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ABSTRACT

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THE POLISH-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

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POZNAŃ 1984

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SOME COMMENTS ON LANGUAGE DATA IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

RUTA NAGUCKA

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If the essential insights of the theory of contrastive linguistics are to be preserved, what is badly needed is some "method" of distinguishing between various degrees of grammaticality and acceptability of language material. Just as the native speaker has at his disposal linguistic knowledge of his language that enables him to make judgements about the well- or ill-formedness of sentences, so anyone dealing with contrastive studies should be expected to have at his disposal linguistic knowledge of two languages. This idea seems to be uncontroversially taken for granted; however, how to measure this knowledge, judgement or intuition is not likely to be ever formalized by a simple and reliable method. It should be emphasized that in the absence of explicit evaluative means we have to appeal for caution in dealing with language material; my main thesis is that one cannot manipulate language data ad libitum, there are certain limits beyond which one must not go. In writing this article, I had just this point in mind. While the theory of contrastive linguistics finds it easy to set requirements necessary for a contrastive analysis (e.g. the authority of a bilingual speaker, translational competence, and the like), practice finds it hardly possible to satisfy these requirements. In other words, in a number of cases the contrastive linguists, especially those who are theoretically minded, strangely enough tend to view the language material as of secondary importance. Assuming a certain rule, for example, they sometimes tend to construe sentences to support a suggested thesis allowing them to be incorrect in one way or other. It seems to me that these facts are alarmingly frequent and obviously related with the failure to go beyond one's own intuition.

In view of this rather unwelcome tendency to tolerate anomalies and erroneous expressions in contrastive analyses, the obvious criteria for deciding

whether a given sentence falls into the category of grammaticality or acceptability would be not only the linguist's ability to understand properly the utterances he uses, but also his ability to check competently his linguistic knowledge by consulting the informants and informative written sources such as dictionaries. Since some of my comments and remarks have been miscomprehended and misinterpreted which became clearly evident during the discussion after the presentation of this paper at the 18th International Conference on Polish-English Contrastive Linguistics (Błażejewko, 2-4 December 1982) I feel compelled to clarify the following points in order to avoid further misunderstanding: (1) by *norm, normative, standard* I mean this variety of language which is the means of communication of the nation as a whole, which is free from individualized variations (idiosyncratic, dialectal, regional, professional and so on), and which does not easily tolerate deviations, arbitrariness and violations of various kind; (2) a nonstandard or individualized type of language, restricted in its scope to a social or regional group of speakers is perfectly legitimate as long as it is treated as such, but it should not be taken for a representative of the whole language (standard type); (3) the examples I am going to question are lacking in a general linguistic significance because each of them violates some degree of acceptability and/or grammaticality; I do not share a view that anything that is uttered and can be understood is correct and representative of a standard variety of the language; (4) the Polish native speakers-informants I have consulated have been: students of English philology with some linguistic background, Polish linguists of the consulting group (advice on "correctness") in the Institute of Polish Philology of the Jagiellonian University, and a number of people not linguistically educated. I shall not attempt to postulate any new "theory" of how to view the basic assumptions set by contrastive linguistics; instead, I should like to consider in somewhat greater detail some linguistic misfits of various kinds found in linguistic literature. For obvious reasons, being a native speaker of Polish, I shall limit my account to Polish examples.

In his article on the impersonal passive, Comrie (1977:49) points out that in the Polish sentences

(1) *Dokonuje się prace* (**przez uczonych*).
is-completed works by scientists
'The works are being completed (by the scientists).'

(2) *Dokonano prace* (**przez uczonych*).
was-completed works by scientists
'The works have been completed by the scientists.'

"it is in fact impossible to give overt expression to the underlying subject, i.e. this subject must be deleted rather than demoted". This observation is correct except for the fact that it is illustrated by misconstrued sentences: neither (1) nor

(2) is correct. The verb *dokonać* obligatorily takes an object in the genitive:

(1a) Dokonuje się prac
(2a) Dokonano prac

are the only grammatical phrases according to standard norms (cf. *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny, Słownik syntaktyczno-generatywny czasowników polskich*, etc.). From the semantic point of view the collocation of *dokonać* + *prac* sounds conversationally objectionable without a broader context and/or additional information. The verb *dokonać* implies not only the completion of some action but also accomplishment and achievement, e.g.

