Form, Meaning and Function in Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

Edited by Karolina Drabikowska, Marietta Izdebska and Anna Prażmowska

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

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This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-4279-6
ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4279-2

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FOREWORD

Form, meaning and function is a triad which captures the multidimensional character of human language. In terms of communication, it encompasses the signal and its formal organisation (or structure), the concepts, i.e., the meaning conveyed, and the use with all intentions and discourse purposes. When linguistic analysis is taken into consideration, the three-way distinction appears less clear-cut. Therefore, any investigation that is conducted with the acknowledgement of the fact that these elements are interrelated contributes to a better understanding of the nature of language. This approach has been a motivation to bring together researchers representing different fields of linguistics – both theoretical and applied – that reflect the intertwining of form, meaning and function.

The volume includes the following contributions:

Tomasz Czerniak sets out to discuss the properties of Bangor Welsh diphthongs and makes an attempt at a phonotactic description utilising the Lateral Theory of Phonology (LTP). Theoretical and empirical arguments are put forward in this chapter so as to provide a representation that could bring us one step closer to the explanation of their unique behaviour. In search of the underlying representation, the Author discusses the distributional differences between diphthongs and long vowels in the dialect in question and excludes vowel+glide interpretation of the former. The analysis conducted in the light of LTP and Element Theory shows that Bangor Welsh diphthongs are right-headed structures with Infrasegmental Government relation, characteristic of branching Onsets.

Sławomir Zdziebko's contribution is concerned with consonant palatalization in Polish viewed from the perspective of the Element Theory. He discusses five types of this morpho-phonological process that lead to relevant structural changes, in particular I-Anterior Palatalization, 1st and 2nd Velar Palatalization, Spirant Palatalization and Affricate Palatalization. They are characterised as element addition whose output is regulated by Mutation Enforcement Principle and Structure Preservation.

Chapter by Ewelina Prażmo offers a comprehensive study of the *-ing* formations in Polish. The major focus is to account for their intersubjective and dynamic nature in terms of the identification of possible cognitive mechanisms underlying their creation. Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) conceptual integration theory combined with Langacker's (2008) current

discourse space model and the theory of speaker-hearer "mind integration" (cf. Langacker 2007) have been adopted. One of the conclusions drawn from the study is that a substantial number of the *-ing* formations in Polish refer to free time activities, holidaying and relaxing, a large majority of which tend to be related to drinking alcohol. Interestingly, no such associations have been found when the *-ing* suffix is used natively in English.

The chapter by Konrad Żyśko is an attempt to reach a consensus on the nature of wordplay in relation to similarity of linguistic forms and ambiguity. The study also addresses the problem of distinguishing between ambiguity and vagueness, as well as between polysemy and homonymy in relation to wordplay. The author concludes that wordplay based on apparent homonymy may have the potential to point towards some hidden sense relations which are no longer perceived synchronically.

The chapter by Aleksandra Gogłoza examines the theory of a fine-grained verbal and nominal functional sequence, as proposed by Jabłońska (2007), with an emphasis on the degrees of externality and the Dative Reflexive Construction (DRC) in Polish. In particular, the Author argues for a modification to Jabłońska's nominal functional hierarchy, which reduces the levels of projections, and for the dissociation of this hierarchy from the notion of Case. To this end, two separate levels of analysis are proposed (i.e., nominal f_{seq} and Case), and the Peeling Theory of Case of Caha (2009) is employed to account for Case selection in the Polish DRC.

Kinga Lis explores the issue of lexical convergence between Middle English, Middle French and Anglo-Norman Psalters. The Author analyses lexical items from the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter and Richard Rolle's Psalter (Middle English renditions) that are convergent with the Middle French Glossed Psalter and the Montebourg/Oxford Psalter (Anglo-Norman rendition) in order to determine the degree of French influence and establish how the abovementioned renditions are correlated.

Language acquisition in bilingual children is the problem addressed by Bibiána Bobčáková. The Chapter offers a case study of a linguistic development of an English-Slovak bilingual child whose both parents are Slovak native speakers and English is the language spoken to the child by his mother. The challenge confronted by the Author is to examine the quality and timeline of the acquired language patterns. The results of the study are confronted with those obtained by children whose parents' first language is English. Moreover, the growth in mean utterance length and the developmental process of bilingual acquisition are also investigated.

Elwira Szehidewicz investigates the influence of relevance theory's understanding of concepts on the achievement of transparency of meaning

in psychotherapeutic discourse. The Chapter offers an analysis of the concepts TIRED and NEUROSIS in the context of a psychotherapeutic session. The main aim of the study is to prove that the psychotherapist's awareness of the features of concepts in relevance theory may help to develop transparency of meaning in therapeutic performance.

Bartholomäus Nowak delves into the phenomenon of impoliteness in political debates. He concentrates on face-threatening acts (FTA) utilised by politicians in the context of the "Amber Gold" scandal. The main focus is on explicit and unambiguous mentioning of party labels and metadiscursive references of defenders and attackers in talk-show discussions. The analysis sheds more light on the functions of these strategies.

The chapter by Paweł Tutka offers an in-depth discussion of the role of translation studies in the fast-growing field of video game localization. The function of translation itself in the process of localization is examined, with an emphasis on the interdependence of these two concepts and their significance with respect to the notion of gameplay fidelity. The Author argues that, in order to successfully 'translate' a game, the translator's skill set needs to incorporate a wide spectrum of non-standard competences, not only exceptional and diverse linguistic and technical skills, but also creativity linked with product awareness and, preferably, experience as a player. It is observed that not only can translation studies contribute to enhancing the effectiveness and quality of video game localization, but also research into this process and its products may be instrumental in extending our theoretical and practical knowledge of the translation process in general, and, consequently, in the education of professional translators, which, according to the Author, should include mastering skills relevant from the perspective of video game localization.

Karolina Drabikowska, Marietta Izdebska and Anna Prażmowska

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PART I:

THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS

CHAPTER ONE

BANGOR WELSH DIPHTHONGS AS RIGHT-HEADED STRUCTURES: REDUCING AMBIVALENCY

TOMASZ CZERNIAK

1. Introduction

A phonological analysis of Welsh diphthongs has proven to be a thankless task leading researchers to disparate conclusions. A rigorous descriptive treatment of Welsh diphthongal inventory presents a number of problems. First of all, the dialect dispersion of the Welsh language includes a division into many regional accents and stylistic varieties without an unquestionable standard (c.f. Jones 1961, xi). However, the Bangor dialect of Welsh is a well-documented (e.g., Fynes-Clinton 1913; Ball and Williams 2001, Ellis et al. 2001) representative of the North Welsh dialect group. What is characteristic of this variety of Welsh is the presence of the high central vowel [ɨ] which enriches the diphthong inventory of the system. Secondly, various transcriptional traditions employed by authors (Sweet 1913 [1884]; Morris-Jones 1913; Jones 1984; Awbery 1986; Ball and Williams 2001; Hannahs 2013) reflect the lack of agreement and consistency between researchers, which makes it increasingly difficult to relate works to each other. Thirdly, early accounts of North Welsh diphthongs show signs of disagreement concerning the number (Sweet 1913 [1884]; Evans 1910; Morris-Jones 1913) of diphthongs and their syllabic assignment (i.e., whether both members are tauto- or heterosyllabic).

This chapter is an endeavour to present a consistent phonotactic description of Bangor diphthongs and explain their phonological behaviour. The analysis will be conducted from the viewpoint of the Lateral Theory of Phonology (LTP/CVCV). It will be proposed, based on the disparate behaviour of long vowels and diphthongs in Bangor Welsh, that long vowels are left-headed structures and require further licensing to remain

long, while diphthongs are right-headed structures free of similar positional and contextual restrictions.

Section 2 provides a short synopsis of the phonetic and phonological argument over the status of Welsh diphthongs, starting with traditional descriptive accounts and finishing with modern theoretical solutions. Section 3 is a presentation of contextual factors governing the occurrence of long vowels and diphthongs and a theoretically-neutral comparison of their distribution. The difficulties in representing Welsh diphthongs as vowel-glide sequences are discussed in section 4, where it is concluded that the consonantal inventory and phonotactics would be severely altered by such an analysis. The inventory of North Welsh diphthongs is presented and briefly discussed in section 5. Sections 6 and 7 present the theoretical assumptions of CVCV concerning syllable structure in general and vocalic relations in particular. Within the theory presented, sections 8 and 9 lay out propositions concerning right-headedness of Welsh diphthongs as self-licensed structures which enter into a relation which is conditioned melodically – the element present in the second member of a diphthong must be absent from the composition of the first member. Such a relation resembles to a large extent what was dubbed Infrasegmental Government and employed for representing asymmetric relations between Onsets. However accurate the propositions put forward in the following sections might be, they are not free of shortcomings which are discussed in section 10. Nevertheless, both theoretical and empirical arguments are presented to support the analysis, and implications for further research are indicated.

2. A brief revision of the dispute over Welsh diphthongs

Welsh diphthongs are peculiar structures and they seem to have been a bone of contention to phoneticians and phonologists regardless of their theoretical inclinations. Some of the earliest English-language descriptive publications on diphthongal phonemes include Sweet (1913 [1884]), Evans (1910), and Morris-Jones (1913; 1921), where the actual number of Welsh diphthongs and their classification is problematic. While more up-to-date accounts (Jones 1984; Ball and Williams 2001; Mayr and Davies 2011) are capable of arriving at a finite set of diphthongs, the precise phonological character of these structures remains questionable (c.f. Awbery 1984; 1986; Buczek-Zawiła 2002; Iosad 2012).

Sweet (1913 [1884], 414–17) enumerates twenty vocalic phonemes which may or may not have quantitatively distinctive counterparts, and thirteen of which are clearly composed of more than one member.

Unfortunately, there is no distinction between uniform vowels and diphthongs nor any indication of the (non-)hiatus status of the latter. Evans (1910, 3), on the other hand, distinguishes diphthongs as a separate class of phonemes which are characterised as two dissimilar vowels uttered with uninterrupted pronunciation.

Interestingly, Morris-Jones (1913, 31–65 and 1921, 6–12) discusses diphthongs in a section concerning phonotactic combinability rather than vowels. In his view, diphthongs are combinations of glides and vowels where the falling diphthongs are those where the glide follows the vowel (VJ), and the rising ones are those where the vowel is preceded by the glide (JV). Although it is not explicitly stated, what is meant by the terms falling and rising in Morris-Jones's account is the slope of sonority within a combination.

A diphthong in Gimsonian tradition is a gliding vowel with a starting point and a quality change within one syllable (Cruttenden 2008, 36–7, 134). Such a treatment of Welsh diphthongs appears to have been adopted by Jones (1984, 57–61), who enumerates three series of the total thirteen of the North Welsh vocalic combinations. Additionally, the length of the first member is attributed to positional factors and regarded as allophonic.

Ball and Williams (2001) analyse the phonetics of the Southern and Northern diphthongs extensively (41–47, 147–60) to come to the conclusion that there are thirteen diphthongs in North Welsh, all of which are made of two vocalic segments rather than vocalic and semi-vocalic ones. Moreover, the second member of a diphthong should be transcribed as a lax vowel for it never reaches the fully close articulation (all of the Welsh diphthongs are closing). This disproves the VJ analysis, at least on phonetic grounds.

Conversely, Awbery (1984, 90–98) observes that distributional constraints on diphthongs overlap with those on the single vowels which constitute the first member of a diphthong. In other words, it is not diphthongs as such whose distribution is constrained but their first member which is a monophthong. By proposing that Welsh diphthongs are made of vowels followed by glides, she embraces the greater distributional freedom of diphthongs over long vowels and the fact that the first member might be lengthened. It should be borne in mind that this proposal was based not on phonetic facts but on distributional properties and phonological assumptions.

Buczek-Zawiła (2002, 28) conducts a Government Phonology analysis and proposes that the phonological structure of a Welsh diphthong be a pair of nuclei separated with a pointless onset. In this approach the on-glide and the off-glide are two vocalic segments (not a vowel and a

consonantal glide) whose diphthongal interpretation is imposed by a relation between the two nuclei.

The parallel behaviour of glides and high vowels in Welsh was taken up within Optimality Theory by Iosad (2012, 147–55), who argues both members of the diphthong are vocalic elements but, unlike long vowels, they are monomoraic. Further, on account of various glide-vowel alternations present in the language, he assumes that glides [w], [j] and vowels [u], [i] are composed of the same features, respectively.

All in all, there has been disagreement as for both phonetic and phonological treatment of diphthongs in Welsh. Modern technology (Ball and Williams 2001; Mayr and Davies 2011) has enabled a thorough acoustic and articulatory study of the Welsh diphthongs, while different theoretical frameworks (Awbery 1986; Buczek-Zawiła 2002; Iosad 2012) arrive at inconsistent conclusions.

3. Distributional disproportion between long vowels and diphthongs

It has been observed by many researchers (e.g., Morris-Jones 1913, 65–74; Awbery 1984, 65–81; Wood 1988; Griffen 1989; Bednarska 2011; Hannahs 2013, 28–34; Czerniak 2014) that the distribution of Welsh long vowels is highly constrained and, in fact, much more constrained than that of diphthongs. They cannot occupy an unstressed syllable or be followed by a cluster. What is more, some single consonants, namely voiceless stops, nasals and liquids, are known to block the length of the preceding vowel.[1] As far as the northern varieties of Welsh are concerned, there are further restrictions upon the length of vowels, for they can occupy only the final syllable of a domain provided it is stressed. Thus, only monosyllabic words and those with irregular stress on the final syllable will be able to accommodate a long vowel, on condition that it is not followed by a cluster. Interestingly, there is only one type of cluster that allows a preceding vowel to lengthen – a sibilant followed by a stop. The distribution of long vowels in North Welsh is illustrated below (Fynes-Clinton 1913):

[1] See for example Wood (1988) for an analysis of historical developments that have led to the absence of long vowels before certain sonorants in Modern Welsh.

(1)	a.	[goːg]	*côg*	‘cuckoo’
		[friːð]	*ffridd*	‘enclosed rough mountain pasture’
		[dɑː]	*da*	‘good’
	b.	[ˈkɑmˈdroː]	*camdro*	‘crookedness in dealing’
		[kɑnjɑˈtɑːd]	*caniattâd*	‘permission’
	c.	[dɨːsk]	*dŷsg*	‘learning’
		[fɨːst]	*ffust*	‘flail’
		[fɨːɬt]	*ffull*	‘trod’
		[dɑːɬt]	*dallt*	‘to understand’
	d.	[durn]	*dwrn*	‘fist’
		[plɑnt]	*plant*	‘children’
		[skert]	*sgert*	‘skirt’
		[pɑrχ]	*parch*	‘respect’
		[ovn]	*ofn*	‘fear’
		[dɑdl]	*dadl*	‘dispute’

The examples above show that long vowels can occur before a voiced stop, a fricative, in an open syllable and before a cluster made of a sibilant followed by a stop (1a–c), and that they must remain short before any other type of cluster regardless of its sonority profile (1d). Curiously enough, the (re)introduction of long vowels before voiceless stops and before certain sonorants due to borrowing from English gave rise to new minimal pairs and possible phonemicisation of vowel length, thus the restrictions upon the distribution of long vowels should be approached with caution and treated as a preference of some Welsh speakers rather than an absolute truth about vowel quantity in the language. Let us now turn to the distribution of diphthongs (Fynes-Clinton 1913):

(2)	a.	[glɑːu]	*glaw*	‘rain’
		[gleːu]	*glew*	‘hearty’
		[mɑi]	*mai*	‘that’
		[pɑrɑˈtoi]	*paratoi*	‘to prepare’
	b.	[fruːɨθ]	*ffrwyth*	‘fruit’
		[knɑud]	*cnawd*	‘flesh’

c.	[deur]	*dewr*	‘brave’
	[diɑul]	*diawl*	‘devil’
	[hɑːɨl]	*hael*	‘generous’
	[froːɨn]	*ffroen*	‘nostril’
	[kleut]	*clewt*	‘clout’
d.	[gəist]	*geist*	‘bitch.pl’
	[gəivr]	*geifr*	‘goat.pl’
	[gwəilχ]	*gweilch*	‘a kind of a hawk.pl’
	[mɑint]	*maint*	‘size’
	[mɑiŋk]	*mainc*	‘bench’
e.	[ˈduːiðɑ]	*diwethaf*	‘last’
	[ˈgloivi]	*gloywi*	‘to polish’
	[ˈkroiso]	*croeso*	‘welcome’
	[dəsˈkləidjɑ]	*dysgleidiau*	‘dishful.pl’
f.	[ˈdɑɨblɨg]	*deublyg*	‘to fall doubled up’
	[ˈdjəuljo]	*diawlio*	‘to swear’
	[ˈəidjon]	*eidion*	‘bullock’
	[ˈfəilʃon]	*ffeilsion*	‘false.pl’
	[ˈgwəiθjɑ]	*gweithiau*	‘work.pl’
	[ˈhəiɨtjon]	*heilltion*	‘salty.pl’
g.	[ˈegluɨs]	*eglwys*	‘church’
	[ˈgobɑiθ]	*gobaith*	‘hope’
	[doiˈθinɑb]	*doithineb*	‘wisdom’
	[ˈtrɑmguið]	*tramgwydd*	‘offence’
	[ˈəspɑid]	*ysbaid*	‘space’

Prior to the discussion of the data above, a handful of phonological facts about Welsh need to be introduced. First, Welsh regular stress falls on the penultimate syllable of longer words. Second, if a diphthong occupies a stressed syllable, its first member might be phonetically longer. Third, some of these word-forms are morphologically complex and the consonants which follow a diphthong might form a cluster for that reason.

Examples in (2a) and (2b) contain diphthongs in the stressed final syllable possibly followed by a single consonant, which is parallel to the distribution of long vowels. The situation is somewhat more complicated when it comes to (2c), which contains diphthongs followed by a sonorant, which is not impossible for long vowels but definitely less common. (2d)

encompasses consonant clusters which, with the exception of [st], would block vowel length compared to unit vowels. Diphthongs placed in the non-final yet stressed syllable are listed in (2e). The examples in (2f) represent environments which would exclude long vowels for two reasons, namely they are found in a non-final syllable and are followed by consonant clusters. Finally, diphthongs may occupy unstressed syllables in both final and non-final position as is illustrated in (2g).

To recapitulate, (North) Welsh diphthongs are considerably less restricted distributionally than long vowels in the system. They can be found in both stressed and unstressed, final and non-final, open and closed syllables. They can be followed by a single consonant of whatever type (a sonorant, a voiceless stop) and a consonant cluster regardless of its sonority profile (TR or RT).[2] A phonological analysis, therefore, must embrace both the existence of complex vocalic structures and the discrepancy in their behaviour.

4. Why are vowel-glide sequences out of the question?

There are two main reasons why North Welsh diphthongs cannot be analysed as vowels followed by consonantal glides. One reason is connected with phonotactic restrictions and the other with richness of the inventory. Both these arguments are descriptive and neutral to the theory.

The right edge of the word in Welsh is restrictive and permits only single consonants or two-member consonant clusters on even or falling sonority profile, i.e., stop-stop, fricative stop, sonorant-obstruent and sonorant-sonorant (Awbery 1984, 87; 2010, 371–72; Hannahs 2013, 36). Clusters of rising sonority (TR) must undergo either epenthesis or metathesis. Although this statement is largely over-generalising, there cannot be found three-member clusters of whatever sonority profile if they are not followed by a vowel.[3] If the vowel-glide analysis were adopted, the examples of (2d) would terminate with three-member consonant clusters

[2] T should be understood as an obstruent (or the less sonorous member of a clusters), while R as a sonorant (or the more sonorous one).

[3] Bangor Welsh allows instances of clusters of rising sonority to occupy the final syllable. Fynes-Clinton (1913) lists examples of this type [ɾ̥ʰiːskl] *rhisgl*, ‘bark of trees,’ [gəivr] *geifr*, ‘goat.pl,’ [pɑvl] *palf*, ‘paw,’ [pɑrɑbl] *parabl*, ‘speech,’ [ovn] *ofn*, ‘fear,’ [kodl] *codl*, ‘nonsense,’ [kenedl] *cenedl*, ‘nation.’ *Rhisgl* would be the only three-member consonant cluster in the word-final position. However, it has to be remembered that sTR behave in an unusual way in many languages of the world.

each. Further, clusters of (2f) would gain one extra member which would result in maintaining up to four consonants in a cluster (e.g., *heilltion* [ˈhəjɬtjon]). Hence, glides cannot be assumed to contribute to the composition of diphthongs, for this would violate phonotactic restrictions observed outside of the diphthong context.

Another problem with accepting the vowel-glide approach is that Welsh has diphthongs whose second member is the high central vowel [ɨ]. Thus, all the diphthongs closing towards this vowel are said to be closing towards [ɟ] in this analysis. However tempting it is, this enriches the consonant inventory by one glide whose distribution is that of the second part of a diphthong. It must be preceded by a vowel and the number of vowels it might follow is restricted to the following: [ɑ, o, u, ə]. None of the remaining Welsh consonants are that much restricted concerning their positional and melody-related distribution.

It must be concluded that, although the vowel-glide approach to Welsh diphthongs carries some explanatory potential as for the positional factors of diphthongs (the place of a syllable within a word), it is not substantiated phonetically, violates phonotactic restrictions and introduces questionable segments into the inventory of the Welsh consonants.

5. The inventory of the North Welsh diphthongs

There are three series of closing diphthongs in the northern variety and only two in the southern dialect of the Welsh language (Ball and Williams 2001, 44–45). This discrepancy is due to the presence of the high central vowel [ɨ] in the former and its absence from the latter.

The first series contains four diphthongs closing towards the rounded vowel [u]. The second series closes towards the vowel [i]. The additional third series closes towards the aforementioned high central vowel, which is typical of the northern variety of the language. Interestingly, there are two diphthongs whose first member is the vowel [ɑ]. The difference between [ɑɨ] and [ɑːɨ] is primarily of quantity of the first member (see Jones 1984, 61, Ball and Williams 2001, 157), therefore the length within a diphthong will be phonologically important only for this pair (Fynes-Clinton 1913):

(3)	a.	[iu]	[ɬiu]	*lliw*	‘colour’
		[eu]	[teːu]	*tew*	‘thick’
		[ɑu]	[glɑːu]	*glaw*	‘rain’
		[ɨu]	[gloɨu]	*gloyw*	‘bright’
		[əu]	[dəunʃo]	*dawnsio*	‘to dance’

b.	[ɑi]	[gwɑir]	*gwair*	‘hay’
	[oi]	[gloivi]	*gloywi*	‘to polish’
	[əi]	[gnəid]	*gwneud*	‘to do’
c.	[ɑɨ]	[hɑɨl]	*haul*	‘sun’
	[ɑːɨ]	[hɑːɨl]	*hael*	‘generous’
	[oɨ]	[hoɨl]	*hoel*	‘hat-peg’
	[uɨ]	[guːɨð]	*gŵydd*	‘goose’
	[əɨ]	[əɨog]	*euog*	‘guilty’

As observed by Jones (1984, 57–61) and Awbery (1984, 93–95), diphthongs are sensitive to their position within a word and their distributional properties are different. First, the diphthongs with [ə] as the first member are banned from the final position. This might be connected with the prosodic strength of the final syllable in Welsh and the peculiar status of schwa in this position (which is often recalled in the case of Vowel Mutation, see for instance Bosch 1996; Buczek 1998). Second, the diphthong [oi] is rarely present in final stressed syllables. Third, [ɑi] is confined to monosyllables and final stressed syllables but is often monophthongised if the final syllable is unstressed.

Although these distributional properties of particular diphthongs are true, there are exceptions to almost every pattern, which is indicative of historical accidence rather than contemporary phonological setting of the Welsh language, regulating the distribution of diphthongs. First, there are [ə]-initial diphthongs in monosyllabic words (often borrowings) in (4a). Second, instances of final (yet stressed) [oi] are easily found (4b). Third, true [ɑi]>[ɑ] alternations are found word-medially, not finally (4c). The examples below are collected from Fynes-Clinton (1913):

(4) a.	[grəund]	*growd*	‘crowd’
	[kəurt]	*cwrt*	‘yard’
	[łəiɬ]	*lleill*	‘other.pl’
	[fəind]	*ffein*	‘fine’
	[gəivr]	*geifr*	‘goat.pl’
b.	[kloi]	*cloi*	‘to lock’
	[kəˈfroi]	*cyffroi*	‘to agitate’
c.	[gwrɑig]	*gwraig*	‘wife’
	[gwrɑgoð]	*gwragedd*	‘wife.pl’
	[kɑiŋk]	*cainc*	‘main branch’
	[kɑŋɑn]	*cangen*	‘a small branch’

It can be concluded that North Welsh, of which the Bangor variety is a representative, has indeed thirteen diphthongal phonemes. The following sections will provide an analysis couched in the CVCV theory, whose main goals will be to propose two separate syllabic structures for long vowels and for diphthongs, and to incorporate the melodic constraints of the vocalic members into the diphthongal structure.

6. Syllabic structure in the Lateral Theory of Phonology (LTP/CVCV)

LTP (Lowenstamm 1996; Ségéral and Scheer 1999 and 2008; Szigetvári 1999; Scheer 2004 and 2012; Scheer and Szigetvári 2005; and Scheer and Ziková 2010) is a development of Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1985 and 1990; Charette 1991; Harris 1994; Cyran 1997; Bloch-Rozmej 2008 among others), whereby all phonological strings are made of strictly alternating Onsets and Nuclei. Moreover, a Nucleus may remain empty (phonetically uninterpreted, i.e., silent) if it is Properly Governed by a laterally active Nucleus to its right, locked between two Onsets contracting Infrasegmental Government (IG), or (parametrically) domain final. The structures below represent two consonant clusters and two vocalic sequences:

(5) a. C_1 v_1 C_2 V_2 b. C_1 v_1 C_2 V_2

T ← R R T α

c. C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 d. C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2

β α β

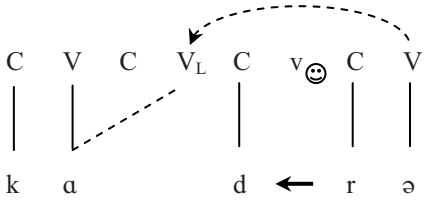
The diagram (5a) contains a branching onset – a rising sonority cluster whose members contract an IG relation (marked with the leftward arrow), hence the lowercase Nucleus v_1 remains empty. The emptiness of the Nucleus v_1 in (5b) is secured by the following Nucleus V_2 which is endowed with melody α and can properly govern (silence) its predecessor. If the same melodic content is attached to two Nuclear slots (5c), the structure represents a long vowel but if two Nuclei host two different melodies (5d), it is a structure of a diphthong.

The Lateral Theory of Phonology acquired its name from the lateral relations between constituents or their lateral actorship. A Nucleus can discharge Licensing, i.e., a lateral force securing the melodic strength (complexity) of the segment it licenses but it can also discharge Government which spoils the melodic strength of the governee by reducing its complexity. Any further discussion of the workings of lateral forces in CVCV would take us much beyond the scope of the present chapter. Suffice it to say that this dichotomy lies at the heart of the Coda Mirror theory (Ségéral and Scheer 1999; 2008; as well as Scheer and Ziková 2010) and finds empirical evidence in both synchronic and diachronic processes in various genetically unrelated systems.

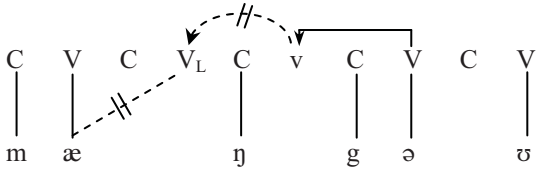
7. Empirical predictions of headedness of nuclear structures

Scheer (2004, 257) assumes that long vowels in languages like English must be licensed. Since only full nuclei (including the Final Empty Nucleus parametrically silent) are lateral actors, vowels cannot be long before RT clusters (c.f. 5b) where the nucleus, straddled by the two onsets, is governed and is not a lateral actor. Thus, a vowel that needs to be licensed cannot appear before RT clusters in languages like English. Let us consider two English examples – a vowel before a TR (*cadre*) and an RT (‘mango’) cluster:

(6) a.



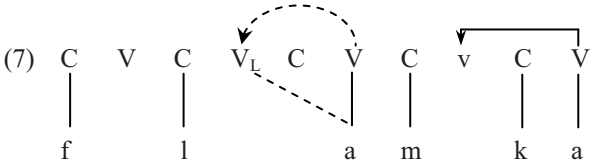
b.



The two onsets [d] and [r] enter into a governing relation, therefore the nucleus [ə] is able to license the nucleus V_L which accommodates the vocalic melody and creates a long vowel [ɑː] in the word *cadre* (6a). The

situation is different in (6b) where the onsets [ŋ] and [g] cannot contract a governing relation, hence the lowercase nucleus has to be taken care of by Proper Government, which strips it off its governing abilities. Laterally inactive, the lowercase nucleus cannot license V_L and the vowel [æ] remains short in *mango*.

In Czech, on the other hand, what follows a long vowel fails to prevent it from maintaining its length. It is so due to the fact that the vowels are right headed and need no further licensing (Scheer 2004, 168). The word *vlámka* 'Flemish woman' illustrates this situation:



The right-headed (or left-branching) vowel has its melody lexically lodged in a licensor nucleus and it spreads to the nucleus V_L to its left. Hence, the spread melody receives licensing but does not require it from any other vowel except the one hosting the melody to be spread.

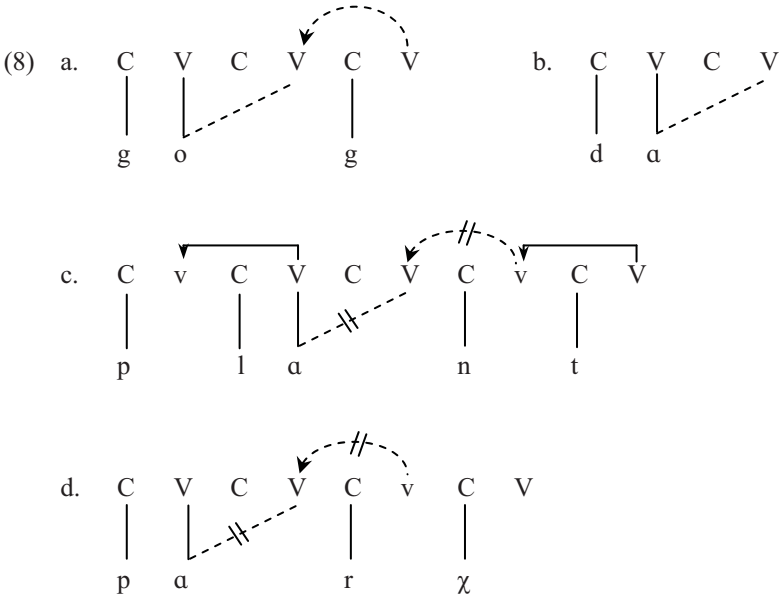
The headedness of nuclear structures is not merely a theory-internal representation of vocalic melody spreading but it carries certain syntagmatic implications, namely left-headed (right-branching) vowels will always depend on what follows and are likely to be found before single consonants or a limited number of clusters (mostly of the s+C and coronal RT type).[4] Conversely, a right-headed (left-branching) vowel is independent of the following structure and will be allowed before various consonant clusters.

8. Headedness of Welsh vocalic expressions

Section 3 aimed at presenting the syntagmatic differences between long vowels and diphthongs in the Bangor variety of the Welsh language, while the theoretical assumptions laid out in sections 6 and 7 allow us to propose structural representations for the two disparate vocalic expressions. Bearing in mind that Welsh long vowels are restricted to the stressed

[4] See Harris's (1994, 76–77) analysis of the restrictiveness of the occurrence of Super Heavy Rhymes in English.

syllable and never occur before clusters, we can put forward a left-headed structure:



Long vowels are possible in words *côg* and *da* represented as (8a) and (8b) respectively due to their being licensed by the following nucleus. In (8a) it is the Final Empty Nucleus that licenses the preceding vowel, while in (8b) the vowel spreads to the FEN position which is already licensed by parameter. The vowels in (8c) and (8d) in words *plant* and *parch* must remain short for the following Nucleus is governed and cannot dispense licensing required to maintain length.

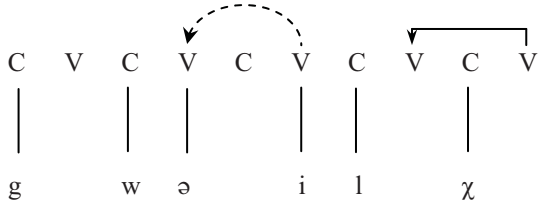
A word of comment is in place here. First, an observant reader will have noticed that the cluster [pl] is not an IG relation but it encloses an empty nucleus that is properly governed.[5] A similar idea concerning the representation of word-medial clusters of rising sonority is entertained by Czerniak (2014) and will not be discussed here any further. Second, the

[5] The term 'Proper Government' is dispensed with in favour of 'Government' in LTP. However, not to introduce confusion between two types of Government which will be discussed in this chapter (Proper and Infrasegmental) the Standard Government Phonology nomenclature will be retained.

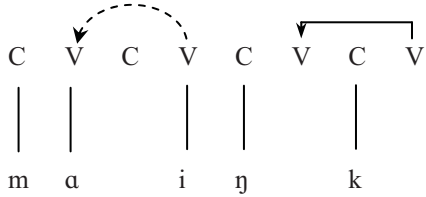
analysis of vowel length before s+C clusters (1c) will also be regarded superfluous to the present study.

As for the representation of diphthongs, their immunity from the contextual influence appears to indicate a right-headed structure as depicted below:

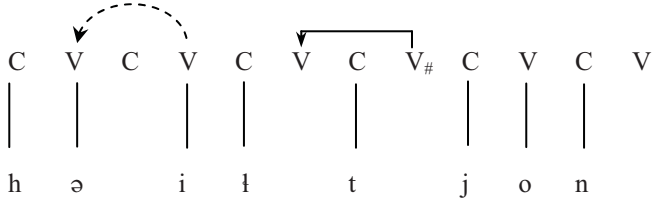
(9) a.



b.



c.



The diphthongs in (9a) and (9b) in words *gweilch* and *mainc* are followed by RT clusters, which means they cannot be licensed by a properly governed nucleus. Furthermore, the diphthong in the word *heilltion* (9c) is followed by three consonants. Although the three-consonantal group looks like a RøTR cluster, it is a RøTøR one, i.e., there are no IG relations. The silence of the Nuclei is kept by Proper Government and language-specific parameter – the Nucleus $V_{\#}$ is in fact a domain final Nucleus which is capable of silencing the preceding one for it is not properly governed itself.

Thus, right-headedness of Welsh diphthongs explains why, unlike long vowels, they are free to occur in every position within the word.

Nonetheless, there are also melodic aspects of these structures that might indicate their right-headedness.

9. Melodic restrictions and interactions

Element Theory (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1985; Harris and Lindsey 1995; Cyran 1997; Bloch-Rozmej 2008; Backley 2011), which is the core of melodic representation in Government Phonology, recognises monovalent primes which contribute to the phonetic interpretation of a segment only when present and their interpretation is, to a large extent, language specific. An element can receive either a head or an operator status which determines the degree of its contribution.[6] There are three resonance elements (I), (U) and (A), corresponding to three corner vowels [i], [u] and [a], respectively. Other vowels are combinations of the resonance primes with equal or unequal status. For instance, if a language has two vowels [e] and [ɛ], they are likely to be made of compounds (I, A) and (I, A), respectively. The underlined element (I) in the first vowel contributes more height, while the head (A) in the second vowel is interpreted as a greater degree of openness. Having said that, we might propose the elemental make-up for the diphthongs listed in (3):

(10)

iu		**eu**		**ɑu**		**ɨu**		**əu**	
I	U	I A	U	A	U	I	U	A	U

ɑɨ		**oɨ**		**uɨ**		**əɨ**	
A	I	U A	I	U	I	A	I

ɑi		**oi**		**əi**	
A	I	U A	I	A	I

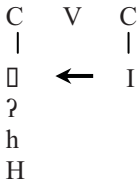
[6] It has to be remembered that Bloch-Rozmej (2008, 185) proposes a three-way distinction between prime status: head, operator and dependent.

As can be seen, Welsh vowels are mostly headed by the element (I) or (U), the element (A) is headed in the vowel [ɑ] and headless in [e], [o] and [ə][7]. The high central vowel [ɨ] is made of the element (I) in the operator status. Furthermore, all but three diphthongs are of even complexity, i.e., the first and the second member are made of the same number of elements (in this case one). What is important, no two members of a diphthong share a single element. It will be proposed here that Welsh diphthongs enter the right-headed relation also on the melodic level. Specifically, it will be maintained that Infrasegmental Government is not monopolised by Onsets.[8]

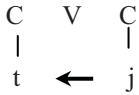
Infrasegmental Government was devised to account for a relation between two constituents that would be conditioned melodically (Scheer 2004, 64). The melodic requirement is that the governor (on the right) posses a prime that is absent from the governee (on the left). Thus, the right-hand side constituent can govern the empty slot in the left-hand side governee:

(11) a.

b.



c.

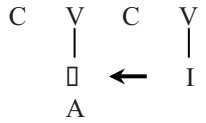


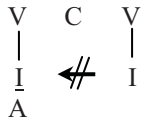
[7] See also Czerniak (2015) for an elementary representation of the Welsh schwa including the element (I). Such a representation would severely handicap the present analysis, but this possibility will not be discussed here due to space limitations.

[8] These representations may be found inaccurate, since Scheer (2004) assumes that (U) and (I) reside on one autosegmental line and roundness is represented by the prime (B). However, no principles of consonant interaction in CVCV have been violated here and the representations can be safely used for the sake of exposition and argument.

The diagrams above represent the Infrasegmental Government relation within a branching Onset (a TR cluster). The prime α (11a) finds an empty autosegmental line in the obstruent, thus IG is enabled. The same is illustrated in (11b), where an actual element (I) governs an empty slot in a coronal obstruent. The relation between the obstruent and the glide is presented in (11c) as is contracted in English words such as *tune*, *tulip*, *tube*.

Welsh diphthongs could also be regarded as entering into Infrasegmental Government for they are lateral actors and they fulfil the melodic requirements. Thus a diphthong such as [əɨ] should be represented as in (12a), while the diphthong [ei] cannot exist in Welsh for IG is unattainable (12b):

(12) a. 

b. 

What follows from this approach to Welsh diphthong is a considerable deal of explanatory potential. First, the inability of long vowels to contract IG accounts for their dependence on external licensing. Second, the melodic restrictions upon diphthongs become apparent, namely that the second member of a diphthong should be less complex (more sonorous) to be able to govern the first member. Third, the element responsible for the phonetic shape of the second diphthongal member must be absent from the make-up of the first one. Indeed, Welsh does not allow diphthongs such as [ei], [ou], [eə] or [oə]. Interestingly enough, diphthongs [iə] and [uə] are also absent from the inventory. This points to the fact that the element (A) is a poor governor in Welsh. In fact, Scheer (2004, 63–65) proposes that (A) ought to be present in the governor but it rarely performs the governing responsibility of an empty slot itself.

10. Problems with right-headed vocalic structures

There are two major disadvantages of proposing the right-headed structure for Welsh diphthongs. The first concerns the licensing power of Nuclei, the second is connected with Infrasegmental Government conditioning.

It has been exercised in Standard Government Phonology, and especially since Harris's (1994, 206–11; 1997) Licensing Inheritance, that licensors should be more complex than licensees. This is because a segment which is able to license other segments should be able to license

its own elements first. Therefore, it might be viewed as a problem that Welsh has diphthongs like [eu], [oɨ] and [oi] in which the weaker (less complex) nucleus licenses a stronger (more complex) one.

First of all, in English words like [ˈmæŋgəʊ] *mango* or [ˈstɪmjəleɪt] *stimulate* the head of the domain (the stressed vowel [æ] and [ɪ] respectively) is less complex than the remaining ones it licenses, including diphthongs. Secondly, the arboreal foot structure and Licensing Inheritance have been dispensed with in CVCV and replaced with lateral relations of immediately neighbouring constituents. Thirdly, it is in accord with the assumptions of LTP that a licensed position could be more complex. In any event, it is subject to licensing, an endowing power which should secure its segmental health. The licensor, on the other hand, is subject to no such beneficent force and there is no reason why its complexity should be somehow increased or protected.

The problem connected with the contraction of a governing relation between two Nuclei also deserves a mention. To begin with, there already exists a right-headed governing relation between two Nuclei, namely Proper Government, which silences the governee. Further, the presence of (A) in a governor was said to be one of the melodic requirements for contracting an IG relation. In this case, however, it is rather its absence than presence that conditions the well-formedness of IG between two Nuclei. Finally, it requires further research whether languages that allow consonant clusters after diphthongs never allow melody sharing between Nuclei, and conversely, whether IG-like diphthongs in languages of the world universally allow RT clusters to follow.

Be that as it may, there is more to right-headedness in Welsh diphthong than meets the eye, for they appear to be self-licensed and severely constrained when it comes to melody sharing.

11. Conclusions

The present chapter attempts at providing an accurate description of diphthongal milieus in Bangor Welsh and comparing them with those allowing vowels to lengthen. As a result, two different theoretical solutions were proposed to account for two disparate vocalic structures: long vowels are assumed to be left-headed structures – the melody of a vowel is lexically present in a Nucleus V_n and spreads to V_{n+1} if it is licensed by V_{n+2}, whereas diphthongs are right-headed structures – the melody of the members is lexically specified in both Nuclei V_n and V_{n+1} and they contract a right-to-left relation. The nature of this relation could be inter-nuclear licensing (the same that was proposed in CVCV for long

vowels) or Infrasegmental Government (thus far reserved for branching onsets).

Both propositions put forward in this chapter carry both theory-internal and empirical risks. It is uncertain whether Welsh diphthongs are indeed right-headed licensing domains, Infrasegmental Government domains or both. Furthermore, it is not clear at this point how the theory should account for two inter-nuclear governing relations (one being Proper Government, the other IG) and why they should have different effects. However, it should be kept in mind that at the inception of Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1985 and 1990; Charette 1991; Harris 1994) Constituent Government was an asymmetrical relation contracted between two members of a branching onset (TR cluster) or a branching nucleus (long vowel or a diphthong) where the leftmost member could not possess more elements than the rightmost one. Lastly, further cross-linguistic research is needed to observe stable empirical effects of possible IG between diphthongal members disallowed to share melody.

To sum up, Bangor Welsh diphthongs share more syntagmatic and paradigmatic properties with branching onsets than with long vowels. It was attempted in this chapter to support these observational properties with theoretical assumptions, namely the right-headedness of diphthongs, and to reduce the ambivalent status of Welsh diphthongs present in the literature.

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CHAPTER TWO

POLISH PALATALIZATION AS ELEMENT ADDITION

SŁAWOMIR ZDZIEBKO

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of consonant palatalization found in Polish nominal system. The focus is on the structural change of the relevant processes, i.e., on what operations must be postulated to turn the input consonants into the attested output consonants. The framework in which the analysis is coached is Element Theory (Harris 1994; Backley 2011). I claim that the structural changes involved in the relevant consonant alternations are the effect of element addition. The outputs of the addition of elements are regulated by two principles: Mutation Enforcement Principle, which is a particular application of Realize Morpheme constraint (van Oostandorp 2005; Trommer 2008), and Structure Preservation Principle (Borowsky 1990). The former changes the headedness status of elements in the input phonological expressions while the latter acts as a filter which enforces repair operations that derive the correct outputs of palatalization. It will be demonstrated that the irregular mappings that turn the voiced velar plosive /g/ and voiced dental affricate /d͡z/ into the post-alveolar spirant /ʒ/ are the consequence of the working of the Structure Preservation Principle at the level of morpho-phonological element addition.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: in section 2, I present the details of the alternations analysed later in the chapter. In section 3, I present and discuss Element Theory representations of Polish consonants. Section 4 contains the presentation of the two principles that derive the outputs of palatalization. The details of the relevant derivations are found in section 5. Section 6 concludes.

2. Palatalization changes in Polish nominals

The following table presents the five types of palatalization attested in the nominal system of Polish.

