ˈmʌstəʃ
6	criticism	ˈkrɪtɪsɪzəm	krɪˈtɪsɪzm
7	capitalism	ˈkæpɪtəlɪzəm	ˌkæpɪˈtælɪzm
8	antagonism	ænˈtægənɪzəm	ˌæntəˈgonɪzm
9	desperate	ˈdespərət	dəsˈperejt
10	separate	ˈsepəreɪt	səˈpʌrejt
11	company	ˈkʌmpni	kəmˈpʌnɪ
12	orchestra	ˈɔːkəstrə	ɔːˈkestrə
13	political	pəˈlɪtɪkl	ˌpolɪˈtɪkəl
14	consequently	ˈkɒnsɪkwəntli	ˌkɒnsiˈkwentli
15	subsequently	ˈsʌbsɪkwəntli	ˌsʌbsɪˈkwentli
16	ignorant	ˈɪgnərənt	ɪgˈnɒrənt
17	photograph	ˈfəutəgrɑːf	fəˈtɒgrɑːf
18	businessman	ˈbɪznəsmæn	bɪzˈnesmən
19	inadequacy	ɪnˈædəkwəsi	inəˈdekwəsi
20	inseparably	ɪnˈsepərəbli	ɪnsəpəˈræbli
21	indirect	ɪnˈdaɪrəkt	ɪnˈdaɪrekt
22	processes (N, pl)	ˈprəusəsɪz	prəˈsesɪs/prəuˈsesɪz
23	calendar	ˈkæləndə	kəˈlendə
24	hospital	ˈhɒspɪtl	həsˈpɪtəl
25	elevator	ˈelɪveɪtə	ˌelɪˈveɪtə

A more detailed examination of the data presented in the table demonstrates a visible tendency to accentuate the penultimate syllable of the L2 target, which points to indirect transfer from the speakers' first language. It is generally

accepted that this type of interplay between the L1 and L2 will result in difficulties with the correct stress placement. More specifically, the typological difference between the phonological suprasegmental systems of English and Polish, as defined in (9) above and resulting from the fact that the subjects's L1 belongs to *fixed accent languages* (2a) whereas their L2 to *variable stress languages* (2b), is to be held responsible for the lexical stress being placed on the wrong syllable. The examples presented in the table demonstrate the prevailing tendency to necessarily shift the stress to the fixed penultimate locus that is defined for a language like Polish. The rule for primary stress placement is transferred into the subjects' interphonology and alleviates whatever regularities of the English system the L2 speakers may have indirectly absorbed, so that the penultimate stress is predominant.

It is perhaps interesting to notice that all examples listed in table 1 (save one – number 5) present a progressive stress shift (Atoye 1994). Put differently, (any) word stressed on the initial syllable in native English speech has the primary accent moved to a later syllable in the word. The same is true for forms with post--initial (second) syllable receiving primary stress (examples 2, 4, 8, 13, 19–21). The afore-mentioned example number 5 represents an opposite trend, but nevertheless the target last-but-one syllable is the new locus. Sometimes, the penultimate syllable arises so as a result of de-syllabifying an otherwise syllabic sonorant of English – a possibility denied to native speakers of Polish, where in principle no consonant can be syllabic (examples 11, 13, 24).

A yet different regularity seems to be at work here, namely, that speakers regularly implement changes in the melodic contours in the now new stressed and unstressed syllables. Where some of them are assigned secondary stress (viz. deviant forms in 4, 7–8, 13–15 and 25), the vocalic melody is not one of the three vowels typically found in unstressed syllables in English, that is [ɪ, ʊ, ə]. In other cases, when the canonical and the observed deviance are compared, one can notice adaptations of vowel melody to the stressed/unstressed status of the syllable.

Despite the warning formulated by Mennen (2007: 63), what is perceived as errors in stress placement may in fact be differences in the phonetic realization of stress, the examples caused by a phonological influence of the group's L1. This is further corroborated by the instances of forms where the accent mis-placement was observed in inflected, but not in the radical form. Thus, the instances of pairs like *circumstance* [ˈsɜːkəmstəns] – *circumstances* [ˌsɜːkəmsˈtɑːnsɪz] were common. Admittedly, the mis-location of accent was judged impressionistically, yet it was done by phonetically-trained specialists, a factor which speaks in favour of the validity of those judgements. Added to the pervasive commonality of this type of prosodic error in the material collected, the recorded evidence allows us to state that Atoye's (1994) conclusions (as stated in (10) above) prove to be positively validated.

However, it is to be naturally expected that not all wrongly-stressed forms are traceable only to the first language interference. Some demonstrate the effects of intralingual transfer or misanalysis.

Wrongly perceived L₂ regularity

Many apparent and actual mispronunciations can be interpreted as the instances of false analogy. Tables 2 and 3 contain examples of such deviant forms identified in the data. Table 2 lists fifteen words which prosodic structure is violated and the wrong syllable is stressed. The material demonstrates the different sources of erroneous production; the common principle behind them is that they have been modeled on some other forms of L2 (English), which looked deceptively similar to the subjects – that is, they perceived the similarity in orthographic, segmental and prosodic terms and falsely analogizing the form produced the observed deviations.

Table 2. Misanalogy-induced forms: false approximation

	The word	Canonical form	Observed form	Possible source of analogy
1	purpose	ˈpɜːpəs	pəˈpəʊz	supˈpose/proˈpose
2	determine	dɪˈtɜːmɪn	ˈdetəmain	mine
3	determiner	dɪˈtɜːmɪnə	ˌdetəˈmainə	miner
4	economic	ˌiːkəˈnɒmɪk	ɪˈkɒnəmɪk	eˈconomy
5	interrogative	ˌɪntəˈrɒgətɪv	ɪnˈterəgətɪv	inˈterrogate
6	political	pəˈlɪtɪkl	ˈpolɪtɪkəl	ˈpolitics
7	message	ˈmesɪdʒ	məˈsɑːʒ/məˈsɑːdʒ	massage/garage
8	barrier	ˈbæriə	bəˈrɪə	carˈrer
9	obligatory	əˈblɪgətəri	ˌɒblɪˈgætəri	comˈpulsory/moˈnastery
10	category	ˈkætəgəri	kəˈtegəri	comˈpulsory/moˈnastery
11	complicate	ˈkɒmplɪkeɪt	ˌkɒmplɪˈkeɪt	transˈlate
12	calculate	ˈkælkjuleɪt	ˌkælkjuˈleɪt	transˈlate
13	congratulate	kənˈgrætʃuleɪt	ˌkɒngrətʃuˈleɪt	transˈlate
14	demonstrate	ˈdemənstreɪt	ˌdemənsˈtreɪt	transˈlate
15	interview	ˈɪntəvjuː	ɪntəˈvjuː	view

Probably the most striking of those examples are those numbered 1, 2 and 3. Here, the non-phonological factors including orthographic similarity and the accompanying phonetic segmental approximation, applied through analogy, resulted in prosodically ill-formed formations. This false analogy may give the impression that phonetic approximation is very much wide-spread. Whether the approximation is intentional or naïve (Paradis and LaCharite 2008) is not the issue to be tackled here.[15] The common observation demonstrates that such forms are the

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[15] Paradis and LaCharite (2008) discuss false analogy and phonetic approximation in relation to borrowing adaptations. We believe, however, that the terms can be applied to the issues discussed here, since the observed interactions likewise take place between the phonological systems of two languages by native speakers of one trying to learn the patterns of the other.

examples of L2-induced segmental and accentual misanalysis, based on wrongly identified L2 pattern.

Table 3 presents the instances of a similar phenomenon. This time we observe 12 cases of an accent shift dependent on the grammatical category membership of a given word.

Table 3. Misanalogy-induced forms: grammatical class accent shift

	The word	Canonical form	Observed apparent Noun accentuation	Observed apparent Verb accentuation
1	select	sə'lekt	'seləkt	------
2	request	rɪ'kwest	'riːkwest	------
3	support	sə'pɔːt	'sʌpɔːt	-------
4	report	rɪ'pɔːt	'riːpɔːt	-------
5	result	rɪ'zʌlt	'riːzʌlt/'rezʌlt	---------
6	review	rɪ'vjuː	'revjuː	-------
7	mistake	mɪs'teɪk	'mɪsteɪk	------
8	demand	dɪ'mɑːŋd	'dɪmɑːnd	------
9	combat	'kɒmbæt	-----	kəm'bæt
10	purchase	'pɜːtʃəs	------	pə'tʃeɪs
11	interest	'ɪntrəst	-----	ɪntə'rest
12	offer	'ɒfə	-------	ə'fɜː

The observed deviant forms testify to high phonetic/phonological sensitivity of the subjects. Namely, they are sufficiently competent to recognize a regular pattern of stress placement which depends on whether the target two-syllable word is a Verb or a Noun. And thus, the pairs like *accent* (N) – *to accent* (V); *perfect* (N) – *to perfect* (V) follow the nominal ['__ ___] or the verbal [___ '___] accentual template, where verbs are stressed on the ultimate but nouns on the initial syllable. It appears that in their interphonological system the subjects try to accommodate this L2 (English) characteristic and apply it to the words which typically display that type of grammatical accent shift. Again, an L2 regularity, mis-analyzed and falsely analogized, gives rise to deviant forms. Thus, new co-exisiting Noun-Verbs pairs arise. It is altogether interesting that predominantly the finally (=verbally) stressed nouns receive the nominal stress pattern on the initial syllables. Cases exhibiting the opposite tendency are not numerous, in the material they are demonstrated only by four examples listed in the table (no 9–12).

Learner-specific psychological factors

Sources of interlanguage phonology may be indeed multifarious. Apart from the role of the first language interference and intralingual wrongly perceived analogy, there also appear to be factors related to the L2 learner as an active experimenter with language which upon closer investigation may prove decisive in the occurrence of certain types of prosodic errors.

Thus, table 4 enumerates some instances of shifting the primary stress to the absolute initial position, frequently from the preferred penultimate location.

Table 4. Regressive stress shift to the initial syllable

	The word	Canonical form	Observed form
1	develop	dɪˈveləp	ˈdevələp/ˈdivələp
2	development	dɪˈveləpmənt	ˈdevələpmənt
3	determine	dɪˈtɜːmɪn	ˈdetəmain
4	determining	dɪˈtɜːmɪnɪŋ	ˈdetəmainɪŋ
5	lieutenant	lefˈtenənt	ˈleftənənt*
6	endevour	ɪnˈdevə	ˈɪndəvə
7	succeed	səkˈsiːd	ˈsʌksɪːd
8	delete	dɪˈliːt	ˈdiːliːt
9	extreme	ɪkˈstriːm	ˈiːkstriːm
10	percentage	pəˈsentɪdʒ	ˈpɜːsəntɪdʒ
11	performance	pəˈfɔːməns	ˈpɜːfəməns
12	agree	əˈgriː	ˈægriː
13	event	ɪˈvent	ˈiːvənt
14	specific	spəˈsɪfɪk	ˈspesɪfɪk
15	distinct	dɪsˈtɪŋkt	ˈdɪstɪŋkt
16	locutionary	ləʊˈkjuːʃənəri	ˈləʊkjuʃənəri
17	semantic	səˈmæntɪk	ˈseməntɪk
18	prestigious	presˈtɪdʒəs	ˈprestɪdʒəs
19	computer	kənˈpjuːtə	ˈkɒmpjutə
20	procedure	prəʊˈsiːdʒə	ˈprɒsɪdʒə
21	completely	kəmˈpliːtli	ˈkɒmplɪtli
22	deteriorate	dɪˈtɪəriəreɪt	ˈdetərɪəreɪt

* Before the form with the [e] vowel and a voiceless labio-dental fricative became established, the rival mispronunciation was [liˈeʊtənənt]

The shift is of a regressive character, that is there is a leftwards movement in stress assignment, so that it is placed to the first vowel in the word.

At first approximation, this appears to be a complete contradiction to the earlier-advocated deviant L1 stress pattern transfer. The closer inspection of the relevant conditions in which data collection was performed reveals that certain learner- and training-related factors may be at play here.

The subjects are all students of English philology and thus they show a particular inclination to acquire not just acceptable but nearly native-like pronunciation. They realize that the sound of language, transmitted mainly through prosodic features, conveys more information than just the content of an utterance (Hirschfeld and Trouvain 2007). Furthermore, thanks to their phonetic training and increased language awareness, they notice that rules of how to realize prosody are not as clear-cut as those determining the realization of individual speech sounds. Many phenomena generally viewed as responsible for a "foreign accent" are of suprasegmental nature, with the segmental structure being adapted to the prosodic one. Hirschfeld and Trouvain (2007) underline that phonologically relevant prosodic and segmental characteristics and standards of L2 pronunciation are transmitted by appropriately designed exercises and the trainer's own speech. If, as was

the case here, the trainers share the L1 background of their students, it is hardly surprising that they frequently avail themselves of the opportunity to point out the phonologically relevant differences between the two languages. Likewise, they would demand the development of an accent that could become acceptable in the sense that it approaches the standard.

Made aware of certain features of the target language spoken utterances, the students slowly become competent observers of cross-linguistic discrepancies and try to formulate, subconsciously, their own hypotheses on how not to sound Polish when speaking English. Sometimes their, at best, informed guesses prove to be inaccurate. This seems to be the case with regressive stress shift as demonstrated in examples listed in table 4.

The shift can probably be attributed to the non-existence of initial stress-accent in Polish. Except for disyllabic words where the initial syllable will be the penultimate one at the same time, speakers of Polish would perceive words accented on the initial syllable as a sign of "foreigness" (= "non-Polishness"). Consequently, initially-accented forms sound foreign enough to the Polish students who try to transfer this pattern to some English words. Thus, the accent is forced onto the first syllable as a perceived signal of sounding "non-Polish." This sort of transfer may be augmented by the practising technique applied during the classes, where students laboriously repeat sound sequences in pairwork collaboration.

Final remarks

Some of the current second language acquisition theories seek to diminish the contribution of the learners' first language to their interphonology pattern. In the light of the above discussion it appears that they ignore the available data. The diagnosis of the phonetic (especially prosodic) deviations presented in this paper clearly implies the significant role of L1 prosodic substratum. Likewise, systematic training of prosodic elements, while raising the degree of intelligibility and phonetic proficiency at the same time, enables learners to apply the regularities of the L2 patterns to their actual production. This, occasionally, results in naïve phonetic approximations, similar to those observed in phonological adaptations of loanwords, but being the effect of misanalysis and false analogy. Since different conditions determine the correctness and acceptability of the prosodic structure of an utterance, it becomes obvious that through training learners become more sensitive to features relevant to both segmental and suprasegmental structure. Consequently, they try to eliminate native-sounding elements from both levels, which may bring about accent shift to the position which is very a-typical if not downright impossible in their L1.

All these aspects show that indeed numerous factors are intertwined in reproducing the L2 phonological structure, which may prove a fruitful area for further research.

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Wpływ języka pierwszego i drugiego na błędy w analizie dźwięków i struktury suprasegmentalnej u studentów filologii angielskiej

Streszczenie

Artykuł bada przypadki błędnej wymowy studentów filologii angielskiej, koncentrując się nie na podstawianiu dźwięków polskich w miejsce angielskich, a na ważnym aspekcie prozodii jakim jest akcent wyrazowy. Z przeprowadzonych obserwacji wynika, iż błędy takie maja trojakie źródło: silny efekt substratum w postaci transferu pozycji akcentu z języka pierwszego, tj. polskiego; błędnie postrzegana regularność występująca w języku drugim, tj. angielskim, dotycząca analogii i podobieństw między grupami wyrazów; oraz wzgląd pozajęzykowy – akcentowanie sylaby inicjalnej, które jest postrzegane jako obcobrzmiące w języku pierwszym, a zatem powinno zbliżać użytkownika do wymowy pożądanej w drugim języku. Konsekwencją opisanych zjawisk jest nagminność błędów prozodycznych i wynikających z nich błędów na poziomie segmentalnym, co skutkuje akcentem dalekim od akceptowanego standardu.