(1b) Dokonuje się ważnych odkryć
Important discoveries are being made
(2b) Dokonano ważnych odkryć
Important discoveries have been/were made

(cf. *Marzyłam, aby dokonać czynów bohaterskich — It was my dream to achieve heroic deeds.*)

We may say that examples (1) and (2) are grammatically incorrect and semantically rather deviant, or at least clumsy.[1] It should be noted in passing that Comrie could have used *wykonać* instead of *dokonać*, and so have avoided all the anomalies mentioned above:

(1c) Wykonuje się rozkaz
The order is being carried out
(2c) Wykonano rozkaz
The order has been/was carried out

The syntactic evidence provided by (1c) and (2c), which are unquestionable grammatically, would unquestionably support Comrie's thesis.

Of much the same type of error is the following:

(3) Dotknąłem poręcz. (Zabrocki 1981:135)
I-touched handrail

where the inflectional case of the grammatical object, *poręcz*, is normatively improper: *dotknąć* governs the noun in the genitive, thus the correct form should be

(3a) Dotknąłem poręczy

But here the fact is that the case of using *dotknąć* with the accusative and not the genitive by a native speaker of Polish may be explainable by some more recent syntactic changes affecting the government of some ambiguous verbs:

[1] Notice that Comrie took and adapted these sentences from Wiese's article.

dotknąć + N_{acc} = *hurt, touch, dotknąć* + N_{gen} = *touch* in the physical sense.[2] In this light, the difference between the sentence (3) and the sentence (3a) is not so much a matter of acceptability, neither is it a matter of pragmatics, since both are understood in the same way and used in the same situation; the contrast, which is of a grammatical nature, could be seen as exemplifying a process of restructuring, a gradual elimination of the genitive in its function of a direct object of the verb, but only in the case of nonhuman nouns since it does not create any problem of ambiguity. (For an interesting discussion on this structure see Buttler 1976). In any case, though partially justifiable, this innovative and unconventional usage of the accusative in (3) should have been acknowledged and commented on by the author.

While this discussion has been concerned with the accusative/genitive objects, it might also be noticed that the same hesitations apply to the instrumental/prepositional phrase. For instance, Polish allows the inflected (instrumental) objective predicative with *mianować — nominate*, *zrobić — make*, etc.

(4) Mianowano go dyrektorem
He was nominated director

(5) Zrobiono go dyrektorem
He was made director

but in the case of *wybierać — elect*, a prepositional phrase is normatively required

(6) Wybrano go na dyrektora
He was elected director

According to the lexicographers of Polish normative dictionaries, as well as according to some Polish linguists, an example used by Zabrocki (1981:69) must be considered incorrect:

(7) Modlił się, by wybrać go prezesem
he-prayed REFL to-elect him chairman

The situation, however, is much more complex. To begin with, there are a number of utterances that constitute counterevidence to the normative usage

[2] For an explanation of this process see Buttler et al. where we read "Mnożą się niedawno doraźno użycia czasownika *dotknąć* w znaczeniu dosłownym, ale w konstrukcji biernikowej ("*Bramkarz gości dotknął piłkę...*"), która dotychczas stanowiła wykładnik zupełnie innej jego treści: 'urazić, obrazić' (*dotknąć siostrę*)" (1973:317). (There are more and more occasional uses of the verb *dotknąć* (touch) in its literal meaning but in the accusative construction (*Bramkarz gości dotknął piłkę...* — The visitors' goalkeeper touched the ball), which hitherto has been used to express a completely different meaning 'hurt, offend' (*dotknąć siostrę* — hurt one's sister) (translated by E. N.). See also 318, 444.

which are found in colloquial Polish as well as in the language of press, radio and television, e.g.

(8) ...kobieta zostaje wybrana prorektorem
...a women has been elected prorector
Najlepszym technikiem turnieju wybrano J.C.
J. C. was considered (chosen) the best technician of the tournament

Full prepositional phrase objective predicates are also found on the same occasions, e.g.

(9) Na I sekretarza KMG wybrano K.Z.
K.Z. has been elected the First Secretary of KMG

Further, Polish linguists are not in agreement on the correctness of the instrumental variant: the authors of the dictionaries would not admit the instrumental with the verb *wybierać* (*Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny*, *Słownik języka polskiego*) while some other linguists do not seem to object to it; Buttler (1976 : 54, 180) is very tolerant and assumes both constructions equally legitimate $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{wybrać prezydentem}\\ \textit{wybrać na prezydenta}\end{array}\right\}$, Saloni and Świdziński (1981) apparently prefer the instrumental when they use such an example: *To Marię wybrano prezesem* (241). Semantically speaking no clear difference is felt between these two structures, although some explanation of the use of the prepositional phrase rather than the instrumental might be speculatively claimed. But such considerations would lead us too far. What I want to show is that the illustrative material used in contrastive analysis to prove or disprove a more general rule, principle, etc. should be absolutely certain, not arguable as to its grammaticality and acceptability.