Table 2-1. Types of palatalization attested in the nominal system of Polish

Palatalization type	Contexts	Examples
a. I-Anterior Palatalization: /t,d/ → /t͡ɕ, d͡ʑ/ /p,b,f,v,m/ → / pʲ,bʲ,fʲ,vʲ,mʲ/ /s,z/ → /ɕ,ʑ/ /n/ → /ɲ/ /r/ → /ʒ/ /w/ → /l/	1) Locative masc./neu./fem. sg. *-e* /ɛ/; 2) Vocative masc. sg. *-e* /ɛ/; 3) Dative fem. sg. *-e* /ɛ/; 4) Nominative/Vocative virile pl. *-i/y* /i~ɨ/ (nouns and adjectives)	*pira*/t/ - *pira*/t͡ɕ/*-e* 'pirate, nom. sg. - loc/voc. sg.' *ska*/w/*-a* - *ska*/l/*-e* 'rock, nom, sg. fem.' - 'dat/loc. sg, fem.' *premie*/r/ - *premie*/ʒ/*-y* 'prime minister, nom, sg. - nom/voc, pl.' *cho*/r/*-y* - *cho*/ʒ/*-y* 'sick, nom/voc, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl.'
b. 2nd Velar Palatalization: /k/ → /t͡s/ /g/ → /d͡z/ /x/ → /ʃ/	1) Nominative/Vocative virile pl. *-i/y* /i~ɨ/ (nouns and adjectives); 2) Dative/Locative fem. sg. *-e* /ɛ/	*Pol-a*/k/ - *Pol-a*/t͡s/*-y* 'Pole, nom, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl' *szpie*/g/ - *szpie*/d͡z/*-y* 'spy, nom, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl.' *mu*/x/*-a* - *mu*/ʃ/*-e* 'fly, nom, sg. fem.' - 'dat/loc, sg.' *su*/x/*-y* - *su*/ɕ/*-i* /suʃ/→/suɕi/ 'dry, nom, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl.'
c. 1st Velar Palatalization: /k/ → /t͡ʃ/ /g/ → /ʒ/ /g/ → /d͡ʒ/ only after /z/ /x/ → /ʃ/	1) demonyms in *-an-* /an/ 2) zero-derived de-nominal adjectives 3) diminutives in *-(e)k-*	*Sano*/k/ - *sano*/t͡ʃ/*-an-in* 'place name, nom, sg.' - 'inhabitant of Sanok nom/voc, sg.' *Bó*/g/ - *bo*/ʒ/*-y* 'god, nom, sg. - of god, nom, sg.' *mni*/x/ - *mni*/ʃ/*-ek* 'monk, nom, sg.' - 'dim, nom, sg.' *mó*/zg/ - *mó*/ʒd͡ʒ/*-ek* 'brain, nom, sg.' - 'dim, nom, sg.'

d. Spirant Palatalization: /ʃ/ → /ɕ/ /ʒ/ → /ʑ/	Nominative/Vocative virile pl. *-i/y* /i~ɨ/ (nouns and adjectives)	*mni*/x/ - *mni*/ɕ/*-i* /mɲiʃ/→/mɲiɕi/ 'monk, nom, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl.' *głup-*/ʃ/*-y* - *głup-*/ɕ/*-i* 'more stupid, nom, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl.' *głu*/x/*-y* - *głu*/ɕ/*-i* /gwuʃ/→/gwuɕi/ 'deaf, nom, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl.' *-du*/ʒ/*-y* - *du*/ʑ/*-i* 'big, nom/voc, sg.' - 'nom/voc, pl'
e. Affricate Palatalization: /t͡s/ → /t͡ʃ/ /d͡z/ → /ʒ/	1) Vocative sg. masc. (in *-(e)c* /(ɛ)t͡s/ nominal head) 2) zero-derived de-nominal adjectives 3) diminutives in *-(e)k-*, *-y/ik-*	*głupi-e*/t͡s/ - *głup-*/t͡ʃ/*-e* 'fool nom, sg.' - 'voc, sg.' *ksią*/d͡z/ - *księ*/ʒ/*-y* 'priest, nom/voc, sg. - of priest, nom/voc. sg.' *pienią*/d͡z/ - *pienią*/ʒ/*-ek* 'money, nom, sg. - dim, nom, sg. '

This chapter focuses on the structural change of the relevant palatalizations (presented in the leftmost column of the table). Because of space limitations, no analysis of the contexts for the alternations will be provided.[1]

The changes presented in part (a) of the table are collectively referred to as I-Anterior Palatalization (see Gussmann 1978; 1980; Rubach 1984; Szpyra 1989, among many others). In those classic generative accounts the class affected by this particular change is characterised by feature value [+anterior] marked on labials and dentals. In section 5, I provide an alternative analysis in which the feature [anterior] does not play a role.

The 2nd Velar Palatalization, depicted in part (b) of the table turns velar plosives into dental affricates. The velar fricative /x/ becomes the post-alveolar spirant /ʃ/.

Part (c) of the table presents the change known as the 1st Velar Palatalization. According to the 1st Velar Palatalization, the voiceless velar fricative /x/ becomes the post-alveolar spirant /ʃ/, just as in the case of the 2nd Velar Palatalization. The plosive /k/ becomes post-alveolar /t͡ʃ/. However, the voiced plosive /g/ turns into the voiced post-alveolar spirant /ʒ/ in the vast majority of contexts. In fact, the expected output /d͡ʒ/ is attested only if the underlying /g/ is preceded by an underlying dental

[1] Let me just mention that the context for element addition is defined morphologically. To be more precise, some morpho-syntactic features are translated and re-written as elements or combinations of elements, and subsequently anchor on stem-final consonants.

spirant /z/ as in the example *mó*/zg/ – *mó*/ʒd͡ʒ/-*ek* ‘brain, nom, sg. – dim, nom, sg.’[2]

The usual way of accounting for the differences in the output of the application of the 1st Velar Palatalization to /k/ and /g/ was to assume that both those segments are turned into affricates with a subsequent rule that spirantizes /d͡ʒ/ to /ʒ/ after sonorants. This type of analysis was employed e.g., by Rubach (1984, 110–19). I present Rubach’s formulation of the rules below.

(1) 1st Velar Palatalization and Spirantization

a.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{obstruent} \\ -\text{coron} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ +\text{coron} \\ +\text{strid} \end{bmatrix} \quad / \_\_ \; [-\text{cons}, -\text{back}]$$

b.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{strid} \\ +\text{voic} \\ -\text{ant} \\ -\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \quad [+\text{cont}] \quad / \quad [+\text{son}] \_\_$$

The kind of analysis proposed by Rubach (1984) can be criticized on several grounds. Most importantly it is rather *ad hoc* as it receives hardly any support from the Polish data. There is no general process of post-sonorant spirantization in Polish. As a consequence, rule (1b) applies only to one segment, i.e., /d͡ʒ/ and only if this segment is itself derived. In section 5, I address the problem of the irregular output of the 1st Velar Palatalization and present an analysis that refers to very general properties of the phonological system of Polish.

Part (f) of the table contains the examples of Spirant Palatalization. Spirant Palatalization is a relatively new process in Polish, attested only in the Nominative and Vocative of masculine-personal nouns and adjectives. It is constrained by extra-grammatical factors such as sex and frequency of the stems (see Zdziebko 2014).

Affricate Palatalization, presented in part (e) of the table, involves the mutation of the dental affricate /t͡s/ into the post-alveolar affricate /t͡ʃ/.

[2] The spirant is assimilated to the following affricate by a general process of Spirant Assimilation, which forces coronal fricatives to acquire the palatal quality of the segment they precede.

However, in the same set of contexts the voiced dental affricate, /d͡z/ is, against expectations, turned into /ʒ/. It can be said that the Affricate Palatalization and the 1st Velar Palatalization seem to systematically avoid the voiced post-alveolar affricate /d͡ʒ/ as their output and instead favour the fricative /ʒ/.[3] Before an attempt to account for this fact is made, let us examine the details of the consonantal system of Polish.

3. The representation of Polish consonants

The underlying system of Polish consonants is presented below.[4]

(2) Polish consonantal system

/p/-{U.ʔ.h}	/b/-{U.ʔ.h.L}	/f/-{U.h}	/v/-{U.h.L}	/m/-{U.ʔ.L}
/pʲ/-{U.I.ʔ.h}	/bʲ/-{U.I.ʔ.h.L}	/fʲ/-{U.I.h}	/vʲ/-{U.I.h.L}	/mʲ/-{U.I.ʔ.L}
/t/-{A.ʔ.h}	/d/-{A.ʔ.h.L}	/s/-{A.h}	/z/-{A.h.L}	/n/-{A.ʔ.L}
/t͡s/-{A.I.ʔ.h}	/d͡z/-{A.I.ʔ.h.L}	/ʃ/-{A.I.h}	/ʒ/-{A.I.h.L}	
/t͡ʃ/-{A.I.ʔ.h}	/d͡ʒ/-{A.I.ʔ.h.L}	/ɕ/-{A.I.h}	/ʑ/-{A.I.h.L}	/ɲ/-{A.I.ʔ.L}
/t͡ɕ/-{A.I.ʔ.h}	/d͡ʑ/-{A.I.ʔ.h.L}	/x/-{(_).h}		
/k/-{(_).ʔ.h}	/g/-{(_).ʔ.h.L}			
/r/-{A}	/l/-{U.I}	/w/-{U}	/j/-{I}	

[3] Some analyses conflate the 1st Velar and Affricate Palatalization by postulating that the stems that seemingly undergo Affricate Palatalization terminate in velars (see, e.g., Gussmann 2007, 147). This line of reasoning will not be pursued here as, in my opinion, postulating underlying representations of morphemes which never surface should be avoided unless there are very strong and independent reasons to do that. The philosophy by which A is underlyingly B because they both become C in similar contexts typically causes more problems than it solves. In the relevant case, the fact that the stems that show Affricate Palatalization surface with dental affricates in the majority of their paradigms calls for postulating a completely arbitrary and stem-specific application of the 2nd Velar Palatalization in the contexts where the 1st Velar Palatalization does not apply.

[4] Due to space restrictions I am not able to present the detailed introduction of Element Theory. An interested reader is redirected to works by Harris (1994) and Backley (2011). Neither is it possible to enter a discussion with other approaches to Polish consonantal system presented in Gussmann (2007), Cyran (2010) among many others.

Polish has three series of coronal affricates. Here they are analysed as plosives with complex place specification. Consequently, the delayed release associated with their production is treated as phonetic cue enhancement in line with the analyses of Nasukawa and Backley (2008) and Backley (2011). The contrast between dental plosives and dental affricates is expressed in the latter being more marked for place of articulation.

The subsystem of Polish continuant obstruents is smaller than the system of non-continuants. As a consequence there is no need to employ two asymmetrical relations between elements A and I to represent coronal fricatives.

The set of segments presented in (3) does not contain palato-velar obstruents /c/-{I.ʔ.h}, /ɟ/-{I.ʔ.h.L} and /ç/-{I.h}, as well as the velar, palato-velar and post-alveolar nasals (represented as {(_).ʔ.L}, {I.ʔ.L} and {A.I.ʔ.L} respectively). They are not treated as part of the underlying inventory of Polish in that their distribution is always predictable.

A comment is also necessary concerning the voiced post-alveolar apical affricate /d͡ʒ/, the segment which, as has been pointed out, is systematically avoided as an output of the palatalization that may potentially derive it. It is claimed to be part of the inventory of Polish by virtually all authors. However, a closer look at this segment reveals that its presence in the Polish language is extremely limited.

/d͡ʒ/ is hardly attested in native vocabulary. In fact, unless it alternates with /g/, it is found in two roots: <dżdż-> as in *dżdż-ow-nic-a* ‘earthworm, nom, sg, fem.,’ *dżdż-u* ‘rain, gen, sg.,’ *dżdż-y-ć* ‘to rain’ and <drożdż-> *drożdż-e* ‘yeast, nom, pl.’

In items such as *miażdż-y-ć* ‘to smash;’ *miażdż-ek* ‘pulp, dim, gen, pl, fem.;’ *różdż-ek* ‘stick, dim, gen, pl, fem.,’ *móżdż-ek* ‘brain, dim, nom, sg.;’ *drobiażdż-ek* ‘trifle, dim, nom, sg.,’ *po-śliżdż-ek* ‘skid, dim, nom, sg.;’ *drzażdż-ek* ‘splinter, dim, gen, pl, fem.’ /d͡ʒ/ is derived from /g/ preceded by /z/.

/d͡ʒ/ is amply attested in non-native vocabulary, where it is sometimes spelt as <j>. Words such as *dżin* ‘genie, nom, sg.,’ *dżem* ‘jam, nom, sg.,’ *dżungl-a* ‘jungle, nom, sg, fem.,’ *Jumbo Jet* ‘jumbo jet, nom, sg.;’ *radż-a* ‘raja, nom, sg.,’ and many others are typically understood by foreigners without explicit translation or interpreting.

Importantly, even if non-native vocabulary is taken into consideration, the minimal pairs that illustrate the contrast between /d͡ʒ/ and /ʒ/ are few and far between. As a matter of fact, *ra*/d͡ʒ/-*ę* ‘raja, gen/acc, sg.’ vs. *ra*/ʒ/-*ę* ‘I blind’ and /d͡ʒ/*et* ‘jet, nom, sg.’ vs. /ʒ/*et* ‘the letter <ż>, nom, sg, neu.’ exhaust the list.

The above considerations lead to a conclusion that the voiced post-alveolar apical affricate is not part of the underlying inventory of Polish. It will be assumed that when it appears in native vocabulary it is a contextual realization of /ʒ/. As will become clear, this assumption has some serious consequences for the analysis of the 1st Velar and Affricate Palatalization.

4. Mutation Enforcement and Structure Preservation

As mentioned in the introduction palatalization will be analysed as morpho-phonological element addition. The result of the relevant addition is regulated by two constraints: Mutation Enforcement and Structure Preservation. Mutation Enforcement is formulated in (3).

(3) *Mutation Enforcement Principle (MEP)*

(a) If an element E-head is added to an expression containing E-operator, the result is E-head.

$$E + \underline{E} = \underline{E}$$

(b) If an element E-operator is added to an expression containing E-head, the result is E-operator.

$$\underline{E} + E = E$$

MEP makes sure that an element present in the underlying representation of a segment will change its status if the relevant segment is augmented with the same element with a different headedness status. The implicit assumption is that E is one and the same element and that if an expression containing E is augmented with another instantiation of E, the two E(lements) conflate.

Since element addition is a result of the translation of morpho-syntactic information into phonological information, Mutation Enforcement Principle should be seen as a rendition of a more general morpho-phonological principle formulated in van Oostendorp (2005) as Realize Morpheme. The exact formulation of Realize Morpheme is presented in (4).

(4) *Realize Morpheme constraint*

For every morpheme in the input, some phonological element should be present in the output.

By manipulating the headedness status of elements, Mutation Enforcement makes sure that the translated morpho-syntactic information is signalled phonologically.

The second principle that regulates the output of element addition, i.e., Structure Preservation, has been adopted from the literature on Lexical Phonology and Morphology (Kiparsky 1982; Borowsky 1990; McMahon 2000). Consider the formulation presented by Borowsky (1990, 29).

(5) *Structure Preservation*
Lexical rules may not mark features which are non-distinctive, nor create structures which do not conform to the basic prosodic templates of the language.

Since the framework I assume does not recognise the existence of the generative lexicon, no appeal to lexical vs. non-lexical rules can be made. Instead I will use a simplified version of the principle, which still points to the limitations on some types of early rules.

(6) *Structure Preservation* (adopted version)
Morpho-phonological element addition may not crate phonological expressions which are not underlying in a given system.

Structure Preservation (SP) is understood here as an inviolable constraint working on the outputs of element addition. If the expression arrived at through addition violates SP the grammar induces non-ordered repair operations that derive grammatical outputs.[5]

Having discussed the major issues connected with the two principles regulating the morpho-phonological element addition let us see how they can be applied to account for the structural changes observed in Polish palatalization.

5. Deriving Polish palatalization

Let us begin the analysis with the most general of the changes: I-Anterior Palatalization. Before the exact account can be formulated, it is necessary to point to the important difference between the standard binary feature accounts and the Element Theory account of this process. A potential problem for the latter is the lack of the counterpart of the feature

[5] In order to avoid confusion let me clarify that by the output I mean the output of the morpho-phonological level of derivation or, perhaps better, the output of element addition. No claim about the surface or pronounced forms of morphemes is made. In my view the outputs of element addition are subject to phonological computation and phonetic implementation before they are pronounced.

[+/−anterior]. As a matter of fact, within Element Theory labial and coronal sounds do not form a natural class defined with reference to a single feature. Consequently, I-Anterior Palatalization cannot be formulated as a rule affecting a class of segments defined in this way.

However, Element Theory postulates an alternative way of grouping segments in natural classes. Phonological expressions may be grouped into natural classes on the basis of the number and type of elements that they are composed of. A quick investigation of the representations presented in (2) above will prove that all the segments which undergo I-Anterior Palatalization possess exactly one element defining their place of articulation. In this way, they are distinguished from velars, which are unspecified for place, and palatalized labials and coronal affricates, which possess two elements responsible for place specification. It is this property of Polish labials and dentals that will be referred to in the formulation of I-Anterior Palatalization presented in (7).

(7) I-Anterior Palatalization

$$\underline{I} \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} CV \\ | \\ \{E\} \end{matrix}$$

Examples:

/p/ - {U.ʔ.h} → /p^{j}/ - {U.I.ʔ.h}
/w/ - {U} → /l/ - {U.I}
/t/ - {A.ʔ.h.L} → /t͡ɕ/ - {A.I.ʔ.h.L}
/n/ - {A.ʔ.L} → /ɲ/ - {A.I.ʔ.L}
/s/ - {A.h} → /ɕ/ - {A.I.h} etc.

(7) says that a stem-final phonological expression which contains one and only one place element whose status is that of an operator is augmented with element I, whose status is the head.[6] If formulated in this way,

[6] I assume that the output of the I-Anterior Palatalization of /r/-{A} is the abstract palatalized rhotic /r^{j}/-{A.I}. If Polish does not have an underlying {A.I}, then an appropriate repair operation demotes I to an operator status. An alternative interpretation would be to assume that {A.I} is an underlying vowel in Polish, and that Polish has two underlying front mid vowels {A.I} and {A.I}. If the latter interpretation is favoured, then no fixing operation is necessary as I-Anterior Palatalization does not produce a representation which is unattested in the underlying system of Polish.

I-Anterior Palatalization derives correct outputs in all cases without recourse to feature value [+anterior].

The second change that will be considered here is the 2nd Velar Palatalization presented in (8).

(8) 2nd Velar Palatalization

$$\underline{A}.I \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} CV \\ | \\ (\_) \end{matrix}$$

/k/ - {(_).ʔ.h}→/t͡s/ - {A.I.ʔ.h}
/g/ - {(_).ʔ.h.L}→/d͡z/ - {A.I.ʔ.h.L}
/x/ - {(_).h}→ *{A.I.h}→/ʃ/ {A.I.h} (by Structure Preservation)

According to the formulation in (8), the 2nd Velar Palatalization involves the addition of a combination A.I to a stem-final segment with no place elements. The derivation of the dental affricates from velar plosives is straightforward. However, the addition of A.I to a representation of the velar fricative creates a representation which is not attested in the underlying system of Polish. As mentioned above Polish has only three series of coronal fricatives. The dental fricatives should be represented as possessing only one place-defining element as they regularly undergo I-Anterior Palatalization. To represent the post-alveolar and palato-alveolar series, one needs to employ one symmetrical and one asymmetrical combination of elements A and I. Since /ɕ/ is followed by the front high vowel /i/, which is a defining property of I-headed segments, it is A.I combination that should represent the palato-alveolar resonance. The phonological expression {A.I.h} is spurious, hence ungrammatical. When such an expression is derived by means of morpho-phonological addition, the Structure Preservation Principle enforces a repair operation by which A-head is demoted to the status of an operator. The resulting representation {A.I.h} is rendered as the post-alveolar apical fricative /ʃ/.

Whereas the 2nd Velar Palatalization is achieved by the application of the Structure Preservation Principle, the outputs of Spirant Palatalization are achieved by the application of Mutation Enforcement. The exact formulation of Spirant Palatalization is presented in (9).

(9) Spirant Palatalization:

$$\underline{\text{I}} \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} \text{CV} \\ | \\ \{\text{A.I.h.(L)}\} \end{matrix}$$

/ʃ/ - {A.I.h} → /ɕ/ - {A.I.h} (by Mutation Enforcement Principle)
/ʒ/ - {A.I.h.L} → /ʑ/ - {A.I.h.L} (by MEP)

Spirant Palatalization is very restrictive in its application in that it targets only the apical post-alveolar fricatives. Hence, its environment is defined most specifically. When I-head is added to the relevant expression, MEP forces the I-operator and I-head to conflate as a head. The outputs are palato-alveolar laminal spirants /ɕ/ and /ʑ/.

The last two changes that will be analysed here are the 1st Velar and Affricate Palatalization presented in (10) and (11), respectively.

(10) 1st Velar Palatalization:

$$\text{A.I} \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} \text{CV} \\ | \\ (\_) \end{matrix}$$

/k/ - {(_).ʔ.h} → /t͡ʃ/ - {A.I.ʔ.h}
/g/ - {(_).ʔ.h.L}→*/d͡ʒ/ {A.I.ʔ.h.L}→/ʒ/ {A.I.h.L} (by SP)
/x/ - {(_).h} → /ʃ/ {A.I.h}

The 1st Velar Palatalization is the result of the addition of a symmetrical combination of elements A and I to a stem terminating in a velar. The change applies in a straightforward manner in the case of the voiceless velar plosive and fricative deriving /t͡ʃ/ and /ʃ/, respectively. However, in the case of the voiced velar plosive, the output is /d͡ʒ/, which, as has been argued for above, is not part of the underlying inventory of Polish and must not be the output of morpho-phonological element addition. In order to prevent that, the grammar employs another repair operation, i.e., ʔ-delinking ('stopness' delinking).[7] The result of ʔ-delinking is the

[7] One may wonder how ʔ-delinking is different for the rule of Spirantization postulated, e.g., by Rubach (1984). Although the full approach to repair operations still awaits its formulation, the claim made here is that ʔ-delinking is a repair strategy that applies whenever one has to do with an illicit configuration involving

derivation of the /ʒ/ in all the contexts. As we know, however, in forms in which /g/ is preceded by /z/, the surface output of the change is /d͡ʒ/. As I will argue for below, the presence of /d͡ʒ/ in the relevant context is the result of the working of a general phonological constraint in Polish. The relevant constraint applies after the level of morpho-phonological addition.

Affricate Palatalization is the only change in Polish nominal system whose output is derived by the joint application of Mutation Enforcement and Structure Preservation. Affricate Palatalization is presented in (11) as an addition of element A-operator to dental affricates.

(11) Affricate Palatalization:

$$A \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} CV \\ | \\ \{\underline{A}.I.ʔ.(L)\} \end{matrix}$$

/t͡s/ - {A.I.ʔ.h} → /t͡ʃ/ - {A.I.ʔ.h} (by MEP)
/d͡z/ - {A.I.ʔ.h.L}→*/d͡ʒ/ - {A.I.ʔ.h.L} → /ʒ/ {A.I.h.L} (by SP)

The addition of A to the voiceless dental affricate renders regular output: A is demoted to the status of the operator by MEP. When the same happens with /d͡z/, the result is /d͡ʒ/. Since /d͡ʒ/ cannot be part of the output of morpho-phonology, ʔ-delinking applies deriving /ʒ/.

The account presented so far postulates that /d͡ʒ/ is ungrammatical as an output of morpho-phonological element addition since the addition must not result in segments which are not present underlyingly in the native inventory and /d͡ʒ/ is not part of the underlying inventory of Polish.

The last issue that will be addressed in this chapter is the derivation of the forms in which /g/ in fact goes to /d͡ʒ/ as a result of the 1st Velar Palatalization. These are the words whose underlying representations terminate in the sequences /zg/. In those forms the regular application of element addition, the Structure Preservation filter and ʔ-delinking results in a stem-final cluster /zʒ/. Importantly, Polish does not allow the sequences of sibilants unless the first of them is part of the prefix.[8] Since the sequence /zʒ/ is disallowed by Polish phonology, a repair strategy must be applied to fix the sequence. The repair operation that applies in the

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a non-continuant. Thus, the alternations such as *koń* /kɔɲ/ – *koń-sk-i* /kɔj̃sci/ 'horse, nom, sg. – adj. nom, sg.' are also due to the working of ʔ-delinking.

[8] The only exception to this generalization is the root <ss> present in the verb *ss-a-ć* 'to suck,' the noun *ss-ak* 'mammal' and their derivates.

relevant cases is ʔ-relinking which derives /d͡ʒ/ from /ʒ/. (12) presents the derivation of the word *móżdż-ek* 'brain, dim, nom, sg.'

(12)

MORPHO-PHONOLOGY:

UR:	/muzg/
1st Velar Palatalization	/muzd͡ʒ/
ʔ-delinking (by SP)	/muzʒ/

PHONOLOGY:

ʔ-relinking (by *zʒ)	/muzd͡ʒ/
Spirant Assimilation	/muʒd͡ʒ/
	[muzd͡ʒɛk]

The most important assumptions for the analysis are that the Structure Preservation Principle is switched off after the level of morpho-phonological element addition and that the ban on the sequences of spirants is a purely phonological constraint. The first assumption is rather uncontroversial in that most practitioners of Lexical Phonology and Morphology assumed that Structure Preservation is restricted to act only in the lexicon or only at the earliest lexical level (see McMahon 2000 for an overview and discussion). The second assumption seems more problematic. If the constraint prohibiting the sequences of spirants is a phonological restriction, then we would not expect morpho-phonological conditioning on it. However, the ban on adjacent spirants seems to be restricted only to morpheme internal and stem+suffix sequences. It seems that what blocks the constraint is the morpho-phonological identity of the first spirant: if it is part of the prefix the sequence of two spirants is legitimate.

The potential solution to this problem lies in the identity of Polish prefixes. To be precise, they were analysed as proclitics e.g., by Rubach (1984). If one analyses the phonotactics of other clitics in Polish, one will find out that they also allow for phonotactic patterns not attested inside stems and stem+suffix combinations. The case in point is the reflexive particle *się* /ɕɛ/. Although it is syntactically independent, when added to verbs it does not create a stress domain on its own. When *się* follows imperative verbs which terminate in sibilants, it causes no simplification of the clusters. The relevant examples are *zgłoś się* /zgwɔɕɛɕɛ/ 'respond,' *spiesz się* /spʲɛʃɕɛ/ 'hurry up,' *zmierz się* /zmʲɛʃɕɛ/ 'challenge me' as well

as many others. The stress in those examples falls only on the verb leaving *się* unstressed. It appears then that the constraint banning the sequences of sibilants in Polish is not blocked by prefix boundary but rather does not apply to clitics, which are known not to obey the strict phonotactic restrictions that languages manifest.[9] In other words, the observation that Polish prefixes lead to a violation of the constraint on the sequences of sibilants is as unremarkable as the observation that this constraint is not obeyed across word boundaries.

6. Conclusions

This chapter discussed types of palatalization attested in Polish nominals. The main claim is that palatalization may be analysed as morpho-phonological element addition. I addressed the problem of the unexpected outputs of the 1st Velar and Affricate Palatalization and claimed that the result of their application is the voiced post-alveolar affricate that, not being part of the underlying inventory of Polish, must not be the output of the level of morph-phonological addition. In general, in the cases in which element addition and the Mutation Enforcement Principle result in the ungrammatical output, the grammar applies repair operations that derive possible outputs. An important question that this chapter cannot address is which repair operations are possible and what criteria the grammar applies in selecting different repairs. This issue must be left for further intensive research.

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[9] To further exemplify this point, the cliticization of *is* and the possessive *'s* in English results in final sequences which are not allowed morpheme-internally in English. C.f. *Carl's dead* /kɑrlz dɛd/ or *Carl's wife* /kɑrlz waɪf/. The fact that Polish clitics behave in a different way than Polish suffixes, while in English some suffixes and clitics have the same status from the point of view of the phonotactics is not relevant or problematic for the above account.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE APPEAL OF -*ING* IN THE CREATION OF ANGLICISED FORMS IN POLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES: A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

EWELINA PRAŻMO

1. Introduction

Anglicisms proliferate in many languages, even in those with no direct contact with Anglophone culture. More interestingly, "anglicized forms" are often coined by speakers unfamiliar with the English language, in which case, unsurprisingly, these formations are incomprehensible to native speakers of English. Such coinages are called "false Anglicisms" (cf. Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015). Many formations of this kind are created by joining two English words together, yielding a compound nonexistent in English (e.g., Italian *recordman*); or by deleting one part of an English compound (e.g., *basket* instead of *basketball*; *body* instead of *bodysuit*); through clippings (e.g., *happy end*, *air condition*); or by coining new words using English suffixes (e.g., Spanish *footing*). The present chapter focuses on the last process – on the creation of Anglicized forms in Polish by using the English suffix -*ing*. These newly-formed words consist of either two English elements (*churching*) or a native element joined with the English suffix (*Łomżing*, *plażing*, *smażing*, *grobing*) (cf. Witalisz 2007). To account for the intersubjective and dynamic nature of the meanings of such formations involving, as we wish to claim, the "speaker-hearer mind integration," we use the conceptual integration theory as developed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) combining it with Ronald Langacker's current discourse space model (2008) and the theory of speaker-hearer "mind integration" (cf. Langacker 2007), which, we believe, underlies the meaning negotiation process. To our mind, the

model we are proposing offers a viable theoretical background for a successful analysis to be carried out on false Anglicisms, which often are coloured with humour, sarcasm, and irony. What is more, the intersubjective nature of meaning negotiation may create certain associations which can lead to the establishment of meanings in words and bound morphemes. To prove this claim we examine the case of an English suffix *-ing* which is increasingly common in *hybrid creations* in Polish. There are at least two strong semantic tendencies associated with the use of this suffix which guide the interpretation on neologisms and nonce formations based on this constructional schema.

2. Typology of borrowings

In the present chapter, we adopt Witalisz's (2014) classification of borrowings, which, in turn, is mostly based on Haugen's model (Haugen 1950). In her typology of *-ing* formations in contemporary Polish, Witalisz introduces four categories. (i) *Loan words* present in Haugen, Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) and Gómez Capuz (1997); (ii) *loanblends* present in Haugen and in Haspelmath and Tadmor as well as Gómez Capuz, also called *hybrids*. It may give rise to some confusion, since the fourth category is that of (iv) *hybrid creations*. *Loanblends* are thus understood as items constructed of one foreign and one native element, which are "modelled on their English etymons" (Witalisz 2014, 324), (e.g., Pl. *zakuping* modelled on Eng. *shopping*) whereas *hybrid creations* are items constructed in the recipient language with one foreign and one native element. Those items do not find their etymons in the donor language. The third category (iii) is that of *pseudo-anglicisms*.[1] Pseudo-anglicisms are items created out of elements borrowed from the donor language, but functioning (as a combination) only in the recipient language (e.g., Pl. *beforing* – a party, usually held at home, before actually going out or going to a proper party, a "warm-up" before a party). Some of them may be created in the process of ellipsis, i.e., dropping one of the original elements, but retaining the overall meaning (e.g., Pl. *parking* meaning a parking lot). Others, formally present in the donor language, are nonetheless classified as pseudo-anglicisms, because their meaning is totally different in the donor and in the recipient language, so they are more likely to be a result of a coinage in the donor language using foreign elements, rather than constitute cases of a meaning extension (e.g.,

[1] For more about pseudo-anglicisms, see Furiassi and Gottlieb (2015).

churching – original English meaning is related to the churching of women, i.e., a religious ceremony of blessing new mothers after childbirth. In Polish, however, this meaning is hardly recognised. *Churching* in Polish is more likely to be associated with visiting a number of different churches in order to find one with the best religious service, and thus it is considered a pseudo-anglicism). In this way Witalisz arrives at the following classification of *-ing* formations in Polish:

(i) loanwords: *jogging*, *happening*, *leasing*
(ii) loanblends: *faszering*, *zakuping*
(iii) pseudo-anglicisms: *dancing*, *parking*, *churching*
(iv) hybrid creations: *braming*, *grobing*, *kocing*

Apart from the difference in the degree of "morphemic substitution" introduced above, the four groups may be also differentiated by means of two other criteria, introduced by Langacker, namely *compositionality* and *analysability* of grammatical constructions:

> Analyzability pertains to the ability of speakers to recognize the contribution that each component structure makes to the composite whole; the question of analyzability thus arises primarily at the level of individual composite expressions. Compositionality, on the other hand, pertains to the regularity of compositional relationships, i.e. the degree to which the value of the whole is predictable from the values of its parts. It therefore concerns the relationship between the constructional schema and its instantiations. (Langacker 1987, 448)

Loanwords exhibit a relatively small degree of compositionality and analysability, since they are very often imported directly as a combination of form and meaning.[2] *Pseudo-anglicisms* are more compositional and analysable, since they have to undergo some modification before they enter into use. *Loandblends* are even further down the scale as they consist of a consciously translated element from a foreign language which is joined with the other, untranslated element. Thus, in order for a *loanblend*

[2] Whether and to what extent they are adapted is another matter. They may retain the original pronunciation as in, e.g., *leasing* Eng. [ˈliːsɪŋ], Pl. [ˈliːsɪŋ] or [ˈliːsɪng] or may be pronounced in accordance to the rules of the recipient language, e.g., *stalking* Eng. [ˈstɔːkɪŋ], Pl. [stalking]. The same holds true for various degrees of orthographical adaptation. A word may be imported without any changes in spelling, e.g., *happening*, *meeting*, or it may be changed into, e.g., Eng. *camping*, Pl. *kemping.*

to be created, a conscious decomposition must take place. The resultant blend is highly transparent and thus analysable. Finally, *hybrid creations* exhibit the greatest degree of compositionality/analysability parameter as they consist of a native word coupled with a foreign element. They are novel, creative and very often funny. We claim that the humorous effect arising upon the creation of such a blend of two elements may be attributed to the fact that those elements are highly incongruent and the *hybrid creation* itself compositional and analysable to a great extent. In other words, the more effortful the blending involved, the more side effects (e.g., in the form of humour, sarcasm, irony, etc.) appear.

3. Conceptual blending

Kemmer (2003) analyses lexical blends in terms of schemas, i.e., she opens up the possibility for the process of blending to go far beyond language. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) introduce the concept of *conceptual blending*, i.e., the blending of concepts rather than just lexemes. Blending as a word formation process pertains to lexical blending only (e.g., the combination of *smoke* and *fog* creates a lexical blend or a portmanteau word – *smog*), whereas conceptual blending (also called conceptual integration) occurs at various levels. The basic model of conceptual blending is represented as follows (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 46):

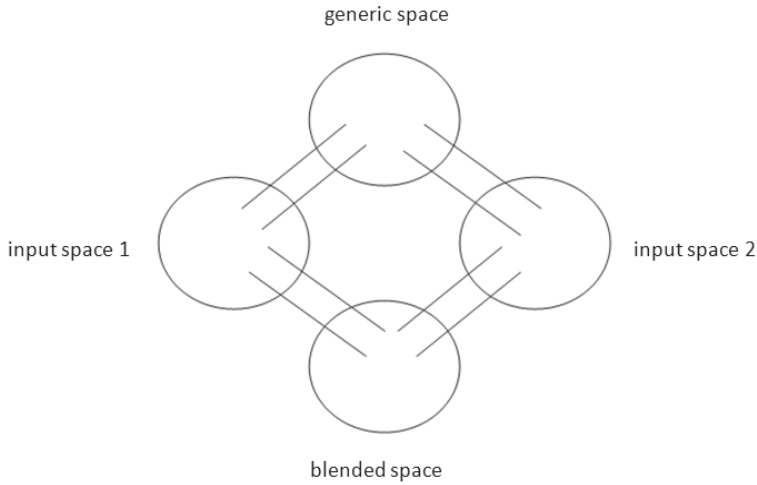

Fig. 3-1. The model of conceptual blending

The input spaces (two or more) provide the information relevant for activating transient *mental spaces*. Abstract correspondences are established between the input spaces (similarly to *mappings* established between two domains in the conceptual metaphor theory[3]). The generic space provides an abstract domain, due to which certain similarities between the input spaces may be established. And the blend itself, or the blended space, is derived partially from the input spaces and supplemented with non-derivable, emergent information.

Linguistic blending can be studied from various points of view as it occurs at many different levels. It may take place within one language or across languages. It may be related to the combination of native or foreign elements. It may result in the formation of single items or more complex concepts. Some of these possibilities are illustrated by "classic" blends, e.g., the abovementioned *smog* in English as a blend of two native elements, pseudo-anglicisms, e.g., *churching* (*church* + *ing*) or *autostop* (*auto* + *stop* 'hitchhiking') in Polish or *recordman* (*record* + *man* 'a record holder') in Italian, i.e., as a combination of two foreign elements as well as hybrid creations, e.g., *plażing* (*plaża* + *ing*)[4] in Polish or *puenting* (*puente* + *ing*)[5] in Spanish as a combination of a native and a foreign element. In our search of emergent meanings, we place special attention on the last group. Since the incongruity in the juxtaposition of two elements originating in different languages is relatively high, we claim that such a blend is most likely to give rise to the greatest amount of additional semantic value. Conceptual blending, by definition, is a process in which the resultant structure (*the blended space* in Fauconnier and Turner's words) is more than the sum of the elements that it originated from (*input spaces*). It "is concerned with on-line dynamical cognitive work people do to construct meaning for local purposes of thought and action" (Fauconnier and Turner 2007, 370). However, the emergent meaning may be more or less significant. It may only slightly enrich the initial input spaces, or it may require a great deal of interpretation and mental effort in order to arrive at the intended meaning.

Moreover, an increasing number of recent studies concentrate on *multimodal blending*,[6] i.e., the blending of concepts belonging to different *modes*, e.g., linguistic, visual, auditory, tactile, etc. We claim that multimodal

[3] For details on the conceptual metaphor theory, see, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Kövecses (2002).
[4] *plaża* 'a beach,' *plażing* 'sunbathing on the beach'
[5] *el puente* 'a bridge,' *puenting* 'bungee jumping from a bridge'
[6] See, e.g., Forceville (2007).

perception is a default way of accessing the reality and thus it is only natural for humans to derive meaning from all the available inputs. This fact cannot be disregarded in linguistic analyses either. We return to the notion of multimodal blending in the following part of the present chapter.

4. Current discourse space

The use of the concepts of "interpretation" and "intended meaning" calls for the introduction of the speaker and the hearer into the discussion. Hence, we make use of Langacker's model of current discourse space which, we claim, is indispensable for a thorough analysis of the creation and interpretation of conceptual blends.

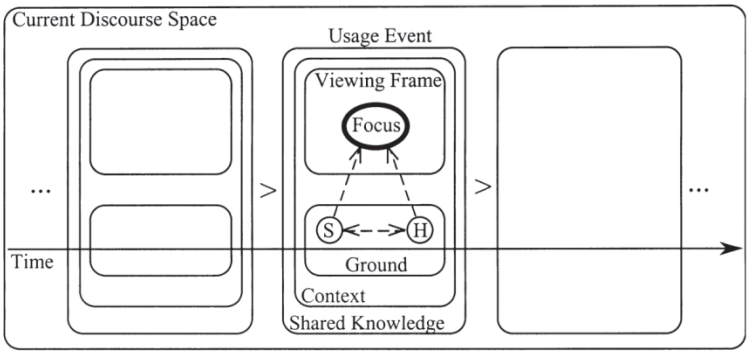

Fig. 3-2. Langacker's model of current discourse space

It is only within certain discourse that expressions acquire their fully developed meanings. The interaction between the speaker (S) and the hearer (H) in crucial, with both parties participating actively in meaning creation. In other words, meaning creation is dynamic and emerges as a result of speaker-hearer interaction. Says Augustyn:

> A key factor in establishing the linguistic meaning in this model is the interaction between the speaker and the hearer, both of whom actively evaluate the other's knowledge and intentions. Since the hearer interprets the meanings conveyed to him by the speaking entity, the proper understanding of a linguistic expression requires the hearer to actively participate in the ongoing discourse as well as to put mental effort in establishing the actual meaning of this expression. (Augustyn 2013, 154)

According to Langacker, the participants understand their "interactive circumstances," i.e., the ground (G). It consists of the current speech event, the speaker, and the hearer, their interaction (i.e., speaker's communicative intentions and hearer's active interpretation). They make use of their shared knowledge which enabled them to make presuppositions and refer to the things which have been previously mentioned in the conversation, relying on the interlocutors basic knowledge about the world and the conversational scenario the interlocutors find themselves in. Also, the context itself is crucial as it may contribute to the dynamic meaning creation process. Contextual information, together with the speaker's intention and the hearer's interpretation enable the emergence of the overall meaning. All this takes place in the current discourse space. In other words, the current discourse space can be defined as:

> (...) the mental space comprising those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse. The ground and the CDS are among the cognitive domains capable of being evoked as the conceptual base for the meanings of linguistic elements. (Langacker 2001, 144)

Thus, it takes at least two minds to properly construe a meaning. It makes the meaning not only subjective but intersubjective and just as subjectification is one of the main forces of language change in general and grammaticalisation in particular, so is intersubjectification.

Intersubjectivity brings the pragmatic aspect of language to light and that, too, may be an underlying facet of meaning construction. Particular contexts require particular meanings and as a result words are shaped in different ways and may acquire new semantic values.

> Intersubjectification likewise starts with shifting pragmatic values in specific contexts, but can only be claimed as full-fledged change with the establishment of a new form-meaning pair. (...) intersubjectification too is about the semanticization of what were pragmatic implicatures and pragmatic values of the earlier form-meaning pair. (Davidse, Vandelanotte, and Cuyckens 2010, 5–6)

Let us return to the process of conceptual integration. Just like the metaphor is the way of thinking (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), so is blending. It is a mental process or a conceptual operation which can take place only within human minds. The non-derivable part of the blend's meaning does not emerge out of a vacuum, but is a product of the operations of the human mind. These operations may or may not be

conscious and in either case they are extremely complex. Conceptual integration, just as metaphorisation or pattern recognition form a part of our cognitive system and help us process vast amounts of linguistic and extra-linguistic data. They are activated automatically, and we are not necessarily aware of them, just like we do not need to understand the complexities of visual perception in order to see the world around us.

What is more, imagination is very often indispensable for spotting similarities between the input spaces, creating correspondences (i.e., establishing the generic space) and eventually for the proper analysis and interpretation of the blend. This claim is further strengthened by the fact that blends are more often than not neologisms or even nonce formations which hardly ever enter the standard language or become dictionary entries. For this reason, one cannot rely on any established conventional order to understand their meanings. It takes imagination and a certain amount of mental effort to interpret and understand a blend properly. Moreover, the less conventionalised the blend and the more surprising and incongruent its parts, the more meaning emerges in the process. That is, we claim, why hybrid creations tend to be fairly popular in the realm of advertising. The striking juxtaposition of a foreign element with a native one gives rise to a surprising and very often humorous effect. Such creations are considered to be clever and ingenious; they also have the air of novelty and freshness. What is more, linguistic hybrids in which the foreign part comes from English are perceived as trendy and very often prestigious.

5. *-ing* formations in Polish

Let us consider several hybrid creations consisting of a Polish stem and English suffix *-ing* found mostly in Witalisz (2014) as well as online and in press. The definitions and explanations come either from Witalisz (2014) or online dictionaries (above all urbandictionary.com). In the rarest cases, the meaning is implied from the context in which an item has been found.

Bajering (Pl. slang. *bajer*, *bajerować* ‘to trick, to spoof, to try to pick somebody up’) – the process of tricking somebody or trying to pick somebody up.

Braming (Pl. *brama* ‘a gate, an archway’) – drinking alcohol in an archway.

Grobing (Pl. *grób* 'a grave') – visiting the graves on All Saints' Day. In this particular case, whether the blend creates a humorous effect or not is highly subjective. Humour is in the eye of the beholder, and actually what makes somebody laugh may be offensive for others. We claim, however, that this surprising juxtaposition of the solemnity of the day and the trendiness of the English suffix does, in fact, give rise to a funny effect even of the *dance macabre* sort.

Kocing[7] (Pl. *koc* 'a blanket') – picnicking and drinking beer while sitting on a blanket.

Ławking (Pl. *ławka* 'a bench') – sitting on a bench and drinking beer.

Lening (Pl. *leń* 'a lazybones,' *lenić się* 'to laze about') – the process of doing nothing, lazing about.

Leżing (Pl. *leżeć* 'to lie') – the process of lying and doing nothing.[8]

Łomżing (Pl. *Łomża* – name of a town as well as a beer brand) – drinking beer, esp. Polish Łomża beer.

Łóżking (Pl. *łóżko* 'a bed') – lying in bed and doing nothing.

Morzing (Pl. *morze* 'a sea') – spending time on the seaside, holidaying on the seaside.

Nadzoring (Pl. *nadzorować* 'to supervise') – supervising, monitoring.

Namioting (Pl. *namiot* 'a tent') – spending holidays in a tent.

Odpoczing (Pl. *odpoczywać* 'to rest, to relax') – chilling, relaxing, resting.

Opalażing (Pl. *opalać się* 'to sunbathe in order to get tanned') – sunbathing in order to get tanned.

Parawaning (Pl. *parawan* 'a windbreak') – enclosing an area of a beach with a windbreak, a typical behaviour on crowded beaches.

Piwing (Pl. *piwo* 'beer') – drinking beer.

Plażing (Pl. *plaża* 'a beach') – sunbathing on a beach.

Smażing (Pl. *smażyć* 'to fry') – sunbathing, getting tanned on a beach.

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[7] Notice, that the unconventional pronunciation further strengthens the feeling of foreignness and emphasises the division between the Polish stem and the English suffix. Conventional way of pronouncing the *ci* cluster in Polish is that of /t͡ɕ/ (IPA) or /ć/ (AS). Thus, according to the rules of Polish phonology, *kocing* should be pronounced as [kot͡ɕing] rather than [kocing]. However, the former pronunciation would create new associations, and instead of *koc* 'blanket,' may be taken for *kot* 'cat' or *koci* 'feline.' The opposite in the case in *lening* though, where the rules of Polish pronunciation apply, possibly because the stem *leń* is pronounced as [lɛ̃ɲ] (IPA), [lẽń] (AS).