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SEPARATING THE INSEPARABLE: ACCEPTABILITY OF VIOLATIONS OF STRICT ADJACENCY IN ENGLISH

Introduction

This paper investigates a discourse mechanism of separating the verb and its object in English. Basically, the structure V+X+Od may be considered incorrect, but its acceptability largely depends on the context, or, more precisely, on the information structure of the sentence. The bond between the verb and its complement is very strong in English. In Transformational-Generative grammar, it is understood to be regulated by the strict adjacency principle, ruling out structures in which the verb's complement is separated from the verb by another element; in most cases, the separating element is an adjunct. However, it is sometimes difficult to obey the principle as some complements are much longer or more complex (i.e. "heavier") than the final adjuncts. In such cases the principle of end-weight is applied, which overrules the strict adjacency principle. The question is, how long must the complement be to allow an adjunct to separate it from its governor? Or, in other words, when are particular cases of strict adjacency violations acceptable? The question is worth examining especially from the point of view of teaching English to Polish speakers. In Polish, strict adjacency does not hold in the same form as in English, and the relatively free word order of Polish allows its speakers to shift verbal complements away from their governors.

In this paper, the principles regulating the use of such structures are investigated, cases of such structures being used by native speakers of English are presented and examined, and an attempt is made at drawing conclusions about the circumstances of the use of, and the nature of interaction between the strict adjacency principle and the end-weight principle.

The principles

Strict adjacency

The first principle to be used as the basis in this investigation is the *strict adjacency principle* (Radford 1988: 102), which rules that no element should intervene between the verb and its complement. The canonical object position is adjacent to

the verb: it is the position immediately dominated by the V' projection, that is the position adjacent to V (Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 221):
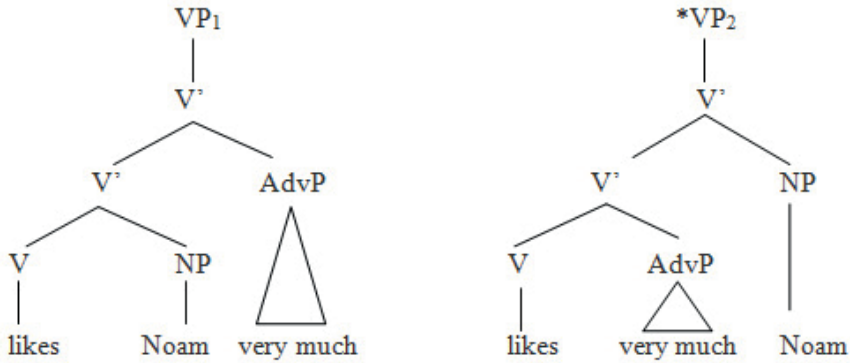
The strict adjacency principle is a case of narrowed application of a more general adjacency principle, or adjacency condition, which requires any two elements to be neighbours, in order for some process to occur (Radford 1997: 491). In the Government and Binding theoretical framework, it is assumed that strict adjacency results from applying the Case Filter (Chomsky 1982: 49, 94), which entails that each overtly realized NP argument must be case marked or associated with a case position.[1] The object NP must be assigned case by its governor, the verb. In English, government-based case marking obeys the adjacency condition, or, as other linguists put it, there is "adjacency requirement on case assignment" in English (Bowers 2003: 316). Thus, it is in fact the Case Filter that rules out sentences like *John wants very much Bill to win, or *John believes sincerely Bill to be a fool (Chomsky 1982: 142). Thus, in VP$_2$ represented above, the NP *Noam* is not case-marked, and the whole string is ungrammatical.

Taking into account the possibility of compositional theta-marking to prepositional objects (Chomsky 1982: 93), it becomes more clear why adverbs in English can appear between the V and its PP complement, although they "strongly resist being placed between a verb and a direct object" (Bowers 2003: 315).

The adjacency principle also applies to double object verbs (Chomsky 1982: 94), where case must be assigned to the closest object *and* to the secondary object. This process occurs in stages. The verb assigns case to the closest object that has not received case yet, so after assigning case to the first object, it assigns secondary case to the secondary object. Thus also the following are ruled out by the adjacency condition on case assignment:

*John gave Bill yesterday a book

*John gave yesterday Bill a book

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[1] This requirement seems to enable apparent violations of the strict adjacency, which are nevertheless acceptable on the grounds that the non-adjacent object is co-indexed with a trace that is case-marked; cf. the following paragraphs on heavy-NP shift.

At this moment it must be added and emphasized, that the strict adjacency principle does not necessarily apply in other languages in the form it does in English. In French, for example, which is a language typologically related to English, the strict adjacency principle does not hold. It is also evident that the principle does not hold in Polish, which is not surprising, considering the differences between the grammatical systems of the two languages. Therefore we must assume that "the adjacency requirement is a language-specific condition on accusative case-assignment" (Bowers 2003: 316). Chomsky himself admits that in the form he offers it for English, "the adjacency principle is too strong to hold in general" (1982: 145). This is an important statement for a comparative linguist and a language teacher, as it should be possible to trace back the unacceptable V+AdvP+NP constructions produced by Polish learners of English to interference with their native language.

End-weight

In his discussion of ECM (Exceptional Case Marking by verbs traditionally described as complex transitive), Chomsky (1982: 7) uses the following example:

> *I would consider intelligent <u>anyone capable of understanding Godel's completeness proof</u>.*

Following the strict adjacency principle, the sentence should be labelled incorrect, as the object of *consider* (underlined) is moved away from its canonical position adjacent to the verb. This time the intervening element – *intelligent* – is not an adjunct, but another obligatory element of the verb phrase. Yet, the sentence is perfectly acceptable. A similar discord between the theory and the actual language use may be observed in another example, by Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 222): *You should read with the greatest attention all the instructions which you receive in the course of the day.* This time, the intervening element is an adjunct – *with the greatest attention.* The illustrated movement process, affecting sentence elements *against* the rule of strict adjacency, is called *heavy-NP shift*. Certainly, it cannot be applied freely: there are restrictions on the use of this rightward movement. The mechanism is best described in the fragment below:

> Non-adjacency of the verb and its complement leads to ungrammaticality [...]; only noun phrase complements which are relatively long [...] can be moved rightward across an adjunct. Short objects, and especially pronominal objects [...] resist such separation. The rightward movement of 'heavy' objects is referred to as *heavy NP shift* (Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 53)

Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 222) emphasize the significance of the object NP size, or rather "weight" (as complexity of the structure is as important as its length), pointing out that misplaced pronominal objects are especially striking as incorrect:

> *You should invite to dinner <u>her.</u>

Definitely, pronominal objects and "light" object NPs cannot be separated from their governing verbs, while "relatively heavy[2]" elements may be shifted without making the sentence unacceptable. It should be assumed, then, that acceptability of the NP shift increases when the displaced element is "heavier."

As for the formal aspect of the shift, it is important to remember that the object NP must be assigned case by its governor. If the NP is not placed in its canonical position, where it could receive case, and still the shift – construction is acceptable, we must conclude the NP is, in fact, case-marked: more precisely, it is linked, or co-indexed, with the object base-position, to which case (and theta-role) is assigned in the normal way:

> *You should read [NP$_i$ ec] with the greatest attention [NP$_i$ all the instructions which you receive in the course of the day].*

Thus we assume that the shifted object NP is base-generated in the verb-adjacent position, and then it is subject to a movement transformation, which leaves a trace (*ec=t*) (Haegeman and Guéron 1999: 222–223).

Another question is, what kind of movement transformation is applied to the heavy NP? Evidently, the NP does not move in order to be case-marked, as it is already case-marked in the base-position: this is proven by the existence of sentences with un-shifted heavy objects, which nevertheless are correct. Besides, the position to the right of the adjunct phrase is not an argument position, so the movement is certainly a case of A'-movement. Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 223) suggest that the landing site for the heavy NP is the position adjoined to the dominating maximal projection, i.e. the VP; thus the shifted NP still c-commands its trace:
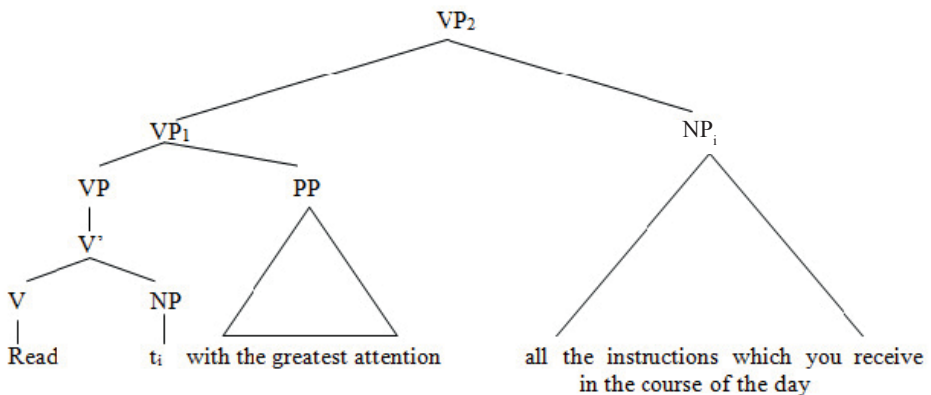
The very mechanism of heavy-NP shift is cursorily commented on by Chomsky (1982: 70, 94); he admits the possibility that the process follows a syntactic rule, but at the same time he suggests that it may be a result of applying "stylistic rules of the PF component." This double perception of the problem can serve as

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[2] We shall see further in the text that the notion "relatively heavy" is quite "relative" as regards some examples.

a convenient bridge between the strictly formal syntactic perspective and the discourse-oriented approach.

Looking at the discussed mechanism from the point of view of discourse and information structure, we must examine the discourse principle underlying the heavy NP movement, i.e. the end-weight principle (Biber et al. 1999: 898). It describes the preferred distribution of elements in the clause: longer and more complex elements tend to be placed at the end of the clause. This facilitates comprehension on the part of the listener/reader, as otherwise they would be forced to store in their short-term memory the complex information delivered earlier, while at the same time processing the remaining part of the clause.

The principle of end-weight is strictly associated with another principle of discourse organization, that is the information principle, governing the distribution of the given (theme) and new (focus) information across the sentence[3]. Usually, the heavy elements are so "heavy" due to the fact that they convey a lot of – mostly *new* – information, which requires to be focused on; this, in turn, means placing the heavy, very informative element at the end of the sentence (Biber et al. 1999: 898). The close interaction of the two principles is illustrated by the list of syntactic forms which are by definition understood as "given" elements (Brown and Yule 1996: 171): they are, apart from two classes of lexical units, pronominals used anaphorically, pronominals used exophorically, and "pro-verbals" (verbal pro-forms). If pronominal elements are always given, they will not appear in the end focus position. At the same time, they are very "light" elements, therefore they will not be moved to the end of the clause because of their weight. This, in turn, matches the formal syntactic restrictions on heavy NP shift, discussed above.

The circumstances

Before analysing the cases of end-weight principle winning over the strict adjacency, it is necessary to understand what factors support such a situation.

First of all, the above-mentioned "weight," which stands for the length and formal complexity of the shifted structure, is crucial in encouraging the speaker/writer to rearrange the sentence elements against the syntactic rule. This is confirmed by Biber et al. (1999: 930–932), who present the results of a corpus-based investigation into the mechanism. Examining clauses with object NPs followed by object predicatives, the authors discovered that the postponed (rightward shifted) objects are most common in news and academic prose, that are registered "with the highest degree of phrasal complexity." Moreover, it has been observed that the object is shifted "almost exclusively" when it is heavy.

Additionally, Biber et al. (1999: 931) suggest that another crucial factor in choosing postponement is clarification of syntactic relations, especially in sentences where the object is, or contains, a clause, and the object predicative might

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[3] The idea originated from the Prague school of linguistics and their investigation of "the communicative dynamism" and "functional sentence perspective" (Brown and Yule 1996: 153).

be interpreted as belonging to that clause, if it is placed in its regular position at the end of the sentence:

> *It is intended to make t_i clearer [NP$_i$ the targets which pupils need to aim for]*

> *They would believe t_i to be foolish [NP$_i$ any candidate who would take the trouble to run in every primary] (Chomsky 1982: 70)*

> *She said t_i clearly [NP$_i$ that we should not hesitate to express our desires]*

Finally, choosing postponement of the object NP may be a defence mechanism, helping the speaker to avoid another (perceivably) more incorrect construction. A typical application of this strategy is choosing NP shift to avoid a split infinitive:

> *[...] which allowed her to make t_i quickly [a significant contribution to supporting and developing an effective teaching team]*

> *[...] which allowed her to ? quickly make [a significant contribution to supporting and developing an effective teaching team]*

All of the above-mentioned factors will be taken into consideration in the analysis of the object-postponement cases presented below.

Search method

Linguistic research involving acceptability testing of a given construction seems to be rather a challenge to conduct. Firstly, the acceptability questionnaire, administered in a group of native speakers, would have to include very similar sentences and the actual purpose of the investigation would inevitably become transparent to the respondents. This, in turn, might lead them to refer to their conscious, school-taught grammatical knowledge, instead of relying on their intuitive judgment. Secondly, a reliable acceptability survey would have to involve a large group of respondents. Thirdly, if corpus-based research was to be conducted in order to avoid the above-mentioned difficulties, specifying the search for a given construction in a corpus might appear problematic. Biber et al. (1999: 931) illustrate distribution of a certain construction across registers, namely the complex transitive pattern in the canonical form or with the object postponed. Since the construction is a general one, it must be difficult to analyse the results of the query for all verbs and all possible object predicatives. Thus, illustrating the construction, the authors of the Longman corpus grammar decided to show the search results limited to only one verb (*make*), combined with a number of commonly used adjectives in the object predicative position. This may appear to be a sensible and efficient method of organizing the query itself, and thus this method has been employed in the present investigation. However, the corpus used in the query is the living corpus of the internet, accessed with the help of the Google search engine.

Using the Web as a linguistic corpus has become a research method widely adopted among linguists and translators. Since the traditional internet browsers do not always satisfy the requirements of an advanced linguistic search, new tools are developed to assist researchers in the field of linguistics (and other research

areas) in conducting their investigations (Corley et al. 2001; Volk 2002; Ferraresi 2009; Smarr and Grow 2002). The Web-as-Corpus (WaC) approach to linguistic studies is "aimed at exploring the potential of using the web as a benchmark for linguistic research and to build new corpus resources rapidly and efficiently" (Ferraresi 2009: 1). The main advantage of the Web over the traditionally constructed corpora is its continuous and dynamic development, unlimited size, always the most up-to-date language content, and immediate accessibility (Volk 2002: 2).

Naturally, there exist certain issues connected with using the Web as a corpus, mainly the issue of reliability. The Internet is a heterogeneous source, from which a researcher can retrieve texts of different register and genre, text and sentence fragments, lists of words, but also texts dating back in time, even as far as a different epoch, and – last but not least – texts produced by non-native users of the examined language. In the present research, the strategy adopted in order to reduce the risk of collecting non-native data is restricting the browser search to the "uk" domain, which, unlike the American "com" domain, which is used globally, contains predominantly British-originating sites and portals. An even more "prescriptively" secured search is one restricted to the "ac.uk" domain, which mainly contains academic sites and sites related to academic and educational content. Such a search, however, may bias the results towards the more formal register, although "ac.uk" also contains e.g. student's discussion groups.

Since this research is not an attempt at a comprehensive investigation of the discussed construction, but is merely aimed at providing examples to illustrate the subject matter and to present case-study analyses, the Internet search for linguistic data is conducted with the use of the basic Google search, restricted to the "uk" domain, with the returned results being filtered manually by the author and additionally controlled for "native/non-native origin" and "time of origin." The control is performed by analyzing the co-text of the discovered utterance/sentence. If any presumably non-native mistakes or archaic forms are found, the result is rejected.[4]

Examples

The following paragraphs present the analysis of the selected cases of object postponement, obtained by the means of Internet searches between December 2010 and May 2011. Due to the fact that many of the source pages have been changed since the original search was conducted, I do not provide links to individual examples, as many of them would not be displayed. Instead, I outline the

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[4] For instance, the fragment "watch carefully a v-junction" in a text advertising a camping site, though located in the "uk" domain, in fact describes a camping place in Germany and links to a "de" domain site, which strongly suggests the text is a non-native English production. Another example may be the sentence "I come home from these classes inspired and take immediately a book," taken from one of the Guardian subpages, yet it is a quote from a non-native speaker of English, which is clarified in the next line of the text: "[…] she says, with the slightly odd sentence structure of a woman whose first languages are German and Czech."

site-profile of the search: the accessed sites included discussion groups, forums, blogs, popular sites on hobbies and leisure, academic forums, academic information sites, conference sites, advertising sites, etc. In each case the search was conducted for a specified distributional framework, with an asterisk inserted in the variable[5] position. In this research, I have limited the investigation to cases of monotransitive (and occasionally ditransitive) complementation, as examples of object postponement in the complex transitive pattern are numerous and would require a separate study.