As much as unintentional grammatical deviations and distortions are unwelcome illustrative examples in any linguistic research, so semantic anomalies and erroneous presuppositions of what is said are also strongly objectionable. It is immediately apparent that such Polish utterances as

(10) Kawa została wyłożona na ławę przez niego.
Coffee was laid out onto the bench by him.
(11) Bób został nam zadany przez niego.
Beans were given to us by him. (Zabrocki 1981 : 130)

are very strange semantically, and that the linguistic competence of the linguist himself is insufficient. Neither of the sentences could be easily acceptable. The associations with the phraseological expressions they come from are too strong to be ignored. According to my intuitive knowledge of

Polish and the reactions of other native speakers I have consulted, Polish idiomatic expressions such as

(12) Wyłożył kawę na ławę (= He spoke in a direct, straight forward way; told the truth)
He laid out coffee onto the bench.

(13) Zadał nam bobu. (= He harmed us, taught us a lesson).
He gave us beans. (Zabrocki 1981:130)

cannot be broken syntactically: the the passivization of (12) and (13) into (10) and (11) respectively is impossible, no matter whether the transforms retain their idiomatic meanings or not. The sentences (10) and (11) are simply freak sentences, funny and odd. It seems hardly possible to imagine contexts in which they would be acceptable and literally and seriously comprehensible. In such circumstances the author's conclusion that "passivizeable idiom is specified twice in the lexicon, both in its active and passive form" (130) is at best suspect and requires revision. I am afraid there are many more examples of this sort used by the author which also ask for serious rethinking and perhaps even substantial reformulating of the theoretical issues.

It is a mistake to believe that the Polish language, owing to its rich inflection, is not susceptible to any rules of sentence word order, and it is perhaps a still more serious mistake to believe that any variety of Polish is good enough to support the author's claim. In consequence of the negligence of the grammatical system we come across such deviant sentences, considered unacceptable by some Polish informants, as:

(14) Jan napisał o jakim polityku
John wrote about wh-politician (Horn 1978:106)

(15) Komu Bill mówił Jan dał prezent
To whom did Bill say that John gave a present (Horn 1978:109)

(16) Jakim przystojnym mężczyzną jest Jan?
how handsome man is John (Borsley and Jaworska 1981:82)

(17) Maria rozmawiała z takim przystojnym mężczyzną, z jakim Anna. (Borsley and Jaworska 1981 : 88)

(18) Jan jest taki, jak jest Piotr. (Borsley and Jaworska 1981:93)

(19) Jan jest takim mężczyzną, jak jest Piotr. (Borsley and Jaworska 1981 : 93)

(20) Jan jest takim dobrym szefem jakim dobrym ojcem.
John is so good boss how good father
'John is as good a boss as a father.' (Borsley and Jaworska 1981:86)

(21) Ta rzeka nie jest bardziej głęboka jak szeroka.
this river not is more deep how wide
'This river isn't more deep than wide.' (Borsley and Jaworska 1981: 90)

Each of the examples (14) through (21) posits a somehow different problem which I shall try to discuss briefly. It should be noted right now that despite a possible occurrence of these structures in a colloquial, spontaneous, and very often careless speech, or stylistically marked utterances, they all go far beyond the limits of standard grammatical language. If for some reason or other a contrastive linguist decides to make use of these sentences he should, I think, warn a reader of their colloquial character and justify their choice.

From (14) it would appear that the structural context is informal, possibly classroom-like; it is not an uncommon type of the colloquial variety which would probably be classified by Boniecka (1978) as an examination question (or a courtroom question) — compare the examples she quotes:

A zasadniczy akcent pada na sylabę którą?
Ten tutaj jaki byłby? (153)

In terms of structural comparability, one could also talk about a similar colloquial question in spoken English which would be, I assume, on the same scale of acceptability as its Polish equivalent:

(14a) John wrote about which politician?

The author does not seem to share this view. If (14) is not a question — no question mark is provided by the author — it can never be interpreted as a sentence.

For the sentence (15) no sensible interpretation has been suggested by my informants; it is simply not a sentence in Polish, because it is neither structurally describable, nor semantically explainable.[3] There are a number of ways Horn's sentence could be taken if additional information were added through such indicators as punctuation marks, word reordering, conjoining markers, etc. Without something like these signals, (15) is uninformative and of no relevance to the basic form

(15a) Bill mówił że Jan dał prezent Adamowi
Bill said that John gave a present to Adam (Horn 1978 : 109)

because (15) being ungrammatical cannot "show that the rule of wh-movement can apply to either NP in the embedded sentence" (Horn 1978 : 109).