[8] *leżing* is very often practiced together with *smażing* and *plażing*, i.e., it is a process of lying on the beach and getting tanned (literally fried).

Remonting (Pl. *remontować* 'to redecorate a house') – redecorating a house.
Rowering (Pl. rower 'a bicycle') – riding a bicycle.
Spacering (Pl. *spacer* 'a walk, a stroll') – taking a walk for pleasure.
Szafing (Pl. *szafa* 'a wardrobe') – clearance sale, giving clothes away or clothes swapping.
Schoding (Pl. *schody* 'stairs') – running up and down the stairs as a means of training.[9]
Trawing (Pl. *trawa*[10] 'grass') – sitting on the grass and drinking beer.
Uczing (Pl. *uczyć się* 'to learn, to study') – the process of learning or studying.
Zakatedring (Pl. *za katedrą* – behind the professor's desk) – drinking alcohol behind the professor's desk.

On the basis of a number of examples, it is possible to spot some similarities between the creations with *-ing*. Clearly, they exhibit two strong semantic tendencies which, to make things even more interesting, are related to one another. The first big group are the items related to drinking alcohol and especially beer. This tendency may be ascribed to the Polish Łomża beer campaign which sparked the mushrooming of linguistic elements based on the *Łomżing* schema. The second set is an extension of the first one. It refers to the items associated with chilling out, being lazy, relaxing and having a good time. Both groups activate the "holidays" frame. Again, it may be put down to the visual imagery presented in the abovementioned commercial campaign. Regardless of the motivation, it is undeniable that the suffix *-ing* in Polish has acquired this two-fold meaning. The meaning may not be as strong and precise as in the case of, e.g., the English *-gate* suffix used in Polish,[11] but nonetheless the tendency is there and it remains to be explored.

[9] This meaning has been implied from the context in which *schoding* was found. However, by means of analogy to, e.g., *braming*, it may just as well refer drinking alcohol under the stairs or on a stairway.
[10] Note that *trawa* apart from *grass*, in colloquial Polish stands also for weed. Thus, *trawing* may also imply smoking weed recreationally.
[11] The suffix *-gate* originating from *Watergate* has gained currency in Polish and has been reanalised to signify 'a political or social affair.' It gave rise to items such as: *Rywingate*, *Orlengate*, *Bergergate*, *Sowagate*, *kelnergate*).

Table 3-1. Examples of *-ing* hybrids grouped into main thematic types

Type	Number of examples	Example
items related to drinking alcohol	7	*braming*, *kocing*, *ławking*, *Łomżing*, *piwing*, *trawing*, *zakatedring*
items related to chilling out, being on holidays	12	*lening*, *łóżking*, *leżing*, *morzing*, *plażing*, *smażing*, *odpoczing*, *opalażing*, *spacering*, *namioting*, *parawaning*, *rowering*
other items	7	*bajering*, *grobing*, *szafing*, *nadzoring*, *schoding*, *uczing*, *remonting*

The associative tendencies mentioned above may also derive from different sources. Many of the hybrid formations have been present in advertising not only as captions and slogans, but as integral parts of multimodal scenarios. The original input provided by commercials, such as those of Łomża beer, consists of multiple elements. Consider the following beer promoting slogan: "Źródło świadomego Łomżingu" ("The source of conscious Łomżing"). In the commercial, the meaning of the word *Łomżing* is construed on the basis of a multimodal representation of a scene. In this context, multimodality consist of the visual input (a group of people picnicking and drinking in the open), auditory input (singing birds) and linguistic input (a couple asked to define *Łomżing* responds that form them is a kind of *kocing na trawingu*, i.e., sitting on a blanket on the grass). Since all those components play a part in the meaning formation process, it is not a surprise that the contextual associations enter the [Polish stem]+[ing] schema for good. In other words, even though none of the associations is inherently present in other hybrid creations, they still may be activated due to the very salient and characteristic schema on which they are based. Having said that, we suggest that the associations which are projected from the original sources (i.e., Łomża beer commercials and advertisements) onto novel formations based on the same pattern only strengthen their meanings. In some cases, former familiarity with Łomża beer commercials may narrow down the interpretation of otherwise neutral words, e.g., *trawing* is not necessarily associated with drinking (beer) on the grass, but such an interpretation is likely to be triggered if the hearer is familiar with *Łomżing*. Otherwise, *trawing* might be just as well interpreted as smoking weed (Pl. *trawa* > Eng. *grass*, *weed*, *marijuana*), or merely sitting on the grass or lawn-mowing. Familiarity with contexts of the original uses of hybrid creations may influence and guide meaning formation, but these types of neologisms are also perfectly interpretable even without any previous knowledge.

All in all, we claim that meaning construction is multilayered. Firstly, it is the semantic information directly-derivable from the constituent parts of compounds that must be taken into consideration. Then, it is the non-derivable component that emerges in the blending process. The third layer is the contextual information that may influence the meaning potential of a newly created lexical item. Last but not least, meaning creation is intersubjective to a great extent and relies on individual interpretation as well as communicative intention of language users. In this way we arrive at the conclusion that conceptual blending should be incorporated into Langacker's model of the current discourse space or, to be more precise, into the ground. Blending is a process which occurs as if in between the speaker and the hearer and the emergent meaning partly a result of meaning negotiation process that the speaker and the hearer are engaged in.

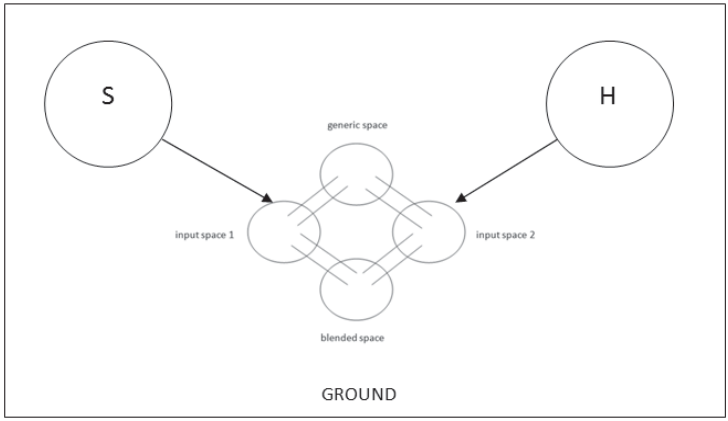

Fig. 3-3. Elements of the current discourse space model incorporated into the conceptual blending model

6. *-ing* formations in other languages

Pure borrowings of English words containing the suffix *-ing* proliferate in many languages with varying degree of phonetic or morphemic adaptation. In the present chapter, however, we focus only on hybrid creation in which the English suffix is attached to a native stem. Plenty of such cases are found in French: *pappi-sitting* (Fr. *pappi* 'a granddad'), *mami-sitting* (Fr. *mami* 'a grandma') are two examples of words based on *baby-sitting* schema. Other examples include:

canaping (Fr. *canapé* 'a couch') – sitting idly on a couch.
Ramping (Fr. *ramper* – movement resembling a crawl) – kind of crawling.
Frotting (Fr. *frotter* 'to rub') – slowly dancing close to one another so that the bodies touch and rub against each other.
Rentring (Fr. *rentrer* 'to come home').[12]
Couding (Fr. *coude* 'an elbow') – a drinking competition.
Soiring (Fr. *soir* 'evening') – *Le Soiring* is a name of a French evening television show.
Surbooking (Fr. *sur* 'over') – overbooking.

Balteiro and Campos (cf. Balteiro 2014; Balteiro and Campos 2012; Campos-Pardillos 2015) provide an exhaustive account of anglicisms in the Spanish language concerning sport and fashion. They give numerous examples of both "pure" and false anglicisms. One of the most common examples of hybrid creations is *puénting*[13] (Sp. *puénte* 'a bridge') – bungee jumping. *Góming* (Sp. *góma* 'gum') and *cuerding* (Sp. *cuerda* 'a rope') signify the same, but with the focus on the equipment rather than the place where bungee jumping can be practiced. *Bungee salting* (Sp. *saltar* 'to jump') focuses on the action itself and is thus closest to its English equivalent. Another example found in Spanish press is *edredoning* (Sp. *edredón* 'eiderdown, duvet') – having a sexual intercourse under a duvet.[14] More examples include:

balconing (Sp. *balcón* 'a balcony') – jumping to a swimming pool from a hotel balcony,
sanfermining – celebrating the day of San Fermín in Pamplona,
tumbling (Sp. *tumbarse* 'to lie down') – lying around and chilling out,
panching (Sp. *pancha* 'a belly') – sunbathing,
Vueling (Sp. *vuelo* 'a flight') is a name of Spanish airlines.

[12] It is a slogan of a 2006 advertising campaign of Orange telecommunications company. For a more detailed commentary see Lewis 2007.
[13] This example is commonly used and widely understood, but it may also have a different interpretation based on the polysemy of the word *puente* in Spanish. Its first meaning (i.e., a bridge) is related to its metaphorical extension which stands for a long holiday, and as a result *puenting* may also be interpreted as having, enjoying one's long weekend.
[14] Used in reference to a popular TV show Big Brother, whose participants were looking for some privacy under their duvets, for more information consult *El Pais* (http://elpais.com/diario/2009/12/03/radiotv/1259794802_850215.html; accessed 9/03/2016)

Dyakov and Skvoretskaya (2013) analyse the increasing use of the suffix *-ing* in Russian including examples such as: *обходинг* (Ru. *obkhoding* 'walking around') – walking around the turnstile in the metro in order not to pay for the ticket.

Even this limited number of examples from the chosen languages seems to be in line with the tendencies found in our more in-depth analysis of the Polish data. Hybrid creations with *-ing* seem to prevail in the language of advertising, sports, and fashion. They are also found in colloquial speech regarding pastime and everyday activities. They are often associated with trendiness and novelty, which especially in advertising serves to create catchy and memorable slogans or to add an air of humour to otherwise mundane conversation. These qualities apply generally to most hybrid creations of a native stem and a foreign affix. Interestingly, a reverse combination, i.e., a foreign stem and a native affix does not seem to share the abovementioned characteristics. Items such as Sp. *googlear* 'to google,' Pl. *klikać* 'to click,' Pl. *zabukować* 'to book' are more readily adapted (both phonetically and orthographically) and exhibit inflectional behaviour proper to the native language.

7. Conclusions

Whenever two languages are in contact, plentiful word formation processes may be expected. One of the most common ways of adding new vocabulary to the Polish lexicon is borrowing, especially from English. The study of borrowings has a long tradition and there are many typologies and classifications which provide a thorough view on this complicated process. In the present chapter, we focus on the so called *hybrid creations* and the unprecedented rise in the productivity of the English *-ing* suffix in Polish. Apart from enumerating and defining newly created elements, we also try to explain the cognitive mechanisms which might have led to this increase in productivity. In order to account for the nature of *hybrid borrowings* in general and *-ing* creations in Polish in particular, we make use of chosen cognitive linguistics theories. We claim that conceptual integration theory coupled with current discourse space model may help explain the appeal of foreign-sounding elements. Emergent meaning appears on completion of a blend and is a result of the speaker-hearer meaning negotiation complemented by contextual information. The whole process may lead to the production of a humorous effect or add the air of trendiness, which is particularly exploited in advertising slogans as well as the internet slang used especially by younger speakers. Moreover, we claim, that certain associations present in

many -*ing* formations in Polish may guide the interpretation of newly-encountered and not-conventionalised items based on the same constructional pattern. It is worth mentioning that most of such creations are short-lived and never make it to official dictionaries, thus, it is impossible to look up and ascertain their meanings. The intuitive interpretation (based on the analogy to more frequently encountered cases) is very often the case. As a result, we witness the establishment of possible "meanings" or maybe at this point just "associations" with the -*ing* formations in Polish. The polysemy of this morpheme mostly evolved in two directions. Firstly, the items tend to refer to free time activities, holidaying, chilling out and relaxing in general. Secondly, the free time activities tend to be related to drinking alcohol and beer in particular. This may be ascribed to the fact that one of the Polish beer commercials sparked the popularity of new linguistic expressions with the English suffix -*ing*. The trend seems to continue. Whatever the factual reason, it must be emphasised that none of these associations is present in the suffix itself when used natively in English. In other words, Polish seems to have "appropriated" the suffix and ascribed new, peculiar meanings to it. The trend of using the suffix in Polish as well as its further semantic development remains to be studied. Another direction for future research is that of a cross-linguistic study. The suffix is also present in other languages and linguistic hybridity in general seems to become increasingly widespread. Considering whether this tendency will enrich languages or cause linguistic "bastardisation" is beyond the scope of the present chapter.

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CHAPTER FOUR

WORDPLAY AND HIDDEN SENSE RELATIONS

KONRAD ŻYŚKO

1. Introduction

Playing on words, traditionally understood as a literary technique and a form of wit, has a long practice of use and is probably almost as old as language itself. Wordplay is commonly attributed with the features such as similarity of forms and ambiguity. This is exemplified in the notion of wordplay as proposed by Delabastita (1996), who refers to it as:

> the various textual phenomena in which structural features of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a communicatively significant confrontation of two (or more) linguistic structures with more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings (Delabastita 1996, 128).

Delabastita provides a list of universal ways through which linguistic phenomena can be similar, i.e., can share a similar form: identical spelling and pronunciation (homonymy), identical pronunciation but different spelling (homophony), identical spelling but different pronunciation (homography), or slightly different spelling and pronunciation (paronymy).[1] It can be concluded then that it is such a similarity of forms resulting in ambiguity that is the foundation of wordplay. However, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that quite frequently beneath the apparent veneer of unrelatedness of meanings (intrinsic to homonymy, homography, homophony, and paronymy) lies the linguistic material that indeed may be

[1] Dienhart (1998) extends the list and categorizes wordplay as based on polysemes, homonyms, homophones, paraphones, or hahaphones defined as "artificial type of near homophony whereby similarity of sound is produced by a kind of pseudo-morphemic analysis" (Dienhart 1998, 109).

bound conceptually. Hence, wordplay, as based on broadly understood concept of polysemy, may have the potential to point out towards some hidden sense relations, which are no longer perceived synchronically. In other words, wordplay based on ambiguity may also involve polysemous elements, the polysemy of which may only resurface owing to a diachronic analysis of the lexemes involved.

2. Polysemy or homonymy?

For our further analysis, the problem of distinguishing between polysemy and homonymy ought to be addressed. In spite of the claims arguing that such a distinction is impossible, and that "we shall not worry too much over the distinction, especially when studies on these phenomena usually end up despairing of the possibility of any clear-cut frontier" (Su 1994, 33), the common distinction is based on the semantic relatedness. Traditionally, polysemes are viewed as words with several related meanings, whereas homonyms are words with unrelated meanings.[2] Therefore, homonymy has been associated with the area of lexical semantics, and viewed in terms of discontinuities in the semantic content of the word. Kastovsky (1982, 123) put forward three criteria for homonymy distinction, and views words as homonymous when:

a) they have the same form yet belong to different lexical fields,
b) they are members of different word-formation families,
c) they fail the coordination test (consider the example offered by Lipka (1990, 139): **He saw many fair girls and games*).

Similarly, Lipka (1990, 136) offers three criteria for homonymy/polysemy distinction, i.e., etymology (where polysemous words can be traced back to the same roots, e.g., *flower* and *flour*), formal identity (where words are formally, i.e., phonetically or graphically identical, yet semantically unrelated, e.g., the past participle *read* and the adjective *red*), and close semantic relatedness (where in the case of polysemy, relatedness is either a matter of semantic inclusion, or a matter of semantic transfer, such as metaphor or metonymy (Hansen et al. 1985, 202)).

However, the criterion of shared etymology does not prove an adequate method of delineation between the homonymy and polysemy, as

[2] As a consequence of such a distinction, the way the words are presented in a dictionary is different: while the homonymous senses are given separate headings, polysemous senses are listed under a single heading.

there exist lexemes which are viewed as homonymous in spite of their shared etymology, as well as lexemes viewed as polysemous although characterized by distinct etymologies[3] (Łozowski 2000, 78). This is so because human categorization processes allow to create links and associations between certain concepts (such as the one between EAR 'the hearing organ' and EAR 'the head of corn') and not others (such as PUPIL 'a learner' and PUPIL 'the black opening in the middle of the eye') (Łozowski 2000, 80). Thus, it can be concluded that the linking force between two concepts is not the etymology but rather resemblance-based conceptual connections that speakers create.

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[3] The complexity of polysemy as a lexical and cognitive phenomenon led to different taxonomies imposed on it. Alm-Arvius (2007) distinguishes between different types of polysemy, which should be rather treated as some of the underlying processes behind polysemous senses of words, for instance: metaphor (e.g., *He is a wreck*), metonymy (e.g., *I have a few Picassos in my house*), collocational tailoring (e.g., *an old man*, *an old town*, *an old newspaper*), domain shift (e.g., *The children* ***were playing*** *in the garden*; *They* ***played cards***), perspective shift (e.g., *She could* ***smell*** *his aftershave*; *The dog* ***was smelling*** *the meat*; *There was* ***a smell*** *of cooking*), prominence shift (e.g., *You should* ***boil*** *soup for 3 minutes*; *The soup should* ***boil*** *for 3 minutes*), and emotive colouring (e.g., *black*; *African-American*). The problem with such a taxonomy is that the distinctions are quite dubious, as they seem to be confusing the notion of polysemy and vagueness, and consequently cognitive mechanisms with contextual aspects of meaning. For example, following the train of thought behind collocational tailoring, which Alm-Arvius treats as an example of polysemy, one could come to the conclusion that the word "cry" is polysemous in the sense that one can cry with laughter, frustration, despair, etc. Or, *blood bank* would be viewed as an example of the collocation tailoring of *bank* (financial institution), however, their relation could be described in terms of conceptual metaphor. Similarly, Krzeszowski (1998) treats *good* not as a polysemous lexeme in itself, but rather as an item whose polysemy is dependent on "the various meanings of the words with which good co-occurs" (Krzeszowski 1998, 101). For more details, see Kardela (2007). It can be concluded, in line with the Principled Polysemy Approach (Evans and Green 2006) that not all contextually varying uses of a given lexical form are indeed distinct senses.

[3] Łozowski provides examples of such: "(i) words of the same etymology, yet unrelated synchronically: MESS 'disorder' and 'to have meals,' FLOUR vs. FLOWER, METAL vs. METTLE, GAY 'bright' and 'a homosexual,' COLLOCATION 'comparison' and 'light repast,' STILL 'motionless' and 'yet,' (ii) words of distinct etymologies, yet related synchronically: CORN 'grain' < OE CORN vs. CORN on the foot < Lat. CORNU 'horn'."

> In other words, there may always be some element – however peripheral or extended – among the categorial attributes of the alleged homonyms which can facilitate a cognitive association between them in speakers' minds [and] expand the lexical boundaries to the extent of subtly-structured multi-polysems[4] (Łozowski 2000, 85)

As was mentioned before, distinction between homonymy and polysemy is not an easy one, and may not only be a matter of etymology. Once we give up the typically structural distinction between sense and reference and the notion of lexical categories as clearly delimited, and instead adopt a semantic evaluation based on prototypical and peripheral instantiations of words, we may find some motivated affinities between alleged homonyms. That is why, e.g., the lexemes FLOWER/FLOUR (Yule 2010, 120) may be viewed as instances of homophones, as there is relatively low conceptual connection between the two concepts for contemporary speakers. Nevertheless, there must have been some kind of a cognitive association between the ground grain used for bread and a certain type of plants for the two similar forms to emerge,[5] no matter how loose the association is for the contemporary speaker. Similarly, our claim is that wordplay, as based on broadly understood concept of polysemy, may have the potential to point out towards some hidden sense relations, which are no longer perceived synchronically. Consider the following list of examples. The study presented here is illustrated by the selected examples of wordplay encountered on the Internet websites (http://www.punofthe day.com;http://www.funology.com; www.lawrenceball.org/page/jokes.htm/):

1) *Why did the crab went out of a disco? He pulled a **mussel**.*

2) *7 days without a pizza makes one **weak**.*

3) *Genius is 1% in**spiration** and 99% per**spiration**.*

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[4] Łozowski supports this assumption with the example of QUEEN (OE CWEN) 'a royal person' and QUEAN (OE CWENE) 'a harlot' which only became regarded as homophonous in the 17th century when they acquired the same phonological realization, which in consequence led to the disappearance of the word QUEAN (cf. Łozowski 2000, 84), and to QUEEN taking in both semantic contents.

[5] In fact, *flour* was a polysemous word denoting both the grain used for bread and the flowers of plants. The word 'flower' was not introduced English until the XIII century, in order to retain the same sound, yet to distinguish the two meanings (*etymoline*).

4) *Two antennas met on a roof, fell in love and got married. The ceremony wasn't much, but the* ***reception*** *was brilliant!*

5) *Some* ***cardinals*** *got their feathers ruffled when the pope gave away the church's nest egg to the poor.*

6) *A dog gave birth to puppies near the road and was ticketed for* ***littering****.*

7) *What happened to a patient who had his left side of the brain cut out? He's* ***all right*** *now.*

The wordplay involved in *Why did the crab went out of a disco? He pulled a* ***mussel*** incorporates the metaphorically-driven polysemous meanings of "pull" ("to exert force on someone or something in order to cause movement towards oneself," and "to attract someone in order to have sex with them"), as well as the underlying polysemy between *muscle* and *mussel*. While the polysemy of "pull" is quite evident (its underlying motivation appears to be the metaphor SEXUAL ATTRACTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE), the polysemy of "mussel" and "muscle" may not be so explicit. This is because probably we do not perceive any physical similarity between the two physical objects although such a link appears to have been contrived in the past. According to *oed*, the Old English *musscel* ("shellfish, mussel") was borrowed from and has its origin in the Latin form *muscula* or *musculus*,[6] literally meaning "little mouse," owing to the perceived similarity of the size and shape between the two creatures. On the other hand, the unit *muscle* (one of the pieces of flesh inside your body that you use in order to move, and which connects your bones together) entered English through the Middle French *muscle*, which also has its origins in the Latin *musculus* (hence "little mouse"). It is apparently because the shape and movement of some muscles (e.g., biceps) were believed to resemble mice.[7] It appears then that "mussel" and "muscle" are in fact conceptually related as the objects which exhibit some physical

[6] This is also evidenced as being the source behind the Old French *musle*, Modern French *moul*e, Middle Dutch *mosscele*, Dutch *moss*el, Old High German *muscula*, German *Muschel*.

[7] This analogy is also found in Greek where *mys* denotes both "mouse" and "muscle," the Old Church Slavonic *mysi* "mouse," *mysica* "arm;" German *Maus* "mouse" and "muscle" Arabic *adalah* "muscle" and *adal* "field mouse" (*oed*).

similarity to a mouse, notwithstanding the fact that such a perception may be nowadays somewhat elusive for the average speakers of English.

Similarly, wordplay involved in *7 days without pizza makes one weak* can be regarded as based on polysemy rather than homonymy. To elaborate on this issue, we need to trace back the etymology of both "weak" and "week." According to *oed*, the unit "weak" comes from Old Norse *veikr* "weak," cognate with Old English *wīcan* "to yield, give way," this in turn stemming down from Proto-Germanic *waikwaz* "yield," *wikanan* "bend," or to go even deeper historically, from the Proto Indo-European root *weik-* "to bend, turn." When it comes to "week" it can be claimed that is derived from Old English *wice*, from the Old Germanic *wikon* ("a turning" or "succession") from the Proto Indo-European root *weik-* "to bend, wind." It turns out then that both "weak" and "week" seem to be related to the Germanic-derived verbs meaning "move, turn; retreat; yield." However, what remains to be investigated is what "moves" or "turns" behind "week" that enabled this linguistic unit to emerge. Although various explanations could be offered, according to Liberman (2009), one possibility could viewing a week as a cycle related to "shift at work."[8] Another potential etymology behind "week," which also involves the concept of "shift at work," relates the Gothic *wiko* with Latin *vicis* ("change;" "misfortune;" "recompense;" "position;" "duty"). Therefore, this explanation would assume that the concept of "week" was associated with a change of duty, or by extension "shift at work." Regardless of which etymology is taken into account in this study, it seems that both the concepts of WEEK and WEAK are linked etymologically through the domain of GIVING WAY to something else.

In a similar vein, certain rhymes can be viewed as a particular instance of polysemous wordplay. The wordplay of *genius is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration* seems to be based on the juxtaposition of the two concepts evoking the domain of TALENT and HARD WORK, which are

[8] Consider the following explanation offered by Liberman: "Some Germanic cognates of *week* differ from the English noun considerably (compare German *Woche* and Danish *uge*), but they are still variants of the same word and mean the same, except Old Icelandic *vika*, which has two senses: "week" and "nautical mile." Perhaps *vika*, before it acquired the meaning "week," referred to the change of shifts in rowing. In my post on the etymology of *Viking*, I supported the idea that Vikings were called this from taking turns at the oars. Such was hardly the origin of Old Engl. *wicu* and Old High German *wehha ~ wohha*, but some general sense like "shift at work" is not unthinkable," quoted from: http://blog.oup.com/2010/06/from-week-to-weak/#sthash.vX2fG9WR.dpuf

evidenced in the text in the rhyming[9] juxtaposition of the two similar forms, i.e., *inspiration* and *perspiration*. Both of the forms are derived from the same Latin root, hence *inspiration* (*in* "in" + *spirare* "breathe") denoted the act of breathing in, which came to stand as "immediate influence of God or a god" (*etymoonline*). Similarly, *perspiration* (*per* "through" + *spirare* "breathe") was applied to "excretion of invisible moistures through the skin" (*etymonline*). Thus both forms evoke the concepts of BREATHING, however, the former one concerns an external source, whereas the latter one, an internal source.

Similarly, it can be argued that the cognitive connection between the two senses of *reception* ("a large formal party to celebrate an event" and "the quality of signals you receive on the radio") as used in *Two antennas met on a roof, fell in love and got married. The ceremony wasn't much, but the reception was brilliant!* may not be obvious for the contemporary speakers of English. Both senses are etymologically derived from the Latin *receptionem* "a receiving of something."

The abovementioned examples seem to be motivated by the prototype which provides representative structure for the given category. In line with Lakoff (1987, 91), "[t]hese variants are not generated from the central model by general rules; instead, they are extended by convention and must be learned one by one." In other words, it appears that the non-central cases of the radial categories are often not predictable from the central case.

[9] According to Attardo (1994, 161), the bigger semantic distance between the words, the stronger the rhyme effect is. Therefore, the rhyme effect of *Essex – Wessex*, based on two related toponyms, is not as strong as, e.g., the pair *Confess – IRS*. It is in the distance that Attardo sees the humour potential. However, it is worth pointing out that rhyming used to evoke negative feelings: "Some critics, taking all their notions from the practice of Greece and Rome, have reprehended rhyme of every kind as a ridiculous thing" (Beattie 1764, 627).

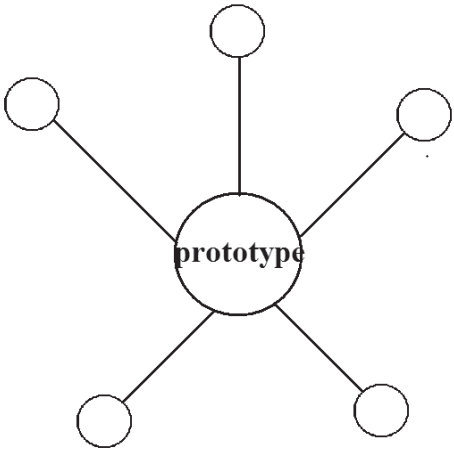

Fig. 4-1. Radial network with the central case (prototype) and subcategories

Lakoff (ibid.) argues that it is the central model that determines the extension possibilities, as well as shapes the relations with the subcategories. It appears that such a model fits the wordplay examples discussed above (*mussel/muscel*, *week/weak*, *inspiration/perspiration*, *reception/reception*), with the annotation that the cognitive relations holding between the prototype and its subcategories became opaque with time and are generally not perceived by contemporary speakers (dotted lines).

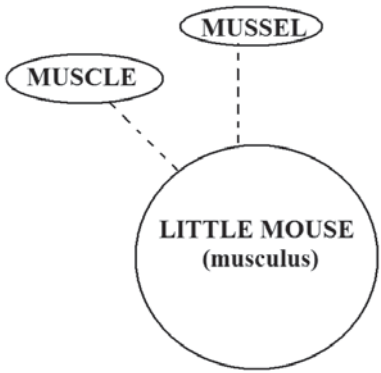

Fig. 4-2. Radial network for LITTLE MOUSE category

However, a different group of examples is posited by the instances 5–6 on the list. They seem to apply to the family resemblance approach towards polysemy as proposed by Taylor (2003), which its roots in the Wittgenstein's idea of family resemblance. In this model, senses of a given category are related to each other through meaning chains (meaning A is related to meaning B by means of some shared similarities, meaning B allows for an extension to meaning C, meaning C is chained to meaning D, and so on).

This can be graphically represented as:

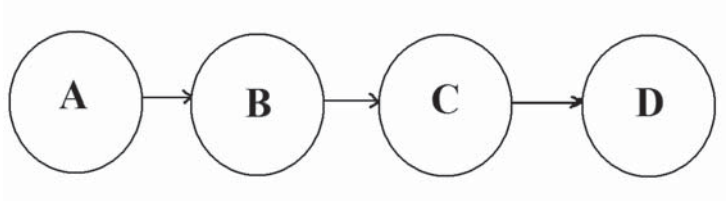

Fig. 4-3. Family resemblance relations between senses A, B, C, D

It can be observed that, in this model, meaning relations hold mostly between adjacent members, i.e., the non-adjacent meanings are related in terms of intervening links.

Consider the example: *Some cardinals got their feathers ruffled when the pope gave away the church's nest egg to the poor*, which makes use of the two senses of *cardinal*, i.e., "a priest of high rank in the Roman Catholic Church" and "a bird of a bright red colour." According to *oed*, the earliest meaning of *cardinal* is "principal" (from Latin *cardinalis* "principal, chief, essential," from *cardo* "that on which something turns or depends," *etymonline*), from which it extended to the church official, then to the colour of his robes, furthermore to the bird of the same colour (Jackendoff 2002), and finally to members of St. Louis baseball team since their emblem represents the cardinal (bird). It seems that the character of the connections is dynamic, however to trace the last element, one need to be aware of the intermediate steps. That is why Jackendoff views the senses of *cardinal* not as examples of homonymy, but rather as "opaquely chained concepts." It can be concluded, however, that even though the cognitive association between the crimson robes of a cardinal and the bird plumage may be perceived, there are still some other hidden sense relations that could be discovered (e.g., between the senses "principal" and "the church official").

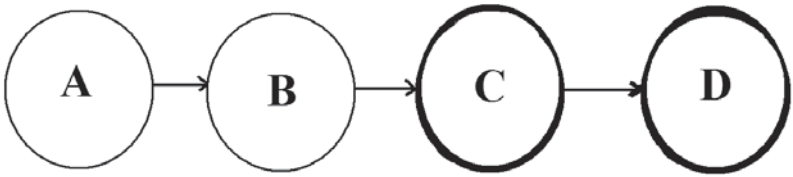

Fig. 4-4. Schematic representation of family resemblance of sense relations for CARDINAL

It can be claimed that, while the sense relations between the colour of the priest robes (sense C) and the bird (sense D) are quite transparent, the links between the "principal" meaning and "the church official" are not activated in the wordplay, thus not evident.

Some hidden sense relations can be also traced for *litter* in *A dog gave birth to puppies near the road and was ticketed for littering.* The early sense of *litter* was "bed" (sense A), and was derived from Latin *lectus*. As old beds were in fact mattresses filled with straw, *litter* started to denote "straw for bedding" (sense B), then "bedding for animals" (sense C), and "all the young of a saw, etc., brought forth at a birth" (sense D), which usually happened on a straw bedding (Libermann 2005, 204). By generalization, all the "disorderly accumulation of straw, hay, bracken, and the like" (sense E) was referred to as *litter*, which was finally extended to denote "trash, rubbish" (sense F). Once again, all the senses of *litter* seem to be "opaquely chained concepts." Even though the senses involved in *A dog gave birth to puppies near the road and was ticketed for littering* appear to exhibit no cognitive association for the contemporary speakers, they may point towards some hidden sense relations, the acknowledgment of which may help to perceive the polysemy involved therein.

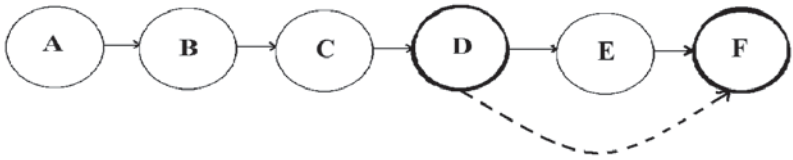

Fig. 4-5. Schematic representation of family resemblance of sense relations for LITTER

It seems then that, while there exist some cognitive associations between the particular adjacent senses (A, B, C, D, E, F), it is probably impossible to make a direct cognitive connection between the sense D and F (the

dotted line). In other words, in accordance with Rosch and Mervis (1975, 575), "each item has at least one (...) element in common with one or more other items, but no, or few, elements are common to all items." Hence while the adjacent senses can be mentally linked, in the case of some further placed senses the polysemy chain gets broken.

Thus, it seems that polysemy may be viewed from a wider, conceptual perspective as the foundation of categorization.[10] Then it should be characterized as "a sense relation which is conditioned by the instability of categorial boundaries" (Łozowski 2000, 27) where "polysemous categories [are] structured by varying degrees of perceived resemblance between their members" (ibid., 122). As words and senses are subject to constant assessment through categorisation, categories are fluid, or flexible, and change over time. Finally, it can be claimed that it is polysemy that captures the dynamic nature of semantic boundaries (ibid., 142). This is because the gradual nature of polysemous meaning extensions allows for a gradual rather than abrupt shifting from one category to another.

Finally, the senses of *right*, referring to the domain of HEALTH and BODY SIDE, in fact stem from the same Old English root, i.e., *riht*, which meant "good, proper, fitting, straight" (oed). The notion of the right hand is so entrenched now that it is solely used to mark the contrast with the left hand, however it originated to denote the "correct" hand. The relationship between handedness and judgment value must be due to the fact that the overwhelming majority (88–92% of the world population) of people were and are right-handed. Hence, it is sheer statistics that function as the gauge of normalcy here.

3. Concluding remarks

We went on to show that cases of wordplay are not only customarily based on homonymy, i.e., well-entrenched semantic structures with no general subsuming schema that would be elaboratively close to them (Tuggy 1993, 2003). Instead, we claim that once we give up the typically structural notion of lexical categories as clearly delimited (falling into the categories of either homonymy or polysemy), and adopt a semantic evaluation based

[10] Since humans make sense of the vaguely-perceived reality through vague concepts, they 'translate' these concepts into vague senses of language. Vagueness then is "a pre-linguistic cognitive ability" (Łozowski 2000, 25), which is the main assumption of the *Radical Vagueness Hypothesis*, especially in the context of concepts characterized by a continuous scale, graded arrangement, intermediate instances, and formation of a holistic system of senses (ibid., 116).

on the prototypical and peripheral instantiations of words, we may find some motivated affinities between the alleged homonyms. That is why we argue that wordplay based on apparent homonymy may have the potential to point towards some hidden sense relations, which are not cognitively salient, yet which can be revealed through some historical analysis. It can be also claimed that wordplay "forces us to re-categorise things, or look at our categories again, thus making the world newer" (Dienhart 1998, 119).

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CHAPTER FIVE

DEGREES OF EXTERNALITY AND DATIVE CASE SELECTION IN DATIVE REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION IN POLISH

ALEKSANDRA GOGŁOZA

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the theory of a fine-grained verbal and nominal functional sequence argued for in Jabłońska (2007). We focus on the notion of *degrees of externality* exemplified with the external argument of a Dative Reflexive Construction (DRC) in Polish. We point to a few minor problems with the analysis of nominal functional sequence in Jabłońska (2007) and propose possible solutions. In our analysis, we dissociate the notion of Case from the nominal functional hierarchy, proposing two parallel but separate levels of description: a) nominal f_{seq} and b) Case. We account for the Dative Case selection in DRC in terms of a slightly modified theory of Case of Caha (2009).

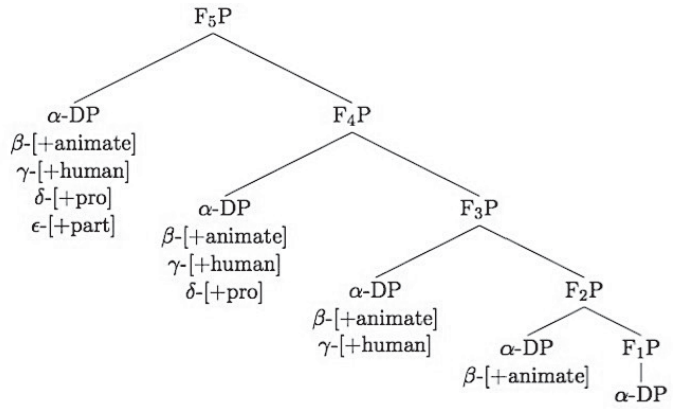
The discussion is organised as follows: Section 2 focuses on the idea of degrees of externality and multiple Subject positions argued for in Jabłońska (2007). Section 3 discusses the Polish Dative Reflexive Construction as an example of an 'out of control' environment. This section also presents an overview of Jabłońska's analysis of DRC. Section 4 turns to the problems of Jabłońska's account. In Section 4.1, we focus on the notion of nominal functional sequence. Section 4.2 focuses on Case selection, introducing the basic ideas of a *peeling theory* of Case (Caha 2009). Section 4.3 discusses the problem of the obligatory Adverbial of Manner in DRC. We propose a novel account of DRC in Section 4.4. Section 5 concludes the discussion.

2. External argument realisation (Jabłońska 2007)

2.1. Degrees of externality

In her analysis, Jabłońska (2007) argues that there exists an elaborate, fine-grained hierarchy of nominal features. The hierarchy is (a part of) nominal functional sequence, f_{seq}, which is organised like binary-branching syntactic trees. Each subsequent projection of the nominal f_{seq} adds one more nominal feature out of the hierarchically ordered features, restricting thus the nominal's semantic interpretation. Consider the structure in (1):[1]

(1)



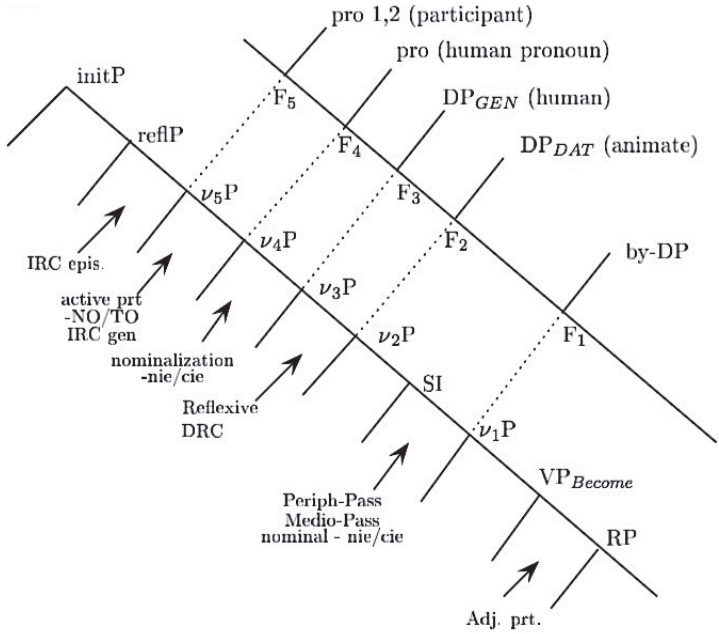
(Jabłońska 2007, 339)

[1] The following abbreviations are used throughout the chapter in example glosses and syntactic trees: ACC – Accusative, active prt – active participle, Adj. prt – Adjectival participle, by-DP – *by*-phrase, DAT – Dative, DRC, Dative Reflexive Construction, F – feminine, GEN – Genitive, M – masculine, N – neuter, NOM – Nominative, nominal – nominalisation, NO/TO – *-no/-to* verbal form of the Polish *-no/-to* construction, INSTR – Instrumental, IRC epist. – epistemic Impersonal Reflexive Construction, IRC gen – generic Impersonal Reflexive Construction, Medio-Pass – Medio-Passive, part – participant, PRT – participle, Periph-Pass – Periphrastic Passive, PR – present, PST – past, REFL – reflexive, 1 – first person, 2 – second person, 3 – third person. For clarity of the presentation, the glosses usually indicate the most relevant features only.

The most semantically unrestricted DP corresponds to the F_1P projection, while the most restricted one – [+animate], [+human], [+pro], [+par(ticipant)] – to F_5P.

The nominal f_{seq} is correlated with the functional sequence of little v, where v_1P, v_2P, v_3P... relate to F_1P, F_2P, F_3P..., respectively. Consider the representation in Table 5-1:

Table 5-1. Verbal f_{seq} (v_1P, v_2P...), constructions associated with a given level of v projection together with a corresponding nominal f_{seq} (F_1, F_2...) and the semantic interpretation of DPs projected at a given level (Jabłońska 2007, 361)



For space reasons, we abstract away from certain constructions listed above. Projections relevant to our analysis are listed in Table 5-2 below (note the additional *Nom(inative)P* projection above the *InitP*).

Table 5-2. Verbal f_{seq} and nominal f_{seq} (simplified)

NomP	***InitP***	***v_5P***	***v_4P***	***v_3P***	***v_2P***	***v_1P***	***VP_{Become}***
			-no/-to	nomin.	DRC	*periph. passive*	
		F_5	***F_4***	***F_3***	***F_2***	***F_1***	
		pro 1/2 (part.)	pro (hum. pron.)	DP_{GEN} (hum.)	DP_{DAT} (anim.)	*by*-DP	

The argument introduced in v_1P is taken by Jabłońska (2007) to be unrestricted. As argued, this is where the *by*-phrase is merged. The v_2P projection introduces a Dative-marked animate argument. v_3P constitutes the Merge position of a Genitive-marked human argument, while v_4P – a human covert pronoun. The v_5P projection, in turn, introduces a 1st or 2nd person-marked covert pronoun. All these projections constitute the f_{seq} of the little *v*, merged above VP_{Become} and below *InitP*.

Arguing for such a fine-grained nominal and verbal f_{seq}, Jabłońska (2007) suggests that we should not think about nominals in terms of a dichotomy of internal vs. external arguments. Instead, Jabłońska (2007) proposes that there exist *degrees of externality*. These hierarchically ordered grades of externality mark the various levels of external argument projections, which determine the syntactic behaviour of the external argument. The higher the projection is, the more prototypical the external argument; the lower the projection, the less subject-like properties the DP is expected to exhibit.[2]

Jabłońska (2007) establishes the degrees of externality, and thus the levels of external arguments' projections, by means of various subjecthood diagnostics, e.g., reflexivisation or control into participial clauses. She shows, for example, that while the external argument of the *-no/-to* construction binds reflexives, as in (2a), the implied external argument of the periphrastic passive fails to do so, as illustrated in (2c). The Agent of nominalisation, on the other hand, marginally allows reflexivisation, as shown in (2b). Consider the three examples in (2):

(2) a. Opowiadano bajki swoim żonom.
tell$_{NO/TO}$ tales$_{ACC}$ REFL wives$_{DAT}$
'People told tales to their wives.'

[2] Subject here being understood as a Nominative (for Nominative-Accusative languages) Case-marked argument bearing the Agent theta role.

b. ? Marka opowiadanie bajek swojej żonie
Marek$_{GEN}$ telling$_{NOM}$ tales$_{GEN}$ REFL wife$_{DAT}$
'Marek's telling tales to his wife'

c. ?(?) Bajki były opowiadane swoim żonom
tales$_{NOM}$ were told REFL wives$_{DAT}$
przez dyrektorów.
by managers
'Tales were told their wives by managers.'

(Jabłońska 2007, 290–91)

The examples suggest, according to Jabłońska (2007), that on the degrees of externality scale, the external argument of nominalisation occurs somewhere between the 'more external' argument of *-no/-to* and the 'less external' argument of a *by*-phrase.

Similarly, while the external argument of *-no/-to* can control participial clauses, as in (3a), the implied argument of the periphrastic passive fails to do so, as in (3c). The argument of nominalisation marginally allows control into participial clauses, as shown in (3b). Consider the three examples in (3):

(3) a. Rzucano kamienie, próbując wymusić odwrót.
throw$_{NO/TO}$ stones$_{ACC}$ try$_{PR.PRT}$ to.enforce withdrawal$_{ACC}$
'People were throwing stones, trying to enforce withdrawal.'

b. ? Marka rzucanie kamieni, próbując wymusić
Marek$_{GEN}$ throw$_{NOM}$ stones$_{GEN}$ try$_{PR.PRT}$ to.enforce
odwrót.
withdrawal$_{ACC}$
'Marek's throwing of stones, trying to enforce withdrawal.'

c. * Kamienie były rzucane, próbując wymusić
stones$_{NOM}$ were thrown trying$_{PR.PRT}$ to.enforce
odwrót.
withdrawal$_{ACC}$
'Stones were thrown, trying to enforce withdrawal.'

(Jabłońska 2007, 291–92)

Thus, the more subjecthood tests a nominal passes, the higher its position on the nominal functional sequence. The higher the DP's projection is, the more 'external,' 'agentive' the function of the nominal.