Search 1: *make quickly a* *
Verb: MAKE;
Intervention: adjunct QUICKLY;
Variable: object NP (indefinite/definite)
a) I think we should **make quickly a** list of people who are willing to participate
b) […] how to **make quickly a** bubble chart
c) How to **make quickly a** pizza
d) […] which allowed her to **make quickly a** significant contribution to supporting and developing an effective teaching team
e) […] I really doubt he can **make quickly the** difference.
f) […] and urges the Government to **make quickly the** decision to invest for the benefit of the millions who […]
g) […] in my eagerness to respond I **made quickly the** assumption about your query based on the topic of the blog post the comment was posted on.

Of the above examples, a) might be considered unacceptable, since the sentence offers a perfect place for the adjunct between the auxiliary verb and the main verb: "we should quickly make […];" still, the adjunct is placed so that the adjacency principle is violated. B) and c) contain infinitive clauses, hence moving the intervening adjunct to the pre-verb position would result in producing a split-infinitive construction. Sentence d) is an obvious example of the heavy NP shift: the object phrase is a complex NP with an embedded coordinate clause. It seems justified to let the end-weight principle win over the strict adjacency in this case. Example e) was retrieved from a sports' forum, therefore I assume it represents the colloquial use of language. It is interesting to see how the speaker ignored two correct adjunct positions – the pre-verbal and the clause-final one – and decided to insert the adjunct in the illegitimate position. The only conceivable explanation for this strategy (apart from carelessness) is following the requirements of the theme-focus distribution. In example f) it is evident that placing the adjunct in the position after the object would result in ambiguity ([…] make the decision to invest quickly […]), and placing it in the pre-verbal position would produce a split-infinitive construction. Placing it after the second adjunct (the for-phrase) would be unreasonable from the point of view of the semantics of the whole sentence. It seems that the intervening position is the most eligible one for the adjunct in this sentence. This

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[5] Here the word "variable" is used in its ordinary meaning, not as a syntactic term in the understanding of Chomsky's GB.

decision is also justified by the complexity (though not the length) of the object NP, which itself contains an infinitive clause. In example g), which is a fragment from a blog post comment, it is noticeable that the clause-final position for the adjunct is unavailable due to the complexity of the structure following the verb. Yet, it seems that the pre-verbal position should have been chosen for the adjunct, which the speaker apparently ignored, or perhaps s/he did not want to rewrite the comment once it was typed in.

Search 2: *make/create successfully a/the* *
Verb: MAKE; CREATE;
Intervention: adjunct SUCCESSFULLY;
Variable: object NP (indefinite/definite)

a) […] is much more difficult to **make successfully a** first venture on the stage than in the field of mere literature […]
b) The WTexon approach was able to **create successfully a** taxonomy from the remaining 7776 regions
c) […] encourage customers to purchase the product which could help them to **create successfully a** range of meals,
d) […] the teacher and nursery nurse work well as a team to **create successfully a** very caring and safe environment.
e) […] he was able, with the navigator's assistance, to **make successfully the** perilous journey back into the aircraft.

In example a) the adjunct seems to complement the meaning of the verb, the compound perhaps being equal to […] *manage to make* […], which might have prompted the use of the postponed object construction; additionally, in this sentence the verb phrase must interact with a comparative structure, which also contributes to the choice of the object postponement. In b), c) and d) infinitive clauses are used, and shifting the adjunct to the pre-verb position would result in splitting the infinitive. In examples c) and d), in which the postponed object phrases are not very long (though quite complex in d), the sentence-final position should be available for the adjunct, yet this would change the information structure of the utterance, as the adjunct would receive the main end-focus. Considering the semantic content of these sentences, it is understandable why the speakers decided against this solution. Example e) seems to represent a case of justified application of the end-weight principle, perhaps supported by the unwillingness to split the infinitive.

Search 3: *select randomly a* *
Verb: SELECT;
Intervention: adjunct RANDOMLY;
Variable: object NP (indefinite)

a) […] and I have to **select randomly a** few questions per type […]
b) […] allowing us to **select randomly a** number of officers and asking if they hold any information relevant to this request.

c) The crudest form of random mutation would be **to select randomly a** gene in the offspring's chromosome, and [...]
d) I **selected randomly a** sample of 20 essays written by 3rd level students.
e) We **selected randomly a** consecutive series of 162 patients requiring hip replacement to receive either a cementless, hemispherical, modular [...]

Examples a), b) and c) involve the risk of splitting the infinitive, should the adjunct be placed in the pre-verbal position. It might be acceptable to place the adjunct in the clause-final position in these three sentences (perhaps least so in example c), still the speakers chose to ignore this option and to apply the NP shift instead. In examples d) and e) the pre-verbal position is available, yet the speakers decided against such an arrangement of constituents and inserted the adjunct between the verb and the object. It must be admitted that in the last two examples the clause-final position is unavailable for the adjunct due to the length of the object NPs.

Search 4: *watch carefully a/the* *
Verb: WATCH;
Intervention: adjunct CAREFULLY;
Variable: object NP (indefinite/definite)
a) I suggest you **watch carefully a** series of slow motion crash tests.
b) You should **watch carefully a** few of the important news releases as well as a number of key currencies [...]
c) It enables us to **watch carefully a** change in a large magnification, to archive a picture and to compare subsequent tests.
d) Please **watch carefully a video** footage of FlybookVM laptop (also referenced in the article).
e) If you are looking for the source of Sarandon's remarkable performance, **watch carefully a** prayer vigil outside the prison.
f) So I **watched carefully the** animal to prevent its movements and to try to catch it.
g) I also **watched carefully the** actions and reactions of anyone, especially if they were paying close attention to the area behind me.
h) [...] social landlords have **watched carefully the** experience of private sector house builders [...]

Examples a) and b) in fact offer the possibility to place the adjunct in its due position before the verb. Also the clause-final position is syntactically and stylistically available in both sentences. The decision to postpone the object must have been prompted by the end-weight principle, although it does not seem entirely justified.

Example c) is problematic because the adjunct should be placed in its post-verbal position, before the second adjunct, the *in*-phrase; it is unclear why the speaker has decided against this option. If produced by a non-native speaker of English, the sentence undoubtedly would have been considered incorrect. Looking for discourse-related justification of the unnatural ordering in this sentence, we

must perhaps look at the semantic bond between the verb and the adjunct, which might have been so strong in the mind of the speaker that s/he decided to treat the two elements as one lexical item. Again, like other sentences containing an infinitive clause, this one also might be rendered in a version with a split infinitive.

Example d) seems to be a legitimate case of the heavy NP shift. The same might be argued concerning example e), yet in the latter the adjunct could in fact be positioned before the verb, producing a correct and acceptable sentence.

In examples a), b), d) and e) the imperative or its communicative equivalents are used. It seems that this may be a factor in the mechanism of adjunct insertion. This possibility is discussed in the analysis of search 6 results.

Examples g) and h) may seem legitimate cases of heavy NP shift, but it must be noticed that the pre-verbal position is also available for the adjunct. Example f) seems unjustified in the form in which it is delivered, as the object NP is short, and the pre-verbal and the clause-final positions are both available for the adjunct.

Search 5: *explain precisely the* *
Verb: EXPLAIN;
Intervention: adjunct PRECISELY;
Variable: object NP (definite)
a) Griffin takes time to define and **explain precisely the** complex notions she uses.
b) [...] – Please could you **explain precisely the** Home Office's actual position on the adoption of the NIR/ID cards[6]
c) **Explain precisely the** steps you would take to deal with the situation
d) [...] have been unable to **explain precisely the** point of their disagreement.
e) [...] because he **explained precisely the** balance of the personal tax package that the Bill helps put into effect.
f) we **explained precisely the** mistake that we believe the Conservatives are making.
g) [...] is a short sentence that **explains precisely the** problems that Britain, and the rest of the Western world, have been sleepwalking towards for years.

Example a) is a curious case because the intervening adjunct follows a coordinate infinitive verb. I assume the object has been postponed due to its "heaviness." Yet it seems the adjunct could have been placed in the preverbal position. Because of the coordination of verbs, however, if the adjunct was moved before the second verb, it would clearly be modifying only this verb (*define and precisely explain*) and would in fact create a split infinitive (though only covertly); if the adjunct was moved before the first verb, it would create a split infinitive overtly. Perhaps this is the reason why the author of the sentence did not decide to juggle the adjunct and the verbs. Examples b), c) and d) (the latter in the least degree) appear to be justified cases of heavy NP shift. In c) and d) additional factors seem to be at work, namely the imperative form (cf. discussion of Search 6) and the risk of splitting the

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⁶ This text was retrieved from a "com" domain site, but one concerning British-based business affairs.

infinitive. Examples e), f) and g) appear to be justified cases of applying the end--weight principle, even though the pre-verbal adjunct positions should be perceived as available. On the basis of these, and similar examples, it seems that the heavy NP shift is not always used as a last resort strategy, but rather is a regular sentence-element-ordering strategy, equivalent in status to e.g. adjunct-placement options.

Interestingly, example g) might be interpreted as containing no verb-phrase adjunct, since in this sentence the word "precisely" could be treated as a synonym of "exactly," "just," or "only," and thus would have to be interpreted as modifying only the following NP, not the verb phrase.

Search 6: *examine carefully the* *
Verb: EXAMINE;
Intervention: adjunct CAREFULLY;
Variable: object NP (definite)
a) If you **examine carefully the** statistics given by the schismatics, you'll see that [...]
b) Now **examine carefully the** remaining sentences.
c) It is wise to **examine carefully the** predictions for the missing data before choosing a final model.
d) **Examine carefully the** two maps in front of you: a 'standard' world map and the Hobo-Dyer.
e) You should **examine carefully the** agreement between the authority and the employee before you accept that the employee's contributions [...]
f) **Examine carefully the** relevant role description and give examples of how your skills, knowledge and experience match the requirement of [...]
g) [...] and we have **examined carefully the** key studies referred to in your letter together with other previous research on this issue.
h) [...] the author **examines carefully the** six main comprehensive systems outlined in Circular 10/65.

In the above set, only in example c) the pre-verbal position is unavailable if split infinitive is to be avoided. In examples a) and b) the intervening position of the adjunct is not the last resort option, as in both sentences the preverbal position is available and perfectly acceptable. Moreover, in example b) the clause-final position should also be considered eligible. In examples d), e) and f) the pre-verbal position is available, though not the clause-final position, as in these sentences the postponed objects are indeed "heavy." It is puzzling why the speakers chose to place the adjuncts in the forbidden position. One explanation of this situation may be the speakers' attempt at adding emphasis to the adjunct. Examples b), d) and f) contain imperative verb forms, and the remaining sentences are close to the imperative in their communicative function (*you should...; it is wise...; if you..., you will see...*). An imperative verb + an adverbial is a common sequence in instructions (*Please watch carefully; Listen carefully and repeat; Then stir gently; Soak, then wash normally*), yet in such strings the objects are often deleted. Thus the adjacency of the two forms is only apparent, i.e. perceived at the phonetic level, but not

substantiated syntactically. Perhaps the verb and the adverbial paired as neighbours in this way are associated with emphatic usage, and paired as neighbours also in sentences where the object is present and should in fact be the immediate neighbour of the verb.

In examples g) and h) the object phrases are heavy, which could justify the shift, yet at the same time it must be noticed that the pre-verbal position is available in both sentences. The speakers, however, chose to apply the end-weight principle instead of looking for other, syntax-compliant solutions.

Search 7: *take carefully/quickly/immediately the **

Verb: TAKE;
Intervention: adjunct CAREFULLY/QUICKLY/IMMEDIATELY;
Variable: object NP (definite)

a) My staff, as the Minister has pointed out, **take carefully the** task they have to do.
b) If it is open, press the Wheel on the input shaft, remove the nut , **take carefully the** wheel off and [...]
c) **Take carefully the** bolt out of the choke plate and its shaft.
d) Although Greg **took quickly the** first game, the outcome stayed uncertain for most of the match.
e) So I think that if I were in that situation, I would not think a lot and **take quickly the** option that I would see as the easiest to realize.
f) I also demand the judicial and supervisory authorities to **take immediately the** necessary measures to continue pursuing outlaws and [...]

Examples a), b) and c) seem to be cases of emphatic use of the adjunct immediately after the verb. In the three sentences, the pre-verbal position is available and the clause-final position also seems eligible. In example d) placing the adjunct in the intervening position seems unjustified: both the pre-verbal and clause-final position are available, the object NP is not heavy, and the emphasis would probably remain the same with the adjunct preceding the verb. Thus the sentence arrangement must be a result of carelessness, or it might be – though rather doubtfully – a result of theme-focus manipulation. In example e), a colloquial utterance, the adjunct might have been placed in the pre-verbal position, yet the speaker chose to apply the heavy NP shift, which is also justifiable in this sentence. Example f) contains an infinitive verb form and thus would not allow the adjunct in the preverbal position; neither would the sentence allow the adjunct in the clause-final position, as the object NP is visibly heavy. Thus this example is a legitimate case of heavy NP shift as the last resort strategy.

Conclusions

The examples presented and discussed above constitute merely a fraction of the Internet data that could illustrate the strategy of object NP postponement. Even this preliminary investigation into the issue allows us to confirm certain

assumptions made by other linguists, and to sketch the hypotheses to be tested in more specified, more detailed research.

First of all, the Internet searches conducted for this research confirm that the object postponement is more typical of sophisticated language and more formal registers. The majority of the examples found were fragments of government-related, academic or journalistic texts. This is also stated by Biber et al. (1999: 930) with respect to the postponement of objects in the complex transitive pattern. Also the length (and complexity) of the object is noticeably influential in speakers' choice of postponement (Biber 1999: 931). However, clarification of potentially ambiguous structures (Biber et al. 1999: 931) was not identified as a dominant factor in the examples obtained from the Internet.

Secondly, as has been anticipated and suggested in the introductory section on the circumstances of postponement, it may in fact be used as a defence mechanism, allowing the speaker to avoid producing another structure, which is considered incorrect either by the speaker/writer of the text or its addressee. This other "incorrect" structure is in most cases the split infinitive. If the infinitive form of the verb is used in the sentence, the pre-verbal position is not available for the adjunct, as it is the position between the infinitive marker "to" and the base form of verb. A large number of examples illustrating this mechanism was retrieved from the Web search: some speakers seem to prefer the intervening position for the adjunct (even when the object NP is not "relatively heavy") for fear that they should create an apparently more incorrect split infinitive. This tendency may also show that placing the adjunct in the distant clause-final position, and thus not violating the strict adjacency, but perhaps violating the end-weight principle, is perceived as less acceptable than violating the strict adjacency and conforming to the end-weight requirement.

Another observed regularity concerning the mechanism of object postponement is placing the adjunct in the position immediately following the verb when the verb is in the imperative, or when the communicative function of the sentence is command, request or advice. In the analysed examples, there was no evident reason why the adjunct should not precede the imperative verb. Yet, apparently, some native speakers instead chose to violate the syntactic rule of strict adjacency. It is curious why this should be their preference, and what they should gain in terms of communication? Perhaps the answer is emphasis. The adjunct following the verb in a way enhances the verb's meaning. When the adjunct is an adverbial of process or of circumstances, it is the manner of performing the activity that receives extra focus in the message, of course, at the cost of grammatical correctness.

A different explanation of this strategy might be offered, connected with the frequently heard word combinations. As suggested in the analysis of Search 6, the combination of a verb and a following adverbial of manner may be associated with the emphatic use of an adverbial in instructions (*Please watch carefully; Listen carefully and repeat; Then stir gently; Soak, then wash normally*). Verbs in such sentences are often deprived of their objects, which are either obvious, or retrievable from the co-text (as in the case of recipes). Thus in such sentences the adjunct in fact follows the deleted, implied object, but the structure is perceived as containing

a "verb + adjunct" string. If this pattern is understood by some speakers as a means of adding emphasis to the adjunct, they might produce similar combinations when they are not legitimate, i.e. when the objects are present in the sentence.