As an interrogative sentence (16) is ungrammatical for most speakers of Polish in spite of the fact that the same wording is perfectly grammatical when uttered with an emphatic connotation, *jakim* being treated as an in-

[3] If (15) were meant to be a question it should have been construed differently; for Polish constructions with reported questions see Świdziński (1978).

tensifier

(16a) Jakim przystojnym mężczyzną jest Jan!
What a handsome man John is!

The difference between (16a) and (16) is not only that one is grammatical while the other is not, but also, and above all, that (16a) and (16) (taken for a question by Borsley and Jaworska) would be neither semantically nor pragmatically synonymous. In consequence, neither would serve the purpose, i. e. to illustrate the author's claim that "with questions involving attributive adjectives... it seems that the left branch condition can be violated if *jak* is inflected" (82). In connection with this problem it should be added that the authors' assumption that "there is just one AP determiner inflected in some circumstances and uninflected in others" (81), i.e. *jaki — jak*, is dubious, intuitively unconvincing and speculative in character when confronted with actual Polish data. This may be also the reason why the authors have interpretive difficulties with such sentences as (17)

Maria rozmawiała z takim przystojnym mężczyzną, z jakim Anna.

which they assume to be perfectly acceptable but have no idea why this should be so (88). The answer is simple: the sentence is not acceptable.

To continue our discussion, something is clearly wrong with the sentences (18), (19), (20) and (21), which like (17) are meant to illustrate various aspects of Polish equative constructions. First, in (18) and (19) the second use of the copula *jest* is unnecessary; then (20) with *takim...jakim* is wrongly construed; by substituting *takim...jakim* by *równie...jak* acceptability is obtained:

(20a) Jan jest równie dobrym szefem jak ojcem.

Here again, (20) is discussed as a counterexample to some constraint; the authors try to account for it but fail, saying: "in either case, however, they will violate the suggested constraint. Why, then, are they grammatical?" (86). The irony is that such sentences are not grammatical and the problem does not exist. Finally, in (21) the use of the analytic comparative does not sound proper and we would rather say

(21a) Ta rzeka nie jest głębsza jak szersza

or

(21b) Ta rzeka nie jest głębsza niż szersza.

By the way, the remarks on the uses of *jak* and *niż* in comparatives do not seem to agree in details with Polish authoritative sources such as *Kultura języka polskiego* by Buttler et al. (1973:374-5), *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny*, Szupryczyńska (1980:100 ff.), etc. For example, compare the authors' re-

mark "in standard Polish, *jak* normally occurs in negated comparatives" (90) with "po wyrażeniach z przeczeniem używamy zarówno spójnika *niż*, jak i spójnika *jak*: Czuł się nie gorzej niż (jak) dawniej" (*Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny*) (after negated phrases we use both the conjunction *niż* and the conjunction *jak*: Czuł się nie gorzej niż (jak) dawniej — He was feeling not worse than before" (translated by R.N.)). Borsley and Jaworska use a number of examples which are doubtful and in spite of their occurrence in colloquial Polish cannot be treated as good illustrative examples. The last point is best illustrated by the following sentences used by Jaworska on another occasion. They are:

(22) Poznałeś Annę przedtem, jakś kupił samochód.
(you) met Ann before-this how (you) bought car
'You met Ann before you bought the car.' (Jaworska 1982:163)

(23) Poznałeś Annę potem, jakś kupił samochód.
(you) met Ann after-this how (you) bought car
'You met Ann after you bought the car.' (Jaworska 1982:163)

The word *jakś* is nonexistent in Polish, no dictionary makes any record of it, and one may wonder on what grounds the author says that "speakers vary in the realization of this phenomenon with *jak*: *jakżeś* and *jakeś* are the alternatives. *Jakś* has been chosen here for the sake of simplicity" (Jaworska 1982:162). If she means a colloquial, dialectal or some other variant of phonetic realization of the enclitic particle *-eś* then *jakś* should be transcribed phonetically in order to avoid misunderstanding. As it is it may legitimately be assumed that *jakś* is a normal correct formation, which is not the case.

To conclude these remarks I should like to make an appeal to contrastive linguists for a more careful selection of Polish language data which they use as normatively correct (unless specified otherwise). It seems clear in principle that a linguist is responsible that the examples he chooses should be comprehensible, appropriate to the contexts, and generated by the rules of grammar, in other words, to be fully acceptable and perfectly grammatical.

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CONTRASTIVE SOCIOLINGUISTICS RECONSIDERED

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The present paper is intended to be both a continuation and a revision of my earlier considerations pertaining to contrastive sociolinguistics (Janicki 1979). I do not assume, however, that the reader of the present paper is acquainted with the earlier work in question.