2.2. Multiple subject positions

Alongside the fine-grained functional sequence argued for both nominals and *v*, Jabłońska (2007) advances a notion of multiple subject positions. The argument is supported by cross-linguistic empirical data.

There are languages that distinguish morphologically between: a) projections that introduce volitional Agents and b) projections introducing non-volitional/accidental/natural Causes. One example comes from St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish), which, similarly to other Salishan languages, requires its transitive verbs to attach an overt transitivising morpheme to the root (Davis and Demirdache 2000). The language has two types of such transitivising morphemes, namely: a) the *n*-type transitiviser or *DIR(ective)*, and b) the *s*-type transitiviser also called *CAU(sative)*. The *DIR* transitiviser is taken to introduce a conscious/mindful participant of the event. The argument introduced by the *CAU* transitiviser, on the other hand, is taken to correspond to a (super)natural, non-volitional Causer.

Jabłońska (2007) assumes that the distribution of the two transitivisers in Salishan translate to animacy marking on external arguments. More precisely, while the *DIR* transitiviser correlates with the [+animate] feature, the *CAU* transitiviser is taken to mark the [–animate] feature. Moreover, due to cross-linguistic evidence of the existence of at least two different types of Subjects, Jabłońska (2007) assumes that the distinction into *DIR* and *CAU* is universal, hence applying also to the Polish language.

Jabłońska (2007) proposes two different projections for *DIR* and *CAU*. *CAU* is taken to correspond to the *InitP* projection. *DIR* is taken to be projected in $v_{DIR}P$. These assumptions raise a question as to the position of the two – is $v_{DIR}P$ introduced below *InitP* or above? There are two possible ways the derivation's sequence can proceed, one where $v_{DIR}P$ is projected under *InitP*, and one where *InitP* is projected lower than the $v_{DIR}P$:

(4) a. [InitP [v_{DIR}P]]
b. [v_{DIR}P [InitP]]

The realisation of the Subjects represented in (4a) predicts an existence of two classes of verbs: a) Class I, which consists of verbs that take both the Agent θ-role, acquired in $v_{DIR}P$, and the Initiator θ-role, acquired in *InitP*,

and b) Class II verbs, which spell out only up to $v_{DIR}P$ and hence restrict their external arguments to animate, volitional Agents. The representation in (4b) makes the same predictions as to Class I verbs. However, (4b) predicts that Class II verbs should restrict their external arguments to inanimate Causers. There are, however, no such verbs (as also noted in Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

It has been observed that verbs can be divided into two classes, depending on the type of Subject they take: a) those that allow both Agent and Initiator Subjects, as in (5a), and b) those that allow only animate, sentient arguments, as in (5b):

(5) a. *break*, *cut*, *open*, *melt*, *entertain*, *surprise*
b. *murder*, *read*, *walk*, *see*, *send*, *smear*

(Jabłońska 2007, 179)

Following these empirical observations, Jabłońska (2007) proposes that the projection hosting [+animate] arguments, $v_{DIR}P$, must be located lower than the [–animate] argument projection, i.e., *InitP*. Hence, it is (4a) that provides the accurate representation of the sequence of Subject projections.

In non-marked transitive sentences, where the external argument does not show any special semantic restrictions, Jabłońska (2007) assumes that the argument is merged directly in the Subject projection domain, *InitP* or $v_{DIR}P$. Such semantically unrestricted external argument does not have to undergo movement through the functional sequence of the *v*. v_{DIR} is taken to be always present in the functional sequence, but not always displaying its effects. Jabłońska (2007) assumes that a DP moves through the v_{DIR} projection only when it is marked with a θ-feature.

3. Dative Reflexive Construction

Cross-linguistic empirical data suggest that there exist certain morphologically marked constructions which do not change the valency of the predicate; yet, they receive a different interpretation than their non-marked equivalent. The difference lies in the interpretation of the Subject. Either: a) the Subject is deprived of the notion of Agency – *accidental type* construction, or b) the Subject is interpreted as a holder of a state – *abilitative type*. Jabłońska (2007) refers to such contexts as 'out of control' (OOC) constructions, analysing OOCs as causatives without the Initiator projection.

Jabłońska (2007) illustrates OOC contexts in Polish with what she calls a *Dative Reflexive Construction (DRC)*. The DRC construction is

exemplified with sentences in (6b) and (7b) below, together with their non-marked Nominative-Subject equivalents given in (6a) and (7a):

(6) a. Marek czytał wczoraj książkę.
Marek$_{3SG.M.NOM}$ read$_{3SG.M}$ yesterday book$_{3SG.F.ACC}$
'Marek was reading a book yesterday.'

b. Markowi dobrze czytało się wczoraj
Marek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ well read$_{3SG.N}$ REFL yesterday
tę książkę.
this book$_{3SG.F.ACC}$
'It was pleasant for Marek yesterday to read this book.'

(7) a. Kasia tak powiedziała.
Kasia$_{3SG.F.NOM}$ so said$_{3SG.F}$
'Kasia said so.'

b. Kasi tak się przypadkowo powiedziało.
Kasia$_{3SG.F.DAT}$ so REFL accidentally said$_{3SG.N}$
'Kasia happened to accidentally say so.'

(modelled on Jabłońska 2007, 326)

Jabłońska (2007) distinguishes between: a) *ability DRCs* and b) *accidental DRCs*. Ability DRCs in Polish, illustrated in (6b), are possible only with imperfective verbs. The Polish accidental DRCs, as in (7b), are possible only with perfective verbs.

The following table sums up the properties of DRCs:

Table 5-3. DRC – summary of properties (Jabłońska 2007, 329)

property	
morphology	reflexive clitic
productivity	considerable
case on subject	Dative
ACC on object	yes
passivisation	no
reading with imperf verbs	ability
reading with perf verbs	accidental
semantic restrictions	only animate DAT

The Subject of DRC is marked with the Dative Case. This results in a lack of Subject-verb agreement, which in Polish is limited to Nominative-marked DPs. Instead, the verb takes the default *3SG.N* form. The object of the DRC takes the Accusative Case; however, passivisation is not allowed. Semantically, the Dative Subject is deprived of agentive meaning. Additionally, the Subject is limited to [+animate] arguments only. The range of constructions that participate in DRC is wide: a) both stative and active verbs occur in the DRC use, b) verbs that denote concrete activities and abstract mental states, c) perfective verbs and imperfective verbs, d) native verbs and borrowings, e) verbs with no reflexive marker and those that require one, f) transitive verbs and intransitive ones (Dziwirek 1994).

Note also that the Dative Reflexive Construction licenses an obligatory reflexive marker *się*. However, even though DRC requires the reflexive, the construction only seemingly resembles other reflexive-marked environments in Polish. Jabłońska (2007) argues that:

> [s]et against the background of other constructions involving the reflexive marker, including Medio-Passive, Middle, and Impersonal Reflexive Construction, OOC [the Dative 'out of control' construction] will turn out to be only one of a range of construction were a particular lexicalization scenario forces the external argument to be frozen in a low position in a verbal functional sequence (Jabłońska 2007, 316)

Essentially, as discussed in more detail in Section 3.2, Jabłońska (2007) proposes that the reflexive clitic of the DRC construction: a) restricts the semantic interpretation of the Dative-marked subject, and b) blocks a θ-marked *InitP*.

3.1. Theoretical accounts of DRC

The Polish Dative Reflexive Construction has received considerable attention in the literature. Some of the comprehensive accounts of DRC, often comparing DRC to other constructions with the reflexive marker in Polish or similar contexts in Slavic or Romance languages, include, among others: a) a Relational Grammar account of Dziwirek (1994), b) Minimalism accounts of: Frąckowiak and Rivero (2011), Malicka-Kleparska (2012a, 2012b), Rivero (2003), Rivero and Shepphard (2003), Rivero et al. (2010), and c) a Nanosyntactic account of Jabłońska (2007). Because of space reasons and little discussion on DRC in Polish within Nanosyntax, as compared to the Minimalist Program, the present chapter focuses exclusively on the analysis of Jabłońska (2007).

3.2. DRC as *Init*-less causative (Jabłońska 2007)

Using various syntactic diagnostics, Jabłońska (2007) demonstrates that DRC exhibits certain subjecthood characteristics. The OOC Dative, for example, can serve as an antecedent of the possessive reflexive *swój*:

(8) Ani dobrze się spało w swoim pokoju.
Ania$_{3SG.F.DAT}$ well REFL slept$_{3SG.N}$ in her room
'It was nice for Ania to sleep in her room.'
(Jabłońska 2007, 332)

The Dative can also serve as a controller into participial clauses:

(9) Wypiwszy lekarstwo, zasnęło mu się
drunk$_{PST.PRT}$ medicine fell.asleep$_{3SG.N}$ him$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ REFL
bez problemu.
without problem
'Having drunk the medicine, he was able to fall asleep with no problems.'
(Jabłońska 2007, 333)

However, the Dative of DRC does not show all properties characteristic of the prototypical Nominative-marked Subject. One of the clear differences is the marking of Case – Dative instead of Nominative. The non-Nominative Case marking, in turn, results in the lack of Subject-verb agreement. Moreover, the Dative-marked Subject differs semantically from the Nominative one. The Dative argument of both ability and accidental DRCs exhibits: a) a lack of volitional agentive interpretation, and b) animacy restriction, illustrated in the examples below:

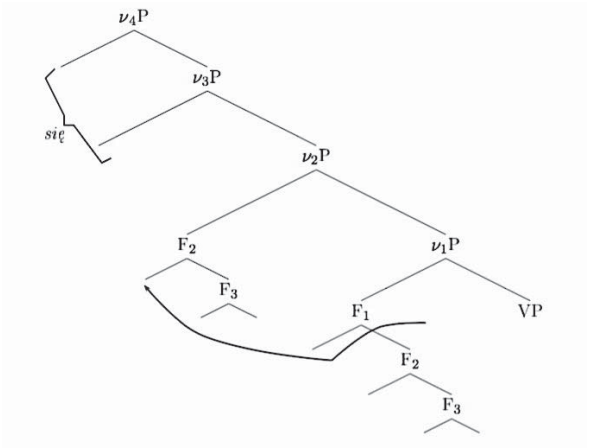
(10) a. Markowi /Psu /*Książce dobrze spało
Marek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ dog$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ book$_{3SG.F.DAT}$ well slept$_{3SG.N}$
się na podłodze.
REFL on floor
'It was nice for Marek / dog / *the book to sleep on the floor.'

b. Nagle spadło się jej /psu
suddenly fell$_{3SG.N}$ REFL her$_{3SG.F.DAT}$ dog$_{3SG.M.DAT}$
/*wózkowi ze schodów.
pram$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ from stairs
'Suddenly she / the dog / *the pram (accidentally) fell from the stairs.'
(Jabłońska 2007, 331)

Jabłońska (2007) explains the differences between the prototypical Nominative Subjects and the Dative Subjects of DRC by means of the notion of *degrees of externality*. She argues that the OCC Dative Subject is 'less external' than the prototypical Nominative Subject. Thus, following the nominal functional hierarchy, one expects the OOC Dative to be projected lower than the Nominative Subject. At the same time, because the Dative-marked Subject of DRC passes more subjecthood diagnostics than the Agent of a *by*-phrase, it should be associated with a projection higher than v_1, where the *by*-phrase is merged. In contradistinction to the OCC Dative, the *by*-phrase fails, for example, to control into participial clauses; it also has an unrestricted semantic interpretation.

With these assumptions in mind, Jabłońska (2007) proposes the following analysis of the Dative Reflexive Construction in Polish:

(11)



Jabłońska (2007, 343)

The Dative-marked external argument enters the derivation in the v_1P position. There, the nominal is inserted together with the shells of the hierarchically ordered features *F1*, *F2*, *F3*, and so on. Note the order of the features, where the position associated with a 'smallest' feature set, *F1*, appears highest. On movement to v_2P, *F2* extracts from within *F1*, with *F1* shell being stranded in v_1P. Thus, the unrestricted interpretation associated with *F1* gets limited to the [+animate] interpretation of *F2*.

The reflexive marker is inserted above v_2. According to Jabłońska (2007), *się* is an element that freezes the interpretation of the Dative at the [+animate] level, i.e., v_2. Also, assuming that v_3 corresponds to the Genitive Case marking, Jabłońska (2007) argues that *się* blocks any further peeling of nominal features on the Dative DP – hence the Dative-marking on the Subject and blocking of the Genitive Case in DRC. The reflexive marker spells out up to the v_4 level. This is because, according to Jabłońska (2007), v_4 is where the causative subevent is located, and DRC being causative, it has to project all the way up to v_4.

The obligatory reflexive marker blocks additionally the θ-feature within the *InitP* projection. The Dative Subject, frozen by *się* in v_2P, cannot check the Initiator θ-feature. "Therefore, it [the Dative DP] is interpreted as deprived of instigational properties, acting as if under the superimposed force of the higher Causative subevent located in v_4P" (Jabłońska 2007, 344). v_2P is the last thematic position in the sequence. Since there are no more thematic positions above, Jabłońska (2007) assumes that no more nominal layers can be peeled, and hence the Case on the nominal remains frozen at Dative. Also, *InitP* lacking any θ-features, Jabłońska (2007) essentially argues that DRC is a causative, but *Init*-less construction.

With regard to the availability of the Accusative Case on the object of DRC, Jabłońska (2007) assumes that a certain level in the verbal functional sequence has to be reached in order for the object to take ACC. Because DRC allows Accusative, v_3, v_4 or any higher projection should be associated with the ACC feature. Nominalisation, associated in Jabłońska (2007) with the v_3 level, does not preserve ACC. It seems thus that v_3 is not sufficient for Accusative to be assigned to the object. This leads Jabłońska (2007) to conclude that the Accusative Case feature needs to be available at the level of v_4 or higher.

Moreover, according to Jabłońska (2007), the Dative-marked external argument cannot check the NOM feature because the reflexive marker *się* 'swallows' the projection associated with the Nominative Case assignment, *NomP*. Jabłońska (2007) argues for a separate Nominative Case projection, pointing that not all Nominative Case-marked arguments are Initiators. Therefore, the *InitP* projection cannot be associated with the Nominative Case feature. By hypothesis, Jabłońska argues that *NomP* is a projection above the *InitP*. In Dative Reflexive Construction, both *NomP* and *InitP* are 'swallowed' by the reflexive clitic *się*.

4. Problems with Jabłońska's (2007) approach and possible solutions

4.1. Nominal functional hierarchy

We believe that a minor change to the nominal functional hierarchy proposed in Jabłońska (2007) could potentially provide both a more explanatory power and simplification. For convenience, we repeat the hierarchy of Jabłońska below:

Table 5-4. Nominal functional hierarchy (Jabłońska 2007)

F_5	F_4	F_3	F_2	F_1
pro 1st, 2nd (participant)	pro (human pronoun)	DP_{GEN} (human)	DP_{DAT} (animate)	*by*-DP

Jabłońska (2007) argues that the proposed hierarchy translates to the nominal hierarchy of Silverstein (1976):

Table 5-5. Silverstein's hierarchy (simplified) (Richards 2008; Silverstein 1976)

1st/2nd (pron.) > 3rd (pron.)	**> animate (3rd) > inanimate (3rd)**
← more likely agents/subjects	more likely patients/objects →
← more likely definite	more likely indefinite →

However, we believe that the following representation of Silverstein's hierarchy is not only more accurate and simpler, but that it also holds a more explanatory power:

Table 5-6. Nominal functional hierarchy (updated)

F_4	F_3	F_2	F_1
1st/2nd pers. pro(noun) [+animate] [+ human]	3rd pers. pro(noun), [+animate] [+ human]	3rd pers. noun, [+animate] [+/- human]	3rd pers. noun no restrictions [+/- animate] [+/- human]

At the F_1 level, we start with an unrestricted 3rd person noun DP, animate or inanimate. The F_2 level corresponds to a 3rd person noun, which is animate, human or non-human. The F_3 level corresponds to a 3rd person

pronoun, restricted to human only. F_1, in turn, corresponds to a human 1st or 2nd person pronoun.

As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, in the light of the very similar feature specification for F_3 and F_4, treating the two categories as distinct seems redundant. Both F_3 and F_4 are (c)overt pronouns specified for [+animate] and [+human] features; thus two separate levels seem unnecessary. However, we believe that the 1st and 2nd person-marked nominals should be kept separate from those valued 3rd person. This assumption follows the literature suggesting that 3rd person marking on DPs is in fact a lack of person specification; rather default valuation. To wit, [3Person] is no person (cf., e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Kayne 2000; Sigurðsson 2001).

Note also that, while Jabłońska (2007) argues that the F_2 projection is associated with [+animate] but [–human] interpretation, we would like to propose that F_2 maps [+animate], [–human] or [+human]; the exclusively [+human] interpretation, according to us, starts at the F_3 level. This reduces the levels of the hierarchy, thus providing a simpler theory. Also, the F_3 level in Jabłońska (2007) corresponds to a noun, and F_4 to a pronoun. We suggest that it is already F_3 that licenses a pronoun; the last full noun DP occurs at F_2. Moreover, Jabłońska (2007) assumes that the F_5 and F_4 levels are associated with pro forms only. We assume that the 1st/2nd person pronoun in F_4 and the 3rd person of F_3 could be realised either as a covert pro or an overt pronoun.

Jabłońska's (2007) assumption that F_3 maps a noun, not a pronoun, comes from nominalisation. According to Jabłońska (2007), nominalisation spells out all the way to v_3, corresponding to F_3. This predicts that the Agent of nominalisation is expected to be exclusively [+human] and mapped onto a noun. Such Agent can be expressed in two ways, a Genitive-marked DP or a *by*-phrase:

(12) a. czytanie książki (przez Marka)
reading$_{NOM}$ of.book$_{GEN}$ by Marka$_{ACC}$
'reading of a book by Marek'

b. (Marka) czytanie książki
Marek$_{GEN}$ reading$_{NOM}$ of.book$_{GEN}$
'Marek's reading of a book'

(Jabłońska 2007, 288)

Both the *by*-phrase and the pre-nominal Genitive-marked DP are interpreted as the Agent of *czytanie* 'reading.'

The examples in (12) occur to be in line with the analysis of nominal functional hierarchy in Table 5-4, proposed in Jabłońska (2007). Nominalisation is taken to project all the way to v_3, which corresponds to a DP_{GEN} and [+human] interpretation. However, our own as well as our informants' grammaticality judgements suggest that (12b) is accepted only marginally. The same construction seems more acceptable once the Genitive-marked Agent noun is replaced with a pronoun:

(13) a. ? Marka ciągłe narzekanie drażni mnie.
Marek$_{GEN}$ constant complaining$_{NOM}$ irritates me$_{ACC}$
'Marek's constant complaining irritates me.'

b. Jego ciągłe narzekanie drażni mnie.
his$_{GEN}$ constant complaining$_{NOM}$ irritates me$_{ACC}$
'His constant complaining irritates me.'

The marginality of (13a) seems thus to suggest that the Agent of nominalisation projected in v_3 is realised by a pronoun, rather than a full noun. The realisation of the Agent by a full noun is possible, although less grammatical, indicating a lower projection of the Agent realising DP. Similarly, the Agent realised by a *by*-phrase was reported by the informants as marginal rather than grammatical, irrespective whether the nominal complementing *przez* 'by' is a full noun or a pronoun:

(14) a. ?? Ciągłe narzekanie przez Marka drażni mnie.
constant complaining$_{NOM}$ by Marek$_{ACC}$ irritates me
'Constant complaining by Marek irritates me.'[3]

[3] An anonymous reviewer suggests that the word order of (14) could play a role in the grammaticality judgements, wondering whether the status of (14) improves once the pronoun is inserted in the complement position of *przez* 'by' in a way analogous to (13b). Such Agent realisation, however, reduces the grammaticality even more, compared to (14). While (14) is marked '??', the sentence below is marked '*':

(i) * Przez Marka /niego ciągłe narzekanie drażni mnie.
by Marek$_{ACC}$ him$_{ACC}$ constant complaining$_{NOM}$ irritates me
'His/Mark's constant complaining irritates me.'

(i), thus, confirms that the realisation of the Agent in *by*-phrase can occur only below the nominalised nominal. This provides further support for the nominal functional sequence where the *by*-phrase is projected in v_1.

b. ?? Ciągłe narzekanie przez niego drażni mnie.
constant complaining$_{NOM}$ by him$_{ACC}$ irritates me
'Constant complaining by him irritates me.'

The further degradation of grammaticality of (14) suggests a realisation of the Agent by an even lower-projected DP.

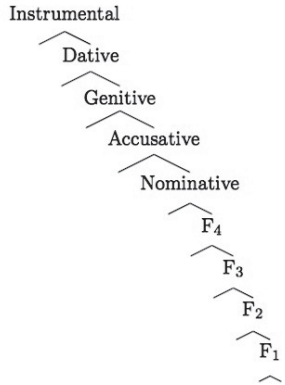
Furthermore, in contradistinction to Jabłońska (2007), we dissociate the notion of Case from the nominal functional hierarchy. We assume two separate, but fully parallel layers: a) nominal features, *F*, and b) Case projections, merged on top of *F*. We will develop the idea in more detail in Section 4.2.1; for now, consider the following general idea of the representation of a DP:

Note also that, seemingly, it is possible to have the word order of: *przez* + pronoun + nominalised noun in Polish. However, the preposition *przez* in such contexts does not function as a *by*-phrase, rather it introduces a rationale/explanation:

(ii) Przez jego narzekanie spóźniliśmy się na pociąg.
because.of his$_{GEN}$ complaining were.late REFL for train
'Because of his complaining we were late for the train.'

Note the difference in the meaning of (i), as compared to (ii), i.e., 'by him' as opposed to 'because of him.' Note also that, in (i), the pronoun following *przez* 'by' occurs with a prefixed *n*-, i.e., *przez* ***n****iego* – a common feature of unstressed pronouns following prepositions in Polish, suggesting the two form a unit. Note also the Acusative case of the Agent-pronoun governed by the preposition *przez.* In contrast, in (ii), *przez* is followed by a non-prefixed pronoun *jego*, which takes the Genitive case, suggesting a different structure, as compared to (i).

(15)



The nominal itself is decomposed into hierarchically ordered nominal features, *F*. On top of the nominal, Case projections are merged, also decomposed into subsequent projections.

4.2. Case realisation

Another problem we would like to address is the incomplete picture of Case selection in the theory proposed in Jabłońska (2007). Genitive and Dative Cases are taken to be nominal features. The v_3P projection corresponds to the Genitive case, while the v_2P projection to the Dative. Jabłońska (2007) also proposes a separate *NominativeP* projection for prototypical subjects. However, with no Accusative or Instrumental mentioned, the overall picture of Case selection in Jabłońska (2007) is not complete. Thus, in an attempt to develop a more inclusive explanation of Case and further define the relations in DRC, we aim to elaborate on the account of Case proposed in Jabłońska. We do so with the use of the Case theory of Caha (2009). We do not take Case features to be part of the nominal f_{seq}, as Jabłońska (2007) argues. Instead, following Caha (2009), we assume that Case, decomposed into hierarchically ordered atomic features, is a projection added on top of the DP.

4.2.1. The nanosyntax of Case (Caha 2009)

In his theory, Caha (2009) assumes that syntactic units are atomic features rather than lexical items. Case, being a unit of syntax, is decomposed in Caha (2009) into a universally ordered functional sequence of features.

This functional sequence, as argued, reflects cross-linguistic empirical data of Case syncretism, i.e., instances where distinct Cases have the same form. Caha (2009) notices that syncretism is not boundless; it is restricted, and it is so cross-linguistically. Consider an example of Case syncretism from Modern Greek:

Table 5-7. Case syncretism in Modern Greek (Caha 2009, 7)

	maxit 'fighter,' pl	**maxit** 'fighter,' sg	**álpha** 'alpha'	***syncretism not attested***
NOM	maxit-es	maxit-i-s	álpha	A
ACC	maxit-es	maxit-i-ø	álpha	B
GEN	maxit-on	maxit-i-ø	álpha	A

As shown above, syncretism targets cases that are adjacent. Thus, for the plural form of *martix* 'fighter,' the Case realisation is the same in the Nominative and Accusative. For the singular form of *matrix* 'fighter,' the syncretic forms occur in the Accusative and Genitive. *Álpha* 'alpha,' on the other hand, is syncretic across all cases, Nominative, Accusative and Genitive. Thus, identical case forms are possible for NOM+ACC, ACC+GEN or NOM+ACC+GEN, but we never find a NOM+GEN syncretism. Nominative and Genitive cannot be syncretic 'across' the Accusative Case.

This, according to Caha (2009), suggests that there exists a *universal sequence of Case features*, which he also refers to as *Universal Case Contiguity*:

(16) **Universal (Case) Contiguity** (Caha 2009, 10)
   a. Non-accidental case syncretism targets contiguous regions in a sequence invariant across languages,
   b. The Case sequence: *nominative – accusative – genitive – dative – instrumental – comitative*.

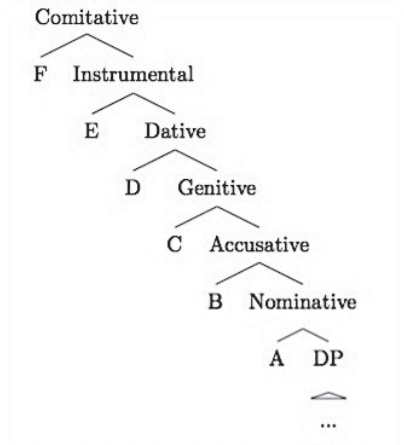
(16) does not mean that all languages morphologically realise all of the Cases in the sequence. Nevertheless, Universal Contiguity of Cases applies also to languages, which seemingly do not have certain (or all) Cases of the Case Contiguity sequence. Thus, Universal Case Contiguity should not be understood as a generalisation of the surface realisation of Case.

Caha (2009) argues that Case features exhibit a fixed internal organisation. This organisation is modelled in the same manner as phrasal

syntax, namely with the use of binary-branching syntactic trees. "[T]here is only one mode of grammatical organization of smaller units into bigger chunks, no matter how small (sub-morphemic features) or big (phrases) the units are: (sub)-morphology and syntax are one" (Caha 2009, 17). This also suggests that each of the features requires a separate terminal in the syntactic tree.

As a result of these assumptions, Caha (2009) proposes the following sub-classification of Cases in syntactic terms:

(17)

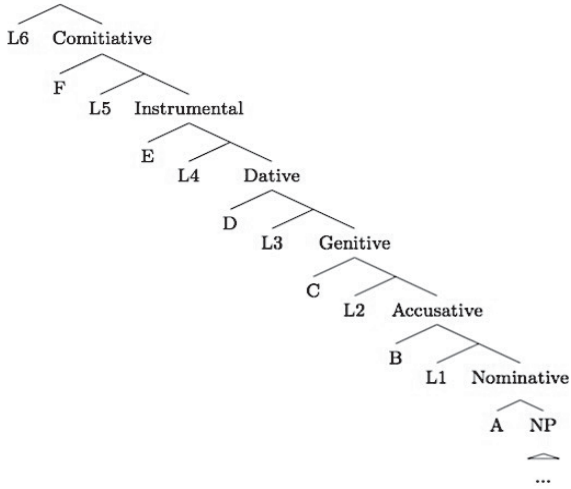


(Caha 2009, 24)

Just like in a syntactic tree, the classification in (17) is binary and sequential. This suggests that both products, Case features and syntactic trees, are a result of the same device, namely, a syntactic operation of Merge. Moreover, (17) assumes that a Nominative-marked DP is a constituent complementing the feature A in the Nominative projection. An Accusative-marked DP is a complement of the feature B, merged on top of the Nominative projection. Thus, Accusative is projected by adding feature B to the feature A of the Nominative projection. This, in essence, is the notion of a *cumulative system of Case Contiguity*. The feature B itself is not Accusative; Accusative Case arises as a result of the feature B merging with the feature A on top of the DP, which is merged within the Nominative projection.

Movement that results in suffixal Case marking can be illustrated as follows:

(18)

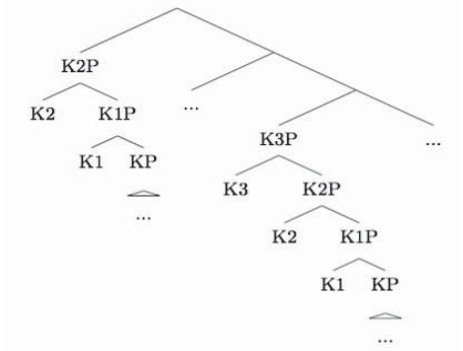


(Caha 2009, 27)

The numbers 1–6 represent the landing sites of moved DPs. Thus, *L1* is the landing site where Nominative Case feature is turned into a Nominative-marked suffix; *L2* is the landing site for the Accusative suffix, *L3* for Genitive, and so on. Languages differ as to the maximum height of noun movement within the projections of Case. Thus, while in English the noun maximally moves to *L2*, the highest possible Case movement for Russian, Czech or Polish is *L5*.

Case selection, *k-selection*, is not understood by Caha (2009) as Case assignment. It is assumed that nominals enter the derivation with a Case projection on top. Such *KPs* (DPs embedded under Case projections) peel their more oblique Case shells on each movement up the tree above the *vP* level, one at a time. By assumption, peeling proceeds in the direction from a more complex, bigger Case, to a smaller one. The less complex Case shell extracts from under the more complex one. Consider the representation below:

(19)



Caha (2009, 138)

Thus, following the representation in (17), a KP with a, for example, Genitive projection on top will peel its Genitive shell by extracting the embedded Accusative Case on a subsequent movement up. This assumes that the peeling of cases occurs from a bigger to a smaller Case shell, with bigger shells peeled behind. Caha (2009) proposes that the peeling of Case features occurs above *vP*, where the morphological realisation of Case is determined. We do not follow this assumption; in the discussion below we show that peeling could potentially occur within *vP*.

We further expand on the ideas of Caha (2009) by following the notion of degrees of externality and the idea of nominal and verbal f_{seq} of Jabłońska (2007). Crucially, we propose that there exists a correspondence between the subsequent *v* levels and respective Case projections. To wit, the Case added on top of a DP when the DP enters the derivation corresponds to the *v* level of the DP's First-Merge. For example, the DP First-Merged in v_1P has the Instrumental projection on top, with all the smaller Cases embedded below. In turn, a DP first-merged in v_2P is embedded under the Dative projection, with Genitive, Accusative and Nominative embedded. Consider the Case projections associated with each *v* level, depending on the First-merge position of the DP, in (20):

(20) a. v_4 – [Acc [Nom [DP]]]
b. v_3 – [Gen [Acc [Nom [DP]]]]
c. v_2 – [Dat [Gen [Acc [Nom [DP]]]]]
d. v_1 – [Inst [Dat [Gen [Acc [Nom [DP]]]]]]

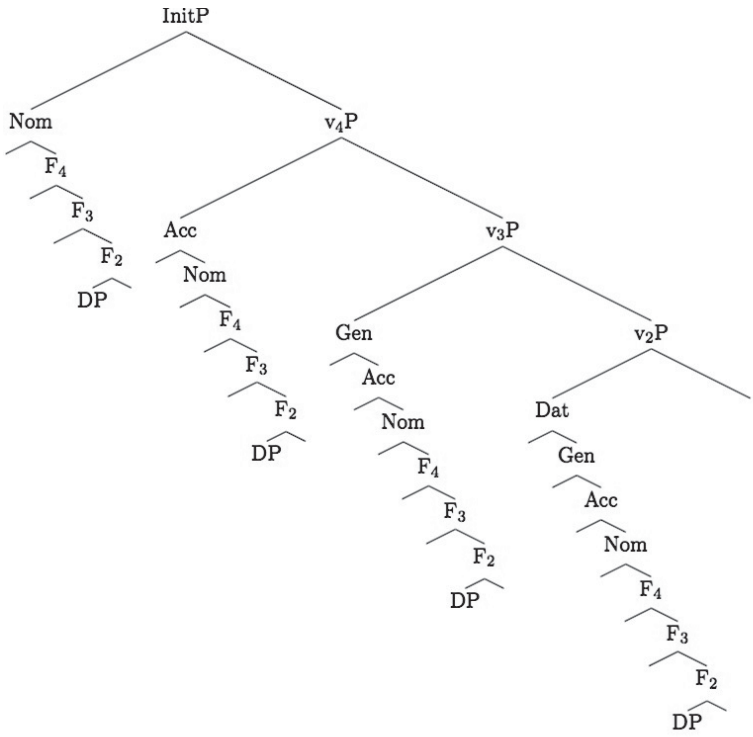
Note that each Case projection added on top of the DP includes all of the smaller Cases of the Case Contiguity embedded (later to be peeled off if movement appears). Thus, for example, a DP First-Merged in v_3P will have a Genitive projection on top of the DP, with Accusative and Nominative Cases, respectively, embedded below the Genitive. On movement to v_4P, the Accusative shell will sub-extract from within the Genitive one. The consecutive movement up, out of the *vP* layer and onto the Subject position level, will extract the Nominative shell out of the Accusative projection.

Moreover, we assume after Jabłońska (2007) that DPs are decomposed into nominal features; hence, the Case shells of the DP are in fact added onto hierarchically ordered *F* features, as already represented in (15). We further propose, expanding on Jabłońska (2007), that the *F* layers, which the DP is decomposed into, correspond to all possible semantic realisations of the DP in a given context. Thus, if the subject of *to bite* can be realised by all: F_2 (e.g., *a dog*), F_3 (e.g., *he*), and F_4 (e.g., *you*), but not by F_1 (e.g., *the table*), the DP will be decomposed to F_4, F_3 and F_2, respectively. This, in turn, will predict the number of the *v* level projections a given verb requires. Because the *F* layer corresponds to the *v* layer, DPs decomposed into F_4, F_3, F_2 will require v_4, v_3, v_2 projections.

Therefore, we further modify Jabłońska's (2007) account by proposing that the *v* level associated with a given construction, e.g., v_2 for DRC, is the external argument's First-Merge position, rather than the position in which the DP is frozen, and thus blocked from further movement. We further assume that the DP will move from its First-Merge position up the tree until it reaches the *vP* position associated with the DP's smallest *F* layer. Because with each Move, the DP peels its Case, on arriving in the last position within the f_{seq} of little *v*, and subsequently the Subject position, the Case of the DP will be selected. Consider the examples in (21) and (22):

(21) Ja /On /Jan /Pies /*Auto biega(m).
I_{1SG} /he_{3SG} /Jan_{3SG} /dog_{3SG} /car_{3SG} $runs_{3SG(1SG)}$
'I run / He / Jan / The dog / *The car runs.'

(22) Jan biega.
Jan_{NOM} $runs_{3SG}$
'Jan runs.'



Because the verb *biegać* 'to run' does not license inanimate external arguments, the DP is merged directly into v_2P, corresponding to F_2, namely, [+animate] arguments. The DP is decomposed into *F* features, which correspond to all possible realisations of the external argument of *biegać*, i.e., F_4, F_3, F_2, respectively. The merge position of the DP indicates the actual semantic interpretation of the DP in the given sentence. In case of (22), the 3rd person DP *Jan* 'Jan' is merged in F_2.

The DP, decomposed into Case and *F* features, moves all the way to v_4P. The v_4 level has to be reached because of the presence of the F_4 nominal shell. On the way, the Dative Case gets peeled down to Accusative. Once the DP moves to *InitP*, Nominative Case is selected. Such understanding of the First-Merge position, Move, and Case provides a more explanatory power, as it accounts for all possible semantic interpretations of the given external argument as well as the DP's Case selection. In the following section, we will expand on the ideas discussed above by applying the analysis in (22) to DRC; before we do so, however,

let us discuss one more problem, which we would like to account for in our analysis of DRC, namely the problem of the obligatory Adverbial of Manner.

4.3. The problem of the obligatory Adverbial of Manner

Jabłońska (2007) mentions that a Manner Adverbial is usually present in DRC. However, she fails to note that with certain DRC contexts the Adverbial is in fact obligatory. Consider the examples of the ability DRC in (23), where dropping of the Adverbial results in ungrammaticality:

(23) a. Tomkowi *(dobrze) czytało się tę książkę.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ nicely read$_{3SG.N}$ REFL this book$_{3SG.F.ACC}$
'It was nice for Tomek to read this book.'

b. Tomkowi *(źle) się spało.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ badly REFL slept$_{3SG.N}$
'Tomek slept badly.'

Note also that the obligatory Adverbial of the ability DRC has to be of the Manner type; added Time or Place Adverbials prove ungrammatical:

(24) a. * Tomkowi czytało się wieczorem.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ read$_{3SG.N}$ REF evening
'Tomek was reading in the evening.'

b. * Tomkowi spało się w domu.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ slept$_{3SG.N}$ REFL in home
'Tomek slept at home.'

It is not, however, true that all DRC contexts require an obligatory Adverbial of Manner. It seems that perfective verbs, which in DRC constitute the accidental type, can occur without an Adverbial. Consider (25):

(25) a. Tomkowi zbiło się szklankę.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ broke$_{3SG.N}$ REFL glass$_{3SG.F.ACC}$
'Tomek accidentally broke the glass.'

b. Tomkowi pobrudziło się koszulę.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ got.dirty$_{3SG.N}$ REFL shirt$_{3SG.F.ACC}$
'Tomek accidentally got his shirt dirty.'

Note, however, that even when the Adverbial is not present, the interpretation of the accidental DRC is that of an non-volitional/accidental event, suggesting the presence of an elided/implied Adverbial of Manner such as, e.g., *przypadkowo* 'accidentally' or *niechcący* 'not volitionally.'

It is not only the semantics of the accidental DRC that suggests that the non-overt Adverbial marks an event occurring by chance; it is also the structural properties of the construction. Manner Adverbials expressing non-volitionality/accidentality are in fact the only type of Adverbials of Manner licensed by the accidental DRC. While Time and Place Adverbials are grammatical with accidental DRC, other than non-volitional/accidental Manner Adverbials prove ungrammatical with accidental DRC. Consider (26):

(26) a. * Tomkowi źle zbiło się szklankę.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ badly broke$_{3SG.N}$ REFL glass$_{3SG.F.ACC}$
'Tomek broke the glass badly.'

b. * Tomkowi miło ugotowało się obiad.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ nicely cooked$_{3SG.N}$ REFL dinner$_{3SG.N.ACC}$
'It was nice for Tomek to cook the dinner.'

What is more, it seems that, while the accidental type DRC can only license a Manner Adverbial expressing non-volitionality, the ability type of DRC, in fact, blocks such Adverbials. Only Manner Adverbials mapping the affectedness of the Dative-marked nominal are allowed with ability DRC; Adverbials marking accidentality prove ungrammatical. Consider the sentences in (27):

(27) a. * Tomkowi przypdadkowo czytało się wieczorem.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ accidentally read$_{3SG.N}$ REFL evening
'Tomek was accidentally reading in the evening.'

b. * Tomkowi niechcący spało się w domu.
Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$ non-volitionally slept$_{3SG.N}$ REFL in home
'Tomek not willingly slept at home.'

Therefore, the sentences in (23)–(27) seem to suggest that the two different types of Manner Adverbials are in fact in complementary distribution. While the affectedness-mapping Manner Adverbials are licensed by ability DRC, the accidental type of Manner Adverbial is licensed by accidental DRC. This shows that accidental DRCs differ from

ability DRCs not only in their semantics and the aspectual properties of their verbs, but also in their structure. As we will show in more detail in the section to follow, this contrast in Adverbial licensing is also reflected in the types of subjects the two constructions license. The nature of the subject, in turn, determines whether the Adverbial can be realised as: a) a covert or overt *AdvP* or b) an obligatorily overt *AdvP*.

The observations as to the differences in Adverbial licensing in the ability type of DRC and the accidental DRC expand on the analysis of Jabłońska (2007). Jabłońska limits the account of this semantic difference to the contrast in the aspect of the verbs which the two types of DRC license. However, as shown in this section, the two types of DRC exhibit also Adverbial licensing differences. We would like to propose that, for both the accidental DRC and ability DRC, the Manner Adverbial is obligatory. The ability DRC requires a Manner Adverbial that defines how the Dative-marked argument is affected, while the accidental DRC requires and Adverbial expressing non-volitionality. In contradistinction to the ability DRC, the Adverbial of the accidental DRC can be expressed covertly; in fact, it is used overtly only for emphasis. As discussed in more detail in the section to follow, such covert realisation of the Adverbial is possible because of the different nature of the subject domain of these two types of DRCs. While the subject domain of the ability DRC consists only of *DirP*, the subject of the accidental DRC decomposes into *DirP* and I*nitP*.

4.4. Dative Reflexive Construction – a novel solution

As discussed in Section 3, Jabłońska (2007) argues that, because of the insertion of the reflexive marker at the v_3 level, the Dative-marked DP gets frozen in v_2, and thus further peeling of its nominal features is blocked. Hence, DRC is not able to take the Genitive Case and it is limited to animate interpretation. This assumption is in line with Jabłońska's (2007) hierarchy of nominal features, represented in Table 5-4, where the v_2 level is associated with [+human] and [+Genitive] features, and the v_3 level with [+pro]. However, because in Table 5-6 we assume that the projections above *v2* correspond to either covert pro or overt pronouns, not necessarily only to pro forms, our account of DRC calls for modifications.

The freezing of the DP in v_2 predicts that the external argument of the DRC should be limited to features corresponding to the F_2 level of the nominal functional hierarchy. Following the nominal hierarchy in Table 5-6, this would not allow for external arguments of more restricted

interpretation, i.e., 1st, 2nd or 3rd person pronouns. However, as illustrated in (28), DRC allows all realisations of the external argument above v_2:

(28) a. v_2 – Tomkowi /Psu dobrze się spało.
Tomek$_{3SG.DAT}$ /dog$_{3SG.DAT}$ well REFL slept$_{3SG.N}$
'It felt good for Tomek/the dog to sleep today.'

b. v_3 – Dobrze mu się dziś spało.
well him$_{3SG.DAT}$ REFL today slept$_{3SG.N}$
'It felt good to him to sleep today.'

c. v_4 – Dobrze mi się dziś spało.
well me$_{1SG.DAT}$ REFL today slept$_{3SG.N}$
'It felt good to me to sleep today.'

Note also that the nominal functional hierarchy of Jabłońska (2007), in Table 5-4, associates the v_3 level with exclusively [+human] interpretation. This predicts that DRC should be blocked with verbs that take exclusively [+human] external arguments, only [+animate] arguments are expected. The reflexive marker *się*, according to Jabłońska, is added above the Dative-marked DP, i.e., at v_3. This blocks any further movement of the Dative DP, and thus any further peeling of the nominal features. Hence, no exclusively [+human] external arguments are predicted with DRC. The empirical data shows, however, that this prediction is not borne out:

(29) a. Dobrze mi /*psu się pisało
well me$_{1SG.DAT}$ /dog$_{DAT}$ REFL wrote$_{3SG.N}$
tę pracę.
this work$_{3SG.ACC}$
'It felt good to me/the dog to write this essay.'

b. Kasi /*psu źle się dziś czytało.
Kasia$_{3SG.DAT}$ /dog$_{DAT}$ badly REFL today read
'It felt bad for Kasia/the dog to read today.'

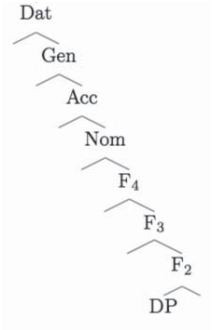
Thus, we would like to propose that the reflexive marker does not block the peeling of nominal features. Rather, REFL allows for DP movement; what it blocks is the peeling of Cases.

As discussed at the end of the previous section, we assume that an external argument enters the derivation within the *v* projection corresponding to its least restricted semantic interpretation. The DP is

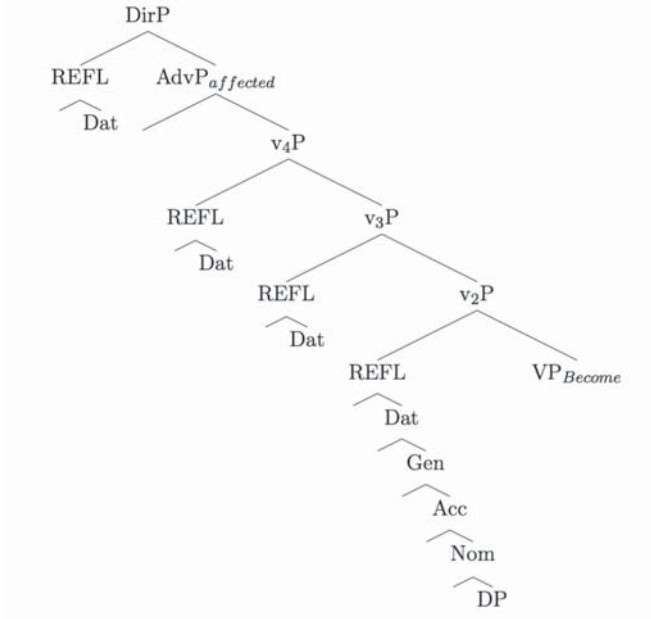
merged with a Case projection correlating with the level of the DP's First-Merge. If the least restricted *F* level is F_3, the DP will enter the derivation in v_3P, with the Genitive Case projection on top. The DP then moves up the tree, through consecutive *vP* positions, until it reaches the position corresponding to its most restricted semantic interpretation. On each Move, the DP peels one of its Case shells. The semantically most restricted realisation of the DP corresponds to the position where the DP stops its movement within the verbal f_{seq}. Should the verb project further up to the subject domain, the DP will move out of the *vP* level, peeling its Case shells even further.