Finally, among the examined sentences there are structures which cannot be accepted as grammatical in the traditional prescriptive sense. In some sentences with postponed objects, encountered in the Web, either the pre-verbal or the clause-final adjunct position is available. Yet their authors have decided to ignore the legitimate options and have chosen the NP shift. What is interesting is that the "relative" heaviness of the NP is dramatically "relative:" shift may be performed even if the object NP is a short, two-word phrase (example 4f, "watched carefully the animal"). It seems that the authors of such sentences were not driven by the end-weight principle or information structure requirements, but by their own momentary preference for the given ordering of sentence elements. In view of such examples, I should venture to submit a tentative claim that the strict adjacency is weaker in English than it is assumed e.g. in pedagogical and prescriptive grammars, and that in fact the heavy NP shift is not restricted to cases of "last resort," when no other adjunct position is available except the intervening one, but that the shift mechanism is used as a regular strategy of ordering the sentence elements.

Further research

As the present study is a preliminary investigation rather than a full-scale research, further examination of the issues discussed above is desirable. Some research questions can be formulated on the basis of the analysed linguistic data and the observed regularities:

1. A) Is it true that intervening adjuncts appear more often when the risk of splitting the infinitive is involved?
   B) Which structure is considered the most incorrect by the native speakers: the split infinitive, the illegitimate NP shift or the adjunct following a relatively long object?
2. To what extent is the heavy NP shift in commands, requests, and the like, preferred over the regular constituent order?
3. Are these utterances the most common communicative sentence type to occur with the NP shift?
4. Is it true that the combination "verb + adverbial" is understood as emphatic in instructions?

Some of these hypotheses may be tested in a carefully planned corpus research (1A, 2, 3), but some must be checked by means of an acceptability survey, in a group of native speakers, commenting on their understanding of different structures (1B, 4).

Considering the amount of data to be analysed, each of the issues sketched above could be investigated in a separate study. It might also be reasonable to conduct a parallel traditional corpus-based investigation for some of the issues, and to formulate some conclusions on the basis of the comparison of the statistical analyses.

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Rozdzielanie nierozdzielalnego: akceptowalność naruszenia związku między czasownikiem a dopełnieniem w języku angielskim

Streszczenie

W języku angielskim bardzo silny jest związek składniowy pomiędzy czasownikiem a jego dopełnieniem. W gramatyce transformacyjno-generatywnej związek ten reguluje zasada „strict adjacency", czyli „bezpośredniego sąsiedztwa". Reguła ta wyklucza stworzenie w języku angielskim zdań, w których pomiędzy czasownikiem a jego dopełnieniem pojawia się okolicznik. Jednak w sytuacji, gdy wyrażenie okolicznikowe jest krótkie, a dopełnienie czasownika bardzo długie lub złożone (czyli „ciężkie"), stosuje się inną zasadę, a mianowicie zasadę „end-weight", czyli dosłownie „wagi końcowej". Nakazuje ona umieszczać długie lub składniowo złożone elementy zdania na końcu, po elementach krótszych i konstrukcyjnie „lżejszych". Powstaje pytanie, jak długi/złożony musi być element uzupełniający czasownik, aby można było w j. angielskim zastosować regułę „end-weight" wbrew nakazom reguły „strict adjacency"? Innymi słowy, jakie warunki składniowe, semantyczne, czy może pragmatyczne muszą zostać spełnione, aby produkt złamania zasady „strict adjacency" był akceptowalny? Na pytanie to warto szukać odpowiedzi ze względu na nauczanie angielskiego wśród

Polaków: w języku polskim, reguła „strict adjacency" nie znajduje zastosowania, gdyż szyk wyrazów jest dużo swobodniejszy niż w języku angielskim. Różnica ta sprawia, że Polacy mają tendencję do rozdzielania czasownika i jego dopełnienia w j. angielskim, ponieważ jest to dopuszczalne w ich języku ojczystym.

W niniejszej pracy omówiono zasady działania reguł „strict adjacency" i „end-weight" w języku angielskim, przytoczono przykłady użycia obu tych reguł przez rodzimych użytkowników j. angielskiego, a w szczególności przeanalizowano warunki, w jakich reguła „bezpośredniego sąsiedztwa" została złamana pod wpływem reguły „wagi końcowej".

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THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

Introduction

The present paper is concerned with the issue of the structural organization of the noun phrase in English and Polish. The study combines a traditional approach to the analysis of noun phrases as constructions with the noun as central element which can be optionally modified by one or more dependants with a more recent DP hypothesis. It seeks to provide an account of the constituents of the Polish and English noun phrases and investigate their semantic and morpho-syntactic properties. The first area of interest constitutes determiners. Attention is drawn to the lack of articles in Polish. Strategies such as the accommodation of other determinatives, e.g. demonstratives or indefinite pronouns, to fulfill the function comparable to that of English articles, are scrutinized to show differences between the use of articles and their apparent substitutes. The other area of investigation is the word order pattern in the noun phrase. The study is limited to the discussion of the relative order of determiner, numeral and adjective modifiers and the head noun. The reason for the choice is that the most striking positional differences between the Polish and the English noun phrase concern these four elements. The pre-head versus post-head position of the elements and their relative ordering in Polish are attributed to their semantic properties.

Noun phrases as referential categories

Nouns are often characterized as referential categories capable of denoting an entity existing independently in the extralinguistic reality, i.e. the real world. However, nouns as such do not refer. *Book* alone does not pick out any independently existing entity in the outside world, but is merely a name given to any member of a class of objects sharing similar properties. It is the context of a proposition which the noun *book* is a part of, that provides the link between the grammatical form of the noun and its referent. Let's consider, for example, a sentence such as:

(1) The book John is reading has a red cover.

By confronting the meaning of the sentence with the physical context, the listener is able to make a judgement as to whether the proposition expressed is true or false. While doing so, s/he has to identify the referent of the noun *book* and verify the colour of its cover. At the same time it must be remembered that such identification is facilitated or indeed made possible by the presence of other grammatical elements which form the noun phrase headed by the noun *book*. While (depending on the context of the utterance) the relative clause might be omitted without any significant hindrance to the evaluation process (as in (2a)), the consequences of the replacement or omission of the article are very serious:

(2) a. The book [...] has a red cover.
     b. This book [...] has a red cover.
     c. A book [...] has a red cover.
     d. * Book [...] has a red cover.

In order to judge (2b) the listener must be able to see the book (they must share the same physical space). (2c) would be neither true nor false, for the listener is unable to pick out a suitable referent in the real world, while (2d) is both non-referential and ungrammatical. If the same proposition was made in Polish, however, a sentence such as (2c) would be perfectly acceptable. What is more, (2a), (2c) and (2d) would be rendered in exactly the same way as:

(3) Książka ma czerwoną okładkę.

The obvious reason is the lack of articles in Polish grammatical system. While a singular countable noun typically cannot appear in the argument position without any determiner in English, in Polish undetermined noun phrases are common.

The role of the determiner

Noun phrases as DP constituents

The obligatory character of determiners in languages such as English led to the emergence of the so-called DP-hypothesis; that is a hypothesis that the sequence of a determiner and noun is in fact headed by the determiner. As Longobardi phrases it, "nominal expression" is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D. DP can be an argument, NP cannot (Longobardi 1994: 628). D is defined as "functional head, regularly occupied by the definite article" (Alexiadou et al. 2007: 53), which selects as its complement an extended projection of N. The questions that arise are what role is played by the article, and what contribution it makes to the interpretation of the whole projection which it is a part of. In English (among others) the presence or absence of the definite article is associated with definiteness. Thus, *the book* in (2a) is understood to be definite and *a book* in (2c) as indefinite. However, as Lyons (1999) points out, the grammatical realization of definiteness is language specific, since although all languages share a semantic/pragmatic concept of definiteness, some languages, e.g. Polish, lack (the definite) article. In Polish translation of (1), quoted below in (4), the italicized noun phrase

will be invariably interpreted as definite, regardless of the fact that the noun is not preceded by an article:

(3) *Książka, którą czyta Janek*, ma czerwoną okładkę.

Similarly, it is not unconceivable that the English noun phrase in

(3') * *Book John is reading* has a red cover.

should be interpreted as definite, albeit ungrammatical. Neither is the definite article to be always associated with the concept of referentiality. English generic uses of the definite article may serve as a good example:

(4) a. *The African Elephant* will soon be extinct.
     b. The invention of *the hydrogen bomb* was the next step.
     c. This chapter describes *the English noun phrase*.

[quoted in Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 407]

Consequently, it is often assumed that "it is essentially the structural position D that assigns referentiality to its NP complement, and it is not the article per se that is to be held responsible for that" (Alexiadou et al. 2007: 159).

On the other hand, it is frequently claimed that those languages which lack articles often use other forms which function corresponds to that of the definite article. For example, Alexiadou (2007: 161), after Maciejewska (1996), mentions Polish demonstrative masculine *ten,* feminine *ta* and neuter *to* as equivalents of the English definite article. However, this claim is difficult to sustain, as there are many significant differences between the use of English definite article and Polish demonstrative. The most important of them include the optional character of Polish demonstratives, their inherent referentiality, their co-occurrence with possessive forms, and most importantly – movement phenomena.

We have already mentioned the obligatory character of the (definite) article in English. Consequently, since the italicized noun phrase in (5a) is definite, the omission of the definite article in (5b) results in ungrammaticality. (5c) and (5d) are Polish renderings of (5a) and (5b), respectively, yet unlike its English counterpart, (5d) is fully acceptable:

(5) a. *Kate is talking to the teacher whom I was telling you about*.
     b. * *Kate is talking to teacher whom I was telling you about*.
     c. *Kasia rozmawia z tym nauczycielem, o którym ci mówiłam*.
     d. *Kasia rozmawia z nauczycielem, o którym ci mówiłam*.

Secondly, unlike the articles, demonstratives, both in Polish and in English, have an obligatorily referential interpretation. Thus they cannot replace the definite articles used in generic noun phrases such as those in (4).

(4') a. * *This African Elephant* will soon be extinct.
      b. * *Temu słoniowi afrykańskiemu* grozi wymarcie.
      c. * The invention of *this hydrogen bomb* was the next step.

d. * Wynalezienie *tej bomby wodorowej* było następnym krokiem.

e. * This chapter describes *this English noun phrase*.

f. * Ten rozdział opisuje *tę angielską grupę imienną*.

Thirdly, English articles are in complementary distribution with other deter-miners. This excludes phrases such as:

(6) a. * the/a this car.

b. * this my dog.

c. * the his son.

In Polish combinations of the demonstrative and the possessive forms in front of one noun occur with a regular frequency, as in (6b'), which is a Polish rendering of (6b):

(6b')   ten mój pies.

And finally, the article invariably appears to the left of the noun in all sur-face representations of English noun phrases. In fact, the post-head position is not available for any other determiner. Polish demonstratives can occupy a few posi-tions in the noun phrase:

(7) a. ten groźny pies.
     this fierce dog.

b. groźny ten pies.
     fierce this dog.

c. groźny pies ten.
     fierce dog this.

The examples in (7) illustrate three most common placements of the demon-strative in Polish: NP initial, post-adjectival and post-nominal, respectively. Apart from the function of the definiteness marker, demonstratives may signal spatial deixis and are also used anaphorically. Pre-head position typically calls for deic-tic interpretation. Thus, *ten* in (7a) indicates that the dog is relatively close to the speaker. *Ten* in the post-head position in (7c) will get an anaphoric interpretation, i.e. the dog must have been mentioned earlier in the discourse. (7b) may well be anaphoric as well, and it is clearly stylistically marked.

Determiner movement

Regardless of their surface ordering, demonstratives cannot be generated in a position lower than N^o, for they check agreement features on the noun. In this re-spect they resemble adjectives, which inflect for number, person and gender in ac-cordance with the form of the noun. Therefore, although the original Jackendoff's (1977) proposal that mutually exclusive English determiners occupy the Specifier position of the maximal projection of N, as shown in (8), may work sufficiently well for English, it will not be an appropriate representation of the Polish determiner system. The basic structure of a more universal (and definitely suitable for Polish) DP, as suggested by Rutkowski (2007: 265) is presented in (9).

(8)

```
                                    N'''
                          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                        ( ART                  N''
                        │ a/the                N'
                        │ some (sing)          │
                        │ this                 │
                        ( his                  N
```
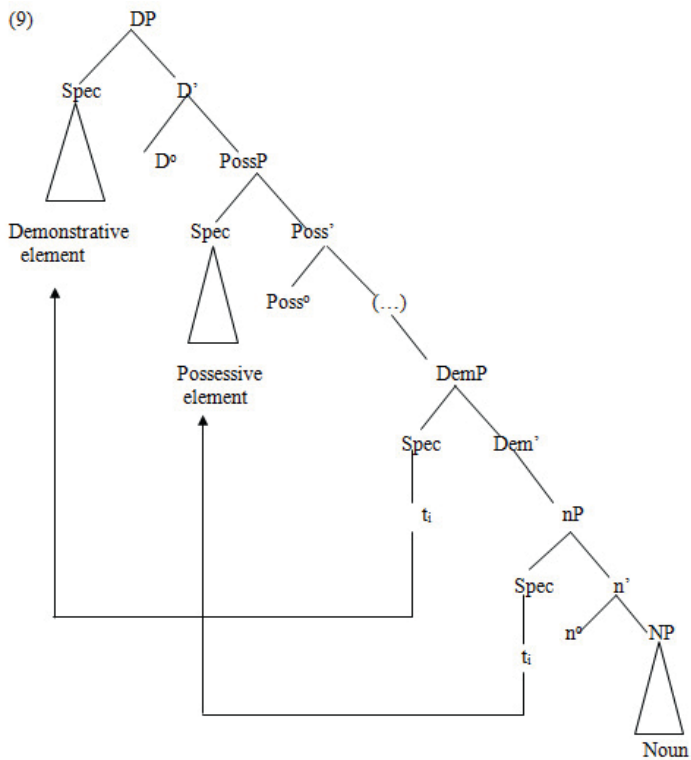
(after Alexiadou et al. 2007: 63)