I hope not to err in saying that the authors of the overwhelming majority of contrastive analyses to date (cf. articles from *PSiCL*) conceptualize language as knowledge, and simultaneously work at a relatively high level of idealization (they accept regularization, standardization and decontextualization as kinds of idealization). This philosophical standpoint has led to the acceptance of the ideal speaker-hearer as the locus of language. As a corollary, the question does not arise of what *real* speakers a given competence-related linguistic statement is true. This perspective seems to have brought about the fact that contrastive linguists of that philosophical orientation have been speaking about contrasting *languages* without addressing themselves to the question of how precisely languages can be distinguished from one another. Fisiak *et al.* define contrastive analysis as "the systematic study of two or more languages in all the language components" (1978:9). This definition appears to reflect the assumption made by most (all?) 'competence-linguists' that 'a language' is a theoretical linguistic notion.

When one adopts a significantly lower level of idealization, as I do, it becomes indispensable to redirect one's attention away from linguistic knowledge, and simultaneously toward linguistic behavior. Standardization and decontextualization get dispensed with, and the locus of language is no longer the ideal native speaker-hearer. The essence of language may be then seen for example as abstract meaning potential (Halliday 1978), which needs to be studied, among other ways, through actual linguistic behavior in real situations. It can be discerned immediately that lowering the level of idealiz-

ation, and, what follows, having to study language behavior, implies a markedly increasing significance of the *real* speaker.[1]

With the focus on *behavior* and the *real speaker* (as emerging through discarding standardization and decontextualization) the question of whether *languages* or varieties thereof can be contrasted should be posed anew. Once the linguist views language as behavior, the universe of his interest becomes much larger, and the various categories of speakers and situations have to be attended to in a principled manner. This is a fact that the contrastive sociolinguist has to incorporate into his analysis. Within this philosophical and methodological perspective, it is critical to define linguistic facts (which may be presented as 'grammars') in terms of precisely what population they are true of. In what follows I will try to show what consequences for contrastive (socio) linguistics are brought about by principled attending to linguistic behavior and rejecting standardization and decontextualization as kinds of idealization.

In the essential part of Janicki (1979) I stated that for any meaningful contrastive sociolinguistic analysis to be carried out a number of levels of comparability have to be established. The levels include the sociolectal and the

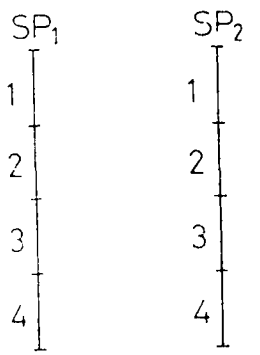

Fig. 1

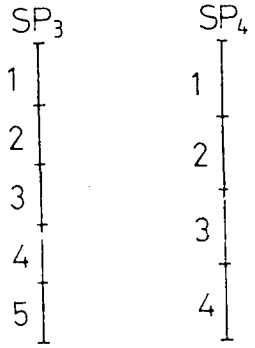

Fig. 2[2]

stylistic levels. For instance, with interest in the language of two large socially stratified speech communities one has to sociologically predefine the groups of people whose linguistic behavior is meant to be compared. Moreover, it is necessary to secure the comparability of the two categories compared.

[1] It needs to be stressed that the reorientation toward studying behavior should by no means be identified with behaviorism. In other words, my approach is behavioral, not behavioristic. Conceptually, my analysis leaves space for viewing language as knowledge, but at the same time allows a basically nonmentalistic perspective on language, as the individual researcher wishes. I find committing myself on this central philosophical issue to be inessential for the present considerations.

[2] SP stands for a macro speech community, and 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 stand for micro speech communities sociologically defined.

Thus, with reference to Fig. 1 and 2, if the tertium comparationis is the functional relations holding among 1—4, 1—5, 1 of SP_1 is comparable with 1 of SP_2, and 1 of SP_3 is *not* comparable with 1 of SP_1. It is possible, however, to conceive 1 of SP_3 and 1 of SP_4 as comparable if the criterion for comparability is a set of sociological indices, and if 1 of SP_3 and 1 of SP_4 share them all. In either case, i.e., with either functional relations or a set of indices as the criterion of comparability the tertium comparationis is sociological in nature, stands outside the linguistic properties compared, and thus, incidentally, allows the researcher to avoid the danger of circularity.[3]

Similarly, for a stylistic comparison to make sense, comparability has to be maintained at the contextual (use — in terms of Halliday et al. 1964) level. Again, crudely, if speaker A's consultative style (as conceived by Joos 1959) is compared with speaker B's formal style, then comparability within the analysis has not been respected and no conclusions of significant interest can be arrived at.