With these assumptions in mind, we propose the following, modified analysis of the Dative-marked external argument in DRC in Polish. We begin with the ability type of DRC:[4]

[4] Note that the tree representations in (30) and (32) are somewhat simplified, abstracting away from (18). Also, for clarity, the representations do not decompose the DP into *F* projections. The *F* features decomposition in (30) and (32) is illustrated below:



(30)



Because no inanimate external argument with DRC is possible, the external argument's First-Merge position is v_2P. The DP moves all the way up to v_4P, the level which correlates with the most limited semantic interpretation of the DRC's external argument. Note, however, that no peeling of Case features is allowed, as, by assumption, it is blocked by the reflexive *się* under which the external argument of DRC is embedded.

Recall that on comparison with other reflexive constructions in Polish, including Medio-Passive, Middle and Impersonal Reflexive, Jabłońska (2007, 316) notices that DRC is the only construction where the reflexive marker freezes the Dative-marked argument in a low position. Jabłońska proposes that the reflexive *się* is merged above the Dative-marked DP, more precisely v_3P, where *się* blocks the movement of the DP. We have seen in this section, however, that the data seems to suggest a possible further movement of the DP.

Thus, we follow Jabłońska in presuming the blocking effect of the reflexive marker; however, we assume that the reflexive marker is merged in v_2P, not in v_3P. This forces the external argument to First-Merge by embedding under the reflexive marker, but allows the DP to move further

up the tree. As a result of this embedding, however, the reflexive marker blocks the Case peeling on the DP.

A question arises as to why the reflexive marker *się* blocks the peeling of Case. We would like to suggest that the peeling is blocked in order to stop the Dative-marked DP from becoming a fully fledged, Nominative-marked Agentive subject, which would result in a different meaning and structure of the sentence. Should the peeling be allowed, the Dative-DP would: a) move up to v_4, peeling to Accusative, b) subsequently move to the subject domain, peeling further to Nominative, c) enter Agree with the verb. With REFL blocking the peeling of Case, the Dative-marked DP is allowed to move to the subject domain, but disallowed from taking some of the characteristics of the prototypical subject, most specifically functions associated with the subject's Nominative marking such as, e.g., Agree with the verb.

Note that we can observe a similar function of the reflexive clitic in the Polish Medio-Passive construction with Dative, where the internal argument takes the agreeing Nominative Case:

(31) Szklanka zbiła się Tomkowi.
glass$_{3SG.F.NOM}$ broke$_{3SG.F.N}$ REFL Tomek$_{3SG.M.DAT}$
'The glass broke on Tomek.'

In such contexts, in order to allow the internal argument to occur in the subject function, take the Nominative Case and thus enter Agree with the verb, the peeling of Case on the actual Initiator of the event has to be blocked. Should the Dative be allowed to peel to Nominative, the Dative-DP would occur as the Agent of the event, changing the character of the construction from Medio-Passive to active.

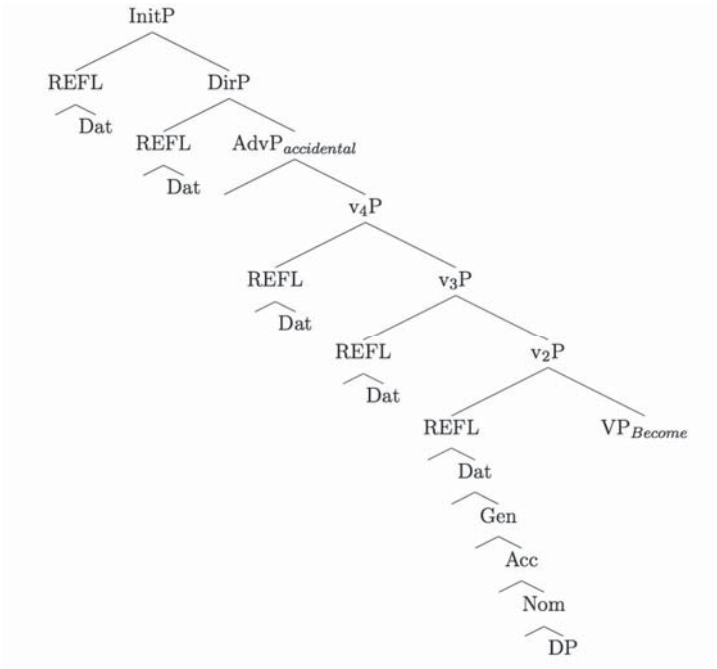
Turning back to the analysis, once the external argument of DRC is merged, it moves up the tree all the way until its most semantically restricted valuation is determined, i.e., to v_4. On top of the last level of *v*, the obligatory Adverbial projection is merged. Once the *AdvP* is merged, the manner in which the c-commanded Dative DP is affected is determined. Possible Adverbials of the ability DRC include: *źle* 'badly,' *dobrze* 'well,' *miło/przyjemnie* 'nicely,' *łatwo* 'easily,' *trudno* 'with difficulties,' and others. The Adverbial is merged above *vP*, which allows the *AdvP* to c-command the Dative-marked DP and thus take to scope over it.

Jabłońska (2007) argues that there are no further projections above the *vP* level (in our case above *AdvP*). However, this does not explain why the Dative-marked argument of the ability DRC is interpreted as a participant

that brings the event about. Because the external argument of the ability type of DRC is the Initiator of the event, we propose a further projection, namely *DirP*. Once the Adverbial is merged and the affectedness of the Dative-marked argument is defined, the external argument of the ability DRC moves to *DirP*.

The subject domain of the ability DRC differs significantly from the subject projections of the accidental DRC. In the accidental DRC, the event expressed happens non-volitionally/accidentally. The Dative-marked argument does bring the event about; however, the external argument is an accidental Causer of the event. Therefore, we would like to propose that, in the case of the accidental DRC, the subject domain projects both *DirP* and *InitP*. Consider the representation of the accidental DRC in (32):

(32)



Because the Dative-marked argument of the accidental DRC is deprived of the [+volitional] feature, we propose that the accidental DRC projects further to *InitP* where the [+sentient] but [–volitional] external argument moves in order to peel off its [+volitional] feature associated with *DirP*. Note that this proposal makes another change to Jabłońska

(2007). Recall that Jabłońska (2007) analyses the $v_{DIR}P$ (*DirP* in our analysis) projection as [+animate] and the *InitP* projection, as [–animate]. We believe that: a) the specification of [+/–animate] feature, both within the *vP*'s f_{seq} and the Subject domain, above *vP*, is redundant, b) the relevant feature at the Subject projection level is [+/–volitionality]. Hence, we take the *DirP* projection to be associated with the [+volitional] feature and *InitP* with [–volitional].

The difference in the structure of the Subject domain of the two types of DRC accounts for the difference in the interpretation of the external argument. While the external argument of the ability DRC is [+volitional], the external argument of the accidental DRC is [–volitional]. Moreover, the two different structures account for the realisation of the obligatory Adverbials of the DRCs. Recall that in case of the ability DRC the Manner Adverbial, which determines how the Dative-marked argument is affected by the event, is obligatory. The Manner Adverbial of the accidental DRC, which maps non-volitionality/accidentality of the event, can be realised covertly. This covert realisation of the Adverbial of accidental DRC is allowed by the [–volitional] marking on the subject. The Adverbial is used overtly only when needed for emphasis.

5. Conclusions

This chapter has focused on Jabłońska's (2007) analysis of degrees of externality and the derivation of Datives in DRC in Polish. We have proposed a minor modification to the nominal functional hierarchy argued for by Jabłońska (2007), thus reducing the levels of projections and providing a simpler account. Moreover, we have dissociated the nominal functional hierarchy from the notion of Case, proposing two separate, but fully parallel levels of analysis: a) verbal/nominal f_{seq} and c) Case, arguing thus against Jabłońska (2007). We have developed an account of Case selection in DRC assuming the Peeling Theory of Case of Caha (2009).

In contradistinction to Jabłońska (2007), we proposed that the reflexive marker does not block the movement of the external argument of DRC. Instead, REFL blocks the peeling of Cases of the DP. On dissociation of the nominal functional hierarchy from Case, we assumed, following Caha (2009), that the Case projections are added on top of the DP, which is decomposed into subsequent *F* features. In the case of both ability and accidental DRC, the peeling of Cases of the DP is blocked, because the DP enters the derivation embedded under REFL. Such embedding results in the blocking of: a) the Dative-DP's Case peeling, b) the Dative-DP becoming a prototypical Nominative-marked subject.

Moreover, while Jabłońska (2007) takes DRC to be *InitP*-less, we have proposed an account with Subject projections merged above the *v* level. Because the Dative-marked DP carries the meaning of the Initiator of the event, we argued that the DP has to move to the Subject domain level. We argued that, while the ability DRC projects up to *DirP*, the accidental DRC projects to *InitP*. This accounts for the difference in meaning noted in the two types of the DRC. While the external argument of the ability DRC is interpreted as [+volitional], the external argument of the accidental DRC is analysed as [–volitional].

We have also accounted for the obligatory Adverbial of Manner suggesting that it is an element defining: a) the affectedness of the Dative DP of the ability DRC or b) the non-volitionality/accidentality of the event of the accidental DRC. This, combined with the account of the difference in Subject projections of the two types of DRCs, has provided more insight into the contrast between the ability DRC and accidental DRC.

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CHAPTER SIX

ON LEXICAL CONVERGENCE BETWEEN MIDDLE ENGLISH, MIDDLE FRENCH AND ANGLO-NORMAN PSALTERS[1]

KINGA LIS

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to continue the line of investigation of lexical convergences between Middle English, Middle French and Anglo-Norman Psalters commenced in Lis (*in review*). In particular, the study centres on numerous analogous noun choices in the first fifty Psalms between the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter (henceforth, MEGPP), Middle French Glossed Psalter (MFGP) and the Montebourg/Oxford Psalter (MP). As evidenced in the research conducted in Lis (*in review*), with respect to nominal choices there is a close correlation between the French and Anglo-Norman Psalters. Similarly, the numerical data point to a connection between the Middle English and Middle French Psalters and a weaker one between Middle English and Anglo-Norman renditions. The aim of the present study is to establish whether the convergences of the type observed there may actually be taken as definitely indicative of lexical influence between the texts or simply represent the expected choices which happen to converge between the translations in question, as is, for instance, the case with the word 'angel' *ange* (Middle French) – *angle* (Anglo-Norman) – *aunġel* (Middle English) rendering the Latin noun *angelus*, *angeli* 'angel.'

The premise on which the research is based, i.e., the information about all the translations and the postulated relationship between them, is

[1] I would like to thank Professor Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik for all her comments on this chapter.

presented in section 2 below, which also summarises the findings from Lis (*in review*). The methodological steps taken to accomplish the objective stated above are described in section 3, which is immediately followed by a presentation and discussion of the data (section 4). The results obtained for MEGPP are juxtaposed with the analogous data for another Middle English Psalter rendition – Richard Rolle's Psalter (RRP)[2] – for which no influence on the part of MFGP can be postulated. The conclusions which can be drawn from the data analysed in this chapter are discussed in section 5.

2. The rationale behind the research

All Psalter translations analysed in the study are renditions from Latin carried out between the 12th and 14th centuries. Chronologically, the oldest of the three is the Anglo-Norman MP (ca. 1100–1115) but not much is known about its provenance. It was prepared, as hypothesised in Hunt (2008, 372), "possibly at Canterbury Cathedral Priory, shortly before 1150 and transcribed in Bodleian, ms. Douce 320, without the Latin source text."[3] It is a text of immense extratextual importance. It serves as a bridge and accommodates "the vibrant culture of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter to the new sociolinguistic dynamics of post-Conquest life" (Rector 2009, 206) in England, where, in the wake of the conquest, a new linguistic medium was necessary for Scripture translation, despite English boasting "one of the longest continuous traditions of biblical translation of any of the modern Western languages" (Marsden 2011, 272). The high status of Anglo-Norman, which, on the one hand, contributed to downgrading the position of English, allowed it, on the other hand, to step in and act as a vehicle for Bible renditions.[4] It was, however, the rich history of such translations into English which set the precedence for Anglo-Norman and licensed its use for such purposes, since no Bible renditions into French were available at that time (Rector 2009 and 2010). Once used as vehicle for biblical

[2] This is an early 14th-century word-for-word rendition of the Latin Psalter executed in the north of England, characterised by a close reliance on the Latin source text, also with respect to syntax. For information on the text and references, see Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013) and Lis (*in prep*.).

[3] For the purposes of the present study, an edition of the text of MP contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 230 prepared by Michel (1876) was employed.

[4] For a discussion of the sociolinguistic factors which shape translations, see Charzyńska-Wójcik (*in press*).

translation, Anglo-Norman set the pattern for continental varieties of French to follow. Interestingly, MP, being the first translation of any part of the Bible into a variety of French, was employed in French biblical renditions until the 16th century (Berger 1884). Therefore, at least a trace influence of MP on the other French rendition analysed in this study, MFGP, should be detectable. As demonstrated in Lis (*in review*), this indeed appears to be the case.

However, although the use of French as a medium for biblical translations gained more and more currency, resulting in numerous renditions being produced throughout the later Middle Ages and "the first French translation of the complete Bible, the *Bible du treizième siècle*, appear[ing] no later than 1280" (St-Jacques 1989, 136),[5] no efforts in this direction during the 13th and 14th centuries were undertaken in English (Marsden 2011, 283) due to its unsuitability for this purpose. A change in this respect came only in the 14th century, which is precisely the time when the Middle English rendition analysed in this study came into existence.[6] MEGPP is an early 14th-century translation from Latin, preserved in four extant manuscripts,[7] where both the Latin and English versions are given, characterised by the use of glosses introduced into the body of the translation where they frequently replace the original readings of the Psalter. This unorthodox practice in an *English* Psalter in a medieval reality where all scriptural renditions were approached with the utmost

[5] For an extensive survey of prose biblical translations into the French language, see Berger (1884).

[6] The linguistic and extralinguistic context in which this rendition and other contemporary prose Psalter translations were conducted and which shaped them is discussed at some length in Lis (2014) and (*in prep*.).

[7] The text of this Psalter used for the purposes of this study comes originally from Bülbring's (1891) edition presented in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013). It is important to mention at this point that since Bülbring prepared his edition at a time when only two manuscript copies of the Psalter were known, the present research is by necessity also limited to an analysis of the two manuscripts, i.e., the London (British Library, MS Additional 17376) and the Dublin (Trinity College, MS 69) copies. This is not to say that an edition of the remaining two manuscripts copies (Princeton, MS Scheide 143 and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys Library 2498) of the text is not available. In 2012 Black and St-Jacques published an edition based primary on the Cambridge copy of the Psalter, providing variants from the remaining three manuscripts. Their edition, however, does not agree with the readings presented in Bülbring (1891) and thus I have decided to follow the latter, as a result of which and thanks to Bülbring's (1891) attention to detail, it was possible to analyse the London and Dublin manuscripts separately.

care to preserve not only the message of the sacred text, but also – to the extent that it was possible – its shape even as far as word-order is concerned (Hargreaves 1965, 123), can be accounted for by the presence of a closely related French translation, i.e., MFGP.[8] Both MEGPP and MFGP are copies of earlier archetypal manuscripts derived at some point from Latin, with the French manuscript analysed here (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 6260)[9] probably being further away from the Latin archetype than MEGPP (Black & St-Jacques 2012, lv, part I). The opinions with respect to the extent of relatedness between the texts differ (Deanesly 1920, Reuter 1938 and St-Jacques 1989), but there is no doubt as to the fact that the English translator had a copy of MFGP at his disposal, which is also evident based on the results obtained in Lis (*in review*).

Taking into account what has already been said about the tangled web of interconnections between English and French Psalter renditions, and the fact that MP survived as *the* translation of the Psalter into French up until the 16th century, it would appear that the influence of this text, via the Middle French intermediary, should also be traceable in MEGPP, especially that Rector (2010, 25) even states that MP "served as the base text for the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter*."[10]

As mentioned in the Introduction, the findings in Lis (*in review*) indicate a high percentage of lexical convergence between the French texts with respect to nominal choices, but the issue is not straightforward. In the study in question, 1969 Latin nouns with their Middle French and Anglo-Norman renderings were analysed from the perspective of the analogous word choices. In 1512 instances (77%) of these, vs. 457 (23%), the texts exhibited convergence. Such a close correlation with respect to nominal choices appears indeed to corroborate the postulated reliance of French renditions on MP. And yet, as established in Lis (*in review*), "only 259 (17% of 1512 cases) of these convergent pairs diverge from the Latin lemmata they render in the sense that they are not items derived from the nouns employed in the Latin Psalter," which poses questions as to the actual influence of MP on MFGP.

[8] It might be of interest to note that MP, whose manuscript, as mentioned, does not contain the Latin source text, is, therefore, also atypical in its *independence* from Latin.

[9] The digitised version of the manuscript is available at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9060447r.r=6260+psautier.langEN.

[10] Interestingly, Rector (2010, 25) does so on the authority of St-Jacques (1989), in whose paper I cannot find any statement to this effect.

With respect to MEGPP, it has been established that the London manuscript of MEGPP (MEGPP L) uses a Romance-derived item formally similar to the noun employed in MFGP in 499 cases (25% of the 1969 analysed cases), 391 of which are also shared by MP. The remaining 108 instances of convergence are exhibited only by MEGPP L and MFGP. MP and MEGPP L, on the other hand, share only 13 cases of convergence to the exclusion of MFGP, giving a total of 404 cases (21%) where the texts agree.

As far as the Dublin manuscript of MEGPP (MEGPP D) is concerned, the situation is similar. MFGP and MEGPP D agree in 458 (23%) of the analysed contexts, with 106 of these not being shared by MP. The remaining 352 cases are convergent between the three renditions. There are only 9 nouns in the data analysed for MEGPP D which are formally similar to those in MP but do not agree with those employed in MFGP. In total, 361 (18%) nouns exhibit convergence between MP and MEGPP D.

As mentioned in the Introduction, a control group was introduced in Lis (*in review*) in order to establish the percentage of convergence between the texts which are unrelated. The results obtained for this group are as follows: nominal choices in RRP converge in 333 cases with those in both MP and MFGP. Additionally, there are 75 nouns which agree between MFGP and RRP but are not attested in the relevant contexts in MP. In total, there are thus 408 nominal choices (21% of 1969) shared between MFGP and RRP and 349 (18% of 1969) common for MP and RRP since, apart from the 333 cases convergent between the three renditions, there are another 16 instances in which RRP agrees with MP, this time, however, to the exclusion of MFGP.

The data are presented in more detail in Table 6-1 below, where row (1) gives the number of nouns convergent between the three translations. Rows (2) and (3) provide, respectively, the information concerning the convergences shared exclusively between RRP and MFGP and the total number of convergences between the two texts, be they also shared with MP or not. Rows (4) and (5) provide analogous data with reference to the convergences between RRP and MP.

The entirety of the data discussed in Lis (*in review*) forms a picture which appears to indicate some interdependencies between the texts. Firstly, as mentioned above, there seems to be a close correlation between the two French Psalters. Secondly, about a quarter of the nominal choices is also shared between MEGPP and MFGP. Given the close convergence in this respect between MFGP and MP, it is not surprising that there are numerous analogous nominal choices between MEGPP and MP as well.

However, convergent choices between MEGPP and MP shared to the exclusion of MFGP are virtually unattested.

One question already springs to mind at this point. Are these convergences indicative of actual interdependencies if the data analysed for the control group, i.e., RRP, exhibit such a close analogy to those for MEGPP, especially since RRP is a northern translation, which makes sparser use of Romance borrowings than any of the other contemporary prose Psalter renditions (Lis *in prep*.)?

Table 6-1. Nouns convergent between MEGPP/RRP and MFGP and MP[11]

	Type of convergence		MEGPP L	MEGPP D	RRP
1.	Nouns convergent with the two French Psalters		391 (26%) vs. 1121 (74%)	352 (23%) vs. 1160 (77%)	333 (22%) vs. 1179 (78%)
2.	Nouns convergent with MFGP	nouns convergent only with this text	108 (24%) vs. 349 (76%)	106 (23%) vs. 351 (77%)	75 (16%) vs. 382 (84%)
3.		all nouns convergent with the text	499 (25%) vs. 1470 (75%)	458 (23%) vs. 1511 (77%)	408 (21%) vs. 1561 (79%)
4.	Nouns convergent with MP	nouns convergent only with this text	13 (3%) vs. 444 (97%)	9 (2%) vs. 448 (98%)	16 (4%) vs. 441 (96%)
5.		all nouns convergent with the text	404 (21%) vs. 1565 (79%)	361 (18%) vs. 1608 (82%)	349 (18%) vs. 1620 (82%)

[11] The data presented in the table and discussed above differ slightly with respect to Lis (*in review*) as two inadvertent mistakes have been amended. Firstly, the number of nouns convergent between MEGPP L and MFGP but not with MP has been reduced by one, as one of the nouns has been counted twice in Lis (*in review*): once in the category mentioned above and once, correctly, as convergent with MP only. The other mistake concerns RRP, where one of the nouns counted initially as convergent between RRP and MFGP has been moved to the category of items convergent with MP where it belongs, thus reducing by one the number of items in the former group and raising the number of those belonging to the latter.

Furthermore, one also needs to take into account the fact that the items employed in the Middle English translations, which, on the face of it, mimic the French choices, might have been reflections of the *Latin* source text rather than of the influence of the French Psalters. As evidenced in Lis (*in review*), the items used in the majority of the instances of convergence may indeed be identified as formally resembling the Latin lemmata they render. Thus, approximately 75% in the case of both manuscript copies of MEGPP and 81% for RRP of the nouns convergent between these Psalters and MFGP are formally similar to the original Latin lemmata. The percentage participation of such items increases in the case of convergences between MEGPP L/MEGPP D/RRP and MP to 87%, 88% and 91% respectively.

Taking into account the findings concerning both the number of analogous noun choices between the French translations and RRP, as well as the probable influence of the Latin source text, one has to be careful in ascribing convergences between the MEGPP and French renditions to the impact the latter might have exerted on the former. The need for further research is thus evident. The aim of the present study is to help to fill this gap and investigate the data concerning the convergent Middle English – Middle French and/or Anglo-Norman noun choices, by trying to determine how many amongst these constitute what could be considered "default" choices of the *angelus*, *angeli* 'angel' (Latin) – *ange* 'angel' (Middle French) – *angle* 'angel' (Anglo-Norman) – *aunğel* 'angel' (Middle English) type, and how many might actually be regarded as indicative of the influence of the French Psalter on the Middle English rendition.

3. The methodology

As stated in the Introduction, the study is a continuation of the research initiated in Lis (*in review*) and as such relies on the database prepared for the purposes of the latter. The database consists of 1969 Latin nouns and their corresponding translations from the two Middle English Psalters, i.e., MEGPP and RRP, the Middle French rendition, i.e., MFGP, and the Anglo-Norman text, i.e., MP. The text of the Latin Psalter, based on which the correspondences were established, is the Gallican Psalter presented in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013), from whose work, as mentioned, the text of MEGPP was also taken. The text of MP employed for the purposes of the study is that of Michel's (1876) edition, whereas for MFGP the original manuscript, in a digitised version, available in Bibliothèque nationale de France was consulted.

The items analysed in Lis (*in review*) are all nouns, according to the information provided by Whitaker's dictionary,[12] from the first fifty Psalms of the Latin Psalter whose corresponding Middle French and Anglo-Norman renderings are also identified as nouns by the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* and the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* respectively. The 1969 analysed Latin – Middle French – Anglo-Norman sets are all contexts in which one-to-one correspondence between the nouns employed in the three language versions could be established. Complex noun phrases, erroneous forms which cannot be lemmatised to nouns expected in the relevant contexts, and glosses substituted for the original lemmata in the case of MFGP were all excluded. Furthermore, proper nouns and the following three Latin words and their French equivalents were also discarded: *Deus*, *Dei*, *dius, dii* and *dominus*, *domini*. Each of the 1969 sets of nouns was then compounded with the corresponding renderings from MEGPP and RRP,[13] but in the case of these translations the grammatical status, complexity of the renderings and other factors did not result in discarding the items, as they did not prohibit juxtaposing the data in order to establish whether or not the choices were similar.

The data in Lis (*in review*) were analysed from the perspective of the nominal choices shared by the two French translations, and then, within the two groups themselves, i.e., of the divergent and convergent choices in the French Psalters, the number of nominal items convergent between MP and MFGP and the Middle English renditions was determined. Additionally, as mentioned, the number of items which formally resemble Latin nouns was also established. The results of this analysis were already summarised in section 2.

The present study picks up the research at this point and endeavours to investigate the Middle English choices convergent with MFGP and/or MP, with the aim of establishing how many of these might actually be assumed to be indicative of the French influence rather than constituting the expected choices, especially taking into account the socio-linguistic situation in the Middle English period. In order to accomplish this objective the following steps were taken. The two manuscript copies of MEGPP and RRP were analysed separately, and for each of the texts I determined the Latin nouns whose English renderings – even though they were almost always formally borrowings from Romance languages – were choices of the *aer*, *aeris* 'air' (Latin) – *air* 'air' (Middle English) type, i.e.,

[12] The dictionary is also the source of the Latin lemmata employed in the study.
[13] The Middle English lemmata employed in the study are taken from the *Middle English Dictionary*.

the default, expected renderings. The decision as to which of the nouns should (not) be assigned to the category of default choices was subjective, as it is virtually impossible to tell from a modern perspective which nouns were unquestionably regarded as such in the 14th century. Thus, several factors were taken into consideration. Firstly, the nouns rendering Latin items from the semantic fields related to church, religion and Christianity – if not divergent between different occurrences of the Latin term in the translation in question or between MEGPP and RRP – were treated as default choices, since the terms of this sort usually represent one-to-one correspondences between languages, and in English, as also in some other languages, were often taken wholesale from Latin as the language of Christianity, e.g., *mirre* 'myrrh' for Latin *myrra*, *myrrae*, but not *spirit* 'spirit' for Latin *spiritus*, *spiritus*, as the native *gōst* is attested alongside the borrowing. Similarly, the items which appear to pertain to the area of "basic" vocabulary in the sense of relating to everyday reality or the physical world, where the existence of synonyms is rarer than in the area of abstract vocabulary – if not divergent within and between the texts – were classified as default choices, e.g., *spŏus(e* 'spouse' and *sŏun* 'sound' for Latin *sponsus*, *sponsi* and *sonus*, *soni* respectively. Due to the above-mentioned property of abstract vocabulary, i.e., the widespread presence of synonyms, nouns of this kind, unless pertaining to the field of religion mentioned above, were assigned to the category of non-default choices. It is important to remember that the formal similarity between a Latin lemma and its ME rendering was not a factor which contributed to the classification of an item as a default choice, since formal resemblance can only act as a secondary reinforcement in the process of translation whilst it does not determine the status of the item in the lexicon. Additionally, the group of what I term "default" choice nouns was compounded by those Middle English nouns which were employed consistently as the renderings of the relevant Latin lemmata not only in MEGPP and/or RRP, but also in two other Middle English Psalter translations – 14th-century Psalters from the Early and Late Wycliffite Bibles.[14]

The data were analysed separately for the nouns convergent and divergent between the two French renditions, in accordance with Lis (*in review*), and within each of these categories the instances of the "default" Middle English renderings of the relevant Latin lemmata were sought. Therefore, six groupings were established: default (1) and non-default (2) choices within the category of the nouns convergent between MP and

[14] See Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013) and Lis (*in prep*.) for information about the renditions and extensive references.

MFGP, as well as default (1) and non-default (2) choices in the category of nouns divergent between the French versions, separately for MFGP and MP.

As stated above, the line of investigation proposed here is, undoubtedly, not watertight, since the decision as to which Middle English renderings of the Latin lemmata can be considered to be "default" is subjective and the number of such items changes depending on what one assumes to represent such a choice. Therefore, the data for MEGPP and RRP were then juxtaposed in order to determine how far the default and non-default choices between the two Psalters diverge. As shall become clear, the pattern revealed by such a juxtaposition appears to align with my decision concerning assigning the nouns to (non-)default groupings and, as such, seems to confirm the methodological correctness of the study.

4. The study

As explained in section 3, each of the analysed texts, i.e., the two manuscript copies of MEGPP and RRP, was treated independently, primarily due to the divergences between them, which, as mentioned, did not influence the shape of the complete database but certainly found a reflection in the number of the items available for analysis in the case of each of these texts. However, the data are all discussed jointly here within the following categories established for the purposes of the study: nouns convergent between the French Psalters – default and non-default choices in Middle English (section 4.1), and nouns divergent between the French Psalters – default and non-default choices in Middle English (section 4.2), which are, however, divided into those convergent between MFGP-MEGPP/RRP (section 4.2.1) and MP-MEGPP/RRP (section 4.2.2).

4.1. Nouns convergent between the French Psalters

As mentioned in section 2, among the 1969 sets of nouns analysed in Lis (*in review*), there are 1512 cases of convergence between MP and MFGP. The number of nominal choices among these which are also shared with MEGPP/RRP is much lower, but the convergent choices constitute from 22% to 26% of the nouns belonging to this category (1512) and these are the subject of analysis in the present section.

Table 6-2. Convergences between MFGP, MP and MEGPP/RRP

	MEGPP L	**MEGPP D**	**RRP**
convergent	391 (26%)	352 (23%)	333 (22%)
divergent	1121 (74%)	1160 (77%)	1179 (78%)
total	1969	1969	1969

The fact that approximately a quarter of all the nouns convergent between MP and MFGP also correlate with MEGPP would appear to substantiate, to some extent, the postulated reliance on French (cf. section 2), were it not for the fact that many convergent choices are also shared by RRP. Additionally, the close similarity between the Middle English renderings and the Latin lemmata (cf. section 2) casts even more doubt on such an interpretation. The results obtained in Lis (*in review*) concerning the lexical convergences between the texts become easier to understand in the light of the analysis which follows, where an attempt is made at determining how many of the correspondences can be considered "default" choices.

The division into default vs. non-default Middle English renderings for the relevant Latin lemmata is, as mentioned above, a subjective one. It was my purpose to assign to this group only those Middle English translations which appear to be "clear" cases of "default" choices, i.e., such items which do not raise serious doubts in this respect, but the classification is by no means watertight as will become clear upon the presentation of the data. However, in accordance with the division proposed here, the ratio of default – non-default choices is as given in Table 6-3 below, and even if some objections are raised, the figures are bound to differ only insignificantly from the ones obtained here.

Table 6-3. Default vs. non-default choices

	MEGPP L	**MEGPP D**	**RRP**
default	221 (57%)	221 (63%)	213 (64%)
non-default	170 (43%)	131 (37%)	120 (36%)
total	391	352	333

Approximately 60% of the nouns convergent between French and Middle English renditions appear to represent default translations of the Latin lemmata in question and, as such, do not lend themselves to being regarded as proof of the influence of MFGP and MP upon the lexis of MEGPP. The Middle English items in question are all listed in Table 6-4,

whose structure is the following. The first column (1) provides the Latin lemmata whose Middle English renderings are represented to their right (2), with the following three columns (3–5) providing the information concerning the number of times a given Middle English noun was employed to translate the Latin lemma in each of the Middle English texts. The remaining two columns list the French renderings of the Latin lemmata, with column (6) giving the Middle French nouns employed in MFGP and column (7) the Anglo-Norman equivalents used in MP.

Table 6-4. Default choices

Latin lemma	ME lemma	MEGPP		RRP	MFGP	MP
		L	D			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
aer, aeris	air	1	1	1	air	air
altare, altaris	autēr	2	2	2	autel	autel
angelus, angeli	aunǧel	4	4	4	ange	angle
cedrus, cedri	cēdre	3	3	3	cedre	cedre
civitas, civitatis	citē	3	3	4	cité	cité
consilium, consili(i)	cŏunseil	12	12	11	conseil	conseil
corona, coronae	corŏune	1	1	1	couronne	corone
desertum, deserti	dēsert	2	2	2	desert	desert
divitia, divitiae	riches(se	4	4	4	richesse	richesce
facies, faciei	fāce	23	23	23	face	face
flamma, flammae	flaume	1	1	1	flambe	flambe
fructus, fructus	fruit	3	3	3	fruit	frut
Gigas, Gigant[os/is]	ǧēaunt	1	1	1	geant	gaiant
gratia, gratiae	grāce	1	1	1	grace	grace
gutta, guttae	gŏute	1	1	1	goutte	gutta
inimicus, inimici	enemī	43	43	34	ennemi	enemi
leo, leonis	līŏun	4	4	4	lion	leun
myrra, myrrae	mirre	1	1	1	myrrhe	mirre
numerus, numeri	nŏmbre	3	3	3	nombre	nombre
oleum, olei	oil(e	2	2	2	huile	oile
pascua, pascuae	pastūr(e	1	1	1	pasture	pasture

paupertas, paupertatis	povertē	1	1	1	poverte	poverté
pax, pacis	pēs	6	8	8	paix	pes
praeda, praedae	prei(e	1	1	1	proie	preie
pretium, preti(i	prīs	2	2	2	prix	pris
princeps, principis	prince	6	6	6	prince	prince
psalmus, psalmi	Psalm(e	2	2	2	psaume	psalme
psalterium, psalterii	sautrī(e	1	1	1	psautier	sauter
sacrificium, sacrifici(i)	sacrifĭce	10	10	9	sacrifice	sacrefise
salvator, salvatoris	sāveŏur	1	1	1	sauveur	salveour
scandalum, scandali	sclaundre	2	2	2	esclandre	esclandre
sonus, soni	sŏun	2	2	2	son	son
sponsus, sponsi	spŏus(e	1	1	1	espoux	espus
synagoga, synagogae	sinagōg(e	1	1	1	synagogue	sinagoge
tabernaculum, tabernaculi	tabernacle	8	8	8	tabernacle	tabernacle
templum, templi	temple	7	7	7	temple	temple
testamentum, testamenti	testament	5	5	4	testament	testament
thronus, throni	trōne	2	2	2	trone	trone
unicorn, unicornis	ūnicorn(e	1	1	1	unicorne	unicorne
venenum, veneni	venim	1	1	1	venin	venim
vinum, vini	wīn(e	1	1	1	vin	vin
virtus, virtutis	vertū	22	23	23	vertu	vertu
votum, voti	vŏu(e	2	-	2	voeu	vou
vox, vocis	voice	20	19	20	voix	voiz

The strikingly close correspondence between MEGPP and RRP in the renderings of the Latin nouns presented in Table 6-5 below appears, as mentioned in section 3, to provide additional support in favour of the correctness of the methodology employed in the study, and thus to their assignment to the category of default choices. The remaining nouns

convergent between MP, MFGP and MEGPP/RRP, i.e., the items regarded here as non-default, are listed in analogous manner in Table 6-5 below:

Table 6-5. Non-default choices

Latin lemma	ME lemma	MEGPP		RRP	MFGP	MP
		L	D			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
adulter, adulteri	avŏutrēr	-	-	1	avoutire	avuiltre
aerumna, aerumnae	caitiftē	1	-	-	chetiveté	chaitiveté
aranea, araneae	arain(e	-	-	1	araigne	iraine
armum, armi	armes	1	1	1	arme	arme
bellum, belli	batail(le	2	2	2	bataille	bataille
captivitas, captivitatis	caitīfnes(se, caitīf	1	-	1	chetiveté	chaitiveté
carmen, carminis	dītē	1	1	-	dité	dité
confusio, confusionis	confūsiŏun	3	3	1	confusion	confusion
corruptio, corruptionis	corrupciŏun	1	1	1	corruption	corruptiun
deprecatio, deprecationis	preiēr(e	4	4	-	priere	priere
disciplina, disciplinae	disciplīne	4	2	4	discipline	discipline
dolus, doli	trecheri(e	4	-	-	tricherie	tricherie
familia, familiae	meinē	1	1	1	maisnie	mesnee
fides, fidei	feith	1	1	-	foi	fei
figulus, figuli	potter(e	-	-	1	potier	potier
finis, finis	cŏntrē(e	2	2	-	contree	contree
firmamentum, firmamenti	firmament	1	1	1	firmament	firmament
forma, formae	fōrme	1	1	-	forme	forme
fundamentum, fundamenti	fōundement	2	2	-	fondement	fundement
gaudium, gaudi<i>	joi(e	3	3	3	joie	joie

generatio, generationis	ğenerāciŏun	-	2	4	generation	generaciun
gens, gentis	ging(e[15]	-	-	23	gens	gent
gloria, gloriae	glōrīe	18	3	-	gloire	glorie
habitatio, habitationis	habitāciŏun	-	1	-	habitation	habitaciun
(h)abundantia, abundantiae	abŏundaunce	-	-	1	abondance	abundance
herba, herbae	hērbe	1	1	-	herbe	herbe
hono[r/s], honoris	honŏur	5	4	5	honneur	honur
ignorantia, ignorantiae	ignoraunce	-	-	1	ignorance	ignorance
illusio, illusionis	illūsiŏun	1	-	-	illusion	illusion
imago, imaginis	imāğe	-	1	1	image	image
indignatio, indignationis	dignāciŏun	1	1	-	indignation	indignacion
innocentia, innocentiae	innocence	1	-	-	innocence	innocence
ira, irae	īre	10	10	7	ire	ire
judicium, judici(i)	jūğement	15	-	-	jugement	jugement
labor, laboris	travail	2	2	2	travail	travail
lacus, lacus	lāk(e	-	-	1	lac	lac
liberator, liberatoris	dēliverer	2	2	2	delivrerre	delivrere
majestas, majestatis	mağestē	1	1	1	majesté	majesté
malitia, malitiae	malīce	1	1	2	malice	malice
mirabile, mirabilis	merveille	1	-	-	merveille	merveille
miseratio, miserationis	mercī	-	1	-	merci	merci

[15] Despite the fact that *ging(e* "a gathering of people, the Gentiles" is a noun of native origin, its formal similarity to the Latin lemma and also to the French items cannot be denied, which is why the noun is listed here.

mons, montis	mŏunt	1	1	-	mont	munt
multitudo, multitudinis	multitūde	2	2	3	multitude	multitudine
natio, nationis	nāciŏun	-	1	1	nation	naciun
obprobrium, obprobri(i)	reprōche	3	-	-	reproche	reproche
oratio, orationis	orisŏun	3	3	-	oraison	oreison
patientia, patientiae	pācience	-	1	-	patience	pacience
pecus, pecoris	bēst(e	1	1	1	beste	beste
populus, populi	pēple	1	1	-	peuple	pople
possessio, possessionis	possessiŏun	-	1	1	possession	possession
praeceptum, praecepti	commaunde-ment	3	1	2	commande-ment	comande-ment
praelium, praeli(i)	batail(le	2	2	2	bataille	bataille
prex, precis	preiēr(e	2	2	2	priere	priere
procella, procellae	tempest	1	1	-	tempeste	tempeste
protector, protectoris	dēfendŏur	9	9	-	defendeur	defendour
prudentia, prudentiae	queintīs(e	1	1	1	cointise	cointise
pulvis, pulveris	pŏudre	3	3	-	poudre	pudre
puritas, puritatis	pūritē	-	-	2	pureté	purité
refugium, refugi(i)	refūt(e	6	6	-	refuge	refuge
ren, renis	reine	1	1	-	rein	reins
saccus, sacci	sak	1	1	1	sac	sac
salvatio, salvationis	savāciŏun	-	1	-	salvation	salvacion
scriba, scribae	scrivein	1	1	-	escrivain	escrivein
sedes, sedis	sēgğe	2	1	-	siege	sege
sepulchrum, sepulchri	sepulcre	-	-	1	sepulcre	sepucre

spiritus, spiritus	spirit	2	3	1	esprit	espirit
studium, studi(i)	studī(e	1	1	2	estudie	estudie
stultus, stulti	fōl	1	1	1	fou	fol
substantia, substantiae	substaunce	2	2	2	substance	substance
tempestas, tempestatis	tempest	1	1	1	tempeste	tempeste
temptatio, temptationis	temptāciŏun	1	1	-	tentation	temptaciun
thalamus, thalami	chaumbre	1	1	1	chambre	chambre
thesaurus, thesauri	trēsŏur	1	1	1	tresor	tresor
tribulatio, tribulationis	tribulāciŏun	15	16	15	tribulation	tribulaciun
ultor, ultoris	venğer(e	-	-	1	vengeur	vengeor
vanitas, vanitatis	vanitē	4	3	6	vanité	vanité
vas, vasis	vessel	1	1	2	vaisseau	vessel
vestigium, vestigi(i)	trāce	2	2	-	trace	trace
vestimentum, vestimenti	vestement	1	-	-	vestement	vestement
vindicta, vindictae	venğeaunce	1	1	1	vengeance	vengeance
vis, vis	fōrce	1	-	1	force	force
voluptas, voluptatis	dēlīt(e	-	1	-	delit	delit

It could be objected to that some of the nouns listed here could well be classified as belonging to the category of default choices. However, I decided not to treat them as default renderings of the relevant Latin lemmata based on the lexical evidence offered by both the analysed texts themselves and the patterns observed in the remaining contemporary Psalter translations. To be more precise, some of the occurrences of the Latin nouns in question are rendered by means of different lexical items in MEGPP and/or RRP or find alternative translations in the Early and Late Wycliffite Psalters, which precludes their being regarded as default choices. Thus, for instance, despite the fact that *preiēr(e* ‘prayer’ might

appear to be a suitable candidate for a default choice, one cannot fail to take the native *bēd(e* 'prayer' into account in analysing it, especially since the noun is, at times, employed in RRP.

The most noticeable difference between the data presented in Tables 6-4 and 6-5 is the decrease in the number of correspondences between MEGPP and RRP in the latter. Certainly, this might be a random change, or it might be that MEGPP is under a greater formal influence of the Latin source text, since its choices usually closely reflect the Latin lemmata, e.g., in the case of Middle English *fǫ̃undement* 'foundation' correlating with Middle French *fondement* 'foundation' and Anglo-Norman *fundement* 'foundation' but rendering Latin *fundamentum*, *fundamenti* 'foundation.' On the other hand, however, this might be an indication of the impact the French intermediary exerted upon MEGPP, and especially on its London manuscript. That this might indeed be the case is confirmed, for instance, by the following choices, where no formal Latin influence might be claimed, made by the translator(s) of MEGPP: *tempest* 'storm' for Latin *procella*, *procellae* 'storm' corresponding closely to the Middle French and Anglo-Norman *tempeste* 'storm,' *dēfendǫ̃ur* 'defender' rendering Latin *protector*, *protectoris* 'defender,' reflecting the Middle French *defendeur* 'defender' and Anglo-Norman *defendour* 'defender,' and *dītē* 'poem, song' translating Latin *carmen*, *carminis* 'song, poem' in correlation with Middle French and Anglo-Norman *dité* 'story, song.'

4.2. Nouns divergent between the French Psalters

The category of nouns divergent between MFGP and MP but convergent between one of these and MEGPP/RRP is, as became evident in the course of the discussion in section 2, far less numerous than that of the nouns convergent between both French renditions and the Middle English Psalter(s). It is also more varied, as there are more possibilities of different types of convergences: MEGPP/RRP may converge with either MFGP or MP and they may or may not converge with each other, while the choices can at the same time be differentiated into default and non-default ones. Therefore, first the data pertaining only to the MFGP-MEGPP/RRP correspondences are presented (section 4.2.1), and then the MP-MEGPP/RRP convergences are tackled (section 4.2.2).

4.2.1. Nouns convergent between MFGP and the Middle English translations

The number of nouns convergent between MFGP and MEGPP/RRP is higher than the corresponding figure for the MP-MEGPP/RRP correspondences, and the exact data are provided again (cf. section 2) in Table 6-6. Interestingly, the percentage participation of nouns convergent between the Middle English translations and MFGP among the nouns divergent between MFGP and MP is at approximately the same level as it was for the category of items convergent between the French renditions.

Table 6-6. Convergences between MFGP and MEGPP/RRP

	MEGPP L	**MEGPP D**	**RRP**
Convergent	108 (24%)	106 (23%)	75 (16%)
Divergent	349 (76%)	351 (77%)	382 (84%)
total	457	457	457

With respect to the ratio of default vs. non-default choices, however, it has to be admitted that the percentage participation of the former is lower here than it was in section 4.1 for all the texts, but the decrease is more significant in the case of the manuscripts of MEGPP (20%), which supports the postulated influence of MFGP on MEGPP.

Table 6-7. Default vs. non-default choices

	MEGPP L	**MEGPP D**	**RRP**
default	41 (38%)	41 (39%)	44 (59%)
non-default	67 (62%)	65 (61%)	31 (41%)
total	108	106	75

This influence is better appreciated upon consulting the data which follow in Tables 6-8 and 6-9.