(9)

```
(9)                          DP
                       ┌──────┴──────┐
                     Spec           D'
                      /\        ┌────┴────┐
                     /  \      D°        PossP
                    /____\            ┌────┴────┐
                Demonstrative       Spec      Poss'
                  element           /\      ┌───┴───┐
                                   /  \   Poss°    (…)
                                  /____\         ┌───┴───┐
                              Possessive                DemP
                               element            ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                 Spec          Dem'
                                                  tᵢ        ┌────┴────┐
                                                                     nP
                                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                            Spec           n'
                                                             tᵢ        ┌────┴────┐
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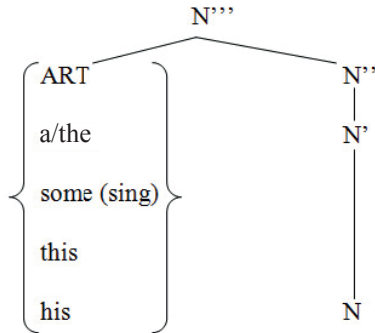
Demonstratives and possessives are generated rather low in the Spec. posi-
tions of DemP and nP due to their adjectival inflection, and then they are moved to
higher functional positions (Rutkowski 2007: 264). The movement of determiners
and possessives is, however, optional, as illustrated by examples (10) and (11).

(10) a. moje dwa koty.
          my two cats.
     b. dwa moje koty.
          two my cats.
(11) a. te cztery przykłady.
          these four examples.
     b. cztery te przykłady.
          four these examples.

Since Quantifier Phrases (QP) are generated in the position between PossP and DemP (Rutkowski 2007: 267), examples (10a) and (11a) illustrate the effect of movement, whereas in (10b) and (11b) movement does not take place. In case of demonstratives, movement to the Spec. DP position is obligatory when the intended interpretation is the deictic one. Thus, *te* in (11b) can only have an anaphoric reading. The lack of movement in (10b) results in the interpretation equivalent to the interpretation of the English phrase 'two of my cats.' Similar examples will show the effect of movement on the relative position of demonstratives and adjectives in the Polish noun phrase:

(12) a. ta ciekawa historia.
          this interesting story.
     b. ciekawa ta historia.
          interesting this story.

In English, where the movement of demonstrative and possessive determiners is obligatory, no such surface variations are possible.

N-movement and the position of adjective modifiers

But determiner movement is not the only kind of movement in the noun phrase. The noun itself can also move cyclically to a higher functional head position. In Polish N-movement is visible in sequences such as *wykład ten* (lecture this), *Panie mój* (Lord my) etc. In both languages N-movement is often postulated to account for the relative adjective – noun orderings. It is hypothesized that adjectives are universally base-generated in the pre-head position and the surface noun – adjective order is the result of the noun leftward movement (cf. Cinque 1994). Cinque postulates the existence of a number of functional heads between N and D which can be occupied by adjectives of a particular semantic type. The hierarchical structure of functional heads helps to explain certain restrictions on adjective ordering in languages such as English. Sproat nad Shih (1991) present the following hierarchical organization of semantic adjectival classes:

(13) quantification < quality < size < shape/colour < provenance

This can be illustrated as follows:

(14) a. numerous/three beautiful big grey Persian cats
    b. lovely little round Greek cats
      [quoted after Alexiadou et al. 2007: 310].

In Polish adjectives can be ordered more freely. Although the unmarked ordering of Polish adjectives may be similar to that of Sproat and Shih, marked variations are also possible:

(15) a. miły młody mężczyzna.
      nice young man.
    b. młody miły mężczyzna.
      young nice man.

(15a) is unmarked and does not require any specific context; (15b) is marked, thus only broader context can justify its use (for example such where nice men are being discussed, one of whom happens to be young).

In both languages adjective modifiers are found either in the pre-head or post-head position. However, in English the post-nominal position is limited to a group which comprises adjectives of two types: those which can only appear in the post-head position, e.g. *afraid, asleep, akin,* or complemented adjectives such as *proud of her work, kind to her neighbours* and those which can either precede or follow the nominal head, i.e. either adjectives derived from verbs through the addition of the suffixes –ible and –able, or participial adjectives (cf. Alexiadou et al. 2007: 295f). Within the second group, the pre-head position is associated with the adjective denoting a permanent or characteristic feature, whereas an adjective in the post-head position refers to a temporary or accidental quality:

(16) a. visible stars.
    b. stars visible.

(16a) describes the whole group of stars which can be observed from the earth, while (16b) refers to a set of stars which can be seen at a particular moment on a particular night.

In Polish, it seems that we deal with a reverse situation: the post-head position of an adjective is associated with the classifying use, i.e. the use in which the adjective denotes a characteristic, permanent feature. On the other hand, an adjective in the pre-head position will be interpreted as denoting an accidental quality. Consequently, adjectives in the pre-head position describe an inherent quality, whereas adjectives in the post-head position refer to non-inherent qualities. Thus, the adjective in (17a) describes the type of bear and the one in (17b) merely denotes the colour of the fur.

(17) a. niedźwiedź brunatny.
      bear brown.
    b. brunatny niedźwiedź.
      brown bear.

Inherent adjectives are extremely varied and thus difficult to define precisely. However, their characteristic features include the following: inability to be used predicatively, to be part of a coordinated structure and the non-gradable character, as illustrated by (18) below:

(18) a. *Ten robotnik jest przemysłowy.
         This worker is industrial.
     b. *herbata czarna i cejlońska.
         tea black and Ceylon.
     c. * Twój stół jest bardziej dębowy niż mój.
         Your table is more oaken than mine.

Rutkowski (2007: 161ff) associates Polish N-A structures with the operation of the N-movement which obligatorily moves the noun to one of the functional phrases in the determiner phrase located somewhere between the DP and the NP. Following the terminology introduced by Rutkowski and Progovac (2005), Rutkowski calls the phrase to which the noun moves when the phrase reserved for the inherent adjective is filled a Classification Phrase and locates it below the functional phrases occupied by non-inherent adjectives.

Conclusion

While the English noun phrase requires a fixed ordering of elements, Polish noun phrases show a greater variety. The relative position of the head noun, its determiners and modifiers is seen as the effect of two kinds of movements: determiner movement and N-movement to functional head positions up the structure. The greater mobility of the components of the Polish noun phrase results in what is perceived to be a relatively free order of elements. As we have seen the relative position of the noun and its modifiers or determiners in Polish often makes the interpretation of the whole noun phrase less prone to ambiguity than the interpretation of the English noun phrase, where normally all elements occupy a fixed position regardless of their interpretation.

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Struktura grupy imienia w języku polskim i angielskim

Streszczenie

Według najnowszych teorii, grupa imienna stanowi część składową większej frazy, zwanej frazą przedimkową (DP). W języku angielskim obowiązują ścisłe zasady określające pozycję poszczególnych elementów tworzących frazę przedimkową. Do najważniejszych z nich należy wymóg dotyczący pozycji przedimka, który musi poprzedzać pozostałe elementy składowe. W języku polskim zasady te nie zawsze obowiązują. I tak, choć w wielu przypadkach przedimek napotyka się przed rzeczownikiem, nie jest to jedyny wariant pozycyjny. Pozycja przedimka w języku polskim wpływa w znacznej mierze na interpretację całej frazy. Podobne zachowanie zaobserwować można w przypadku pozycji przymiotnika względem rzeczownika. W języku angielskim, poza nielicznymi wyjątkami, przymiotnik umiejscowiony jest przed rzeczownikiem. W języku polskim istnieje wyraźny podział na przymiotniki opisujące cechy inherentne oraz przymiotniki opisujące cechy akcydentalne. W zależności od znaczenia, przymiotnik może występować przed rzeczownikiem, lub też po nim. W pierwszym przypadku, przymiotnik interpretowany jest jako odnoszący się do cechy akcydentalnej, w drugim natomiast, jako opisujący cechę inherentną. Zarówno w przypadku przedimka, jak i przymiotnika, różnice pozycyjne obserwowane w języku polskim są rezultatem przesunięć przedimków lub rzeczownika do pewnych pustych pozycji funkcyjnych.

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THE ROLE OF SEMANTIC FACTORS IN PASSIVIZATION: A USAGE-BASED STUDY

Introduction: the aims and scope of this study

It is a commonly known fact that not each transitive verb can appear in the passive and that the frequency of passivization can vary greatly between different verbs or even between different senses of the same verb. This study is an enquiry into possible reasons for this situation. The question that it addresses is as follows: what semantic and syntactic factors influence the possibility and the frequency of usage of verbs in the passive construction? On the basis of data from The British National Corpus, the author examines actual passive uses of two verbs (one of which is often and the other relatively rarely passivized) in search of features which could account for the difference in the frequency of the verbs' passive usage. Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1991, 2008) is used as the framework for the analysis.

The two verbs chosen for the purpose of this study are *see* and *watch*. In addition to their semantic affinity – both verbs relate to the domain of visual perception – there is a clearly visible difference in the frequency of their passive uses: the former is extremely frequent, while the latter infrequently passivized. In the LGSWE corpus, the verb *see* appears in the top ten of verbs most frequently occurring in the passive (Biber et al. 1999: 478), while *watch* numbers among the verbs which passive forms constitute less than 2% of their overall usage (Biber et al. 1999: 481). This assessment is confirmed in the present research: the BNC corpus yielded only 344 tokens of the verb *watch* in the passive, the overall number of its verbal uses being 18 894, whereas the verb *see* appears in the passive as many as 14 707 times, out of altogether 185 589 tokens. Thus, the passive constitutes 7,9% of all uses for the verb *see* and only 1,8% for *watch*; in other words, the verb *see* is four times more frequent in the passive.

As the overall number of the passive uses of the verb *watch* provided by the BNC corpus was 344, a corresponding random sample of 350 passive uses of *see* was constructed. The tokens were coded for various semantic and syntactic criteria (which will be described in more detail in section 3) and analysed by means of R statistical programming environment. The resulting multiple correspondance

analysis shows correlations between particular factors which contribute to the differences between the frequency of the passive for the two verbs.

Passive and passivizability in Cognitive Grammar

The passive as a construction

In Cognitive Grammar, the relationships between clausal participants are often described in terms of the action chain model: a conceptual model presenting the interaction between the agent and the patient in terms of transfer of energy. The model is schematically presented in Figure 1, where the circles represent the participants and the arrows – the energy transfer.
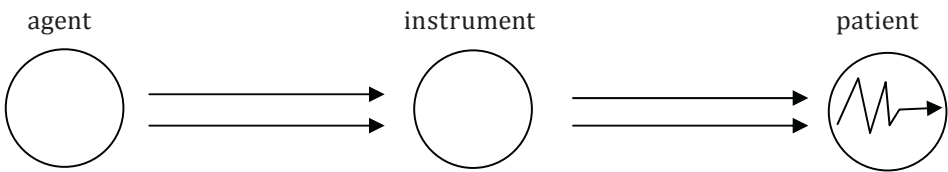
agent   instrument   patient

Fig. 1. The action chain model, adapted from Langacker 1991: 285 and Evans and Green 2006: 603

A prototypical action involves the transfer of energy from the agent ("energy source") to the patient ("energy sink"), which as a result undergoes a change of state (Evans 2007: 4). The interaction between the agent and the patient may be mediated by the instrument. This unified conceptual model of agent-patient interaction underlies the structure of the transitive clause.

In a prototypical, unmarked clause structure, the element coded as the subject is either the energy source or the element that is closest to it, furthest "upstream" in the action chain (Evans and Green 2006: 603). Thus in a typical active transitive clause, it is the agent that is most likely to be assigned the most prominent position of the trajector – the primary clausal participant.

The passive construction is treated in Cognitive Grammar as an instance of marked coding: a way of structuring the information which is less typical in terms of its frequency and its distributional potential. The basic function of the passive construction is "to convert a process (specified by the content verb) into an atemporal relation with a contrasting figure/ground organization" (Langacker 1991: 202–203). The passive thus reverses the hierarchy of salience between the participants: the agent, normally coded as the subject, is defocused, while the element promoted to the position of the clausal trajector is the patient/theme – the participant that would normally be assigned the less prominent position of the landmark – the secondary figure, in an active clause expressed by the direct object. The two processes – defocusing the agent and promoting the patient/theme – are interconnected, as "when one participant is left unspecified, the other becomes more salient just through the absence of competition" (Langacker 2008: 384).

Such a difference in the hierarchy of salience is motivated by discourse factors: the speaker, for various reasons, focuses the listener's attention not on the energy source, but on the energy sink – the participant affected by the action. This shift of emphasis, trajector-landmark reversal, is the basic function of the passive construction.

Constructions are treated in Cognitive Grammar as pairings of form and meaning at various levels of linguistic organization (Langacker 2008: 161–162). Syntactic constructions, as opposed to individual lexical items, have schematic meaning (Evans 2007: 43), which includes pragmatic and discourse-related factors (Taylor 2009: 225). The possibility of particular lexical items combining with a particular construction depends on the compatibility of the items' specific meaning with the schematic meaning of the construction.

The basic function of the passive construction is the clausal trajector-landmark reversal, which can only be meaningful in the context of the whole gestalt of agent-patient interaction in a transitive clause. The ability of a particular verb to combine with the passive does not depend only on the verb, but on the whole construal and its compatibility with the action chain model.

The passive is a feature of construal, the way that information is organized and presented by the speaker, and as such it is seen in terms of discourse functions of the whole clause. Often the verb itself and the nominals involved in the construction are not enough to account for passivizability, and we need to refer to semantic factors related to the whole construal, such as ex. the volitionality of the agent, perfectivity of the action, the affected patient (Rice 1987: 1), or even features such as metaphorization and evaluation (Podhorodecka 2007: 124–134). Semantic factors which contribute to the passivizability of the clause often co-occur in prototypical instances of transitive clauses, and they form a unified conceptual model (Rice 1987: 3).

The transitive clause prototype

Discussing the nature of syntactic constructions, Taylor observes that "possibility of occurrence in a construction is a matter of gradience, some items being readily available, others being totally excluded, with, in between, a range of items which use is dubious or sporadic" (2009: 222). This entails that constructions, similarly to other linguistic items, should be treated as radial categories, which display prototype effects and can be described in terms of more central and more marginal cases (Taylor 2009: 222–228). Central, prototypical constructions are the most common: they have the highest frequency and distributional potential, i.e. they can appear in the widest range of contexts. Consequently, the ability of a clause to appear in the passive construction is related to its prototypicality: a more typical transitive clause is more likely to be made passive.

The passivizability of a clause depends on its closeness to the transitive clause prototype, whose central aspect is the agent-patient interaction, schematically presented in the action chain model.

Langacker (1991: 302) describes the characteristics of a typical transitive clause as follows:

> It has two participants expressed by overt nominals that function as subject and object.
> It describes an event, as opposed to a static situation.
> The event is energetic, relatively brief, and has a well defined endpoint.
> The subject and the object represent discrete, highly individuated physical entities. These entities already exist when the event occurs.
> The subject and the object are fully distinct and participate in a strongly asymmetrical relationship.
> The subject's participation is volitional, while that of the object is non-volitional.
> The subject is the source of the energy, and the object is its target.
> The object is totally affected by the action. (Langacker 1991: 302)

In other words, the event described by a typical transitive clause is dynamic, punctual and perfective. It features two distinct, pre-existing participants in an asymmetrical relationship based on the contrast between the energy source and the energy sink, volition and lack of volition. The patient is affected by the action.

Taylor (2009: 232–233), going back to earlier studies by Lakoff (1977) and Hopper and Thompson (1980), lists the following semantic properties of the transitive clause in its typical instantiations. The event is perfective, rather real than hypothetical and involves direct physical contact. It features two distinct, individuated participants, which are in opposition and are denoted by the nominals with specific reference. The event is initiated and controlled by a conscious and volitional, therefore usually human, agent. The patient is typically inanimate, and as a result of the event it undergoes an immediate, visible change of state. The event is causative, as its effect is intended by the agent.

The properties of the transitive clause prototype are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1. The transitive clause prototype: a summary

The participants	The event
Two participants, coded by nominals	Dynamic
Specific reference	Telic/perfective