It seems that the perspective adumbrated above, though a possible linguistic perspective, is of special value to the sociologist. An alternative working perspective will be presented, which is in some cases more appropriate for the linguist to adopt. The latter will, however, cast some doubt upon the plausibility of contrastive sociolinguistics understood as an extention of contrastive linguistics, the way the latter has been most commonly conceived to date.

Let me now examine the consequences of the first alternative (henceforth A1), which may be viewed generally as *studying linguistic behavior of sociologically predefined speech communities in predefined situations*. To begin with, one has to keep in mind the fact that the sociologist's object of inquiry is different from that of the linguist. While, obviously, we can argue endlessly over various definitions, boundaries between disciplines, objects of study, and interdisciplinarity, there seems to exist a general consensus as to the different descriptive foci as related to linguistics and sociology. In this con-

[3] As Krzeszowski (in press) rightly points out one needs a tertium comparationis outside the properties compared. Otherwise, one faces the danger of circularity, which Krzeszowski presents as follows: "We compare in order to see what is similar and what is different in the compared materials; we can only compare items which are in some respect similar, but we cannot use similarity as an independent criterion for deciding how to match items for comparison, since similarity (or difference) is to *result* from the comparison and not *motivate* it" (5). I fully realize that the concept of tertium comparationis and its applicability to contrastive sociolinguistic analyses of any kind requires extensive exploration. Positing *pragmatic equivalence* as the tertium comparationis for all contrastive analyses going beyond the sentence (this seems to be what some authors suggest; cf. Krzeszowski op. cit.) may in fact be an oversimplification. As a detailed discussion of the issue would expand the present paper enormously, I take up the topic of tertium comparationis in contrastive sociolinguistics in a separate paper, which is in preparation.

nection. A_1 may be looked at as an exponent of sociological theory rather than that of linguistic theory, i.e., social groups (e.g. classes) are sociological constructs devised to answer sociological questions. In view of this fact A_1 may appear to be very fruitful *if* the sociologist decides to embark upon linguistic facts in order to verify his sociological theory. In other words, when the sociologist studies linguistic behavior he will or will not be able to obtain support for the isolation of sociological categories.

I now need to pause at the notions of 'a language', 'a sociolect', and 'a dialect'. As Hudson (1980) convincingly shows, the term 'a language' can be used only in a rather non-technical way, because linguistic reality cuts across what are commonly thought to be language boundaries, and because there is no one criterion that delimits languages. Consequently, 'a language' (such as Polish, French, Spanish) is not strictly a linguistic notion in so far as it is defined in terms of who speaks it. Likewise, the terms 'sociolect' and 'dialect' have been used for quite a long time now to refer to varieties of a language characteristic of socially defined groups and regionally defined groups, respectively. Again here, however, the use of the three terms in question serves mainly sociological purposes as 'languages', 'sociolects', and 'dialects' are linguistic varieties associated with groups of individuals predefined in non-linguistic terms.

It should be of considerable interest now to see how linguistic facts actually relate to such sociological categories as social group or social class. Thus the questions may be asked: Are there linguistic facts corresponding to the isolated (by the sociologist) social groups? Are there other facts that cut across those groups? The two questions may be reformulated into: How linguistically real are sociolects, sex-bound varieties, age-bound varieties, etc.? or still differently — what is the ontological status of sociolects, dialects, etc.?

Some answers to the questions may be found when linguistic facts are scrutinized against such nonlinguistic categories as region (geographical) and social group (sociological). With reference to the former, the existing evidence seems to indicate that there are no natural boundaries between dialects as some isoglosses cut across territories commonly associated with separate dialects (cf. e.g., Chambers and Trudgill 1980). Moreover, there is every reasons to believe that most, if not all, isoglosses have a unique distribution (Hudson 1980). In view of this fact 'a dialect' can be conceptualized only as a set of linguistic items arbitrarily distinguished from another set.

As contrastive analyses of linguistic items marked for regional distribution do not make much sense, I would now like to proceed to a discussion of socially marked linguistic items. I have mentioned 'regional dialects' only to provide a reference and some background information for the further discussion. As it appears, the distribution of isoglosses in geographical space shares many characteristics with that of linguistic items identified in social

space. I would like to stress in passing that I use 'linguistic item' in the sense of Hudson (1980), i.e., I consider 'linguistic item' to be any recognized linguistic entity. The operational definition of 'linguistic item' will be a function of the researcher's conceptualization of language and the theory that the researcher thinks is the best to account for the aspect of language that he is interested in. Thus, 'linguistic items' may be lexical items, rules of various kinds, constructions, constraints on rules, systems (as in systemic grammar), etc.