Table 6-8. Default choices

Latin lemma	ME lemma	MEGPP		RRP	MFGP
		L	D		
hereditas, hereditatis	heritāğe	9	9	9	heritage
leo, leonis	līŏun	1	1	1	lion
misericordia, misericordiae	mercī	26	26	26	merci
servus, servi	servaunt	1	-	1	servant
tubus, tubi	tromp(e	1	1	1	trompe
vultus, vultus	fāce	3	4	6	face

Table 6-9. Non-default choices

Latin lemma	ME lemma	MEGPP		RRP	MFGP
		L	D		
afflictio, afflictionis	torment	1	1	1	torment
causa, causae	cause	2	4	-	cause
clamor, clamori	crī(e	1	1	1	cri
clibanus, clibani	furnais(e	-	-	1	fournaise
cubile, cubilis	cŏuche	1	1	-	couche
decor, decoris	honŏur	1	1	-	honneur
defensio, defensionis	dēfens(e	-	-	1	defense
delectatio, delectationis	dēlīt(e	-	1	-	delit
delictum, delicti	trespās	6	6	5	trespas
deprecatio, deprecationis	preiēr(e	2	2	-	priere
desiderium, desideri(i)	dēsīr	4	4	1	desir
exultatio, exultationis	joi(e	4	3	-	joie
flagellum, flagelli	torment	2	1	-	tourment
flumen, fluminis	flōd	1	1	1	flot
gloria, gloriae	joi(e	-	3	3	joie
guttur, gutturis	gorğe	1	-	-	gorge
holocaustum, holocausti	offrende	1	1	4	offrande
hostia, hostiae	offrende	1	-	-	offrande
hysopu[m/s], hysopi	mercī	1	1	-	merci
increpatio, increpationis	blāme	1	2	-	blasme

innocentia, innocentiae	innocence	2	2	-	innocence
inopia, inopiae	misēse	2	1	-	mesaise
inspiratio, inspirationis	inspīrāciŏun	1	1	1	inspiration
judex, judicis	jūğe	2	1	2	juge
judicium, judici(i)	jūğement	1	-	-	jugement
labor, laboris	travail	1	1	1	travail
laetitia, laetitiae	joi(e	3	3	2	joie
lucerna, lucernae	lantern(e	1	1	1	lanterne
mansuetudo, mansuetudini	debonairetē	-	-	1	debonnaireté
manus, manus	mercī	1	-	-	merci
miseratio, miserationis	pitē	1	1	-	pitié
	mercī	1	1	-	merci
miseria, miseriae	caitiftē	1	-	-	chetiveté
mons, montis	mŏuntain(e	7	6	-	montagne
onus, oneris	charğe	1	1	-	charge
pars, partis	part	1	-	2	part
portio, portionis	porciŏun	1	1	1	portion
propositio, propositionis	purpōs	1	1	-	propos
pulvis, pulveris	pŏudre	1	1	-	poudre
reliquia, reliquiae	relik	2	2	2	relique
retributio, retributionis	reward	1	2	-	regard
stratum, strati	cŏvertūre	1	1	-	couverture
tabernaculum, tabernaculi	purgātōrī(e	1	1	-	purgatoire
timor, timoris	dŏut(e	2	2	-	doute
utilitas, utilitatis	prōfit(e	1	1	-	profit
varietas, varietatis	dīversenes	-	1	-	diversité

A bigger sample would, perhaps, make the similarities more visible, yet even upon analysing the data from only the first fifty Psalms, clear correspondences between MFGP and MEGPP, observed both here and in Table 6-5, provide limited support for the postulated influence of the French rendition upon MEGPP. The convergent renderings for the nouns *propositio*, *propositionis* ‘proposition, premise’ or *timor*, *timoris* ‘dread, fear’ appear too idiosyncratic to speak of coincidental convergent choices.

4.2.2. Nouns convergent between MP and the Middle English translations

The final issue to be discussed is the type of correspondences between MP and MEGPP/RRP, which, as became evident in section 2, are not numerous. Therefore, the percentage participation of convergences between MP and MEGPP/RRP is very low. What is interesting, however, is that the number of convergences with this French rendition is higher for RRP (16) than MEGPP L (13) or MEGPP D (9).

Table 6-10. Convergences between MP and MEGPP/RRP

	MEGPP L	**MEGPP D**	**RRP**
Convergent	13 (3%)	9 (2%)	16 (4%)
Divergent	444 (97%)	448 (98%)	441 (96%)
total	457	457	457

The distribution of default vs. non-default choices among the convergent nouns in the case of MP-MEGPP/RRP correspondences is presented in Table 6-11. Although the majority of these appear not to be the default renderings, there are too few items identified as convergent only with MP to speak of a definitive pattern rather than random coincidence.

Table 6-11. Default vs. non-default choices

	MEGPP L	**MEGPP D**	**RRP**
default	2 (15%)	2 (20%)	4 (25%)
non-default	11 (85%)	7 (80%)	12 (75%)
total	13	9	16

The nouns in question are given in Tables 6-12 and 6-13 respectively.

Table 6-12. Default choices

Latin lemma	**ME lemma**	**MEGPP**		**RRP**	**MP**
		L	**D**		
facies, faciei	fāce	1	1	1	face
hysopu[m/s], hysopi	īsōpe	-	-	1	isope
inimicus, inimici	enemī	1	1	1	enemi
tabernaculum, tabernaculi	tabernācle	-	-	1	tabernacle

Table 6-13. Non-default choices

Latin lemma	ME lemma	MEGPP		RRP	MP
		L	D		
ad[e/i]ps, adipis	grēs(e	-	-	1	gresse
afflictio, afflictionis	afflicciŏun	-	-	1	afflictiun
causa, causae	enchēsŏun, chēsŏun	2	-	4	achaisun
conventiculum, conventiculi	cŏvent	-	-	1	covent
dolus, doli	trecheri(e	1	-	-	tricherie
gloria, gloriae	glōrīe	3	-	-	glorie
(h)abundantia, abundantiae	abŏundaunce	-	-	1	abundance
holocaustum, holocausti	sacrifĭce	1	1	-	sacrefise
hostia, hostiae	sacrifĭce	-	1	-	sacrefise
meritum, meriti	dĕsert	1	1	1	deserte
nequitia, nequitiae	felonīe	-	-	1	felunie
pars, partis	pārtī(e	-	1	-	partie
propositio, propositionis	prōposiciŏun	-	-	1	proposiciun
protector, protectoris	dēfendŏur	1	1	-	defendour
redemptio, redemptionis	raunsŏun	1	1	-	rançun
sterilitas, sterilitatis	barainnesse, barainhēde	1	1	1	baraineté

The data presented in Tables 6-11 through 6-13, i.e., the number and type of correspondences between MEGPP and MP, do not lend support to the claim that MEGPP is based on MP (Rector 2010, 25). That the influence of the French Psalter renditions, which all stem from MP, might be traced in MEGPP (and RRP for that matter) is not, however, being questioned here, as the convergences discussed in section 4.1 may substantiate both the postulated influence of MFGP upon MEGPP and a more general impact of French on the Middle English translation.

5. Conclusions

At this point it is already possible to use the findings obtained in the course of analysis to provide some tentative answers with respect to the questions concerning the influence of MFGP and MP on MEGPP. It might be of interest, however, to look at all of the data gathered together in order

to get a more general picture of the kinds of correspondences still before the conclusions are drawn.

Table 6-14. Default vs. non-default choices

		MEGPP L	MEGPP D	RRP
convergent with MFGP and MP	default	221 (57%) of 391	221 (63%) of 352	213 (64%) of 333
	non-default	170 (43%) of 391	131 (37%) of 352	120 (36%) of 333
convergent only with MFGP	default	41 (38%) of 108	41 (39%) of 106	44 (59%) of 75
	non-default	67 (62%) of 108	65 (61%) of 106	31 (41%) of 75
convergent only with MP	default	2 (15%) of 13	2 (20%) of 9	4 (25%) of 16
	non-default	11 (85%) of 13	7 (80%) of 9	12 (75%) of 16
all convergent with MFGP	**default**	**262 (53%) of 499**	**262 (57%) of 458**	**257 (63%) of 408**
	non-default	**237 (47%) of 499**	**196 (43%) of 458**	**151 (37%) of 408**
all convergent with MP	**default**	**223 (55%) of 404**	**223 (62%) of 361**	**217 (62%) of 349**
	non-default	**181 (45%) of 404**	**138 (38%) of 361**	**132 (38%) of 349**

With the data presented in this condensed form it is easier to see certain patterns which may not have come to the fore in the more detailed discussion offered in section 4. Firstly, the number of default choices among the nouns convergent with both or either of the French Psalters is almost identical for all the analysed texts. Therefore, it is clear that the differences in the percentage participation of nouns convergent with the French texts hinge on the non-default choices made by the translators. Secondly, since it is the non-default choices that are actually indicative of the reliance, or lack thereof, on the French translations, and since the differences in the number of convergences are located in this category, it may be postulated, based on the results obtained in the course of the analysis, that MEGPP, and especially its London manuscript, appears to be indeed influenced, at least to some extent, by the nominal choices attested in MFGP and also in MP. Undoubtedly, the Psalter in question exhibits

closer lexical resemblance to the French renditions than RRP does and the types of convergences, presented in section 4, do not appear to be random. Therefore, even though the extent of convergence might not be striking when juxtaposed with the correspondences observed even for the unrelated RRP, it does appear to corroborate the claims concerning the interconnections between MEGPP and MFGP.

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PART II:

APPLIED LINGUISTICS

CHAPTER SEVEN

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN BILINGUALS: TO MAKE OR NOT TO MAKE YOUR CHILD A BILINGUAL

BIBIÁNA BOBČÁKOVÁ

1. Introduction

To make or not to make your child bilingual? That is a question that many parents ask themselves, especially when they are not native speakers of the language they are considering teaching their children. There is a very new phenomenon in Slovakia – parents attempting to raise their children bilingual, even though they are not native speakers of the language they are using to communicate with their children.

My research deals with this question in many different ways. It investigates language acquisition in a bilingual child acquiring two languages, English and Slovak, simultaneously under specific circumstances – the mother is not an English native speaker. As this type of bilingualism is widely growing in Slovakia, the present study shall indicate possible outcomes of language development in such bilingual individuals. To the best of my knowledge, no studies of this kind have been conducted in Slovakia so far.

The observed child is my own son Leon, which has allowed me to keep detailed records and closely follow his language development. The language acquisition covers a period of over 36 months and will continue for another 12 months. I employed the naturalistic method of studying a language, which relies on the observation of children's speech in everyday situations, a generally accepted method of research into bilingual individuals (O'Grady 2005, 4). I applied two commonly used techniques: keeping a language diary and audio/video recordings. Probably one of the most famous children observed by the naturalistic method was Hildegard, the daughter of the German linguist Werner Leopold, who recorded her speech in details and published his findings in a 4 volume work (Leopold

1939–49). Leopold's method of keeping a diary has become widely followed in studies on bilingual acquisition (Romaine 1989, 170). In more recent works, a similar approach can be noted in Rebelos' (2012) thesis, which concerns a longitudinal study of a single child in a bilingual family, focusing on the child's lexical development as well as on the morpho-syntax and pragmatic aspects of language choice. Another recent work using this method is by Konieczna (2014) who carried out a longitudinal study of several children and described the early stages of morphological and syntactic development in child's speech in two typologically different languages – Polish and English.

My research offers a longitudinal study of a single child's language acquisition. In order to obtain the most comprehensive picture I decided to combine both qualitative as well as quantitative methods for the analysis of the language corpus.

The goal of my work is to observe the quality and timeline of the English language patterns (morphological, lexical and syntactic) acquired by Leon and compared to English native speakers whose parents' first language is English. Whether or not the acquired language competence will have a tendency to be distorted and result in semi-bilingualism (Hockett 1958, 333–4) will be also one of the major interests of my study.

2. Bilingualism and its definition

Bilingualism seems to be an intricate concept. In 1953, Jacobson (1953) pointed out: "Bilingualism is for me a fundamental problem of linguistics." His statement is a very accurate synthesis of bilingualism research and study for a very simple reason: there are about 3,000 to 4,000 languages in the world today spoken in about 150 countries (Grosjean 1982, 4) and if we combine them with 6 types of bilingualism acquisition (Romaine 1989, 166–8) (see below in this chapter), we obtain an almost infinite number of language combinations, which provides very little room for universal principles of bilingualism studies.

Definitions on bilingualism so far very much depend on the viewpoint of the linguist defining it. Some opinions are rather extreme. For example, Diebolt (1964) gives a minimal definition when he uses the term "incipient bilingualism," which would include nearly everyone into the group of bilinguals who is able to understand and produce a few words in another language. A totally opposite view is presented by Bloomfield (1933, 56) who gives a maximalist definition postulating the criterion for bilingualism as "the native-like control of two or more languages," which would include only a very small group of ideal bilinguals. Other linguists consider use of

two languages to be the most important factor. Weinreich (1968) and Mackey (1968) define bilingualism as the alternate use of two languages. Grosjean (1985) stresses that fluency in two languages is not important, rather when and how a bilingual uses his or her languages. In most recent studies of bilingualism Grosjean (2010, 4) claims that "bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday life."

A number of dichotomies were developed in bilingualism research reflecting the various aspects it concentrated on. The most common distinctions are between compound and co-ordinate bilingualism (Weinreich 1953), simultaneous and successive bilingualism (McLaughlin 1984), additive and subtractive bilingualism (Lambert 1975), and elite and folk bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981).

All classification of bilingualism based on the dichotomy principles, which, however seem to address only one aspect of bilingualism. Romaine (1989) discussed six types of bilingual acquisition in childhood and considers variables such as the language of the parents, the community, the dominance relationship between them, and the strategy of the parents when interacting with the child.

Types of bilingual acquisition in childhood (Romaine 1989, 166–8):

Type 1: "One person – one language"
Parents: Have different native languages
Community: The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community
Strategy: The parents each speak their own language to the child from birth.

Type 2: "Non-dominant home language"
Parents: Have different native languages
Community: The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community
Strategy: Both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child, who is fully exposed to the dominant language only when outside the home.

Type 3: "Non-dominant home language without community support"
Parents: The parents share the same native language
Community: The dominant language is not that of the parents.
Strategy: The parents speak their own language to the child.

Type 4: "Double non-dominant home language without community support"
Parents: The parents have different native languages.
Community: The dominant language is different from either of the parents' language.
Strategy: The parents speak their own language to the child from birth.

Type 5: "Non-native parents"
Parents: The parents share the same native language.
Community: The dominant language is the same as that one of the parents.
Strategy: One of the parents always addresses the child in a language, which is not his/her native language.

Type 6: "Mixed languages"
Parents: The parents are bilingual.
Community: Sector of community may also be bilingual.
Strategy: Parents code-switch and mix languages.

2.1. Bilingualism in the past

The origins of bilingualism and the need to communicate in two or more different languages go back to the history of trades, wars, invasions, exploration and exploitation. The industrial revolution and the development of transportation enabled people to travel around the world. The need to communicate in different languages has been continuously increasing during the past ten decades. Immigration to countries such the United States, Canada, Germany, France and Britain greatly increased after the Second World War.

At the beginning of bilingualism research in the early 1920s, negative opinions prevailed generally stating that bilingual children control a smaller vocabulary and produce inadequate linguistic structures in their respective languages. Some claimed that bilingualism affects cognitive development and decreases the intelligence of children (Arsenian 1937; Darcy 1953; Macnamara 1966). The results were often drawn from IQ tests or verbal-based tests, which always resulted in poorer performance by the immigrant children and were automatically interpreted as feeblemindedness. However, many linguists opposed these conclusions claiming that this was due to a lack of vocabulary and language competence rather than intelligence (Romaine 1989).

In 1962, Peal and Lambert published a study which contrasted the previous research on bilingualism and intelligence. Their ground-breaking findings demonstrated that bilinguals actually show superior performance in various verbal and non-verbal tests "involving concept-formation or symbolic flexibility" (Peal and Lambert 1962, 14). The key element in their study was the sample selection process of bilinguals, distinguishing between true "balanced bilinguals" (Lambert 1975) and "pseudo-bilinguals" (Peal and Lambert 1962). The results of Peal and Lambert's study showed outcomes that completely contrast the earlier findings. Bilingual children outperformed monolinguals in both verbal and nonverbal skills and the bilinguals were observed to have a more diversified ability pattern than the monolinguals. Although there were some flaws in their study, they made some very important methodological contributions which became significant for later studies in this field: the distinction between balanced and pseudo-bilinguals in the first place as well as the importance of group differences in sex, age and socioeconomic status.

In the 1970s, a large number of studies on bilingualism confirmed the positive effects of bilingualism on children. Amongst others, the most frequently mentioned positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive development are superior abilities in concept formation (Liedtke and Nelson 1968), greater flexibility in their performance of cognitive tasks (Balkan 1970), earlier semantic development (Ianco-Worrall 1972), and metalinguistic awareness (Cummins, 1978). However, "most studies involved cross-sectional comparisons where cause-effect relationships could not be appropriately evaluated" (Hakuta and Diaz 1985) due to the fact that the cross-sectional comparison between bilinguals and monolingual generally did not pursue cognitive development within the bilingual children group; they also stressed the importance of administering longitudinal studies in order to observe the development within the same group of bilingual children.

2.2. Bilingualism today

Contrary to the exclusively positive or negative conclusions on bilingualism in the past and after reviewing many different linguistic findings, Grosjean proposed that "bilingualism as such had no major effect – positive or negative – on the cognitive and intellectual development of children in general" (Grosjean 1982, 226).

At the beginning of the 21st century, metalinguistic tasks research claimed that bilingualism enhances the performance of executive function

systems for both linguistic as well as nonverbal processing (Bialystok 2001). However, other linguists suggested that bilingualism affects only certain specific cognitive abilities and found no difference in performance between monolinguals and bilinguals in other executive functions (Carlson and Meltzoff 2008).

In 2008, Bialystock studied the effect of bilingualism on cognitive performance across a lifespan. According to her findings, becoming a bilingual has got negative, positive and indifferent implications: the negative effect is that bilinguals control a smaller vocabulary and perform more poorly in rapid lexical retrieval tasks; the positive effect is reflected in cognitive performance as bilingualism enhances executive functioning and protects against the decline of executive control in aging including a delayed onset of dementia in older age.

3. Cross-linguistic influence

There are many different terms and classifications related to the phenomenon when one language influences the other, however, different linguists sometimes use the same terms for different classifications and some of the terms even overlap. The terms mentioned most frequently are code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, transfer and convergence.

Weinreich (1953, 1) uses the term borrowing for any transfer of one language influence to the other. Haugen (1956) differentiates between switching (the alternate use of two languages) and interference (overlapping of two languages). Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman (1986, 1) propose the term "cross-linguistic influence," which seems more neutral than interference. They use the term "transfer," particularly with second language acquisition. Mougeon and Beniak (1991) refer to "convergence" when socially dominant languages transfer the linguistic patterning into the non-dominant language as a result of a lack of compartmentalization of languages used by speakers. Pfaff (1979, 295) uses the term "mixing" as a cover term for both code-switching and borrowing. Singh (1985, 34) uses the term "code-mixing" for intrasential switching and the term "code-switching" for any diglossic situation when only one code is employed at a time. Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1975, 158) define "code-switching" as a type of borrowing. Grosjean (2010) distinguishes between code-switching (alternate use of two languages) and borrowing (an integration of one language into the other) and later Grosjean and Li (2013, 133) refer to "code-mixing" as the term that involves borrowing or code-switching, etc. The interference of the two languages works both ways.

In my work, I deal with the cross-linguistic influence of the English and Slovak languages and use the term the interference-like errors to describe the influence of the two languages. The errors are classified as interference-like ones where we can identify the language and recognize its structures (Weinreich 1953, 7; Romaine 1989, 50).

For the purposes of my study, the actual types of interference-like errors are not important as they do not reflect language acquisition and development in their genuine sense. Moreover, such errors "at the level of the individual, interference may be sporadic and idiosyncratic" (Romaine 1989, 50). Thus, I am not going to deal with their detailed classification and description. However, it is important to quantify the interference-like error production in order to compare it with the production of developmental errors.

4. The research and language acquisition

My research concerns a male child called Leon who has been acquiring his two languages ever since he was 3 months old. Slovak is the language spoken to the child by his father (father's native language) and at the same it is the language of the community he lives in. English is the language spoken to the child by his mother (mother's second language) and it is used by his mother exclusively in all the situations and later at the kindergarten in a mixed style (teachers use both English and Slovak instructions, translating them vice-versa when speaking to children). It is necessary to note that the boy spent most of his time since his birth up to the age of 30 months with his mother at home, thus exposed to English about 90% of the time. English was his dominant language during this period of his life. The ratio of the use of the two languages started to change gradually when the boy started to attend kindergarten at the age of 30 months. The influence of the majority's language started to grow and the more time the boy spent during the day outside of his home, the more it was reflected in his interaction in both languages. Although the use of the Slovak language grew considerably, he seems to use both languages naturally and equally at the age of 4 and a half. The language interference can be noted in both languages on morphological, lexical, as well as syntactical levels.

The actual research monitors the period between the boy's age of 24 months (2;0) up to the present (he is 56 months (4;8) old now). Due to the fact that the research does not include the early stages, it concentrates only on the morphological, lexical and syntactic levels. The research sample was drawn from 225 video/audio recordings made 2-3 times a week for

1-30 min sessions and a diary kept over the past 2 years. Fifteen recordings (one for every month) were selected to analyse the language acquisition of the child from the age of 2;0 to 4;6 in order to provide partial results. The data was collected in various situations (playing, eating, reading, etc.).

In order to obtain the most comprehensive picture, I decided to combine both the qualitative as well as quantitative methods in my analysis. The qualitative aspect of analysis concerns the language acquisition development from a perspective of early utterances, word order and case, irregular past tense, irregular plural, subject drop, Wh-questions, inversion, relative clauses, passives, etc. The quantitative aspect studies the MLU[1] or "mean length of utterances" (Brown 1973) and its growth throughout the research. Leon's overall language development is summarized by the analysis of the acquisition of the most common English morphemes (Table 7-2, Fig. 7-3).

My work maps the longitudinal study of a single child language acquisition in details within a period of 36 months and I intend to continue for another 12 months. This will also cover the period of the intellectualization of a language which starts around the age of 4 (Lechta 1990, 43).

The research does not include any cross-sectional study, which would have involved a broader spectrum of children. As mentioned above, this specific type of bilingualism has only just become a very new phenomenon in Slovakia and at the moment it is not performed widely enough to allow for a greater sample of children with comparable attributes: roughly the same age, acquiring the same two languages in the same way – 5th type of bilingual acquisition (Romaine 1989, 166–8) in a similar family background.[2]

5. Case study analyses – partial results of the selected samples

In this part of the chapter, I would like to demonstrate the practical part of my research work that provides some indications of the future outcomes.

[1] MLU – Mean Length of Utterance is further discussed in Section 5.1.

[2] The other young bilinguals I know learn either different languages (German, Italian, Hebrew) or are at different ages or different family backgrounds (e.g., the father is the English native speaker). It is very likely that in a few years' time, this new trend in Slovakia will become a parents' common practice and examining a greater spectrum of children might then become feasible.

This section includes a partial analysis of 15 recordings, given that the actual research is still ongoing and will continue for another 12 months.

Prior to any analysis, it is more than necessary to mention a typical pattern that occurs in any development of cognitive skills, which can be found especially in language acquisition: U-shape learning in language acquisition => initial correct use => overuse of the identified pattern – overregularization => a child learns exceptions to the general rules (O'Grady 2005, 22).

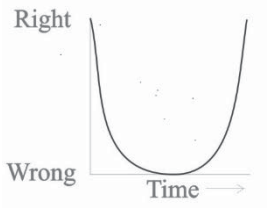

Fig. 7-1. U-shape learning development

As we will see later, the U-shape learning accompanies literally every language phenomenon acquired by children to a greater or lesser degree. It concerns most of the grammatical categories that show some sort of irregularity: e.g., irregular past tense and past participles in verbs, irregular plural in nouns, irregular comparatives and superlatives of adjectives and adverbs, morpheme *-s* marking of the 3rd person singular in Present Simple, etc.

5.1. Mean Length of Utterance in morphemes

For the purposes of my analysis, I used the mean length of utterance in morphemes (MLUm) introduced by Brown (Brown 1973). Prior to Brown's introduction of MLUm, the mean length of utterance in words (MLUw) was used to evaluate children's language development. According to the present study, both MLUw and MLUm seem almost correlate perfectly in the measurement of gross language development, yet the MLUm serves not only to measure the gross linguistic productivity in children, but it also indicates the development of their morphological and syntactic skills. The MLUm is a valuable estimate of children's language acquisition and a benchmark for a normative language acquisition and morphological and syntactic development expected at a certain age. It is measured in so called meaning bearing elements (MBE), which represent a number of morphemes bearing either syntactical or morphological

meaning within a spontaneous utterance. The sample of 100 utterances is considered to be an ideal one.

In order to demonstrate the difference in MLUm and MLUw I will use the following example:

(1) Leon (3;7): "*The trees are dancing, mummy.*" (Leon describing a very windy day.)

MLUw counts 5 words:

(2) *"The trees are dancing, mummy."*
1 2 3 4 5 – 5 words

MLUm counts 7 mean bearing elements:

(3) *"The tree-s are danc-ing, mummy."*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 – 7 meaning bearing elements

When we compare the MLUw and MLUm of the above example, the analysis of MLUm offers more details and reflects the correct use of the plural in nouns marked by "*-s*" in the word "*trees*" as well as the correct use of the Present Progressive form marked by "*-ing*" in the word "*dancing.*"

The main reason why I decided to apply the MLUm as a measurement tool is that my method of research includes not only a quantitative approach, but also a qualitative one. I sense that this is a crucial part of the analysis in the type of bilingualism that my work deals with. There are some more examples below:

(4) Leon (4;0): *"My foots are on the mat."*
(5) Leon (4;2): *"Mummy but the medicine don't helps."*
(6) Leon (4;3): *"Why did it breaked?"*
(7) Leon (4;5): *"I am the bestiest."*

The sentence *My foots are on the mat* demonstrates that Leon knows that the plural of the noun should be used and it is morphologically marked by an *-s*. The utterance *Mummy but the medicine don't helps* reflects that he recognizes that the 3rd person singular of an English verb is morphologically marked by an *-s*. The example *Why did it breaked?* shows that he learnt that the morpheme *-ed* forms the Simple Past. The utterance *I am the bestiest* proves that Leon figured out that the superlatives are formed by the definite article *the* and *-est*.

All these examples show that Leon is aware of the grammatical patterns, but he is not aware of any irregularities in these language phenomena and he does not use them correctly. Shall the recognized patterns be counted as separate meaning bearing elements?

My approach to the analysis of such utterances will be the following: using MLUm as a measurement tool will reflect not only the quantitative aspect of the language acquisition, but the qualitative one as well. I think that the fact that the child is aware of the grammatical patterns must not be overlooked and must be taken into consideration. Therefore, I will count the cases that represent the obviously identified grammatical patterns as the separate mean bearing elements. In order to present the method of MLUm count clearly, I will refer to The Protocol for calculating MLU below (Table 7-1).

Table 7-1. Protocol for calculating the MLUm [Source: Johnson (2005, 4)]

How to count morphemes	
Method:	
1	Select 100 completely intelligible utterances (i.e., if even one word in an utterance is not understood, that utterance is excluded from the analysis. Words that are unintelligible are transcribed as x.)
2	Count the morphemes in each utterance according to the guidelines set out in the 'DO count' and 'DO NOT count' sections below.
3	Add the number of morphemes for all 100 utterances to give a total number of morphemes used.
4	Divide the total number of morphemes used obtained in step 3 above by 100 to get the mean length of utterance.
DO count:	
1	The *-s* plural marker (e.g. *cat-s*, *dogs-s*). Count it even when used on irregular plurals (e.g. *mouse-s*). [Exception: plurals never occurring in the singular (e.g. *pants*, *clothes*) count as just one morpheme.]
2	The *-ed* past tense marker (*walk-ed*, *play-ed*). The *-ed* morpheme is counted even when used improperly (*go-ed*, *drink-ed*).
3	The *-ing* present participle marker (e.g. *walk-ing*, *count-ing*).
4	The *-s* 3rd person regular tense marker (e.g. *he like-s sweets*, *Bob walk-s fast*). [Exception: *does* counts as one morpheme.]
5	Possessive *-'s* marker (e.g. *mummy's hat*, *boy's toy*).
6	Contractions (e.g. *she's*, *he'll*, *they're*, *what's*, *she'd*, *we've*, *can't*, *aren't* would all count as 2 morphemes each). [Exceptions: *let's*, *don't* and *won't* are assumed to be understood as single units, rather than as a contraction of two words, so are just counted as one morpheme.]

DO NOT count:	
1	False starts, reformulations, or repetitions unless the repetition is for emphasis (e.g. "[then] then [he go] he went to the zoo" is counted as 6 morphemes; "No! No! No!" is counted as 3).
2	Compound words, reduplications, and proper names count as single words (e.g. *fireman*, *choo-choo*, *Big Bird*).
3	Irregular past tense verbs and irregular plurals count as one morpheme (e.g. *took*, *went*, *mice*, *men*).
4	Diminutives (e.g. *doggie*, *horsie*, *dolly*) and catenatives (e.g. *gonna*, *wanna*, *hafta*) count as one morpheme.
5	Fillers (e.g. *um*, *well*, *oh*, *um hmm*)

Fifteen sample recordings were used for the MLUm count (Fig. 7-2). The samples ranged from 27 to 62 utterances per a recording (452 altogether). I would like to stress that for the purposes of the partial results only one recording per month was analysed and more recordings are to be analysed. Here are some examples of Leon's utterances at different ages that illustrate growth in the MLU represented by the blue line in the Figure 7-2:

(8) Leon (2;2): *"Teddy body."* - meaning *"Teddy's body"* – 2 MBE
• •

(9) Leon (3;10): *"I am going to show them to daddy."* – 9 MBE
• • •• • • • • •

(10) Leon (4;6): *"And then there was a crane **what** was helping Captain*
• • • • • • • • • • • •
Hook to get away." – 15 MBE
• • • •

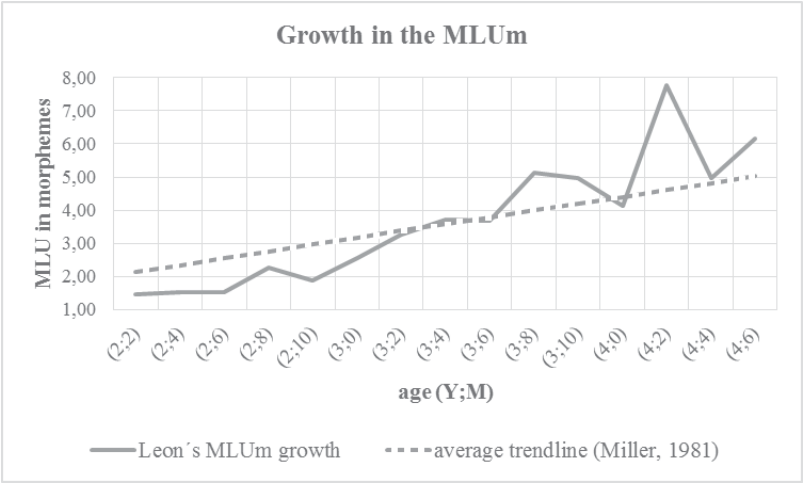

Fig. 7-2. Growth in the MLUm

Figure 7-2 demonstrates that, at the beginning, Leon's speech development reflects lower MLUm than the average trendline introduced by Miller (1981). Leon reaches the average MLUm production at the age of 39 months (3;3) and later he exceeds the average at the age of 50 months (4;2) for a short period of time. The U-shape curve of language development can be identified several times representing leaps between the individual stages of development. Leon's initial MLUm production seems to reflect his "analytic" as opposed to the "gestalt" language learning style (Peters 1977). Children using the analytic learning style pay attention to the vertical segmental information in a single syllable focusing on details of their consonants and vowels. These children produce clear, often one-word-at-the-time utterances. Children with the gestalt language learning style break the speech flow into greater chunks and often learn whole phrases and sentences. They produce larger utterances, but often with a rather poor and inconsistent pronunciation concentrating on horizontal (prosodic) information of the speech flow such as the number of syllables, stress and intonation patterns. This explains why Leon's first few months' performance seems to be under average. However, once he picked up enough words his ability to produce larger utterances rapidly increased.

5.2. Order of English morpheme acquisition

A clearer and more detailed picture of Leon's language development is provided by the analysis of the acquisition of the most common English morphemes. The order of their acquisition was introduced by Brown (1973) and later developed by Miller (1981) as illustrated in Table 7-2.

Table 7-2. The order of acquisition of English morphemes [Source: Brown (1973) and Miller (1981)]

rank	morphological feature	examples	age of mastery*	Leon's age of mastery
1	present progressive *-ing*	daddy singing, mummy playing	19-28	30
2	in	key in cup, ball in box	27-30	32
3	on	ball on bed, cup on table	27-33	34
4	regular plural *-s*	two cats, three dogs	27-33	30
5	irregular past tense	mummy fell, daddy went	25-46	50
6	possessive *'s*	mummy's hat, daddy's car	26-40	31
7	uncontractible copula	she is (response to who is happy?)	28-46	41
8	articles	mummy got a dog, the ball	28-46	41
9	regular past tense *-ed*	daddy walked, a car crashed	26-48	42
10	regular third person *-s*	mummy walks, daddy plays	28-50	44
11	irregular third person	mummy does, daddy has a ball	28-50	42
12	uncontractible auxiliary	she is (response to *who is coming?*)	29-48	44
13	contractible copula	he's happy (cf. *he is happy*)	29-49	43
14	contractible auxiliary	mummy's playing (cf. *mummy is playing*)	30-50	42

* Used correctly 90% of the time in obligatory contexts, i.e., in contexts in which Standard English requires the use of the morpheme (e.g., in the utterance "he is talking" it is obligatory to add an *-ing* suffix because it is required in the context of a progressive action (Johnson 2005, 3)).

The comparison of Leon's order of acquisition of English morphemes with the average age of mastery is illustrated below (Fig. 7-3).

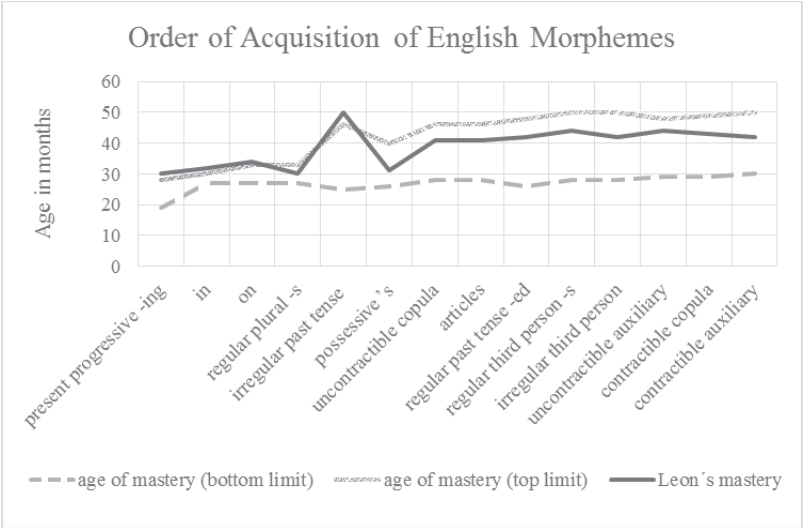

Fig. 7-3. The order of acquisition of English morphemes

The dashed line shows the bottom age and the blurred line shows the top age limits of their acquisition by English native children according to Brown (1973) and Miller (1981). The analysis of Leon's acquisition of English morphemes is based on the 15 samples as described herein and it is represented by the solid line. It demonstrates that Leon's acquisition of English morphemes tends to draw nearer to the top age limits and he even exceeds them in some cases. The correlation between the MLU growth and acquisition of English morphemes can be seen. Leon reached the average MLU production at the age of 39 months (3;3) and acquired the correct use of most of the analysed English morphemes between the age of 41–44 months (3;5–3;8). This demonstrates that, as soon as Leon started to produce longer utterances, they reflected his use and practice of the grammatical phenomena and their correct use.

5.3. Developmental versus interference-like errors

Dulay and Burt (1974) have identified four possible types of errors occurring in second language acquisition:

1. **Developmental errors:** produced as normal developmental patterns expected to occur in any monolingual child acquisition
2. **Interference-like errors:** reflect native/another language structures and are not found in first language acquisition
3. **Ambiguous errors:** can be classified as neither interference nor developmental errors
4. **Unique errors:** are none of the previously mentioned

The first two groups of errors are the focus of my primary interest. Both types of errors can be quite clearly identified and analysed as opposed to the other two. An important point to be mentioned is that this study does not deal with the mother's errors in English due to the fact that this is not the main interest of this work. Based on the results of the Oxford Placement Test, the mother's English competence level has been placed to C1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, which defines her as a Proficient user of general English.

As delineated above, two major error groups are to be followed in my analysis. Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 provide some examples of the errors to be addressed.

5.3.1. Developmental errors

Developmental errors occur as a part of developmental sequence in any language acquisition as described by Romaine (1989, 195–202). O'Grady (1997, 7) refers to the "stages" that language learners pass through while acquiring language phenomena, which emerge in an approximate chronological order (O'Grady 1997, 13–215). Here are the main types of these phenomena and some corresponding examples I found in my research:

Early utterances – telegraphic-like speech:
(11) Leon (2;2): *"No apple."* instead of *"I don't want an apple."*

Subject drop:
(12) Leon (3;6): *"Now is going to the train tracks."* instead of *"Now the car is going to the train tracks."*

Word order:
(13) Leon: (4;6): *"On the sticker you must put the glue."* instead of *"You must put the glue on the sticker."*

Plural overregularization:
(14) Leon (3;7): *"Have you got four mouses?"* instead of *"Have you got four mice?"*

Past tense overregularization:
(15) Leon (4;0): *"First it rained and then the blue sky comed."* instead of *"First it rained and then the blue sky came."*

Two different examples of adjectives superlative overregularization:
(16) Leon (4;4): *"When somebody is very good, he will get ten stars because he is the goodiest."* instead of *"When somebody is very good, he will get ten stars because he is the best."*

(17) Leon (4;5): *"I am the bestiest."* instead of *"I am the best."*

Overregularization of morpheme "*-s*" marking the 3rd person singular in Present Simple:
(18) Leon (4;5): *"It dont's hurt me."* instead of *"It doesn't hurt me."*

Relative clauses:
(19) Leon (4;6): *"Still, I've got a little white place what I need to colour in."* instead of *"I've still got a little white place that I need to colour in."*

Passives:
(20) Leon (4;6): *"Quite soon, I am finished."* instead of *"I'll be finished soon."*

Wh-questions:
(21) Leon (4;4): *"Before where he work?"* instead of *"Where did he work before?"*

Inversion
(22) Leon (4;6): *"On the trip, we've seen this kind of sticker, ok?"* instead of *"Have we seen this kind of sticker on the trip?"*

A very interesting phenomenon can be observed in the above example of the superlative overregularization *I am the bestiest*, in which the superlative morpheme *best* is double marked by another superlative morpheme *-est*. It can be described as morphological "tautology" dealt with by Szymanek (2015).

5.3.2. Interference-like errors

According to Grosjean (2010, 53–7), interference appears for many different reasons: notions or concepts are better expressed in the other language, filling a linguistic need for a word or expression, communicative or social strategies, etc. When considering bilingual children, Grosjean observed that interference corresponds with their language dominance:

> They will produce interferences and they will insert elements of their stronger language into their weaker language as a stop-gap measure. But as soon as they have picked up enough of the second language, they will increasingly speak that language. (Grosjean 2010, 198)

Here are some examples to demonstrate the observed language interference in my study:

Code-switching:
(23) Leon (4;0): *"Mummy, look, aha?"* instead of *"Mummy look, see?"* – use of the Slovak interjection

Borrowing in English:
(24) Leon (3;7): *"How is it called?"* instead of *"What is it called?"* – use of a Slovak interrogative pronoun

Borrowing in Slovak:
(25) Leon (3;10): *"Musím finish toto, čo robím."* meaning *"I have to finish what I am doing."* – use of an English word in a Slovak utterance

Morphologically marked borrowing: a Slovak diminutive morpheme added to an English word forming a diminutive in an English utterance:
(26) Leon (4;6): *"Look, snailik here?"* instead of "*Look, a little snail here?"* – use of the Slovak morpheme – *ik* marking a diminutive from of a noun (e.g., *slimáč-ik = a little snail = snail-ik*)

Morphologically marked borrowing: an English word and a Slovak inflectional morpheme added to it in a Slovak utterance:
(27) Leon (3;11): *"U Hanky som jedol rybu s breadom"* meaning *"I have eaten fish and bread at Hanka's."* – use of the Slovak inflection morpheme *-om* of the Slovak word *chlieb = bread* in the instrumental

case *chleb-om* = *bread-om*. The Slovak inflectional morpheme was used correctly but with an English word.

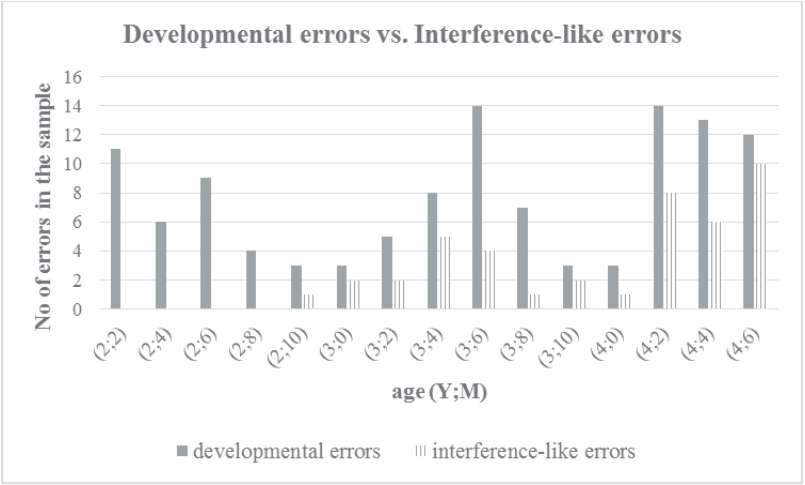

Fig. 7-4. Developmental errors vs. Interference-like errors

The graph in Figure 7-4 shows that Leon's first months of English language acquisition seem to be unaffected by Slovak. He used to spend most of his time at home with his mother who exclusively spoke English to him. He was in contact with the Slovak language only in the evening for about one or two hours when his father came home from work or during the weekend. There were also some occasional contacts with his Slovak relatives. The first language interference-like errors occurred a couple of months after he started to attend the nursery at the age of (2;10). The tendency to make interference-like errors has been growing with age as he has been speaking more Slovak than English during the day at the nursery. The U-shape curve of language development can be observed twice, which also shows an increase of interference-like error production. So far the developmental errors dominate over the interference-like ones.

6. Conclusion

The various types of analyses given above reflect Leon's English language development from different perspectives, i.e., error production, MLUm and acquisition of English morphemes point of view. Nevertheless, all the results lead to the very same conclusion: Leon's English language

acquisition and development is slightly delayed compared to an English native speaker. However, he appears to encounter the same developmental patterns and follows the same language acquisition complexity as that of an English native speaker. In my opinion, there are a few reasons for his language development delay – firstly, we have to take into account Leon's analytical style of learning at the beginning, then the restricted exposure to an English speaking environment and, last but not least, the interference of the other language being acquired simultaneously (Slovak). My observation corresponds with the one of Romaine's who states that

> …bilingual children pass through the same developmental milestones in much the same order and the same way in both their languages as monolinguals, but sometimes the onset of acquisition is delayed in their respective languages… (Romaine 1989, 195)

and then

> Even when the onset of acquisition is delayed in the bilingual, children apparently make up for the lost time, but pass through the same developments in both languages simultaneously. (Romaine 1989, 195)

Up to this point in my research, I can state that the challenge of making your child bilingual seems to have a desirable outcome. The fact that English is not the mother's native language appears not to play an important role, presumably due to the fact that her knowledge of English is on the C1 level of the CEFR. Leon can produce comparable utterances in both languages and shows the respective language competence normative for his age. Additional conclusions are to be expected upon the completion of my research.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

APPLYING THE RELEVANCE THEORETIC UNDERSTANDING OF CONCEPTS TO THE PURSUIT OF TRANSPARENCY OF MEANING IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

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1. Introduction

The chapter is devoted to an analysis of the use of the concept TIRED in the context of psychotherapy, drawing on work concerning how concepts are comprehended in the framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995). It aims to illustarte how an awareness of certain aspects of the relevance theoretic account of concepts may be applied to the talk of the therapist in order to help better clarify the meaning of what the client is seeking to communicate. The objective of this study is to propose new linguistic and non-linguistic ways of elaborating on the client's meaning, for potential use in therapeutic practice.