Pre-existing	Punctual
Maximally distinct	External and observable
In opposition	Involving physical contact
	Rather real than hypothetical

The agent	The patient
Trajector (primary figure)	Landmark (secondary figure)
Volitional	Non-volitional
In control of the action	Affected by the action
Human	Inanimate
Energy source	Energy sink

In the case study that follows, the characteristics of the prototypical transitive clause will be related to the actual passive uses of the verbs *see* and *watch*, in order to account for the difference in their passivizability.

See and *watch*: a case study

Similarities and differences between *see* and *watch*

First of all it must be emphasized that there are many semantic similarities between the two analysed verbs. Both of them depart from the transitive clause prototype in two important ways: they pertain to the domain of perception rather than physical action and the situations they describe are predominantly atelic (they do not have an inherent endpoint) and durative (they extend over time). These features of *see* and *watch* are exemplified by typical uses of the verbs in 1a. and 1b. below:

1a. *This pattern of acquired dyslexia **is** in fact **seen**.*

1b. '*Do you feel you **are being watched** now?*'[1]

On the other hand, what brings the two verbs closer to the transitive clause prototype is the fact that they both encode situations with two clearly distinct participants in an asymmetrical relationship – the perceiver and the perceived. The primary participant is almost exclusively human and can be described as either agent or experiencer. While the participants of situations encoded by the verb *watch* can be classified as agent and patient/theme, in the case of the verb *see*, the relationship between the participants is closer to that between experiencer and theme. This particular feature situates the verb *watch* much closer to the transitive clause prototype, as what we encounter here is a volitional agent and a potentially affected patient. That is why Taylor considers the verb *watch* to be more prototypically transitive than the verb *see*, arguing that "the act of watching is under the control of the subject" (2009: 234).

Apart from the volitionality of the agent, there are other features that, paradoxically, make the verb *watch* more typically transitive: the event it describes is external, observable and dynamic. In other words, it's more of an action than an act of perception. Considering that the verb *watch* is in fact four times less frequent in the passive, there must obviously be other semantic factors that influence the passivizability of the two verbs. What are they?

Semanatic factors

If we relate the discussion in the previous section to the summary of the transitive clause prototype presented in Table 1 above, it will become apparent that many of the semantic characterisitcs of *see* and *watch* are relatively stable and can be summarized as follows: both verbs feature two distinct participants in an asymmetrical relationship, where the primary participant is human. Both verbs profile an event which is typically, though not exclusively, imperfective (atelic and

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1 All the examples come from the BNC Corpus. Emphasis added.

durative). As opposed to the verb *see*, the verb *watch* describes an external, observable and dynamic event with a volitional agent.

The features that vary in different uses of the two verbs and may therefore influence their passivizability are the following: the perfectivity of the event, specific reference of agent and patient[2] and three features related to the patient only: whether it is human, pre-existing and affected by the action. The data obtained from the BNC corpus were coded for the above-mentioned features, in a procedure that involved six distinctions:

Is the event construed as perfective or imperfective?
Is the agent specific or unspecific?
Is the patient specific or unspecific?
Is the patient human or non-human?
Is the patient pre-existing?
Is the patient affected by the action?

Is the event construed as perfective or imprefective?

It has already been mentioned that the situations encoded by both *see* and *watch* are predominantly construed as imperfective: they usually extend over time and lack an inherent end-point. Such typical uses, where both verbs are durative and atelic, are exemplified in 2a and 2b below.

2a. *Big **is** no longer **seen** as beautiful.*

2b. *The place **was watched** night and day.*

However, it is possible for both verbs to encode a perfective event or a series of such events. This usually happens if the passive subject is construed as bounded: 3a below describes six separate, punctual, complete acts of perception, while in 3b the subject denotes a single specific event with relatively clear time boundaries.

3a. *Only six species of orchids **have been seen** this year.*

3b. *The climax of the match **was watched** by only about 8,000 people.*

Perfectivity may also be introduced into the construal by a perfective verb form or an adjunct expressing repetition or placing the event within a specific time frame:

4a. *This will be the first time SummerSlam **has been seen** outside the USA.*

4b. *The first signs of the new eruption **were seen** on 23 March 1902.*

It must be noted that in the corpus data the situations coded by the verb *see* are twice more often construed as punctual: the percentage of perfective construals is 24%, as opposed to 11,6% for the verb *watch*. The tendency of the passive *watch*

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[2] Note that henceforth, due to the technical necessity to unify the coding procedure, the term "agent" is applied to primary participants of both verbs (the agent of watch and the experiencer of see). Likewise, the term "patient" relates to the secondary participant of both watch and see, irrespective of its being or not being affected by the action.

towards imperfective construals is further emphasized by its preference for the progressive aspect: the verb occurs in the progressive in 42,1% of the analysed tokens, as opposed to only 1,4% for the verb *see*.

Is the agent specific or unspecific?

In a prototypical transitive clause, both participants have specific reference. In the passive, the basic condition for the agent's specificity is its being overtly expressed. Long passives with the agent introduced in a by-phrase are more characteristic of the verb *watch*, where they constitute 34% of all tokens. With the verb *see* such constructions seem to be avoided, as they appear only in 4,2% of the uses. In a significant majority of tokens the agent is left unspecific: it is either omitted altogether, as in 5a below, or it denotes a fairly unspecific group of individuals, as in 5b.

5a. *If the animal* **is seen** *against a pale background, the pale patches blend in with the environment.*

5b. *American soccer* **is watched** <u>*by a more middle-class audience of both sexes*</u>.

Construals with a specific agent, exemplified in 6a and 6b below, are definitely a minority. Even so, they are used over ten times more often with the verb *watch* (18,6%) than with the verb *see* (1,7%).

6a. *She could neither see nor* **be seen** <u>*by the pair in the observation room*</u>.

6b. *Kevin, in turn,* **was being watched** <u>*by his wife, Enid, who had gaoler's eyes, was more regal than the Queen, and in her spotted dress looked like a Sherman tank with measles.*</u>

An overtly expressed specific agent is clearly more characteristic of the verb *watch*. On the one hand, it brings the verb closer to the transitive clause prototype, but on the other hand, it may actually interfere with passivization, which main function is reversing the hierarchy of the salience between clausal participants. A specific, volitional agent is conceptually more prominent and as such it may be more difficult to demote.

Is the patient specific or unspecific?

The specificity of the patient is a more straightforward question, as in the passive it is expressed by the most prominent clausal participant – the subject. In this respect there are no dramatic differences between the two analysed verbs. For both of them the passive subject is specific in a vast majority of cases (78,5% for *see* and 85,5% for *watch*). It is again the verb *watch* that shows a greater tendency for participant specificity, although this time its predominance is only marginal. The examples below show typical passive construals with a specific (7a) and an unspecific (7b) subject.

7a. <u>*Hilary Frome*</u> *knew he* **was being watched**.

7b. <u>*Some pupils*</u> *don't like* **being watched**, *however.*

Is the patient human or non-human?

Construals where the patient is human constitute over one half of the tokens of passive *watch* (53,7%), but for the verb *see* they are definitely a minority (19,1%). While for the verb *watch* there is practically an equal possibility of the patient being human and non-human, the verb *see* clearly favours non-human participants as passive subjects. So, it is the passive of the verb *see* that usually profiles a clearly visible opposition between a specific non-human patient and an unspecified human agent. This is shown in 8a below, while 8b and 8c exemplify construals with respectively human and non-human subject, equally characteristic for the verb *watch*.

8a. *Systems of this type* **have been seen** *in beer production.*

8b. *Still, she knew she* **was being watched**.

8c. *The process* **can be watched** *under a low power dissecting microscope.*

Is the patient pre-existing?

In the majority of tokens the patient is pre-existing for both the verb *see* (90,6%) and *watch* (82,6%), as in 9a and 9b below:

9a. *And he* **had not been seen** *for some days*.

9b. *Bernice still had a feeling of* **being watched**.

There is, however, a visible group of tokens of the verb *watch* (17,4%), where the passive subject is an event which co-exists with the action. In 10a, the patient, *a football match*, does not exist before or continue after the act of watching.

On the other hand, there is also a type of construal characteristic solely for the verb *see*, where the patient is actually produced by the action. In this pattern, the passive subject is typically an extraposed that-clause and the verb can be paraphrased as "conclude/realize." For instance, in 10b the conclusion *that they were right* emerges as a result of the experiencer's thought process. Consequently, it does not exist before or during the act of seeing, but is affected by the event.

10a. *A football match* **could be watched** *by a lot of people, especially if it is televised.*

10b. *In the future it* **would be seen** *that they were right*.

The dominant tendency with both *see* and *watch* is for the patient to be pre--existent, yet some variations are possible, in which each of the verbs displays its own characteristic pattern: *watch* combines with a co-existing passive subject and *see* with an effected subject. It is worth noting that in both situations the patient is non-human and denotes a relation: either an event or a proposition.

Is the patient affected by the action?

An even more complex set of distinctions emerged in the analysis of causation patterns associated with the two verbs. For both verbs the largest group of tokens (45,4% for *see* and 34,4% for *watch*) feature an affected patient. The effect often pertains to the mental domain and has to do with the subject's awareness,

knowledge or perception. This in turn entails that the subjects are predominantly human. In many construals with the verb *watch*, the subject's awareness of being watched is emphasized and more often than not it produces a reaction, as in 11a below. Collocations such as "feeling/sensation/awareness/pressure of being watched" are extremely common in the data. The verb *see* frequently combines an affected patient with the complex transitive "see as" construction, as in 11b below, where what is influenced by the event is the perception of the subject.

11a. *Sensing* <u>she</u> **was being watched**, *she spun round to face the doorway, the Beretta gripped tightly at arm's length.*

11b. *As such* <u>it</u> **is seen as** *the first part of a larger work.*

In only slightly smaller percentage of tokens (42% for *see* and 32,8% for *watch*) the passive subject remains unaffected by the action. This can be seen in 12a and 12b below: veining in a mineral rock does not normally undergo a change of state as a reaction to being seen and neither does a television set as a result of being watched.

12a. <u>*Simple, distinct veining*</u> **can** *also* **be seen**.

12b. <u>*The television sets owned by prosperous Zambians*</u> **were** *also* **watched** *by a number of relatives who were less well off.*

The group of construals with the verb *see*, already mentioned before, in which the passive subject is the result of the experiencer's thought process, also stands out here as a separate category, due to the correlation between time and causation: the effect is always subsequent to its cause. It is exemplified by 13 below, or 10b in the previous section.

13. <u>*It*</u> *will* **be seen** *again* <u>*that the four ogres – anxiety, fear, guilt and anger – all play their parts*</u>.

In addition to these, there is a significant group of construals where there is a causative relation involved, although it is by no means straightforward. These construals have been labelled as "potential" and they are more frequently connected with the verb *watch* (32,8%) than *see*, where they are quite marginal (3,2%). Consider the examples below:

14a. *However,* <u>*children*</u> **must be watched** *to ensure they do not abuse this little dog's trust by pulling on their ears.*

14b. *'*<u>*Your house*</u> **will** *certainly* **be watched**.*'*

14c. *In fact,* <u>*their departure*</u> **was watched** *with quiet satisfaction by a surprising number of Rockford residents.*

In 14a the subject is not directly affected by the very act of watching; however, there is a possibility of the agent's interference if the children do actually pull on the dog's ears. Similarly, in 14b the house itself is not affected, but it is the owner of the house that may be affected by the agent's potential action or the

and negative polarity ("neg") are a bit more closely correlated with *see*, while basic monotransitive sentence structure ("basic") and past tense ("past") are slightly more characteristic for *watch*.

Finally, the third group of features includes those that are particularly closely related to only one of the two analysed verbs. The cluster of properties around the verb *see* contains modal verbs ("modal") and the three complex transitive complementation patterns: the "be seen as" ("as"), the to-infinitive "be seen to" ("to-inf") and the participle "be seen –ing" construction ("ing"). Note that these are positioned very close together, forming a cluster within a cluster. There are only two features that are clearly more characteristic for *watch*: long passive ("long") and progressive aspect ("prog").

Factors situated in the upper part of the graph also correlate more frequently with only one of the verbs: finite ("f-clause") and non-finite clause ("nf-clause") as the passive subject with *see*, and hidden subject ("hidden") and non-finite verb form ("non-finite") with *watch*. The distance of these features from the verbs indicates that although they are characteristic for one of the verbs only, their tokens are not particularly numerous.

The results of the analysis are summarized in Table 3. Note that the positions of the two verbs in the table have been reversed from Table 2, to reflect the arrangement of *see* and *watch* in Figure 4.

Table 3. The passive of *see* and *watch*: correlational analysis of syntactic factors – summary

	SEE	WATCH
1.	Nominal as the passive subject Positive polarity Perfective aspect Quasi-modals Present tense	
2.	Short passive/Monotransitive pattern Simple aspect/Past tense Negative polarity	
3.	Modal verbs Complex transitive pattern Clausal subject (finite and non-finite)	Long passive Progressive aspect Non-finite verb form Hidden subject

Conclusions

The conclusion that arises from the data discussed above is that the main reason for the low passivizability of the verb *watch* is an atypical hierarchy of salience between the clausal participants, which is incompatible with the schematic meaning of the passive construction. To put it simply, the agent and the patient are not assymetrical enough: the patient is often human and aware of being watched, while the agent is specific, overtly expressed in a significant percentage of cases, and thus is not sufficiently defocused. Another important factor is the imperfectivity of the construal, visible in the verb's frequent co-occurrence with the

progressive aspect. And finally an important role is played by the complexity of causation patterns associated with *watch*, also departing in many ways from the transitive clause prototype.

On the other hand, what makes the verb *see* a more likely candidate for the passive is the fact that it resembles the transitive clause prototype in two important aspects; namely, it usually features a non-human patient affected by the action and the event is more readily construed as perfective. Last but not least, the verb offers a greater variety of extended senses and a wider range of syntactic patterns, both in terms of its complementation and the possible form of the passive subject.

It must be concluded that the aspects decisive for the frequency of passivization of the verbs *see* and *watch* are the asymmetry of the agent and the patient as well as the perfectivity of the event and the causative component of the construal.

Tools and sources

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Rola czynników semantycznych w pasywizacji

Streszczenie

Celem niniejszej pracy jest zbadanie, jakie czynniki mają wpływ na częstotliwość pasywizacji czasowników w języku angielskim. Na podstawie danych z korpusu językowego The British National Corpus, autorka bada dwa angielskie czasowniki: see i watch, z których pierwszy jest czterokrotnie częściej używany w stronie biernej niż drugi. Dane korpusowe zostają poddane analizie za pomocą środowiska oprogramowania statystycznego R, co wykazuje zarówno hierarchię ważności jak i wzajemne powiązania pomiędzy poszczególnymi semantycznymi i syntaktycznymi właściwościami obu czasowników. Najistotniejsze dla częstotliwości ich użycia w stronie biernej okazują się: asymetryczna relacja pomiędzy agensem a patiensem, perfektywność wydarzenia i związane z nim relacje przyczynowo-skutkowe.

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UNPACKING A BLEND: THE PROCESS OF DEMETAPHORIZATION FROM THE COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