Fig. 3 below is intended to be a model of linguistic items distributed in social space. Let 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the vertical axis be social classes defined in terms of some socio-economic index.

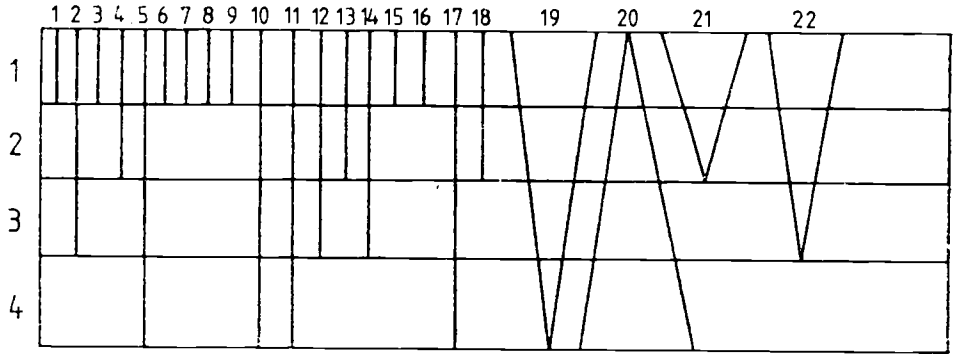

Fig. 3

In Fig. 3 let the category of consideration be 1, i.e., attention should for a moment be paid to the distribution of items which *all* are characteristic of 1. Obviously, the assumption has been made that the sociolinguistic 'order' of 2—4 is equivalent to that of 1. To reiterate, 1 is a sociologically predefined category, a predefined group of people whose language is subject to analysis. Fig. 3, in my opinion, reflects linguistic facts as they relate to social classes. That is, there are linguistic items characteristic of 1 and only of 1 (items 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16 of the horizontal axis). There are others which are characteristic of 1 as well as of 2 (items 4, 13, 18), and still others characteristic of 1 as well as of 2 and 3 (items 2, 12, 14), and still others characteristic of all the social classes differentiated in some way. Most significantly, however, the set of items characteristic of 1 includes those whose distribution in social space is marked quantitatively. In other words, 1 includes items which: a. occur in 1 exclusively, b. occur in 1 as well as in other categories, and c. occur in all categories with varying frequencies. At present, it seems most difficult to define even rough proportions of items in any of the three categories. Also, establishing the distribution of a considerable number of items

for any real set of categories parallel to the hypothetical 1—4 of our example is an extremely difficult task.

The model presented above is subject to further discussion. Namely, while our present knowledge, scarce as it is, allows us to strongly believe that linguistic items such as 2, 5, 19, 20 (i.e., those going beyond one social class) really exist, the existence of items such as 1, 3, 6, etc. (i.e., those that are characteristic of only one category) is a bit more doubtful, i.e., it cannot be ruled out that sociolects differ from one another only in quantitative terms. If this were actually true, then items such as 19 and 20 would be the only item type for the sociolinguist to work with.

In the context of what I have said as far one has to remember that social space may be defined by means of a variety of parameters. Therefore, even if items such as 1 and 3 do not exist in the social space defined in terms of social class parameters, they may exist in the social space defined in terms of the speaker's sex, or age.[4]

Irrespective of whether items such as 1 and 3 exist, which we are not able to determine at present, it remains to be clear that items such as 2, 13, 19, 21 do exist. In this connection, the question arises of what linguistic reality 'sociolects' refer to. Also, one could address oneself to the layman's contention that people of different social standing speak different kinds of language. The sociolinguist can put the question and the contention together in his attempt to answer the former and account for the latter. As regards the latter then: as the layman operates on stereotypes (some=all, often=always), he tends to believe that linguistic variation in social groups is only of a qualitative nature. We are now left with the question of what 'sociolects' actually are.

Usually defined as speech conventions characteristic of social groups, 'sociolects' are nothing but sets of linguistic items whose qualitative and quantitative features correspond to the sociologically predefined social groups. It follows that the notion of 'sociolect' cannot be used in linguistics in any technical way other than, trivially, when being synonymous with 'linguistic item' (Hudson 1980).