For reasons of functional applicability and simplicity, there are two limitations to the content of the present chapter: the first is that the choice of examples has been limited to two, both intended to be understood non-metaphorically, the second is that we omit any discussion of the positive and negative aspects of the analysis of ad hoc concepts. We will, however, give some consideration to both the vintage/canonical version of the understanding of concepts that emerged within Relevance Thoery (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995), as well as other, newer ideas on the conceptual meaning in (Carston 2010; Mioduszewska-Crawford 2015). We will also draw upon the fact that the present author is the psychotherapist who actually participated in the conversations cited herein, supplying further first-hand, background knowledge concerning the psychotherapeutic context. Relevance Theory (RT), as a general theory of cognition and

communication, is based on two principles. The cognitive principle assumes that all human behavior is geared to the maximization of relevance, whereas the communicative principle states that each communicative act carries the assumption of its own optimal relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995). The process of comprehension involves combining together different kinds of information in order to yield maximum cognitive effects for the smallest cognitive effort. In the comprehension process, the hearer retrieves the informative intention of the speaker via a mutual adjustment process. In the task of forming appropriate explicatures and implicatures, the hearer tests the interpretive hypotheses in order of accessibility, and stops when their expactations for relevance are met (Wilson and Sperber 2002, 262).

In what has been called the vintage (Reboul 2011) or canonical (Mioduszewska-Crawford 2015) approach to concepta within Relevance Theory, concepts are perceived as basic constituents of the logical forms as well as of propositional forms of assumptions (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995, 85). They are viewed as stable and enduring entities that possess **encyclopaedic** (e.g., cultural, individual knowledge about the world, the extension and/or denotation of the concept), **logical** (a set of deductive rules connected with a given concept), as well as **lexical** (grammatical and phonological information) entries (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995, 86; Wałaszewska 2012, 13). In more recent approaches to the understanding of concepts in RT (e.g., Carston 2010), a concept may be thought of more as an address in memory to which different types of information is linked (cf. Eysenck and Keane 2000, 9). The content or semantics of this entity is its denotation what it refers to in the world. This information includes conceptually represented assumptions and beliefs with differing strength as well as imagistic and/or sensory-perceptual representations (Carston 2010, 245). The relationship between a concept and its lexical form is varied. In general, "the mapping [between the lexical form and the word in the mental lexicon] is partial, (...) only a fraction of the conceptual repertoire is lexicalized" (Sperber and Wilson 1997, 4). What follows is that the lexical meaning of a word may encode a full-fledged concept, albeit one that is unstructured – the lexical entry does not specify any further information about its content or semantic behaviour (Carston 2010, 244). In such a case there is a simple mapping from the lexical form to a mental concept. However, there may also be a one-to-many mapping between a lexical form and concepts in the language of thought, or Mentalese. Several words may refer to a single concept (synonymy) or one word may refer to different concepts in the mind (polysemy) (Sperber and Wilson 1997).

In this more recent strand of work within Relevance Theory, sometimes referred to as "Carston's pragmatics" (Carston 2010; Mioduszewska-Crawford 2015), concepts may be ineffable and created ad hoc (Carston 2002, 2010). One individual word may be used to convey indefinitely many concepts depending on the requirements of the occasion specific situation and on the choice of encyclopaedic assumptions used in the comprehension process.

TIRED is among the concepts that has already been discussed by relevance theorists (Carston 2010, 249–50; Sperber and Wilson 1998, 195–7). In Carston's (2010) analysis, for instance, TIRED is seen as being able to take on a range of different, fine-tuned meanings: TIRED* to the extent of being able to do something; TIRED** to the extent of being unable to do something; TIRED*** associated with the need to lie down. Depending on the context a specific ad hoc concept TIRED*, TIRED**, TIRED***, etc., may be activated. In conversation, therefore, TIRED must be narrowed down to either TIRED*, TIRED** or TIRED***. According to Sperber and Wilson's initial perspective on concepts, TIRED would mean something very individual, included in the encyclopaedic entry of the concept, which may include a range of emotional, visual and bodily sensations accompanying the specific context in which the client feels/felt tired.

As far as psychotherapeutic practice is concerned, we will be viewing it in terms of "transparency of meaning," which is considered one of the norms that should be present in psychotherapy and is believed to be the result of efforts to clarify the meaning and significance of a client's verbal and non-verbal input (Pawelczyk 2010). As such, it functions one of the "unstated goals" of therapy, alongside self-verbalization/self-disclosure on the part of the client and the communication of emotions. The former aspect may be defined as "revealing, stating out loud and sharing some personally important (…) experiences with others" (Pawelczyk 2010, 123), whereas the latter is connected with regulating emotions via accessing, soothing and transforming core maladaptive emotion schemes (Pawelczyk 2010, 194). Pawelczyk describes transparency of meaning as the "therapist's and client's identical understanding of the client's proffered communicative acts in the effect of the therapist's ongoing interactional work (...)" (Pawelczyk 2010, 120). This definition of transparency of meaning presented by Pawelczyk appears to correspond well with what is understood as the "mutually shared cognitive environment" in Relevance Theory. Thus, the greater the mutually shared content of the cognitive environment of the therapist and the client (in

cognitive and communicative terms), the greater the transparency of meaning (in psychotherapeutic terms).

In successful therapy, clients often come to better understand their reliance on certain abstract and/or all-encompassing words and notions; these tend to be confronted by the therapist in order to justify, comment on or reflect on the significance of a specific word, interactional strategy or aspect of non-verbal behaviour, which is not expected in everyday regular conversations. In order for the client to become explicit in presenting his or her experience, the therapist and the client need to build a relationship of trust based on involvement (Tannen 1989).

Different methods exist for attaining transparency of meaning in the context of psychotherapy. A short list of strategies that may be used when working on transparency of meaning is presented below (Pawelczyk 2010):

1. The "What do you mean?" strategy ("other-initiated repair;" "next-turn repair invitation");
2. The therapist's backchannel cues ("yeah," "right;" overt latching ("keep going") to indicate that client should continue her reflections);
3. The therapist askings about cases where there is lack of coherence between verbal and non-verbal behaviour;
4. Referring to the imagistic effect.

This seemingly short list of strategies available to the therapist is nevertheless considered sufficient for most psychotherapeutic encounters. As for point 4, Tannen (1989) claims that imagery and emotions are close together on many levels. She points out that images are created from scenes, and scenes from details. Paying detailed attention to certain concepts in therapy should lead not only to greater appreciation of their imagistic content, but also more transparent in meaning. This would put attention to imagery on a par with transparency of meaning. Furthermore, imagery, if present in psychotherapeutic communication, should make such communication more transparent.

2. An analysis

The first example to be presented in this chapter depicts a moment in therapy, when a more nuanced awareness of the conceptrual system, as reflected in the relevance theoretic approach to concepts, could have been applied to achieve a better therapeutic outcome. It is a negative example,

in the sense that it does not show how transparency of meaning might be attained. The second example, in turn, illustrates the positive application of the relevance theoretic understanding of concepts to a therapeutic relationship, where the therapist shows better transparency-building skills as a result.

Example 1 below is taken from the middle of a session, in the middle of the course of therapy with a client called "Kathy" (aged 19) whose main problem was sleeplessness. The psychotherapeutic technique used in the example is called the arrow-down technique, which involves asking specific questions like "What is the worst thing about…?", "What happens after…?" and facilitates the client retrieving deeper layers of thoughts (Leahy 2008).

Example 1.

Therapist: (...) Jakby Pani dokończyła zdanie Jeśli nie zasnę, to?
'How would you finish the sentence If I don't fall asleep, then?'
(10.0)
Client: to mogę być zmęczona↑
'then I might be tired'
Therapist: hm. A jeśli będę zmęczona, to co wtedy?
'hm. And If I am tired, then what?'
(7.0)
Client: to będę się gorzej czuła na przykład.
'then I will feel worse for example'
Therapist: hm. <Jeśli będę zmęczona, to będę się gorzej czuła> ((zapisywanie)) Jeśli się będzie Pani gorzej czuła, tak↑, to co wtedy?
'hm. <If I am tired, I will feel worse> ((writing down)) If you feel worse, right, then what?'
(14.0)
Client: no nie wiem.
'well, I don't know'

At the moment in therapy where this piece of conversation took place, the client and therapist already shared a number of mutually manifest assumptions about the way they proceeded in therapy. The relationship between Kathy and her therapist is one of respect, trust and being committed to resolving the client's problem. This is essential for proceeding further with the analysis of dysfunctional assumptions.

Without it, talking about deeper appraisals would not be possible at all (Pawelczyk 2010; Tannen 1989).

At the time of the conversation, however, the therapist failed to realize that the understanding of the invoked meaning of the concept TIRED could be further explored in order to better understand the meaning communicated by the client. Therapist's contextual assumptions were revolving around going further with the arrow-down method in search for some deeper assumptions and core beliefs. In relevance-theoretic terms, the therapist stopped processing the meaning of the word "tired" with the first hypothesis created. However, unlike in regular conversations, it seems that in psychotherapy the therapist should have considered and elaborated on further hypotheses about the speaker's intended meaning – greater effort invested in such processing may indeed pay off in the form of greater relevance to the therapist (and thus more successful therapy).

The client's responses in the example take time, as she tends to ponder the questions. She repeatedly says "I don't know," which typically means that she is either avoiding going into a potentially delicate area, does not wish to be assessed, shuns disagreement, is minimizing impoliteness, marking uncertainty or saying she does not have enough information (Pawelczyk 2010, 158). With the use of the arrow-down technique, backchannel cues like "right" or "hm" as well as silence and a lowered tone of voice, the therapist is able to encourage the client's verbalization of further intimate material. However, the therapist is not necessarily able to achieve much clarity in meaning-making. It seems that if the therapist had concentrated more on exploring a more nuanced understanding of concepts, she might have achieved more transparency leading to greater emotional attunement and self-verbalization.

One explicature that the client develops from the therapist's first question may go something as follows: "The therapist wants me (Kathy) to tell her/is asking me (Kathy) about how I (Kathy) would finish a sentence about what would happen if I (Kathy) did not fall asleep at night." This explicature is a higher-order one, i.e., it incorporates more than one level of representation. The first level is connected with the posing of the question by the therapist. The second one involves the conditional statement. The contextual assumptions brought to bear by the client in further interpreting this explicature likely included various thoughts and assumptions such as "If I fall asleep, I'll lose control and something bad will happen to me" or "If I don't fall asleep, I'll feel tired and I'll get a worse grade" (although it is of course impossible to say with certainty how conscious any of these cognitive assumptions may have been to the client). On the basis of the extract as well as on what follows in the course of the

session, it is probable that the contextual premise retrieved may be in the form "If I don't fall asleep, I am tired." However, it is equally possible that these premises were disconnected, i.e., with the client having had the thoughts "I'm tired" and "I can't fall asleep." Given the new information, which is the therapist's question, the client formulates the contextual implication that "If I don't fall asleep, I am tired" and provides this information to the therapist as a response to the question heard. Thus, depending on the initial knowledge or awareness of the client, different relevance theoretic processes of comprehension andcommunication might have taken place.

Another possibility is that the image of a situation or situations of falling asleep, not falling asleep or being tired might have been activated. The images might be accompanied by emotions and bodily experience. Unfortunately, at the time of the conversation, the therapist did not consider such a hypothesis. If she had, the conversation would have probably moved towards attaining transparency of meaning through the exploration of imagery and possibly through metaphor, which is close to imagery (Carston 2012; Tannen 1989).

The explicature of the client's turn is that "the client has a feeling of being tired". Again, the therapist's thoughts – her contextual assumptions – were revolving around proceeding further with the arrow-down method in search for some deeper assumptions and core beliefs. The therapist promptly pursues her line of thought by saying "and if you are tired, then what?", and as such a potentially productive route of therapy becomes lost. To pursue it, the follow-up question might instead have been "What does it mean to be tired?" or "How does it feel to be tired?". The therapist may also have reacted with a partial repetition by saying "tired" or a paraphrase like "So after you have a night with some problems with falling asleep, you feel exhausted/you feel tired."

Instead, what happened at this meeting was that the client and the therapist engaged in further questioning, which employed many levels of metarepresentational abilities and a lot of processing effort. For the client, the higher-order explicature of the therapist's input is that "the therapist is asking me about what happens if I do not fall asleep at night and I am tired." Again, at least three levels of representations are involved: "The therapist asks me…", "I feel tired," "If I don't fall asleep." It is also clear that reference assignment must be made to the therapist and the client. The explicature is also enriched with a time expression "at night." A process of narrowing down the meaning of the invoked concept TIRED should also have been attempted. At this moment, the client's contextual assumptions might already have included the assumption "If I don't fall asleep, I'll feel

tired." Cognitive effects may involve either a strengthening of her assumption that "if she (the client) doesn't fall asleep, she will feel tired." Alternatively, based on past experience, the assumption might be as follows: "if I don't fall asleep I feel worse than usual/than when I fall asleep." Thus, the route in which the conversation developed was effort-demanding yet provided little cognitive as well as non-cognitive (therapeutic) effects to the client.

For the client, the effort was much greater, as the processing was more time-consuming and involved much more thinking and retrieving of different information involved. Possibly, her cognitive effects led to a deeper level of understanding of the problem and greater self-understanding as she managed to name the emotion resulting from the situation of her insomnia. Despite that, it seems that if the therapist had relied more on the here-and-now of the therapeutic conversation, the outcome could have been greater for both the participants. If the therapist had applied an approach more in line with the relevance theoretic perspective on concepts, she would have probably asked about the exact meaning of the concept TIRED, which would have furthered her understanding of the emotional situation of the client and would have triggered additional self-disclosure. What is more, she would have been more conscious of the possibility of imagery being involved. It seems highly probable that in the discussion the client might have experienced many phenomenological and imagistic sensations. As for the therapist, the processing effort as well as the cognitive effects obtained are lower than expected. The therapist relies largely on the chosen therapeutic technique, and learns only about the consequence of the client's inability to fall asleep.

If some of the insights of Sperber and Wilson's (1998) perspective on concepts had been brought to bear by the therapist, TIRED would have been taken to mean something very individual, included in her encyclopaedic entry of the concept, possibly embracing all kinds of emotional, visual and bodily sensations accompanying the specific context in which the client feels tired. Yet, the assumption that the therapist accesses under the concept TIRED is "If I feel tired, I should/I want to go to bed and fall asleep." This shows that the meanings the therapist's and to the client's concepts of TIRED are quite different in this exchange. Thus, the therapist might also have contrasted the different pieces of information stored under the concept TIRED and put them under discussion, enriching the understanding of the feeling of being tired.

As such, attention to the possible existence of ad hoc concepts like TIRED*, TIRED**, etc., might have also improved the performance of

the therapist. It is doubtful that these concepts have any encyclopaedic entry in themselves, but are instead likely based on elements of the encyclopaedic entry of the mother concept TIRED selected for the specific requirements of the situation (Carston 2002). The therapist ideally could have sought to further pin down the occasion-specific meaning of the concept TIRED, which would have led to better transparency of meaning in this psychotherapeutic session.

Let us now turn to example 2, which presents an extract providing information about the use of the concept of TIRED in the context of therapy with "Dona" (28 years old). The client suffers from a fear of losing her health, sometimes called hypochondriasis. The dialogue in example 2 takes place at the very beginning of a session (which was not recorded; the extract represents the therapist's recollection of it from soon thereafter). The therapy was conducted online, as the client lives in one of the arid countries in the Middle East.

Example 2.

Therapist:	Wygląda dziś Pani na zmęczoną?! Czy coś się dzieje? "You look tired today?! Is something happening?"
Client:	Tak (.) jest burza piaskowa i wszyscy chorują. Na dodatek od trzech dni strasznie boli mi brzuch (.) jestem na antybiotykach (.) miałam biegunkę, ale już mi powoli przechodzi (.) no i dlatego jestem taka zmęczona// "Yes (.) we have a sand storm and everybody is suffering. And to add to that I've had a strong stomachache for the last three days (.) I'm on antibiotics (.) and that's why I am so tired"
Therapist:	Czy właśnie o tym chciałaby Pani dzisiaj rozmawiać? "Is it what you would like to talk about today?"
Client:	Tak. "Yes."

For Dona, being ill, afraid of catching an illness as well as being tired and dying as a result are essential parts of her problem. The concept TIRED had not been previously analysed in her therapy. It was a concept that was initiated by the therapist when the therapist drew an implicature concerning Dona's suffering, based on contextual information – the look of her eyes, which seemed red and fatigued. The therapist, on seeing the client used her own personal contextual assumptions such as "If somebody has red eyes, s/he may be tired" as well as some of the mutually shared

assumptions concerning the client "Lucy suffers from fear of losing her health." The therapist's conclusion was that it may be important to elaborate on the way the client looks. The therapist's intended contextual assumptions were those connected with Dona's experience of having red eyes and feeling tired. The concept TIRED is used by the therapist very broadly, whereas the client subsequently narrows it down in the next turn, making the meaning of the concept TIRED more transparent. It was also evident to the therapist that the client released some of her tension, the moment she had the chance to go to the reason why she looked tired. Quite possibly she experience a feeling of being taken care of, receiving an empathetic explanation for the way she feels. The client succeeds in grabbing the therapist's attention, which is one of the sustaining factors of hypochondriasis. At the same time, the client's first turn suggests to the therapist the implicature that the client may have good reason to feel tired, leading to the conclusion that it is important to keep to the here-and-now of what is happening. The therapist's second turn is intended as a confirmation of the therapist's assumption that being tired and the concept TIRED may be a useful topic of the session. The client's old information may be connected with the way she feels. "I feel tired," "I feel ill," "Something bad is happening with me," "I may die." The new information is the higher-order explicature of the therapist's question: "The therapist is asking me if I would like to talk about the way I feel today." The implicature is that the client wants to talk about the feeling of being ill and tired.

The whole session that followed was devoted to making the meaning of the concept of being ill and tired more transparent. The session was successful as the client managed to reach to the very source of her problem connected with concentrating on her bodily experience of being ill and tired.

3. Conclusions

The examples analysed here demonstarte how certain insights drawn from Relevance Theory may positively influence how a therapist approaches the issue of transparency of meaning. This may start with a recognition that the amount of experiences that individuals possess is much greater than the number of words available to them. As such, language is a crucial, yet an imperfect tool for achieving transparency of meaning.

The relevance-theoretic account of concepts maintains that "a concept is an enduring elementary mental structure, which is capable of playing different discriminatory or inferential roles on different occasions in an

individual's mental life" (Sperber and Wilson 1997, 7). This would imply that certain concepts may be crucial to a client's cognitive experience and if their meaning can be made transparent, a change in the cognitive functioning of that individual may take place.

In the examples analysed, being TIRED may be seen as one such concept. As this small selection of examples has sought to illustrate, in such cases it may be useful for the therapist to apply more broadly her knowledge concerning potential aspects of the conceptual meaning of such words. If being tired is important to the client, then it is definitely worthwhile to delve deeper into the complex and nuanced meaning of the concept as it is being used by the client. Of course, the choice of concepts to be made transparent in this way may be limited to those that seem to be playing a certain role in the life and in the psychotherapy of a given client.

According to the relevance-theoretic inferential model of comprehension, the verbal input to the comprehension process is one piece of evidence for, or a pointer to the actual concept that plays a part in the speaker's meaning (Sperber and Wilson 1997, 15). It would behove therapists well to bear this relevance-theoretic assumption firmly in mind, as what we hear or see from the client may just be the outside layer, a pointer to the real meaning that the client wants to communicate or would like to retrieve. For instance, if the therapist had not noticed Dona's red eyes and tiredness, the session might not have started in such a vein or developed so well.

As shown in example 1, while seeking to make the meaning more transparent in psychotherapeutic communication, there may be a tendency on the part of the therapist to meander in the direction of what was idealistically aimed at in the code model of communication – i.e., expecting words to have simple and clear-cut meanings, and proceeding to try to pinpoint them. However, given that the code model is incorrect and insufficient (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995), full transparency of meaning in this sense is equally impossible and idealistic. Thus, it can be said that transparency of meaning can only be improved through closer attention to what is happening, what is said, and what is meant at a psychotherapeutic session.

Finally, we can suggest that the strategies for attaining greater transparency of meaning in psychotherapy, may usefully be extended to include such questions as:

- What kind of experience is linked with the concept of being TIRED?
- What emotions/images/thoughts come to mind when you call yourself TIRED?

- If you look into your past experience, what is there under the idea of being TIRED?
- What happens when you think you are TIRED?
- What can you see in the image of yourself being TIRED?
- How do you picture yourself being TIRED?
- What characterizes somebody like you who is TIRED?
- In the image of somebody/of you being TIRED, where is this person, what is the time/day/weather/the context/the situation, etc.?
- If you close your eyes and see yourself being TIRED, what do you see?

These additional strategies, derived from insights gained from the relevance-theoretic approach to the meaning of concepts, may help therapists devote attention to exploring the possibly multifaceted meanings of specific concepts that appear to be crucial to the client's mental life.

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CHAPTER NINE

POLITICAL SCANDALS AND IMPOLITENESS: THE POLISH "AMBER GOLD" AFFAIR IN TALK SHOWS

BARTHOLOMÄUS NOWAK

1. Introduction

Publications dealing with (im)politeness in political discourse are a side issue. What they have in common is being more focused on the impolite side of politeness. Harris (2001) adopts politeness theory to Prime Minister's Question Time in the British House of Commons. She comes to the conclusion that mitigating strategies to adversarial and confrontational verbal behavior are largely absent (Harris 2001). Pérez de Ayala concludes similarly, stating that "Question Time is a highly aggressive genre, and Face Threatening Acts are intrinsic to its essence" (2001, 143). Yet another author, Ilie (2004), compares the practice of insulting in the House of Commons with the Swedish Parliament. Ilie found out that Members of Parliament (MPs) in both houses are neither being accused nor sanctioned for their verbal attacks. Impoliteness issues in political discourse have been analyzed not only in parliamentary settings. Galasiński (1998) describes how even in a television debate candidates running for the Polish presidency avoid strictly predefined turn-taking rules. The candidates mitigate their rule-breaking by marking it as "insignificant" or as "reluctant" (Galasiński 1998, 180). In general, political campaign debates seem to be a fruitful source of investigation concerning (im)politeness issues (see, for example, Garcia-Pastor 2008 or Agha 1997). Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann (2003, 1545–46) state that there are contexts in which conflictive, uncooperative or even impolite behavior is to be considered as the "normal" behavior. Political discourse indeed belongs to these controversial contexts. Thus, when investigating political discourse,

it seems useful to start from an impoliteness rather than from a (classical) politeness point of view.

Unforeseen incidents in politics can provide meaningful insights into the whole range of verbal impolite behavior. This will be depicted in the following chapter at the example of the "Amber Gold" scandal in Poland in 2012.

A common way to collect the data for political discourse analysis is to focus exclusively on one political sub-genre. For the aims of the present chapter, an issue-driven approach serves as a starting point, as it allows to gain an overview of the various political discourses concerning the "Amber Gold" scandal. Consequently, impolite speech produced by the deputies in the political sub-genre "talk show" will be analyzed as well as impolite parliamentary behavior related to the affair.

2. Theoretical considerations: From politeness to impoliteness

Although this chapter is not meant to provide an exhaustive overview of different approaches in politeness theory or of the evolution from politeness to impoliteness, the most important theoretical developments will be outlined here for a better understanding of the following examinations.

Nowadays, the approach of Brown and Levinson (1978 and 1987) is regarded as the pioneering one. To this day, it is influential for studies dealing with linguistic issues of politeness. Briefly put, Brown and Levinson use a modified concept of "face" (Goffman 1967), with face being the general desire of every adult member of a group for freedom of action and for the approval of others. The first desire is called "negative face," the other "positive face." All utterances in everyday communication are potential sources for a threat or even loss of face. Speakers generally try to avoid the so called "face threatening acts" (FTAs). In most cases, the avoidance of FTAs is not an available option, though. Consequently, speakers try to mitigate a face threat as far as possible. Brown and Levinson (1987) postulate a number of superstrategies to mitigate FTAs as committing an FTA off-record or as using positive politeness (for example, with the goal of seeking agreement or intensifying the interest of the hearer). The adversarial character of some types of discourse is the reason why some researchers developed a framework focused on impoliteness (Culpeper 1996; 2011; Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann 2003; Bousfield 2008). Others, as Locher (2004) or Watts (2003), equally consider impoliteness and politeness. In the present analysis of political

discourse, blaming, insulting or offending the opponent in any way will be treated as impolite, even if these utterances could be perceived as appropriate by all discourse participants, namely the speaker, the recipient and third parties. This approach stands in contradiction to Mills (2003) and others who do not consider an utterance as impolite as long as it takes place in an appropriate context, even if the speaker attacks or insults the recipient.

While the Polish parliamentary discourse is characterized by a lack of interactional behavior, in talk shows we deal with a high degree of verbal interaction. The impact of interaction on impoliteness has been rather neglected in the literature, until Bousfield (2008) extended impoliteness theory to contexts with interaction. He examined military training discourse, parking attendant discourse and police discourse in TV documentaries (Bousfield 2008). It is remarkable that not only is one's individual face at stake, but the face of the whole group or the institution represented by that person. At first sight, a speaker might just be directing an FTA to a parking attendant. At second sight, though, it becomes evident that he is attacking the entire institution the insulted parking attendant stands for (Bousfield 2008, 242). In other words, the addresser is threatening the face of a larger entity via the physically present addressee (Bousfield 2008, 41).

In the case of political discourse, a similar point on the *face* is crucial, namely the existence of a "group face:"

> "Group face" is created by the sum of faces constituted through interactional dyads and is often dependent upon previous, socially cooperative interactions with like-minded, and like-faced people. (Bousfield 2008, 42)

Certainly, this group face is not an already existing, self-purposed and immutable thing:

> [The] Constitution of the face of one member of a group can have an impact on the face constitution and face expectations of other members of a group. (Bousfield 2008, 42)

In political discourse, this implies that members of the same party defend their party colleagues even in situations in which they are clearly aware of their misconducts. On the one hand, the defenders speculate on being defended after possible future failings of their own. On the other hand, they are bonded by their party membership. Thus, failings of others can backdrop to their own face.

Another aspect of face closely related to political discourse is the idea of a "public face" (Gruber 1993)[1] which has been expanded from Brown and Levinson's (1987) face concept. In general, a politician wants to be perceived as

> a rational, trustworthy person whose political ideas and actions are better fitted to the wants and demands of the general public than those of his opponents (Gruber 1993, 3).

In consequence, politicians permanently try to enhance their own public face while at the same time threatening the opponent's public face. They mainly do so using off-record FTAs (Gruber 1993, 3–4).

3. The "Amber Gold" discourse in Poland

On August 13th, 2012, the financial service provider "Amber Gold" has declared bankruptcy. The business model of the company was based on pyramid selling. The bankruptcy culminated in the loss of savings of approximately 20,000 people, all of which are potential voters in parliamentary elections. The illegal financial activities of the company, not detected by the weak national supervisory bodies, made this case politically explosive. The parliamentary debate in the Polish Parliament ("Sejm") on the "Amber Gold" issue took place two weeks after the bankruptcy on August 30th. 175 MPs took the floor, debating on the topic for nearly 13 hours. Because the bankruptcy took place during the so-called "silly season" in the middle of summer, the first issue-related political talk show on Polish TV was aired on September 3rd, followed by the transmissions of other talk shows on September 6th and 7th. The "Amber Gold" scandal has been discussed for overall 60 minutes in these three talk shows put together. Both the remarkably in-depth parliamentary debate and the three talk shows extracts on the conflictual topic constitute the discursive corpus analyzed in this chapter.[2]

Impoliteness in the parliamentary debate on the "Amber Gold" scandal has already been analyzed in Nowak (2013). The main findings are that the MPs do not primarily mitigate FTAs for reasons of politeness or political culture, but in order to produce further FTAs. According to the

[1] Gruber names it "positive public face." For the sake of simplicity, the distinction between the positive and the negative face will not be taken into account here.

[2] The investigated talk shows are the following: "Tomasz Lis na żywo" (3 politicians); "Kropka nad i" (2 politicians); "Forum" (6 politicians).

specific turn taking and addressing system in the Sejm, the MPs have to direct their speech contributions (mostly questions) to one of the opening speakers. Nonetheless, they often circumvent this formal restriction by indirectly addressing and thereby face-threatening others, be it the opponent's entire party or the ruling coalition. Another aspect is how some metaphors or (humorous) quotes recur during the parliamentary debate. So called "rhetorical challenges" can also be considered as a pattern of impolite verbal behavior in the "Amber Gold" debate. A rhetorical challenge usually comes in the form of a question which is either impolite itself, or implicitly impolite because of the unspoken answer it evokes. The frequent occurrence of rhetorical challenges in the Polish parliament is also based on the specific turn taking system which formally eliminates nearly all verbal interactions between speakers. Such restrictive turn taking rules provoke violations. In fierce debates, for example, it is rather common that deputies intervene from the benches.

4. Explicit mentioning of party labels

The debate in the Sejm on the "Amber Gold" scandal follows a clear distribution of roles. There is a group of attackers and one defender (cf. Nowak 2013). With this distribution in mind, the politicians make use of well-prepared impolite strategies during the debate. It is of great interest to them that bystanders can easily comprehend this distribution. Because the deputies do not immediately reach their extra-parliamentary audience, it is not necessary for them to explicitly point out which party they belong to when elaborating their positions in parliament. The media usually choose and compile the utterances in a way which makes it unambiguous for the addressees to identify the respective speaker and his political affiliation. In talk shows, especially when aired live, the messages reach the viewers unfiltered by journalists. Thus, the politicians themselves have a responsibility to avoid ambiguities. One way to achieve this goal is to explicitly mention the opponent's party:

(1)

a. ta odpowiedzialność polityczna spada na ramiona pańskiego środowiska i obozu politycznego, **czyli platformy obywatelskiej**
Joachim Brudziński, Law and Justice[3] ("Forum" 07.09.2012)

[the political responsibility rests upon the shoulders of your political environment and group, **the Civic Platform**[4]]

b. przecież Ministerstwo Infrastruktury tolerowało **w osobie pana Nowaka, szefa platformy obywatelskiej na pomorzu** (…) [to] kolesiostwo
Jacek Kurski, Solidary Poland ("Tomasz Lis na żywo" 06.09.2012)

[obviously, the Ministry of Infrastructure tolerated this cronyism **in the person of Mister Nowak, chief of the Civic Platform in Pomerania** (…)]

Both utterances would be impolite even without mentioning party affiliations, because they are indirect accusations against those responsible for the affair. It could be argued that, on the surface, these FTAs are personally directed to the present deputies in the talk show. Yet, at the same time, they are threatening their public face as politicians. Mentioning the political affiliation unmistakably enhances the face threat to the opponent's public face. This verbal strategy is more frequent if the politicians – whether on the defending/government or attacking/opposition side – are rather unknown in public. An FTA against the prime minister or a well-known leader of the opposition, even if absent, is much more likely to remain unmarked with the party membership than one against a barely known politician.

The talk show guests do not only explicitly mark the political affiliation of their opponents, they often produce FTAs by presupposing only the political party without directly addressing the interlocutors in the studio:

[3] All party names are translated as follows (in the order of appearance): *Law and Justice* ("Prawo i Sprawiedliwość"), *Solidary Poland* ("Solidarna Polska"), *Democratic Left Alliance* ("Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej"), *Polish People's Party* ("Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe"), *Civic Platform* ("Platforma Obywatelska").
[4] All translations are by the author of this chapter.

(2)

Ten wniosek był głosowany przez Sejm i **głosami Platformy Obywatelskiej został odrzucony**, krótko mówiąc nie doszłoby do afery Amber Gold.
Jacek Kurski, Solidary Poland ("Tomasz Lis na żywo" 06.09.2012)

[The Sejm voted on this proposal which **was rejected with the votes of the Civic Platform.** To put it in a nutshell; **if the proposal hadn't been rejected**, the Amber Gold affair wouldn't have happened.]

The speaker also could have addressed his opponent directly by saying, "the proposal was rejected by your votes," but the interlocutors in political talk shows prefer to connect their face threats to the parties instead of personally addressing themselves. On the one hand, this could be a strategy to avoid sanctioning by the talk show host, on the other hand, it might help to prevent an overly heated atmosphere which would keep the audience from listening to the speaker's (prepared) statements. In comparison with the parliamentary debate on the scandal, the mood in all three talk shows was rather moderate. There was almost no necessity for the talk show hosts to intervene and mediate between the politicians.

According to Bousfield's group face definition (2008, 42) quoted above, the explicit mentioning of party labels plays a key role, as the following sample illustrates:

(3)

dzisiaj mamy takie, a nie inne przepisy, które stworzyła **Platforma Obywatelska**
Beata Kempa, Solidary Poland ("Kropka nad i" 06.09.2012)

[today we have nothing but these regulations, which have been made **by the Civic Platform**]

In this example, the group face is equated to the face of the mentioned party, which is composed of the sum of faces of every single group member. These faces are constituted both by prior interactions between the group members and future expectations on their interactional behavior.

The current scandal can be considered as a temporarily inherent FTA to the group face, defined by the Civic Platform. It is hence sufficient to mention the group in order to evoke the overwhelming FTA it is being connected with. Indeed, this works only when the FTA is internally

perceived as such by the face threatened group and when this internal acceptance is perceived outside the group as well. If these preconditions apply, outsiders can strategically use this coherence.

Considering the public face again and the fact that a parliamentary debate directly reaches less potential voters than a political talk show, it is understandable that mentioning the party membership is a strategy more often applied on television than in parliamentary discourse. In the latter, the MPs usually address themselves in the second person plural, which is the regular form of address:

(4)

I to nie jest pytanie o to, czego się **boicie**, że nie **chcecie** komisji śledczej. To jest pytanie, proszę państwa, do każdego z nas. Bo będzie głosowanie w tej sprawie...

Stanisław Pięta, Law and Justice (Parliamentary debate, 30.08.2012)

[And that's not a question of what **you're afraid of**, or if you do **not want** an investigation commission. That's a question, Ladies and Gentlemen, to all of us. Because there will be a vote about this issue...]

5. Metadiscourse: Talking about the Parliament

This section is not dedicated to metadiscourse markers, such as "as already mentioned," or "we will turn to this later," but to utterances about a parliamentary debate within a talk show. Such metadiscursive references are very common in the analyzed talk shows. There are two ways of interpreting their occurrence. First, they emphasize the prominence of the parliamentary debate and, second, more generally speaking, metadiscursive references highlight the dimension of the scandal. In "Tomasz Lis na żywo," sequences from the parliamentary debate are being used to introduce the topic:

(5)

To kto nadzoruje? **Kto tu rządzi, na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej?** Jak nazywa się organ władzy wykonawczej? Nazywa się Rada Ministrów, pod kierunkiem pana premiera Donalda Tuska.
(*Głos z sali:* Nie krzycz, Rysiu.)
Będę krzyczał, bo ja krzyczę w imieniu obywateli, którzy nie chcą być w tej chwili pokrzywdzeni (*Oklaski*), którzy chcą, aby rząd gwarantował ich prawa, ich interesy.

Ryszard Kalisz, Democratic Left Alliance (Parliamentary debate, 30.08.2012)

[Who keeps watch over this? **Who rules here, on the territory of the Republic of Poland?** What is the name of the executive body? It is called "Council of Ministers," and it is under the leadership of Prime Minister Donald Tusk.
(*Voice from the chamber:* Don't shout, Rysiu.)
I will shout, I'm shouting on behalf of the citizens, who don't want to be wronged now (*applause*), but who want the government to guarantee them their rights and their interest.]

Only the utterances marked in bold here have been inserted at the beginning of the talk show, the rest of the statements, including the unauthorized heckling from the chamber, have been cut out. Statements by other parties' deputies had been shown before, but the introducing trailer ended with the last quote above marked in bold, probably because MP Kalisz is also a guest in the studio. MP Kalisz himself refers to this statement later during the talk show:

(6)

Dzisiaj w tym momencie jak my rozmawiamy i **mówiłem to z trybuny sejmowej (…)** do każdego z państwa przychodzą i do starszych ludzi, emerytów przychodzą ludzie, proponują wyśmienite warunki inwestycji, starsi ludzie się nabierają. **Ja zadałem pytanie, dlaczego rząd to toleruje**...

Ryszard Kalisz, Democratic Left Alliance ("Tomasz Lis na żywo" 06.09.2012)

[Today, in this very moment we're talking, they are coming to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, they come to the older ones, to the retirees, and propose magnificent conditions for investments, especially older people fall for them. And **I've been telling this standing at the speaker's desk in the parliament** (…). **I posed the question why the government is tolerating this...**]

This utterance illustrates two important points. First, the MP justifies his agitation and screaming during the parliamentary debate which could be misunderstood by the TV audience because of the abridgment of his statement. Second, mentioning his parliamentary performance makes him look like an honest politician who fulfills his obligations as an elected deputy. According to Ifantidou (2005), metadiscourse items can either be intra-textual or inter-textual. MP Kalisz uses both in this segment. In the utterance, "I posed the question why..." he implicitly alludes to the

introducing trailer of the talk show with an intra-textual reference. Mentioning that "I've been telling this standing at the speaker's desk in the parliament," he inter-textually refers to the parliamentary debate. From a politeness theory perspective, he reiterates the FTA against the government and simultaneously enhances his own face by mentioning his institutional, democratic actions. The excerpts above support the conception of (im)politeness as a discursive concept (and not as dichotomic) (cf. Locher and Watts 2005; Bousfield 2008). Locher and Watts propose to consider the sphere of (im)politeness as "the entire continuum of verbal behavior from direct, impolite, rude or aggressive interaction through to polite interaction" (Locher and Watts 2005, 11), depending on the (social) context. They call this phenomenon "relational work" (Locher and Watts 2005). Without considering Locher and Watts' (2005) model in detail, nobody would reproach MP Kalisz for being particularly impolite, but he will neither be perceived as being particularly polite. His utterances can rather be considered as appropriate in this context. Without doubt, Kalisz is pursuing relational work here: he is enhancing his own face as an honest, elected MP, while at the same time he is threatening the face of his political opponents.

The frequent occurrence of references to the parliamentary debate during the talk show is an indicator of the high importance of the debate in the parliament. After introducing his guests, the host presents these fairly adversarial quotes:

(7)

> Bardzo ostre określenia i diagnozy słowne padały **w tej czwartkowej debacie, nie tylko w tej debacie, ale głównie w tej debacie** (...) mówię dokładnie o historii z "Amber Gold": **"zielona wyspa oszustów," "układ mafijny Tuska," "nowa afera Rywina."** To jest szefowanie słowami zdecydowanie na wyrost czy w miarę racjonalna analiza sytuacji?
>
> *Tomasz Lis (host)* ("Tomasz Lis na żywo" 06.09.2012)

> [Very keen phrases and diagnoses have been made **in that debate on Thursday, well, not only in that one, but mainly** (...) I am talking about the "Amber Gold" affair: **"Green Island of frauds," "Tusk's [Premier] mafia system," "the next Rywin affair"**.[5] Is that just throwing around empty phrases, or can it be considered as a rational analysis of the situation?]

[5] Corruption scandal in Poland in 2002, also labeled as "Rywingate."

Despite the moderator reading the quotes from his notes, two of them are non-literal paraphrases of the parliamentary debate. Indeed, stating that a "mafia system" was established is a direct accusation against Prime Minister Donald Tusk.[6] The quotes were unambiguous FTAs against the Prime Minister and other politicians held responsible for this affair. Quoted by a third party, in this case by the talk show host, such utterances can cause face loss of all participants of the parliamentary debate. Taking into account that political talk shows often belong to the genre of "confrontainment" (Hess-Lüttich 2007), the hosts try to make their guests feel comfortable, while at the same time provoking and incapacitating them. By interrupting MP Kalisz at a later point in the discussion, the host (Lis) even reiterates some of the more face threatening quotes:

(8)

Kalisz: No mamy kryzys prokuratury szczególnie w województwie pomorskim, Gdańskiej i wymiaru sprawiedliwości (…) ja w ogóle jestem...
Host: Myśli Pan, że to jest problem Pomorza czy problem Polski, bo jak się mówi o **"wyspie oszustów" i "układzie mafijnym Tuska,"** to mam wrażenie, że...
Kalisz: ...ale Panie redaktorze, ja bardzo Pana proszę, ci, co to mówią, niech mówią, ja chce, żebyśmy przeanalizowali dokładnie sytuacje, którą mamy w wymiarze sprawiedliwości.
("Tomasz Lis na żywo" 06.09.2012)

[*Kalisz:* Yes, we have a crisis of the prosecution, especially in the Pomeranian Voivodship, in Gdańsk, and a crisis of the justice system (…) I'm generally...
Host: Do you think that's a Pomeranian problem or a Polish one, because talking of an **"island of frauds"** and **"Tusk's mafia system,"** I get the impression that...
Kalisz: ...oh come on, Mr Presenter. Those who are saying so, let them talk. I want the situation we have in the justice system to be analyzed in every detail.]

Another host mentions the parliamentary debate in a way that is face threatening to his talk show guests, as well :

[6] The direct quote is "you established a mafia system!".

(9)

a. Ja mam inny kłopot z tą aferą. Mam taki problem, że powiem, że gdyby jej wielkość i znaczenie opisywać długością debaty, którą państwo odbyliście, **to ona jest najważniejsza od wieku emerytalnego**, bo dłużej nad tym bito pianę. **I to jest trochę żenujące** moim zdaniem, ale jeszcze gorsze jest chyba to, **że myśmy się z tej debaty nic nie dowiedzieli.**

Marek Czyż (host) ("Forum" 07.09.2012)

[I have another problem with this affair. If its importance can be measured by the length of this parliamentary debate, **then this affair would be more important than the retirement age**, because you took more time to talk about it. **And that is, in my opinion, embarrassing. But what is even worse is that we didn't pull anything out of this debate.**]

b. Do tej debaty na chwile wrócę, bo się tak zastanawiam, czy według panów ktokolwiek z tych, którzy ją oglądali, miał po tej debacie (…) takie przeświadczenie, że to wszystko, co się dzieje, ta cała awantura, to dociekanie prawdy dzieje się dla niego? Ktoś z tych poszkodowanych miał takie wrażenie? Bo mnie się wydaje, że nie.

Marek Czyż (host) ("Forum" 07.09.2012)

[I will briefly return to that debate, because what I'm wondering is if, according to you, anyone of those who watched the debate could be convinced that this whole search for truth and everything, that this is happening for him? Could any of the victims get such an impression? Because I do not think so.]

In the extract (9a), the speaker produces two FTAs. Firstly, he blames the participants for making the current affair seem like it was more important than the debate about the retirement age – a topic which is a crucial and emotional topic for many Poles. Secondly, he even increases this face threat to the MPs by blaming them that, nonetheless, nothing has been revealed.

The metadiscursive strategies of all moderators in the analyzed talk shows resemble each other. So do the defending turns of the invited politicians. In example (8), Kalisz shifts all responsibility to the authors of this quote, creating the impression that he is sincere and above such utterances. He himself participated in the debate, though, and, as shown in

example (5), feels no shame to keenly charge the government. The reaction to the FTAs in (9b) goes even further.

Piechociński, the party leader of the junior partner in government and MP since 1991, blames the general political culture for enabling such a political theater:

(10)

> ten klasyczny spektakl charakterystyczny dla polskiej polityki drugiej połowy lata, tego lata. Te wydarzenia pokazały jedno – że mamy do czynienia nie tylko z tym kryzysem europejskim, światowym, ale także Polska polityka przechodzi głęboki kryzys, bo koncentruje się na tworzeniu konfliktów i ich wywoływaniu. Nadąża za potrzebami mediów – każdego dnia ma być sensacja i tak dalej – a nie schodzi na poziom operacyjny i tych problemów nie rozwiązuje. Dlatego tak ważne jest także w naszych wzajemnych rolach – i cieszę się, że tutaj przedstawiciel Solidarnej Polski, Pan Europoseł Cymański z taką otwartością klika razy to mocno podkreślał – ...
>
> *Janusz Piechociński, Polish People's Party* ("Forum" 07.09.2012)

> [this classic spectacle is characteristic for Polish politics in the second half of this year. The events have proven one thing: We are not only dealing with a European or with a worldwide crisis. Polish politics also undergoes a deep crisis because it concentrates on building and causing conflicts. It keeps up with the needs of the media – scandals and breaking news every day and so on. Polish politics doesn't get down to the operational level, it doesn't solve the real problems. Thus, it is so important that we, in our mutual roles, and here I'm pleased that the representative of United Poland, Mr Cymański, Member of the European Parliament, openly emphasized this several times...]

In this affair, the government coalition is clearly restricted to the defender's role. The members of the governing parties thus try to direct the attention to other issues. In order not to be blamed for distracting the attention from the scandal, Piechociński (as a representative of the government) closes his statement with a face enhancing act to one of the present opponents. Bousfield (2008) divides the possible reactions to impolite utterances into "do respond vs. do not respond," "to counter vs. to accept the FTA," and in "defensive vs. offensive countering." The MP in example (10) reacts three times. Firstly, he accepts the host's FTA,

explaining that the parliamentary happenings are connected with the current political culture. He thereby implies that he personally is not a part of the "Polish political spectacle." Secondly, he counters the offense by accusing the media for this situation. Thirdly, he is fulsomely defensive in praising Cymański, the present deputy of another party. It is important to note that the praised deputy is the only discussion participant who is not a current Member of the Parliament and, naturally, who did not participate in the debate.