Cognitive linguistics regards language as one of human cognitive abilities and metaphor as a basic mechanism of human cognition. Within the scope of cognitive linguistics, the mechanism of metaphorization, i.e. the process of creating metaphors, was first described by Lakoff and other scholars (see e.g. Lakoff 1980) as a mental rather than just linguistic operation: a mapping between the two domains of our mental experience, called the cognitive domains. Among common examples is the metaphor "life is a journey." The metaphorical meaning is created by mapping the content and structure of the cognitive domain of "journey" (i.e. our knowledge of journeys, including e.g. their kinds, stages and elements involved as well as the journeys we have experienced in our lives) onto the cognitive domain of "life" (i.e. our knowledge of what life is, its stages and forms as well as some individual lives including our own). As a result of this mapping, the concept of life is understood, or conceptualised, as a journey, which allows us to produce such individual linguistic examples (instantiations) of this conceptual metaphor as: *someone's life has come to an end; this is a turning poing in someone's life; someone's way of life; someone's journey's end* (i.e. death), etc. Lakoff's cognitive metaphor theory deals mainly with conventional metaphors, i.e. those that we use every day, rather than more poetic or more complex metaphorical phenomena.

A recent development of Lakoff's cognitive metaphor theory, capable of dealing with complex and creative metaphors, has been proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (see e.g. Fauconnier, Turner 2002). Fauconnier's blending theory (also known as conceptual blending theory, conceptual integration theory and many space model) provides new and powerful insight into the mechanisms of metaphorization, noting its presence also in spheres other than language, namely the fact that metaphorization is not only verbal but visual as well:

> [R]ecent research has given rise to the view that conceptual blending is central to human thought and imagination, and that evidence for this can be found not only in human language, but also in a wide range of other areas of human activity. In particular, Fauconnier and Turner argue that the ability to perform conceptual integration or blending may have been the key mechanism in facilitating the development of

advanced human behaviours that rely on complex symbolic abilities. These include rituals, art, tool manufacture and use, and the development of language. (Evans 2007: 12, 13)

Fauconnier and Turner refer to metaphorization as blending. What becomes blended are several mental spaces, the product of which is called a blend. In fact, there are two kinds of blending: metaphorical and non-metaphorical but most of their mechanisms are the same. Mental spaces are defined as "small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action" (Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 40; see also Fauconnier 1994). They are based on cognitive domains and cognitive frames, i.e. stable knowledge structures stored in our long-term memory. For example, the sentence "That's a piece of cake for me!" sets up a mental space that contains a person who has a piece of cake; a possible long-term mental structure that underlies it is our knowledge of cakes: their baking, their sizes, shapes and tastes, the occasions on which they are eaten, etc.

A Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics by Evans (Evans 2007) contains the following definition of a mental space:

> 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. The hallmark of a mental space [...] is that mental spaces are constructed "online," in the moment of speaking or thinking [...] Thus a mental space results in a unique and temporary "packet" of conceptual structure, constructed for purposes specific to the ongoing discourse. (Evans 2007: 134)

A metaphor, or a blend, which is a mental space itself, arises out of integration of the content of at least three other mental spaces: at least two input spaces plus a generic space, which together form an integration network. The inputs provide the actual material for blending while the generic space contains a schematization of the inputs, thus prompting the grounds for identification of counterparts in other spaces. One of the classical examples of metaphorical blend is the one expressed in the idiom "dig one's own grave." The metaphorical meaning is, according to Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture, as follows:

> *dig one's own grave* to cause one's own failure, ruin or death: *You're just digging your own grave if you go on smoking so heavily.*

The blend may be represented graphically as presented in Figure 1.

In the blend, input space 1 contains a person digging a grave, input space 2 contains a person who is smoking excessively and the generic space may simply contain a person and an activity. The person digging the grave is identified with the smoker and an abstracted person in the generic space while digging the grave is identified with smoking and the activity in the generic space. The resulting blend contains these two blended elements thanks to the generic space.

Blending involves three mechanisms, or processes: composition, completion and elaboration. Composition is the most obvious of the three; it consists of

mapping of the content of each input space into the blend. Completion occurs when it is necessary to complement the structure in the blend with some of our long--term knowledge. The last process, elaboration, is referred to as further "running" of the blend, i.e. further elaboration of the image by e.g. adding new elements to it or continuing the story that it contains.
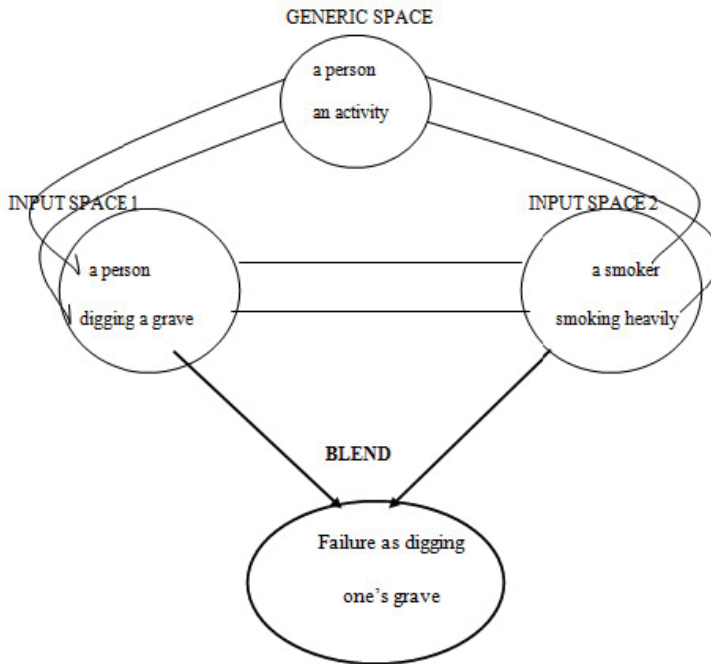

Fig. 1. The blend of DIGGING ONE'S OWN GRAVE

Moreover, there are several other blending rules which make it successful. The authors of the blending theory first called them "optimality principles" because the principles are really hints indicating how to make a blend effective (the principles are now known under a new name of Constitutive and Governing Principles, and there is more than five of them). They are best summarised in a paper by Grady, Oakley and Coulson (n.d.):

Integration: The scenario in the blended space should be a well-integrated scene.

Web: Tight connections between the blend and the inputs should be maintained, so that an event in one of the input spaces, for instance, is construed as implying a corresponding event in the blend.

Unpacking: It should be easy to reconstruct the inputs and the network of connections, given the blend.

Topology: Elements in the blend should participate in the same sorts of relations as their counterparts in the inputs.

Good Reason: If an element appears in the blend, it should have meaning. (Grady, Oakley, Coulson n.d.)

The authors also state that "[t]here is tension among some of these principles, and so each blend satisfies them to varying degrees" (Grady, Oakley, Coulson n.d.)

Some of the metaphorical blends seem to be consciously used by speakers in situations in which their literal meaning comes to light and becomes important. I will call this phenomenon "demetaphorization." Let us consider two examples of such "demetaphorized" or "deconstructed" metaphors:

Example 1:
Imagine you have just eaten a large dinner and are waiting for a dessert. You are not sure if you will be able to eat it. You are then served some cake, which is not too large for you, so you say with relief: "Oh, that's a piece of cake for me!"

What you have just used to comment on the capacity of your stomach is an idiom, and a metaphor at the same time. The metaphor is an entrenched one, i.e. conventional, long established and commonly used in colloquial English. The sense conveyed by it is that something is very easy for a person.

However, in the above example the metaphor is used to comment on an actual cake that someone is to eat, i.e. the expression is used literally rather than metaphorically. It may be considered clever, or a joke – but that is precisely because this is a metaphor used non-metaphorically, or a demetaphorized metaphor.

Example 2:
Leaving a party earlier than other guests because you have some urgent work waiting to be done, you stand at the door sadly saying good-bye to your hosts. Pointing at the door, you may comment on your situation saying: "There's no other way for me…"

This is again a statement that might be considered witty just because the speaker uses a conventional metaphor both in its metaphorical and in its literal sense, applying the metaphorical image both to the fact that the party is over for you and – at the same time – to the physical reality that is in front of your eyes.

I believe that the theory that is capable of dealing with the phenomenon of demetaphorization is to be searched for in the area of cognitive linguistics. Since it is the Principle of Unpacking that seems to be the most promising for the purpose of analysis and explanation of demetaphorization, let us look at it in more detail. Unpacking was presented in detail by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) as follows:

The Unpacking Principle: Other things being equal, the blend all by itself should prompt for the reconstruction of the entire network.

One of the powers of the blend is that it carries in itself *the germ of the entire network.* If one already has the entire network active, then running the blend gives inferences and consequences for the rest of the network. But if the entire network has not yet been built or has been forgotten, or if relevant portions of it are not active in the moment of thinking, then the blend does good work in prompting for those activations. Part of the blend's power to provide global insight lies in its utility as a mnemonic de-

vice – in cases where we have knowledge of the network and merely need to retrieve and activate it – or as *a triggering device*, carrying small compressions that guide us to *unpack them into full-blown parts of the network*. (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 332–333 – emphasis mine)

The emphasis has been added by me to parts of the above quotation to show indications of a possibility to explain demetaphorization. According to this principle, when using a metaphor or a blend, we are aware of its constituent parts, which makes it possible for us to apply the metaphorical expression in a literal context, i.e. the real-world context that is linked to one of the inputs of that blend.

Let us consider in this light the blends that gave rise to the two examples presented earlier.
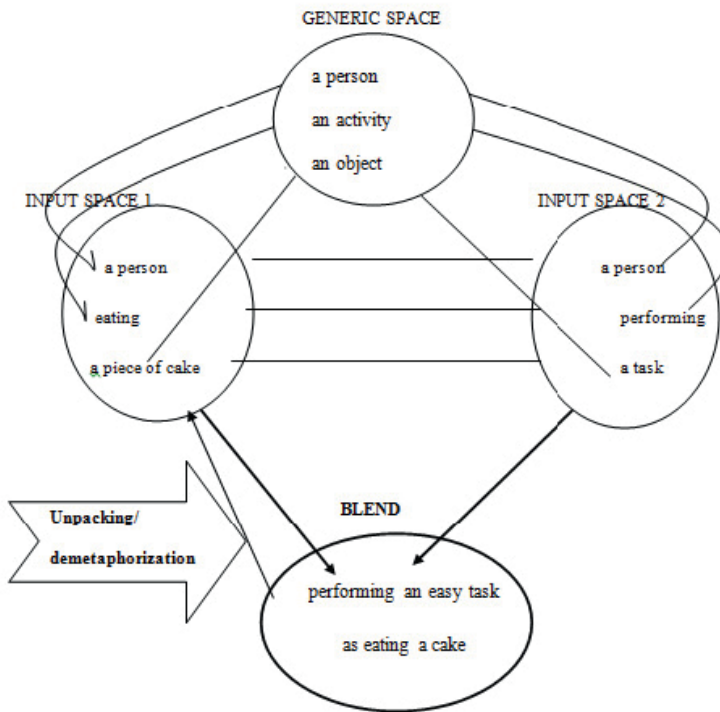

Fig. 2. The PIECE OF CAKE blend and its demetaphorization

The idiom "That's a piece of cake!" is an idiom, or a metaphor, if used as someone's comment on a task that is easy to perform. The direction of blending, or metaphorization, is represented by arrowed lines leading downwards from both inputs to the blend. When the idiom is used as a remark on an actual cake to be eaten by someone, the metaphor becomes unpacked back to its input, namely input space 1 (a person eating a cake). The direction of unpacking (or demetaphorization) is represented by an arrowed line from the blend to input space 1. The joke lies in the fact

that the meaning emergent in the blend aids interpretation of the situation in input 1: the use of the metaphor in the literal sense implies that the cake is easy to eat.
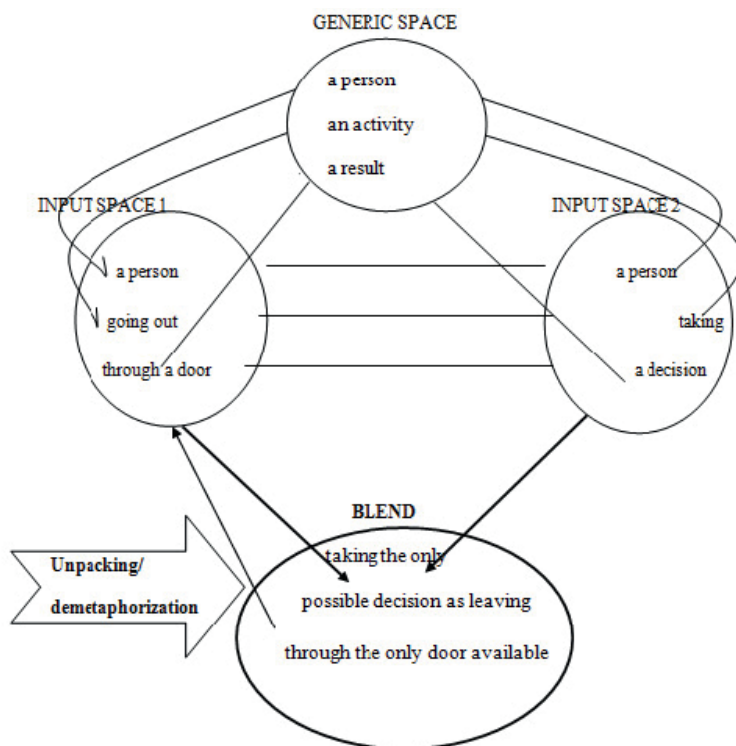

Fig. 3. The NO OTHER WAY blend and its demetaphorization

Analogously, the remark "There's no other way..." is a set phrase and a metaphor in a situation when it comments on someone being able to take only one decision or behaving in the only possible way. The direction of blending, or metaphorization, is represented by arrowed lines leading downwards from both inputs to the blend. However, when this sentence is used in a situation when someone is literally going out, this metaphor becomes unpacked to input space 1 (a person going out through a door). The direction of unpacking (or demetaphorization) is represented by an arrowed line from the blend to input space 1. Here the point of the witty remark lies in the extra meaning of a physical situation, prompted by the double sense of the comment (literal and metaphorical at the same time) and identifying the lack of an alternative with the actual door.

There is certainly more that lies behind the mechanism of demetaphorization; the present paper is a record of my preliminary attempt at interpretation of this phenomenon in the light of cognitive linguistics, and blending theory in particular. In fact, everyday life – and everyday speech – are full of such "deconstructed" metaphors; but this is not the only area where demetaphorization occurs. I believe it is

present – or even omnipresent – in all creative spheres of human life; hence also in advertising and, of course, in poetry.

However complex demetaphorization turns out to be as a result of further research in the future, the conclusion that may be made even at this stage remains in accordance with the basic assumptions of cognitive linguistics: namely that unpacking, or demetaphorization, is a way of thinking and that – as such – it serves communication. Secondly, despite critical voices expressing concern about imprecisions or too large generalizations that are among the faults of blending theory (see e.g. Libura 2010), this proposal offered by Fauconnier and Turner seems to be promising enough to serve as a good model to analyse and explain the phenomenon of demetaphorization.

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Rozpakowanie mieszanki: proces demetaforyzacji z perspektywy kognitywnej

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł jest próbą ujęcia – z perspektywy, jaką oferuje językoznawstwo kognitywne – zjawiska demetaforyzacji, czyli wydobycia dosłownego znaczenia metafory. Według autorki, zjawisko to ujawnia się w metaforach konwencjonalnych, gdzie wykorzystywane jest przez mówiącego świadomie – jako gra słów. Analiza przykładów demetaforyzacji jest przeprowadzona w świetle najnowszej teorii metafory w nurcie kognitywnym – teorii amalgamatów, określanej też jako teoria integracji pojęciowej (ang. blending theory, conceptual integration theory). Mechanizmu demetaforyzacji autorka upatruje w jednym z procesów integracji pojęciowej zwanym 'rozpakowaniem' (ang. unpacking), który wyjaśnia możliwość zaistnienia dosłownego znaczenia w danej metaforze.

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LEXICALIZATION AND IDIOMATICITY OF ENGLISH FIXED EXPRESSIONS AND THEIR POLISH TRANSLATIONS

The focus of the article is semantic lexicalization that occurs as a follow-up to the formation of new phraseological expressions. In the course of some formal and semantic processes a word-formation syntagma loses its character of a complex word and becomes a single complete lexical unit. Conceptualization and the idiomatization of a phraseological expression are mental processes, embracing the acts of creating new concepts, context knowledge and extralinguistic experiences. The theoretical problem that the article tackles is whether English phraseological units and their foreign translations are lexicalized in the same way, taking into account the fact that the former appear in a language naturally due to onomasiological needs, whereas the latter are products of the borrowing process. The foreign translations in question are loan translations (Haugen 1950) and loan renditions (Weinreich 1953). The former are direct translations of foreign fixed expressions, e.g.

P. *strefa zero* or Sp. *zona cero* from E. *ground zero*;

P. *Pierwsza Dama* or G. *Erste Dame* or Sp. *Primera Dama* from E. *First Lady*

Sp. *rascacielos* or It. *grattacielo* or R. Rus. *небоскрёб* from E. *skyscraper*

The latter are inexact translations of foreign fixed expressions, e.g.

P. *drapacz chmur* (lit. scraper of clouds) or G. *Wolkenkratzer* (lit. cloud scraper) from E. *skyscraper*;

P. *czarny koń* (lit. black horse) from E. *dark horse*;

Sp. *guardaespaldas* (lit. guard of sb's back) from E. *bodyguard*.[1]

It is interesting to notice that various languages render the same concept in different ways; either English fixed expressions are translated and become loan translations (e.g. Sp. *comida rápida* from E. *fast food*) or they are imported and

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[1] For more examples of English loan translations and renditions in Polish see Witalisz (2007), where over three hundred instances are listed.

become loanwords (e.g. P. or It. *fast food* from E. *fast food*). Occasionally, the two types of borrowings may co-exist in the receiving language (e.g. P. *szybkie jedzenie* and P. *fast food* from English *fast food*). If the foreign expressions are calqued, the translations are either exact or inexact, cf. the translated versions of E. *skyscraper*.

Lexicalization[2] is a process in the course of which a word that was once motivated begins to function as a non-motivated lexeme, i.e. it loses its structural and/or semantic transparence. This is due to either 1) phonetic changes or 2) the change of meaning of one of the elements or 3) the morphological process being no longer productive. A broad definition of lexicalization, which is both a formal and semantic process, sees it as "the phenomenon that lexical items acquire unpredictable properties" (Booij 2007: 316). The properties reflect various levels of language organization, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. Hence, in his discussion of the process, Bauer (1983) proposes five categories of the process including also mixed lexicalization. Some linguists, on the other hand, argue that lexicalization is chiefly a semantic process, in the course of which "the originally complex word loses its compositional meaning and gradually becomes an arbitrary sign" (Bakken 2006: 107; Bakken 1998: 61–124), and that the formal idiosyncracies that occur are of secondary importance.

In our discussion of loan translations and renditions we are chiefly interested in semantic lexicalization, since the much different formal patterns of English and Polish seem to exclude any possibility of the identicality of the formal types of lexicalization. This, however, is a guess and in need of further research. If we consider for example syntactic lexicalization, illustrated by English exocentric compounds such as *pickpocket* or *telltale*, composed of a verbal stem and a noun which may function as the direct object of that verb (Bauer 1983), we find no loan translations or renditions in Polish, so there is no ground for comparison. Phonological lexicalization, on the other hand, could be analysed in respect to English compound words which are differentiated from phrases by a different distribution of stress patterns. As for semantic lexicalization, there have been several interpretations of the phenomenon offered in the literature, which only proves its complex and non-unified nature. Bauer (1983) doubts whether any of these proposals is comprehensive and entirely satisfactory. Generally it could be said that the process of semantic lexicalization involves the loss of semantic transparence by complex words, which results in their non-compositionality.

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[2] The term "lexicalization" has been used in linguistic studies in various senses. Lexicalization might be understood as pertaining to conceptualization in the sense that "concepts, which are expressed by a lexical form, may be described as «lexicalized»" (Bakken 2006: 106). On the other hand, lexicalization is discussed in relation to grammaticalization and the two processes are said to either contrast (Lehmann 1989) or complement each other (Moreno Cabrera 1998). Moreover, the way in which the term "lexicalization" is defined and used depends on the various theories of the lexicon proposed by generativists or cognitivists. In general, it can be said that studies in lexicalization focus on the principles (other than productive word-formation rules) according to which the newly-coined complex words develop (Bakken 2006: 107).