In the next sample, a deputy from the government coalition makes an intra-textual reference in advance, i.e., he uses a counter strategy even before the scandal issue comes up. With the conception of a political scandal as a temporarily inherent or permanently occurring FTA in mind, the deputy seems to be accepting this inherent face threat:

(11)

Host: Bardzo ostre określenia i diagnozy słowne padały w tej czwartkowej debacie, nie tylko w tej debacie, ale głównie w tej debacie...
Kwiatkowski: **W tej debacie przed chwilą też.**
Host: ...tak, ale mówię dokładnie o historii z "Amber Gold"...
Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Civic Platform ("Tomasz Lis na żywo" 06.09.2012)

[*Host:* Very keen phrases have been spoken and literal diagnoses have been made in that debate on Thursday, well, not only in that debate, but mainly then...
Kwiatkowski: **In this other debate you've just been talking about this happened as well.**
Host: ...yes, but now I'm speaking precisely about the "Amber Gold" affair…]

It has to be mentioned that in the live broadcast "Tomasz Lis na żywo," which example (11) is taken from, the host led a discussion on another political issue before coming to the "Amber Gold" case. Indeed, the atmosphere has also been heated during the prior debate on the legalization of cannabis between a right-winged conservative and a left-winged liberal politician.

During the opening of the follow-up discussion on the "Amber Gold" case, MP Kwiatkowski interrupts the host making a reference to the preceding discussion. This item will be named a second order intra-textual reference. It stands in contrast to a first order intra-textual reference, which

has its reference point within the same debate. By proceeding this way, MP Kwiatkowski explicitly compares, and furthermore implicitly equalizes, a minor television debate on a rather unimportant topic to the major parliamentary debate on the "Amber Gold" scandal. In other words, he anticipates the oncoming face threat and counters it in advance.

The following last sample illustrates the use of metadiscursive speech, put into practice in this case by referring to the parliamentary happenings during the talk show:

(11)

> ...jak fakty medialnie wskazują **i to, co mówili poszczególni ministrowie podczas debaty sejmowej,** [że wszystkie organy] mogły mieć wiedzę o tym, co dzieje się z tą spółką i że przede wszystkim jest to piramida finansowa...
>
> *Beata Kempa, Solidary Poland* ("Kropka nad i" 06.09.2012)

> [...after what can be taken from the media and from **what the particular ministers have said during the parliamentary debate, [**all state bodies] could have had the knowledge about what's going on in this company and that we deal with a financial pyramid scheme...]

MP Kempa does not further explain the content of "what the particular ministers have said during the parliamentary debate," but she suggests that what they had said is sufficient for her argumentation. The validity of the content of what the ministers have said during the debate is not verifiable within the TV program. The vagueness and generality of the utterance make it almost impossible to be refuted by political opponents. They cannot demand further verification by the speaker, either, because it would be too easy to counter such a claim with a suggestive question, such as "Does that mean you did not pursue the debate?". The crucial point is that Kempa attempts to benefit from the different characteristics of the two genres involved. On the one hand, we have a parliamentary debate with specific, institutionalized rules, such as the norms and habits of turn taking. The parliament is the official workplace of each elected deputy. Thus, no MP can admit not knowing what is going on in the Parliament without losing face. On the other hand, a political talk show on television only allows for limited and hard-won speaking time. In contradiction to the parliamentary speech, some deputies will never get the chance to participate in a talk show broadcasted nationwide. In other words, a metadiscursive reference with vague content as the one made by Kempa, is

unlikely to be questioned due to the time restrictions in the talk show. Nobody would demand a clarification, offering their own strictly limited speaking time to others. This type of vague, impolite metadiscursive reference results from the encounter of two different genres, parliamentary debate and TV talk show, each with specific characteristics.

6. Conclusion

The chapter deals with impoliteness in political TV talk shows in relation to parliamentary discourse on the example of the political scandal concerning the "Amber Gold" bankruptcy. The treatment of the scandal in the Polish parliament has already been discussed in Nowak (2013). In this chapter, the same scandal but a different genre – political language in talk shows – has been taken into account. One salient difference between parliamentary and (political) talk show discourse is the accentuation of the party affiliations of political adversaries in the latter. Talk show guests particularly emphasize the name of the party which they hold responsible for the affair. According to these findings, an inherent, persistent FTA connected with the ones responsible for the scandal must be omnipresent. It is therefore sufficient to pronounce the name of the affected party in order to enhance the face threat to its members. Another reason for explicitly mentioning the party associated with the scandal is the desired elimination of all possible ambiguities that might be perceived by the audience. This applies even more if the uttering politicians are "backbenchers" barely known to the public.

As far as metadiscourse is concerned, the hosts use clear inter-textual references from the parliamentary debate in order to provoke or to face threat their guests. The invited politicians make use of some complex references, such as, for instance, second order intra-textual references. The multimediality of talk shows must be taken into account, as well. In one of the talk shows from the analyzed corpus, the program-makers blended in quotes from the parliamentary debate in the introductory trailer. One of the speakers shown in this introduction also was a guest in the show. He later referred, in an unsolicited and implicit manner, to this quote of his own, explaining his heated temper. Acting this way, he provides a mixed inter-intra-textual reference.

The politicians are usually confronted by the hosts with face threatening quotes pulled from the parliamentary debate. That is when the metadiscourse begins. In some instances, the deputies are able to make references which rely on the differences between the two genres, i.e., parliamentary debate and talk show. Their function is based on the

impossibility of bystanders to validate the quotes from the parliamentary debate while watching the talk show on TV. The fact that the parliament is the workplace of the MPs forbids them to evoke the impression of being uninformed about the parliamentary happenings.

Certainly, this chapter only deals with one selected political scandal. In order to find out if the same or similar attacking or defending strategies occur in other political affairs, or if talk show hosts and politicians generally apply the described metadiscursive turns, it would be necessary to examine a larger number of affairs. Furthermore, the handling of the scandal could be analyzed in other genres, as in print interviews or in broadcasted face to face interviews with only two interactants. The findings presented here could thus be a fruitful source for further research on metadiscursive impoliteness in political discourse.

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CHAPTER TEN

THE ROLE OF TRANSLATION STUDIES IN VIDEO GAME LOCALIZATION

PAWEŁ TUTKA

1. Introduction

The 20th century saw the appearance of new entertainment software. Previously, the computer was chiefly used as a machine that was designed to "compute," or count the number of operations. At the advent of the gaming industry, the number of platforms was limited in comparison with what we have in modern times. These included devices such as dedicated game consoles, arcades and PCs, which did not possess powerful computing engines at the time. Today, the number of platforms has increased dramatically, beginning with the afore-mentioned PCs and game-dedicated consoles (like Xbox or PlayStation) to mobile devices (like smartphones or tablets), ending on the Internet. The last of these can also be considered a game platform as it allows players to engage in a video game directly in the browser, without installing any additional software, either on a mobile device or a PC.

According to Granell (2011), the 21st century has marked an unprecedented demand for different types of video games, from shooters to story-centered games, e.g., RPGs (Role-Playing Games). ESA (Entertainment Software Association) states that slightly over half of American households (51%) own a dedicated game console, with 42% of Americans playing video games regularly for 3 hours or more per week. Furthermore, the general profile of a player has changed as well. In the past, the stereotypical depiction of a gamer was a teenage male (Bernal-Merino 2006). At present, playing a video game of any kind is a global phenomenon – people do it in their breaks between lessons or university lectures, during lunch breaks, and some even consider this a pastime or a way to spend time with family. In fact, the ESA report for the gaming

industry in 2015 shows how the image of a player has changed over the past few years. For example, 26% of players are under 18 years of age, 30% – 18-35, 17% – 36-49 and 27% – 50+. This indicates that the distribution of gamers is more or less even in all age groups. Moreover, the gender of game players is also balanced, with 44% of gamers being women, which is an image contradictory to the stereotypical one. In certain age groups, the domination of women as game players is also extraordinary, as stated in the ESA report: "Women age 18 or older represent a significantly greater portion of the game-playing population (33%) than boys age 18 or younger (15%)" (ESA 2015, 3). In addition, the average age of both genders also differs: when it comes to males, the average age for a game player is 35, while the average female game player's age is 43. Last but not least in this regard, the total revenue of the gaming market for 2014 only in the US was $22.41 billion, which reflects the enormous size of this industry. It has to be mentioned that gamers do not spend money only on actual games, but also on premium content, like downloadables (DLC – downloadable content), items upgrade, additional campaigns or story, and so on. Furthermore, this revenue is increasing with each passing year, making it an opportunity for people seeking their chances to start up new business within the industry. According to Chandler and Deming (2012), this number, together with the revenue produced worldwide, would arrive at ca. $91.96 billion in 2015 (at the time), with growth rate at the level of 10% every year. The sheer numbers show the scope of the industry worldwide.

However, this would not be possible if it was not for translators and translation agencies, which have been playing a key role for a very long time. Previously, it was not the case, as stated by McArthy (2005):

> the localization process, which has historically been a simple matter of tacking on a few quick text translations at the end of the development process, has become an integral part of the development cycle, and so needs to be addressed from the outset. (McArthy 2005, 146)

It can be concluded from this observation that translation is not a cumbersome duty that is treated as a necessary evil, but rather as a must-have which is employed to stimulate further revenue for the company releasing a game into the market. Thanks to this, the value of translation is better recognized as the translator acts as a mediator between the two cultures. This, in turn, makes the end-users think that the game has been tailored especially for them. Yet, the same thing can actually be a challenge, since translators are now required to have greater expertise than ever to deliver a quality end-product to the local market (the whole process

referred to as "localization," a term which will be discussed in the next section). Video games involve many types of text, and it is probably the first product to encapsulate such a mixture. Hence, the translator also has to be fitted with proper skills and tools in order to satisfy the need of the market.

2. Terminological issues within the industry

Before we start discussing what problems may arise in the process of translation, we should consider the terminological issues that are prevalent in the industry. At the outset of the chapter, a general outline of the gaming industry has been provided. However, one basic question still needs to be answered: What exactly is a video game? The Encyclopedia Britannica defines video games in the following way:

> Electronic game, also called computer game or video game, any interactive game operated by computer circuitry. The machines, or "platforms," on which electronic games are played include general-purpose shared and personal computers, arcade consoles, video consoles connected to home television sets, handheld game machines, mobile devices such as cellular phones, and server-based networks. The term *video game* can be used to represent the totality of these formats, or it can refer more specifically only to games played on devices with video displays: television and arcade consoles.

The Oxford Dictionary also provides a definition in a similar fashion: "A game played by electronically manipulating images produced by a computer program on a monitor or other display." The Wikipedia provides the following definition of this term: "A video game is an electronic game that involves human interaction with a user interface to generate visual feedback on a video device such as a TV screen or computer monitor." Even though these definitions differ from one another, they have one common aspect: visual feedback for the player. In fact, the term *video* in *video game* is especially related to the visual side of such games, understood by default as being delivered via a computer or a TV screen.

Sajna (2013) observes that there is a significant inconsistency in the way such games are referred to in the literature, for instance, "computer games" (Raessens and Goldstein 2005), "electronic games" or "digital

games" (Thayer and Kolko 2004; Bryce and Rutter 2006).[1] He also points out to the inconsistency in the forms of the term *video game* used in writing – it may be written as two separate words, as one hyphenated compound ("video-games") or as one word ("videogame"). Bernal-Merino (2006, 26) argues that the two-word form of the term (i.e., *video game*) is "more consistent with other similar terms in English like 'card game,' 'football game' or 'board game'." Note, however, that what makes video games unique is the use of a screen which shows the player their exact position in the game, what they should do next or where they should go, etc. This is a key feature which is not present in other types of games, and thus video games should be treated in a slightly different manner.

According to Bernal-Merino (2006, 26), video games have other, additional characteristics that define them. For example, playing different types of games requires computer electronics, with control rendered by a keyboard or mouse. While it is certainly true that video games need computational hardware to execute their program, the other two controllers are not as necessary as they were in the past. In fact, they are only used with PCs and consoles, as these devices come equipped with additional hardware. In the case of console games, what the player needs is a pad, a tool for the manipulation of image on a TV screen. One might argue that such additional pieces of hardware are not required anymore. With the emergence of mobile devices (such as smartphones and tablets), games can be played anywhere and by anyone at any time.

Much has been written about games so far, but their localization is also an important aspect of the video game industry. To begin with, localization is only a step of the overall process called GILT, which is an abbreviation for Globalization, Internationalization, Localization and Translation. Globalization involves the product "going global" and addresses business issues connected with making the product recognizable worldwide. Internationalization, on the other hand, is concerned with designing software in such a fashion that there will not be any need for redesign during the localization stage. Localization-friendly software is one where both code and strings (written text) do not have to be specially adapted to the specifications of the target locale. When localization is

[1] Sajna (2013, 220) also mentions that the choice of one of these terms seems to be "somewhat arbitrary." However, he does not use the term *video game* in reference to mobile-device games, which seems to be quite contradictory, as mobile-device games also include the deliverance of visual data to the player.

concerned, LISA (Localization Industry Standards Association) provides the following definition:[2]

> Localization involves taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold.

The last step in the whole process is Translation, i.e., transfer of information between two languages. Although it seems like Localization and Translation have some elements in common (Translation also deals with making the product, the text, culturally appropriate in the target language), there are some crucial differences between them.[3] For example, Translation requires only the conveyance of linguistic information between languages (be it "culturalized" or not), whereas Localization involves some additional steps. For instance, Esselink (2000, 3) provides the following list of processes involved in Localization:

- Project management,
- Translation and engineering of software,
- Translation, engineering and testing of online help or web content,
- Translation and desktop publishing (DTP) of documentation,
- Translation and assembling of multimedia or computer-based training components,
- Functionality testing of localized software or web applications.

Furthermore, in order to localize given software properly, one also has to take into consideration the following elements: adaptation of menu interfaces, menu items, as well as iconographies for cross-cultural markets (Thayer and Kolko 2004). As we can see, even though Localization and Translation are distinct, they are in fact deeply interconnected to the extent that one cannot exist without the other. Byrne (2009) illustrates the relationship between the notions of GILT in the following diagram:

[2] http://www.lisa.org/Globalization-Indust.468.0.html#c260

[3] Šiaučiūnė and Liubinienė (2011) note a significant difference between translation and localization: the former is conducted when the product is finished, whereas the latter runs in parallel with the development of the source product. For more discussion, see Chandler and Deming (2012).

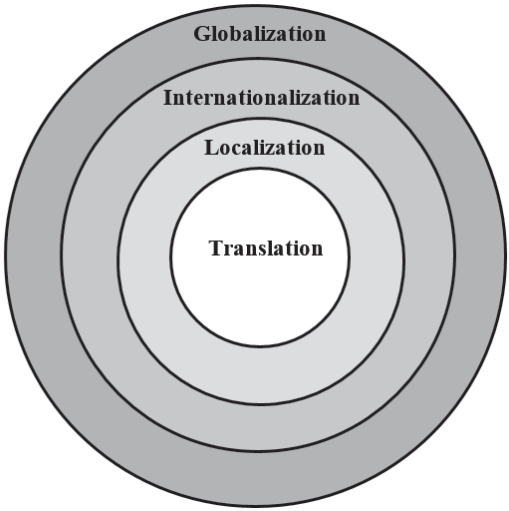

Fig. 10-1. The GILT framework (taken from Byrne 2009, Fig. 1)

The above figure shows that translation is at the heart of the whole GILT process. Hence, software and video game localization should be made an object of research for Translation Studies.

However, the above-mentioned steps of the process refer specifically to software localization, which is distinct from video game localization, in that the latter additionally involves translation of in-game narrative, the "plot" behind it. However, this does not mean that every single game needs to have a story behind the lines of code that have been written. In other words, regardless of the type of the game, whether with a narrative or not, the crucial thing is the "fun factor," which is clearly absent from applications such as *Microsoft Word* or *Excel*.[4]

Chandler and Deming (2012, 8–10) further describe different degrees of video game localization. The first is the so-called "no localization" in which the product is shipped overseas without assuming any cultural or linguistic characteristics of a given locale. The aim of non-localization is to sell extra copies of the game with little extra investment. The second one is "packaging and manual localization," also called the "box and

[4] Thayer and Kolko (2004) call such applications "productivity applications," because they serve the user in his/her goals – they do not impose any tasks on him/her, which is contrary to what video games are offering, i.e., certain goals to complete the game.

docs." This level of localization involves the translation and appropriation of the package and manual of the game, so that the potential players have the knowledge how to play the game. However, the experience may not be as immersive as in the country of origin, since the in-game language assets are not translated. As a consequence, this category of localization is reserved for games not expecting big sales of the game internationally. The third variety is "partial localization," which differs from the second type in that the language assets found in the game dialogues are translated (such as subtitles and all other written text, excluding voice-over and dubbing). This level of localization offers greater immersion, but the risk of not delivering the game on time proportionally increases. The reasons for this are twofold: firstly, the amount of game assets increases, so the translator, or the translation agency, needs to devote more resources to the project at hand; secondly, the game code also has to be localized to the given locale. Nevertheless, the costs of partial localization are still considerably lower when compared to "full localization," which is the fourth kind of localization discussed in Chandler and Deming (2012, 10). Not only does it involve translation of written in-game language assets and game code customization, but also full voice-over translation with the use of actors and studios. This is the most costly type of localization, reserved for big-budget titles only, as it requires the greatest amount of resources. However, the biggest advantage is a full customization to the players in a given locale. As a result, the immersion of players is most intensive, as the gamer has the impression that the game has been specially tailored to their needs.

In the present chapter, we will use the term "translation" whenever we talk about the transfer between two languages. "Localization," on the other hand, will be used in reference only to video game localization, which encompasses all the features of software localization and extends to the localization of narratives, characters and in-game assets (including graphics). Moreover, "localization" will be used in terms of "full localization," which includes translation of linguistic assets and voice-over files, along with game code localization. Last but not least, when terminology is concerned, we shall use the hypernym "video game" to refer to any type of game that delivers visual information to the user by means of a screen, be it a computer, a console or a mobile-device game.

3. Translator in the gaming industry

Granell (2011) specifies several features and skills that a translator needs to acquire, if he or she wants to become a translator of video games. The

most important for video game translators is an excellent command of both the source and target language, which is common in the translation industry. However, in addition to outstanding reading and writing skills (required to be able to identify different types of register, idioms, puns and so on), translators also need to have excellent listening comprehension skills in the source language, as video games additionally incorporate a certain degree of audiovisual material. Even though the script may be provided by the game producer, it does not mean that this is always the case. Moreover, writing skills in the target language have to be superb as well. The translator may not have any knowledge of how many different genres will be involved in a given game. At present, game producers mix elements from different types of games, so as to reach the greatest possible amount of players who will purchase the game (Kuipers 2010). The language will have to be properly adjusted to the requirements of the game producer and the product itself, e.g., literary genre is generally not popular in first-person shooters (FPS), unless one of the characters in the game uses sophisticated language and syntax. Bernal Merino (2006, 29) also observes that the modern game is the first product to possess so many different types of text.

Koetsier (2008, quoted in Kuipers 2010), on the other hand, argues that the translator in the localization industry has to possess three types of competences: Informative Competence, IT Competence and Translation Software Competence. Informative Competence is required to perform an effective search for vocabulary in different types of databases, such as a search engine (like Google's), terminological database, Translation Memory (TM), a dictionary, etc. IT Competence is understood as the ability to use different types of software, which may be related to the localization project, but not necessarily. The third competence discussed in Koetsier (2008), i.e., Translation Software Competence, is associated with CAT software (Computer-aided Translation), which has been developed to facilitate the delivery of consistent and quality translated texts. It is also of great use in the video game localization industry, because it can store information in a database called TM (mentioned above). This becomes particularly important when the game producer decides to develop a sequel to a game that was a major success. The person responsible for translation does not have to retranslate the in-game assets that were present in the previous title, such as names of wearable items in games. The reasons why students should have knowledge of the CAT software are twofold. Firstly, it reduces the costs of retranslating the same thing. Secondly, it keeps the sequel consistent with the previous product, so the players will not experience any discord between the two games. Since consistency is

maintained, a team of translators can work on one game at the same time and speed up the whole translation process, without running into terminological issues (Dietz 2007). However, although CAT software allows translators to work without significant problems on the level of text (in formats like TXT, DOCX, RTF, HTML or XLS), it cannot display the text visually to verify whether any corrections need to be made in the final version. Tools like Alchemy Catalyst, Passolo or Visual Localize are utilized whenever language strings have not been separated from the source code and allow for the visualization of the final version of the translated text, which makes it possible to perform an overall evaluation and, if necessary, to make corrections either in the target segment or in the window where the text appears.

Although both linguistic and technical knowledge is essential, creativity is another crucial characteristic of video game translators (O'Hagan 2007; Bernal-Merino 2008), which is strictly associated with the process of transcreation.[5] It is creativity that makes video game localization distinct from mere software localization. Some of the items in a game have to be completely reshaped and rewritten to fit into the target locale. As an example, Mangiron and O'Hagan (2006) discuss translation of different types of weapons in the Final Fantasy (FF) series, where the names of certain items would have to be more descriptive in the target language, and thus ruin the immersion effect.[6] Instead, the terms had to be "localized," i.e., they had to be fitted linguistically and culturally to the target locale. For instance, the name of one of the weapons in the original version contains four Chinese characters meaning "wind, forest, fire and mountain," while the US version has been translated as the "Conqueror." The relationship between the two items in these two language versions has been severed, but the American translation fits well into the target culture. In this case, the translation is not accurate and faithful to the text, which leads to the problem of what actually the relationship between the two items is, since one of the standard principles of quality translation is accuracy and faithfulness to the original. The solution to this problem has been presented by O'Hagan (2006). It is argued that the idea of accurate and faithful translation, in its traditional sense, is not applicable to video

[5] Transcreation means something more than only translation – the key principle is not keeping fidelity to the text, but rather obtaining the same reaction of users in both the source and the target culture. It offers the translator a greater degree of linguistic and cultural freedom when recreating the content in the target locale (it can be associated with Nida's "Dynamic Equivalence," see Nida 1964/2000).

[6] The language pair discussed in this example is Japanese>English.

game localization. Instead, it is fidelity to the game experience that should have more significance than strict adherence to the original. Transcreation involves recreating in the target culture the reaction caused by the product in the source culture. Hence, there is no obligation to be precise (i.e., literal) in translating the language – the overall game experience is what actually counts and what should be preserved in the target locale.

From the point of view of the translator, this specific type of "fidelity" may be problematic. What is probably most difficult is for the game developer and translator to obtain the same kind of gameplay experience on an international level. A failure to do so may cause the end-users to feel discontent, discouraging them from buying the product, which leads to lower sales. Such a result may be attributed to many different factors: not properly localized content (obscure or confusing in a given locale), linguistic bugs, not preserving specific conventions (if the product is a sequel), and so on. Therefore, the translator has to act as a mediator between different cultures to facilitate the best possible experience of immersion in the game for the players and, consequently, to ensure that the game developer is satisfied with the reception and sales of the game (allowing for the production of a sequel to the original title). Not only does it involve the linguistic aspect of localization, but also the creative part. According to Bernal-Merino (2008):

> Game publishers need to bring not only the language, but also the characters and the whole game experience closer to the player. The place of origin or the language of development of the game is not relevant to video game fans. The game has to be not only linguistically, but also culturally tailored since it is not going to tell just any story, but the player's story. (Bernal-Merino 2008, 64)

The experience of immersion in the game is crucial, since the player does not want to be bothered with something he/she does not understand (as if the game was not crafted especially for the player), but rather wants to feel that he/she is actually a part of a living world. Obviously, the content of the game has to be localized for this purpose, but the linguistic part of localization has to be considered to an even greater extent. Even if the whole game is perfectly tailored to the end-user, the language barrier will always constitute a problem, because the player may not experience full immersion. Hence, in order to evoke such a feeling in the player, the whole gaming experience needs to be suited to the end-user, since this is what the success of the game depends on. If the translator/localizer does not meet the expectations of the players, the sales of the game will suffer, which will also affect the game itself. On the other hand, knowing these

expectations is somewhat problematic, since players usually do not know precisely what they want, but they know when something that makes the game unique is missing (Rouse 2005).

Last but not least, an ideal situation for the translator would be if he or she were a player as well. Not only does it allow the translator to see what the expectations of a given players community are, but it also allows them to fully understand the product, especially when the game is based on a book, film or a cartoon strip which the translator knows very well. This knowledge can be transferred directly to the video game, which will give it a flavor of keeping to the conventions created by the author of that universe. This, on the other hand, will please especially those players who are familiar with the game world, which, in turn, will benefit the image of the company responsible for the localization (as a company that has been able to preserve the rules of the world the game is set in).[7] In this case, the translator becomes a "link" between the international community of players and game developers, which also shows that translation may be viewed as a social process (involving certain communities in a project).

As we can see, the translator needs to possess a host of different qualities and skills that will allow him or her to properly fulfill the tasks set out by the client. Furthermore, the expectations of the players also have to be satisfied, so that the product can be deemed successful. The needs of all parties to the whole process, i.e., the developer and the player community, have to be carefully considered to develop a product that will be appealing to everyone. In this case, the translator needs to have a perfect command of both the source and the target language, so that the experience of the players in the target country will as closely correspond to the experience of the source language players as possible. Notwithstanding language competences, the person responsible for translation also needs to be well-acquainted with the software and technology used in the video

[7] In fact, a video game localization project may involve two of the following: a game that is based on an already created world, like the one given in a book or a film, or it may be based on a completely new concept. For example, if the producer decided to develop a video game set in the world of Harry Potter, then the translator would have to know the books as well as the films thoroughly, so as to keep to the conventions created by the author, J.K. Rowling. This means that players familiar with this universe will have particular expectations when it comes to the final language quality. On the other hand, a game based on a totally new concept allows the translator to exercise his or her creativity in taking part in the naming convention for the target culture. However, it has to be borne in mind that once the names are approved for the first part of the game, they will remain as such in the sequels of the game.

game localization industry. Moreover, the creativity of the translator, as discussed above, plays a crucial role in ensuring that the player experiences full immersion in the game. Many of the in-game assets have certain connotations in the source language and, in order to be properly understood in the target language, they often need to be recreated from scratch. Last but not least, being part of the community of players, the translator could capitalize not only on their linguistic knowledge, but also on their knowledge of the conventions specific to a particular game or its universe, which would give them a valuable edge over the competition.

4. Translation Studies and Video Game Localization

As we have stated at the outset of the present chapter, the sheer size of the video game industry makes it a perfect field to conduct research on how the games are made, why they are made, who buys them, and on many other questions. Hence, one would expect that such a variety of video games would attract the attention of researchers from the field of translation, especially since the products of this multi-billion dollar industry are translated into a significant number of languages (most notably FIGS[8]), generating potentially substantial profits for both the producer and the localization vendor. However, as discussed in section 2, the inconsistencies present even in the most basic terminology indicate that the academic field of video game research is still in its nascence. The plethora of non-standardized terminology contributes to the confusion, as researchers often use very different terms to refer to the same object of study. O'Hagan (2007) states that such an inconsistency among the academics only shows the dynamic nature of the field, reflecting its multidimensionality and the possibility of shedding some light on new perspectives. Nevertheless, standardization would clarify and categorize different genres of video games that can be found on the global market today, which would be helpful in establishing the academic field of electronic entertainment software. At present, however, this field still seems to be treated marginally by translation scholars.

In the present chapter, we have stated that video games today add up to a variety of different genres: from action games (like first person shooter (FPS)), through narrative-driven games (e.g., role playing games (RPGs)), to logic games. The types of games, however, are not to be treated as

[8] FIGS – abbreviation that stands for France, Italy, Germany and Spain (countries into whose languages most localizations are performed).

precisely defined categories, since game producers at present mix games to surprise their potential audience with what the given title has to offer. As a consequence, RPGs can be logic-ridden with elements of action,[9] allowing the producer to acquire a bigger share of the market, since such hybrid games appeal to different tastes within the community. Depending on the game genre, the amount of text may vary considerably, which has substantial implications for translation. Games such as Witcher 3™ have a complex story and plot behind it, with an ample amount of text to be translated. On the other hand, action games may also have a story, but the amount of text will be considerably lower when compared to RPGs.

Genres notwithstanding, current video games also offer many more modes of playing, from single player to multiplayer, from offline[10] to online, from PCs to consoles and mobile devices, like smartphones or tablets, and so on. This further complicates the picture of this new field for translation research. O'Hagan (2007) in fact states that new technological innovations in the video game industry are the source of the new modes of translation constantly appearing on the market. Probably the most problematic mode for a translator is the massive multiplayer online role-playing game (MMORPG), since the game has an international audience, with a great number of foreign languages that the game has to be translated into. The introduction of the game itself into the market does not necessarily pose problems for the translators (even though the deadline for text delivery may be very short), but an update to the game may cause a lot of difficulties. When an update is developed, for example, in the United States, then the player community in this country will benefit first from the update, leaving the gamers in other countries waiting for the update package. This very often results in server maintenance activities, because the game in the rest of the world is not compatible with the one in the US. Before all the players may experience the benefits of the new downloadable, the translator (or a team of translators) has to render the whole package into the target language, including notifications, in-game

[9] This is usually achieved by introducing so-called mini-games, a sort of "game within a game," which allows for the experience of the player to be enhanced by means of new stimuli, which may be completely separate from the rest of the game.

[10] We have to stress here that an offline game does not necessarily imply that the game is dedicated only for one player at a given time. For example, Heroes of Might and Magic (a turn-based strategy game) is a game that has the single player and multiplayer modes, but the multiplayer can be played by two or even more people in front of a computer screen.

text, the "Readme" files, etc. The amount of texts that can be potentially researched by translation scholars is vast, which can lead to new directions of research being developed within the Translation Studies area.

Initially, the goal of translation was to produce a text which is "faithful," "accurate" and "holds to the spirit" of the original work (Munday 2001, 24), which leads to the target text having strong ties with the source text. Initially, the concept of the translation being "faithful," closely associated with the term "fidelity," meant word-for-word translation, with sense-for-sense coming later into the picture. "Accuracy" meant a correct transfer of information and evidence of complete comprehension of the text on the part of the translator. Last but not least, adherence to the "spirit" of the text meant preserving the creative energy and strength of the original text by properly choosing syntax, vocabulary and idioms. However, these terms were also deeply associated with language and did not take into account such aspects as culture or the end-user who will be using the translation for a given purpose.

Eugene Nida (1964/2000) discarded the above-mentioned notions, substituting them with two orientations: the so-called "formal" and "dynamic" equivalence. Formal equivalence is based on source text and has strong connections to it (text to text, sentence to sentence), with the possibility of introducing new elements into the target text from the source text (marked syntactic structures, unknown idioms, etc.). While formal equivalence offers indirect access to the original language version, as far as video game localization is concerned, a more important notion is dynamic equivalence. It is based on what Nida (1964, 159) calls "the principle of equivalent effect," meaning that the target text should influence the target receptors (the end-users) of the text in the same way that the original source text affects the original receptors. This also indicates that the translator has to adapt the syntactic structures and cultural references to the target user, so that the resulting translation will be as natural as possible. As we can see, the dynamic equivalence and the creativity on the part of the translator means that Eugene Nida's terms fit very well with the process of video game localization: the product has to be properly "culturalized" for the target users, so that they can experience and appreciate the game to the same extent as the source users.

Another theory which can be coupled with Nida's formal and dynamic equivalence is Venuti's (1995) domesticating and foreignizing strategies. Venuti understands domestication as a modification of the translated target text in such a way that it fits well with the target culture and is readily accepted by its users. Domestication of the target text may be associated with Nida's dynamic equivalence, which is concerned with producing the

same effect for the end-user, whereas the foreignization strategy is characterized by strict adherence to the source text and a transfer of new elements from the source into the target language and culture. Even though Venuti is a strong proponent of foreignization (as a way to stress the impact of source languages other than English), it would not fare well in the case of video game localization, where the focus is on tailoring the linguistic and cultural content to the target customer. This issue is also mentioned by Bernal-Merino (2008), who argues that users (in this case – players) would not be able to experience full immersion in the game, probably making them disappointed as a result. Rather, the domesticating strategy should be adopted, so that the end-user knows that the product has been crafted especially for them, without causing unnecessary confusion when handling the product. In consequence, sales of the product are boosted, as is the image of the localization vendor responsible for the process of modifying the game to the specific needs of the customers.

As far as the process of video game localization is concerned, a theory that can offer insight into what texts the translator may find in a given game is Katharina Reiss' division of text types (Reiss 1981/2000). In general, Reiss distinguishes three types of text: informative, expressive and operative. Informative texts involve plain communication of facts, used to transmit the factual information on how to get things done. Expressive texts are concerned with the esthetic dimension of language (creative composition). The third type, operative text, is intended to induce certain behaviors in the receivers of the text, to make them act in a certain way. Reiss distinguishes one more type of text, namely multi-medial text, which incorporates not only written text as the medium of communication, but also pictures, music, scenery, facial expressions, etc.

As stated above, the amount of text in a game depends on the genre, but the final product consists not only of the code that executes along with dubbed dialogues and user interface – it also includes manuals, website, packages, the DLC market and customer support, among others.[11] These offer a variety of different, mixed text types. For example, a video game manual may be informative with expressive elements (not only providing information about the game and its specification and requirements, but also introducing the player to the game world), a website may be a mix of all types (providing additional information about the technical requirements and troubleshooting – informative; providing more details about the universe of the game in an attractive way – expressive; a "call-

[11] Video games are a complex product developed for a long period of time – usually from one to three years (Kuipers 2010).

to-action" campaign showing that the product is enticing and has been specially tailored to the user's needs, persuading to buy the product – operative), and so on. The analysis of different game genres, whether homogenous or mixed, may provide additional information on what the current trends are, what it is that the player community seeks in a given product and what makes it either successful or not.

Combined with the classification of text types, the *skopos* theory (Vermeer 1989) is another method which may provide an answer to the question why given elements have been translated in a certain way and for what purpose. According to Vermeer (1989, 221), "[t]he aim of any translation, and the mode which is to be realized, are negotiated with the client who commissions the action," which indicates that there is always a purpose behind translation, whether explicit or implicit. The central idea of the *skopos* is the notion of commission which sets out the purposes of the translation (in this case, of the localization as well). The translator needs to have a sufficient insight into the game, so as to render all the elements of the game, like dialogues, items, names of the characters (if their names are to be translated or not) and word puns, among others. Since *skopos* is a TT-oriented[12] theory, it fits very well with the localization industry. The game content has to be conveyed into the TT with the consideration of the target culture. Mangiron and O'Hagan (2006) clearly state that "[...] the skopos of game localization is to produce a target version that keeps the 'look and feel' of the original, yet passing itself as the original" (Mangiron and O'Hagan 2006, 20). This translates into the localized game being an original in its own right. Bernal-Merino (2006) argues against such a perception of the localized product which is completely severed from the source, saying that a translated/localized text has to convey the original as accurately as possible. While that may be true, it is the expectations of the audience that matter most, since the player community is the one to judge whether the product lives up to its expectations or not. However, it does not mean that the *skopos* of the localization entails severing all the ties with the source product. In certain cases, players "have a purpose" to experience the source culture through the game. An example of such an attitude is when a game is localized from Japanese to other languages – players may want to have a "foreign flavor" in the game in order to experience the source culture, albeit indirectly. What is striking about the "purpose" (*skopos*) of localization is the commission, which does not necessarily come only from the producer, but may also be implicitly stated by the players themselves, as they also have

[12] TT – target text.

certain expectations for the localized product. In this way, all the parties to the localization process are taken into consideration.

Last but not least, the notion of transcreation has to be considered as well, as it has been widely discussed in the translation literature. Mangiron and O'Hagan (2006) argue that transcreation is a very important aspect of video game localization. It allows the translator to exercise his or her freedom with respect to translation, although under severe space limitations, since the text has to fit well in the window or the box it will be displayed in. On the other hand, Bernal-Merino (2006) argues that the concept of transcreation does not enrich the Translation Studies discipline and, as such, it should be discarded. He argues that the definition of transcreation is not clear, whereas "localization" is a business-specific term, foreign to the field of Translation Studies. Consequently, he proposes to use the term "linguistic localization," instead of "translation," to refer to this specific process. For him, localization should not be studied within Translation Studies, because it is concerned with performing non-linguistic activities, such as project management, TM maintenance, software engineering and desktop publishing. However, the focus of research within the area of Translation Studies shifted a long time ago from language to the study of culture and software that is implemented by translation professionals in their work. In another work, Bernal-Merino (2008) asserts that the role of creativity in video games is considerable, because some concepts present in the source culture are absent from the target culture and, as such, they may be incomprehensible for players, damaging their immersion in the game, which makes it necessary for the translator to "recreate" them in the target language.

Another definition of transcreation is provided by Percy Balemans (2010):[13]

> Transcreation basically means recreating a text for the target audience, in other words "translating" and "recreating" the text. Hence the term "transcreation." Transcreation is used to make sure that the target text is the same as the source text in every aspect: the message it conveys, style, the images and emotions it evokes and its cultural background. You could say that transcreation is to translation what copywriting is to writing.

The above definition indicates that transcreation is TT-based, which fits perfectly into the research of video game localization. All products in this

[13] https://pbtranslations.wordpress.com/2010/07/14/transcreation-translating-and-recreating/

industry have to be oriented towards the end customers, since they will be the ones using the product. In order for them to use and enjoy it, they have to understand it, which is made possible by tailoring the product to their needs. However, it is worth noting that transcreation is not implemented as a method of transferring (or creating) information into the target language in all types of text during the localization process. For example, technical texts (like "Readme" files) do not have to be transcreated, since they contain factual information for the user about what the technical requirements are to play the game. On the other hand, a number of object names within the game world (like places or items) may have to be completely rewritten in order to accommodate them to the target culture (like word puns or rhymes, which differ from one language to another).

In light of the present discussion, it is clear that video game localization may pose numerous challenges for translators who, in order to deliver a quality game translation, need to be acquainted with industry-specific technology, as well as with the underlying concept and the universal characteristics of video games. What is more, understanding the game and having a perfect command of both the source and target language is still not sufficient. Therefore, it is essential to broaden the scope of research within Translation Studies in order to provide solutions for problems that may arise with respect to this new discipline. For example, the use of placeholders[14] is a common technique of displaying different values of strings (text) in a text, which correspond to the situation in the game. Placeholders may assume the following forms:

> {s2}{reg3?was:is} travelling to {s3} and {reg4?she:he}
> {reg3?was:should be} close to {s4}{reg3?: at the moment}
> (Żochowski 2016, 38)

The above string of text will be displayed to the player without the symbols in curly brackets, but with full names that a given placeholder is associated with. In this example, the {s2} symbol stands for the name of the character, {s3} – the place which the character is travelling to, {s4} – the place on the way to the location in {s3}.The most problematic from the point of view of the translator are the {reg} symbols. The {reg3} placeholder specifies whether the present or the past tense will be displayed, depending on the conditions in the game, which is marked by the "?" symbol. The string of characters {reg3?was:should be} should be

[14] Placeholder – a symbol in the code that will be replaced with text when displayed to the user.

read as follows: if the expression (marked by {reg3}) is of value "true," display "was;" if the value of {reg3} is false, display "should be." The ":" symbol separates the two expressions ("was" and "should be"). Whenever the value of {reg3} is "true," the expression to the left of the colon will be executed; if the value is "false," the expression to the right of the colon will be executed. The same can be said about {reg4}: this placeholder stands for the gender of the character in {s2}. If the player has chosen the female gender at the beginning of the game, the "she" string will be displayed to the player. Otherwise, it will display "he." The other {reg3} component merely states that nothing should be displayed in the case of the condition being true (no expression to the left of the colon), whereas the "false" value of {reg3} commands the game engine to display "at the moment." For example, if the player has chosen to be a female and the activity of travelling is happening at present (induced by in-game conditions), the message displayed to the player will be as follows: "(Player) is travelling to (some place) and she should be close to (some other place) at the moment." Depending on the player's choices, the game will respond with appropriate text.

While the English language is not problematic in this respect (assuming a game has been originally developed in English), the same may not be true for other languages, especially for languages with highly inflective morphology. Polish is one of these languages, and such a string of text may pose a serious challenge to a Polish translator. For instance, the Polish past tense assumes three different forms in the singular (e.g., *był* 'was' (masculine), *była* 'was' (feminine), *było* 'was' (neuter)). Depending on the player's decision at the beginning of the game, the string of text will show either *był* or *była*, which is problematic in this case, because we cannot put any additional expressions into a placeholder. If the translator is not able to satisfactorily deal with the problem, a programmer will have to be employed by the localizer, which, in turn, will increase the costs of translation due to code adaptation to the target locale. Ideally, this situation should be handled at the phase of game development, during which the game is still being produced and the developers have the resources to design a code that will be localization-friendly.

To sum up, the number of applicable theories, some of them discussed above, shows that video games are products of an immensely complex nature. The sheer number of text types involved, as well as the variety of purposes of translating and accommodating information to the target user, present translators with a serious challenge. From the point of view of a researcher, on the other hand, the study of video game localization may provide new opportunities for the advancement of Translation Studies and,

as noted by O'Hagan (2007), the development of the video game industry is bound to open up new possibilities in this respect. This concerns not only the text types and translation strategies employed during localization, but also their relation to the end-user, with special emphasis on dynamic equivalence, since the central aim of the localization of video games is to produce an equivalent effect on the players in the target culture.

5. Implications for university courses in video game localization

The plethora of theories that may have impact on the quality of video game localization is considerable. University students have to be made aware of the problems that may arise in real-world projects. Graduates of translation programs will be facing many of them, like the example with the placeholders, when they embark on the career of a professional video game translator. Teachers have to show their students that being a video game translator is an enjoyable activity, albeit it is "no bed of roses." Some of the projects carried out in the real world may be difficult, especially when the developer does not take into consideration the target languages to an appropriate extent. However, as has been stated in the introduction to the chapter, the localization process is usually incorporated into the standard development cycle of the game.

Be that as it may, mere knowledge of the source and target languages, along with being familiar with different types of translation-related software, is not enough. The curricula of university courses in video game localization should be expanded to include basic programming knowledge and related notions, e.g., variables, operators, algorithms, programming languages, and many others. The aim should not be to teach students the techniques of software development (which is reserved for different professions), but rather to give a basic insight into how text will be displayed to the end-user and what different placeholders and variables actually mean. Furthermore, even the slightest change to any variable in the source code will cause the program not to execute, which will render the whole software unusable. Students of video game localization courses have to be made aware of this, so that they will not be surprised when dealing with a real-world project. Last but not least, for the translator-to-be, it would be useful to participate in the video game industry and to be familiar with the player community of the game, if he or she hopes to become successful in this line of business. As we have stated above, an ideal situation for the translator is to be a player himself or herself, so as to understand the needs of the target players as best as possible. As a

consequence, the translator will be able to understand the relationship between the game producer and the community of players. It is this relationship that is most precious to game producers – the community is the driving force behind any kind of product, and if the producer is able to entertain them, then the players will remain faithful to the product, thus preserving its lifecycle.

All the things mentioned notwithstanding, the most important aspect that has to be emphasized in student education is the creative aspect of video game localization. As has been discussed above, the paradigm of a quality translation has shifted with respect to video game localization – fidelity to the original text is not as important as the gameplay experience. Some source culture notions embedded in the game code bear no actual meaning in the target culture. As a result, the immersion in the game will be disrupted, which is undesirable. The best way out for the translator in this situation is to deliver a workaround to the problem at hand, which may be provided by means of transcreation. Although this translating technique in many cases severs the connection between the original and the localized product, it produces new elements compatible with the target culture, ensuring the desired gameplay experience. Nevertheless, there is no clear-cut typology of solutions to be provided to every problem, since each individual project will give rise to a number of unique problems. Consequently, students are to be encouraged to explore different ways of solving translation problems, especially with respect to translating terms whose equivalents in the target language or culture have different meanings or connotations than in the source language.

6. Conclusions

The variety of translation concepts and techniques employed in video game localization offers a number of new perspectives for research within the Translation Studies discipline. While software localization deals with preserving the functionality of the product, video game localization aims at preserving the gameplay of the original. Thus, the video game localization industry provides a completely new dimension for investigation – the quality of the final product can no longer be assessed on the basis of how faithful the translated text is to the original, but whether the gameplay is still enjoyable for the players. Furthermore, the issue of immersion in the game also provides some answers as to whether a given game will be a success. As a major factor in this aspect, language also has to be consistent with the game world, enhancing both the gameplay and the immersion experience. Even a badly translated sentence

or word in the localized version may be enough to remind the player that this is only a game, ruining the immersion effect. In turn, the gameplay experience will be also adversely affected.

Even though the shift of the paradigm towards gameplay-fidelity presents an entirely new layer of investigation in the area of Translation Studies, the new domain still holds a marginal position within this new academic field. O'Hagan (2007) points out that the localization industry relies on "intuition developed from experiential evidence rather than on the basis of reliable hard data from research findings" (O'Hagan 2007, 5). Research focused on this subject may yield yet more perspectives and new approaches that could be utilized in the constantly developing domain of video games. On the other hand, this line of business would be greatly enhanced with the power of scientific data, thanks to which developers would be able to rely not on instinct, but rather on hard facts. Furthermore, individual case studies on particular localization processes would provide information on what mistakes should be avoided in the future, so as to deliver a quality product with gameplay-fidelity. As a consequence, also the position of the players would be strengthened in the relationship between game producers, localizers and the community. Thanks to the feedback from the players, game producers would have a better understanding of what is required to make a game a success. Translation scholars would also benefit greatly from such development, since it would allow them to investigate how the trends are shifting with time and how gameplay-fidelity might be maintained, with the possibility of new translation techniques being devised in the course of research.

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