Non-compositional[3] are expressions which "cannot be interpreted on a word-for-word basis, but [have] a specialized unitary meaning" (Moon 1997: 44). Lipka (1977 after Bauer 1983) offers a diachronic approach and differentiates between semantic lexicalization brought about by extra- and intralinguistic changes, i.e. changes either in the cultural background (e.g. G. *Schreibfeder* or P. *pióro* "pen"; lit. "feather") or in the language system itself (e.g. E. *meat* in *one man's meat is another man's poison*, which used to mean "food"). One other proposal (Leech 1974: 226) assumes that semantic lexicalization, or to use Leech's terminology: "petrification",[4] is a result of either the addition or loss of semantic information. The former is exemplified by E. *wheel-chair* and *push-chair*, both of which should theoretically denote the same class of objects since both have wheels and may be pushed. However, in the process of institutionalization the lexical meaning of each has been narrowed and so *wheel-chairs* are "for invalids" and *push-chairs* are "for infants." Lexicalization due to the loss of semantic information is illustrated by E. *understand*, since the verb in its modern usage contains neither the meaning of *under* nor the meaning of *stand* (Lipka 1977: 160 after Bauer 1983: 56).[5]

The majority of loan translations and renditions are semantically non-compositional, i.e. their meaning is not predictable from the meanings of their components. However, the borderline between what we consider semantically lexicalized or idiomatized and non-lexicalized has not been clearly defined (Bauer 1983). It seems though that expressions such as P. *czarny koń* (E. *dark horse*); P. *mieć motylki w brzuchu* (E. *to have butterflies in one's stomach*) or P. *białe kołnierzyki* or It. *colletti bianchi* (E. *white collars* in the figurative sense) are clear instances of semantic lexicalization. On the other hand, if we consider a whole series of expressions involving the word *bank* as in *blood bank*, *stem cell bank* or *sperm bank*, it is clear that idiomaticity is a matter of degree.

It has been suggested that lexicalized words need separate lexical entries. Frequently it is a problem, e.g. is the meaning of *telephone box* predictable from *telephone* and *box* and the rules of compounding (Bauer 1983: 199)? Bauer admits the solution in this particular case is not available. If a dictionary was to include all forms that are both lexicalized and institutionalized, the number of entries would significantly increase in comparison to the case of listing just lexicalized items (Bauer 1983). Non-idiomatic compound words would be the key factor here.

Once the complex words become lexicalized semantically, language users appear to treat them as monomorphemic lexical items. In practice this means that the existence of expressions such as *white collars* and *blue collars* in English does

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[3] In some studies on lexicalization, the notion of compositionality is questioned. Svanlund (2002 after Bakken 2006) wonders whether there exist new complex words whose meaning is entirely predictable.

[4] Similar terminology is used by Lyons (1977: 547), who uses "petrification" to refer to the institutionalization of compound words and "fossilization" for their lexicalization.

[5] It should be pointed out, though, that this classification was criticized (cf. Lipka 1977: 160; Bauer 1983: 56) for not accounting for those words which may simultaneously illustrate both the addition and loss of semantic information, e.g. *playboy*, in which both parts have undergone semantic change.

not give rise to *pink collars or *collars* of any other colour, even though theoreti-
cally it is possible to think of a profession in which the colour of uniform is green
or yellow. Although the form of such set expressions is analyzable, language users
do not look at them as combinations of separate words but treat them as labels
for some specific concepts (Bauer 1983: 44). This proves the idiomatic nature of
such lexemes. It seems that language users when using an expression such as for
example *rat race* do not think of it as a race of a particular species of animals, or
of *headhunter* as a person who hunts for heads, or of *The First Lady* as a lady who
always comes first.

This accepting of a set expression as a whole in the sense of not decompos-
ing it into any smaller meaningful units becomes even more apparent in the case
of very young speakers who acquire language which already includes such items.
Bauer (1983: 44) uses a general term to illustrate this observation, namely "new
learners of a language" but he does not differentiate between young speakers who
acquire it as their native tongue and those who learn it as a foreign language. If
such a distinction was to be made, Bauer's observation might not hold true for the
latter, since older students of a foreign language who already present some degree
of language awareness might be tempted to analyze foreign fixed expressions both
morphologically and semantically, and being aware of the metaphor or metonymy
might facilitate remembering them. This literal translation for learning purposes
might be one of the factors contributing to creating loan translations in the receiv-
ing language.

However, this lack of productivity that would involve one of the elements of
a set expression (no figurative senses of *pink collars or *mouse race*) does not ne-
cessarily apply to all fixed expressions in the same way. On occasion, one of the
elements of what seems a lexicalized and so unanalyzable lexical unit may serve
as a basis for the formation of other, semantically related expressions. This may be
illustrated by using the word *first* in *The First Lady* to coin expressions such as *The
First Gentleman* or *The First Child* ("the child of the First Couple"), even if it is not
their first child in the literal understating of the word *first*. This leads us to a con-
clusion that the process of semantic lexicalization is a matter of degree which very
much depends on language users' language awareness and creativity.

Following the path of language users' creativity, it is worth noting that some
of the English set expressions develop semantically and gain a new sense for pure-
ly extralinguistic reasons. Users' creativity manifests itself in using the already
existing fixed expressions to denote or refer to (in the case of definite expressions)
some other extralinguistic objects, phenomena, people or events. An example
of this, quoted in Bauer (1983: 45) to illustrate a different semantic problem, is
E. *redskin*, which has two institutionalized semantic heads: "a person" and "a po-
tato," though, as he claims, many English speakers would know only one of these.
These two more or less idiomatic senses of this expression do not restrict users'
creativity and so the word *redskins* has been used to refer to Mackintosh apples
and could be used, Bauer assumes, in reference to any other fruit that has a red
skin. In the same vein, the expression *First Lady* comes to be used in apolitical

senses such as "a woman who has proven herself to be of exceptional talent" or "a woman who occupies the foremost social position in a given community."

This fact is important in our discussion of loan translations and renditions for two reasons. Firstly, a loan translation that was borrowed by the receiving language while the English etymon was still monosemous also develops semantically under the foreign influence and adopts the new sense or senses that appeared in English. This may well be illustrated by P. *strefa zero* (E. *ground zero*), used, when first borrowed in 2001, in reference to a particular site in New York, later – in reference to New Orleans and Bay St. Louis after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Secondly, the same loan translation, well-established in Polish, becomes a common phrase to denote places of the most severe damage, destruction or danger, e.g. P. *strefa zero* is later used to refer to "the ruin of an exhibition hall in Chorzów, Poland, 2006" or "the site at which a dead swan infected with bird flu was found in Toruń, Poland, 2006." It seems, then, that Polish users of that expression recognized its more general meaning, existing in English but never adopted by Polish (since the expression was borrowed with a very specific meaning referring to a place in New York), and freely applied it to other places or events. Such "reinterpretations" (Bauer 1983: 57) are possible as there is enough information in the context which clarifies the new sense and which makes it possible to both interpret nonce compounds and reinterpret institutionalized compounds by assigning new senses to them and using them in new contexts.[6]

The considerations so far lead us to an observation that in the discussion of semantic lexicalization we touch upon two semantic issues: the non-compositionality of fixed expressions on the one hand and their possible semantic development on the other. It seems that both of these semantic properties are found in fixed expressions, in both the English etymons and their foreign versions in the form of loan translations and renditions.

As to the word-formation process itself, it is clear that certain semantic restrictions come to play during the formation of English fixed expressions (Bauer 1983: 93ff). In the case of their translated versions, the lexical choice is likewise somewhat limited though in a different way. The idea is to find an equivalent expression in the receiving language to render the foreign concept. This is often done through translating the foreign expression word for word. This might lead us to a conclusion that there are no semantic restrictions on this type of borrowings in which we substitute the foreign lexemes with the native lexical material. However, not all loan translations are lexically identical with their English etymons, this is why the theory of borrowing was equipped with yet another term, namely loan renditions, which are inexact translations of the foreign model expressions. This inexactness is either lexical, e.g P. *drapacz chmur*, G. *Wolkenkratzer* (E. *skyscraper*) instead of what would be lexically closer to the English version: P. **drapacz nieba*,

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⁶ Although Bauer (1983: 57) talks about the possibility of the reinterpretation of institutionalized exocentric compounds, it seems that the same rule can well be applied to interpreting the figurative meanings of newly-formed loan translations and renditions (as well as to their reinterpreting if they are used in new senses). In both cases, we observe semantic transfer by either metonymy or metaphor.

G. *Himmelkratzer*, or morphological as illustrated by the Polish translation (the discrepancy between the Polish and Germanic morphological patterns is a separate issue). This may mean that indeed there is also some form of semantic restriction in the process of calque formation.

English fixed expressions are results of both the productivity of the language system and language users' creativity (Lyons 1977: 549). Productivity is a rule-governed feature and so products of word-formation processes are manifestations of this language feature. Creativity seen as the "language users' ability to extend the language system" (Lipka 2002: 108) is unpredictable and non-rule-governed. A complex word with a literal sense is a product of language productivity, whereas the same lexeme used in a figurative sense illustrates creativity (Bauer 1983). It seems reasonable to assume that the translated versions of English fixed expressions are also products of language productivity, since their formation involves the word-formation process of compounding. It is doubtful, however, that there is a great deal of creativity involved in their creation, though some is possible but limited to lexical choices, since their metaphorical senses are taken over from English. This fact might serve as an argument against their semantic lexicalization. Still, if we understand lexicalization as both a process and an effect of this process, it might be sensible to look for the semantic effect that the new combination of two lexemes brought about in the receiving language. The semantic effect covers two areas. First, with each new loan translation or rendition there also necessarily appears a new sense, not used previously in the receiving language. Secondly, the meaning of the elements that were used to coin the loan translation changes, since e.g. P. *bank* in *bank krwi* (E. *blood bank*) differs semantically from *bank* understood in its traditional sense. This semantic extension, clearly seen in the less idiomatic fixed expressions, is quite similar to the type of semantic change that occurred in English when the expression *blood bank* was first coined.

English loan translations in Polish or any other European language are close semantic and structural copies of their English etymons. It seems, though, that their appearance in a language did not involve the conceptualization of the extralinguistic reality by language users of the receiving language. In this case, the onomasiological need was satisfied by a mere adoption of a foreign word-formation pattern and the semantic content of a foreign expression. Two matters seem problematic though. First of all, a question that needs to be answered is whether the translated versions of foreign fixed expressions (i.e. loan translations and loan renditions), which are products of a borrowing process, are the same type of linguistic innovations as their English etymons used to be when they were first created. Secondly, is it justifiable to look for semantic lexicalization processes in translated fixed expressions whose idiomaticity has been, so to say, imposed on the newly-created forms? The figurative senses of the translated expressions have not developed in the course of metaphorical extension in the receiving language (which was the case with their English etymons) but were adopted as part of the borrowing process.

Following Tournier's (1985: 21 after Lipka 2002) categorization of productive patterns, based on Saussure's conception of linguistic sign, English phraseological

units (when they were first created) could be classified as morpho-semantic neo-
logisms since both *signifié* and *significant* were concerned. Even though Tournier
(1985: 47) criticizes the more conservative approaches to language productivity,
those of Marchand (1969) and Adams (1973) who deal solely with language inno-
vations being products of rule-governed word-formation, he recognizes the dy-
namic nature of lexical processes and stresses that an exhaustive classification of
productive patterns should also take into account semantic neologism and the ex-
ternal process of adopting loanwords. The last one, however, is classified as a sepa-
rate category and falls outside of the three major categories of productive patterns.
Such an approach theoretically excludes loan translations and loan renditions as
morpho-semantic neologisms. But Tournier's taxonomy mentions adopted loan-
words, which are certainly a much different type of borrowed elements than loan
translations. In the case of loanwords there is no sign of language productivity as
no word-formation processes are used or users' creativity as the foreign word is
imported both semantically and formally, i.e. taken as it is from a foreign language.
It seems, then, that loan translations and loan renditions which involve both word-
-formation and semantic processes may be cases of morpho-semantic neologisms.
The word-formation process in this case is the one of compounding (just like in the
English etymons) since the result is a new expression formed with the use of two
or more separate lexemes. Semantic processes involve changes in the meaning of
the lexemes that are employed in the word-formation process but these would be
changes compelled by the known idiomatic sense of the whole expression. Again,
we can claim that the two types of translation may be well looked at as examples
of language productivity, less so as instances of users' creativity since their meta-
phorical senses were copied from their English etymons.

The American English set expressions discussed here are culture-specific, i.e.
they have "particular sociocultural connotations and associations" (Moon 1997:
58) and their semantic content was shaped by certain naming needs of a particular
community. The Old World communities wish to refer to those American concepts
but lack the lexical material. A quick and easy way of rendering foreign cultural
concepts is the literal translation of foreign expressions. Enriching the lexicon of
the receiving language in this way is easy for two reasons. First of all, the expres-
sions in question are multi-word compounds which would be difficult to adopt as
loanwords. Secondly, linguistic history shows that the artificial forming of coin-
ages to name foreign concepts is unsuccessful. In the case of culture-specific set
expressions the coining of native equivalents seems a non-effective and futile task.
Loan translations and renditions name foreign concepts with the use of native vo-
cabulary of the receiving language. They undergo similar semantic processes as
their foreign etymons, i.e. they undergo the process of semantic lexicalization, even
if the figurative sense is very much shaped by the foreign sense of the correspond-
ing expression. Also, they may develop semantically, either due to borrowing more
foreign senses (if such appear in the donor language) or through semantic exten-
sion in the receiving language.

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Leksykalizacja i idiomatyczność stałych związków wyrazowych w języku angielskim i ich polskie tłumaczenia

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia procesy leksykalizacji semantycznej, jakie zachodzą w nowopowstałych związkach frazeologicznych. W wyniku procesów formalnych i semantycznych syntagma słowotwórcza traci status słowa złożonego z dwóch lub więcej odrębnych jednostek leksy-

kalnych i staje się pojedynczym leksemem, którego znaczenia nie da się wywieść z sumy znaczeń tworzących go leksemów. Celem artykułu jest zbadanie procesów leksykalizacji semantycznej, jakie zachodzą w angielskich kalkach strukturalnych we współczesnej polszczyźnie, które są znaczeniowymi i strukturalnymi kopiami etymonów angielskich. Konceptualizacja i idiomatyzacja frazeologizmów to procesy umysłowe, obejmujące akt tworzenia nowych konceptów, wiedzę kontekstową i doświadczenia pozajęzykowe. Problem teoretyczny, jaki pojawia się w badaniu zleksykalizowanych kalk frazeologicznych dotyczy tego, czy procesy leksykalizacji semantycznej jakie w nich zachodzą są takie same jak w ich angielskich pierwowzorach. Należy pamiętać, że angielskie związki frazeologiczne kopiowane przez współczesną polszczyznę są wynikiem naturalnego rozwoju języka i ich utworzenie zostało spowodowane potrzebą onomazjologiczną; kalki strukturalne są również powodowane potrzebą onomazjologiczną języka, lecz powielając wzorzec angielski są produktem procesu zapożyczania, a ich znaczenia idiomatyczne są importowane z angielszczyzny.