Fig. 3 is an oversimplification to the extent that social classes constitute an oversimplification of social reality. That is, within social classes (usually

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[4] Obviously, some languages include linguistic items specifically characteristic of the female or the male speaker, e.g., cf. Polish 'musiał*am*' (female) vs 'musiał*em*' (male). The two forms are standard, formal Polish. In what Joos would call the casual or intimate styles, males and females may and in fact do reverse the endings for whatever reason. The occurrence of 'musiał*em*' (female), though of extremely low frequency, *is* a linguistic fact. For that reason it does not seem to be a nonsensical idea to believe that perhaps the distribution of most linguistic items in social space is marked quantitatively, not qualitatively.

defined in terms of occupation, education, income, etc.) there obviously exists further social differentiation as people can be grouped along a number of dimensions such as age, sex, size of family, father's occupation, friendship network, religion, social mobility, ethnicity, etc. Moreover, most of those social dimensions correlate in some complex way with linguistic facts. Thus, it becomes necessary to plot linguistic items on a multi-dimensional map of social factors. Assuming that the dimensions written out below do actually correlate with linguistic variables, the map might take on the following form:

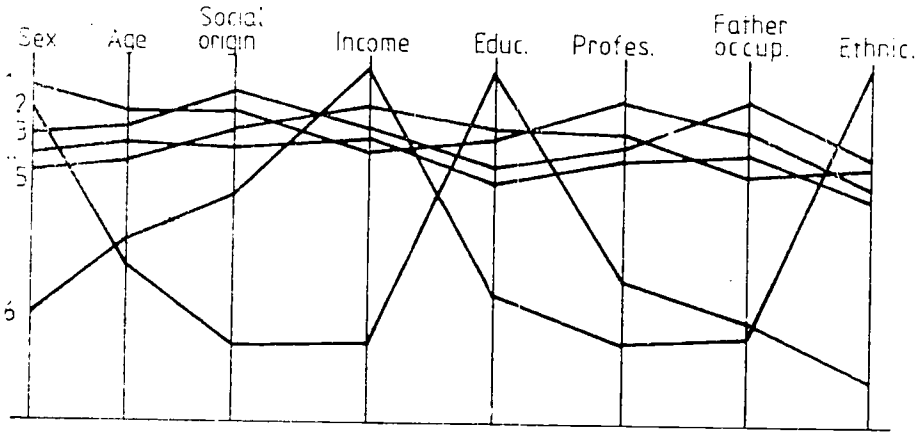

Fig. 4

All that Fig. 4 intends to show is that linguistic items tend to bundle together (items 1, 3, 4, 5). 'Bundling together' does not necessarily mean, however, that many items may have the same distribution in social space. On the contrary, it cannot be ruled out that each linguistic item has its own unique distribution. Furthermore, in addition to the items that bundle together there are others which cut across bundles (items 2 and 6). It should be remembered that the bundling in question may be both qualitative and quantitative, i.e., there seem to exist social category networks which can be characterized by the existence or non-existence (occurrence or non-occurrence) of a given linguistic item (e.g., a lexical item), and, there are other networks which can be linguistically described in terms of how frequently a given linguistic item materializes in linguistic behavior.

To make the whole of my foregoing discussion more clear, let me give some examples. The final bilabial consonant (sic!) in Polish words such as *idą*, *robią*, etc., may occur in the linguistic behavior of speakers differentiated by the following social features: either sex, any education, age- 40-60, working class origin, any income, any profession. The lexical item 'balanga' (a

fling) can perhaps be marked as: either sex, age- up to 40, any social origin, any income, at least secondary education, father's profession — any, religion — any. Likewise, the morphological ending *am* (as in robilam, mialam, etc.) may be marked as: sex — female[5], age — any, social origin — any, education — any, profession — any, religion — any.

The examples given above are not real in the sense that the marking of the linguistic items brought up has not been verified empirically. I believe that no convincing *real* examples can be given at present because systematic empirical research along the lines presented above has not been carried out yet. In any event, all that those examples are intended to indicate is that items will intersect. Many will differ only by one feature, e.g., all social features being equal, speaker A will exhibit linguistic item X and speaker B will not, only because speaker A's religion is Y and speaker B's is Z.

As was stated in Janicki 1979, for the researcher to commence a contrastive sociolinguistic analysis, establishing comparability at the 'user' level has to be followed by establishing comparability at the 'use' level.[5] In other words, when studying the linguistic behaviour of two comparable groups of people the formal style of group A has to be compared with the formal style of group B, the consultative style of group A has to be compared with the consultative style of group B, etc. A closer look at variation according to use (registral, stylistic variation) permits one to claim that stylistic variation (like dialectal and sociolectal) cannot be viewed as a set of distinct varieties conditioned contextually (Hudson 1980). Rather, the speaker's, and by extension, a group of speakers' repertoire should be conceived of as a network of linguistic items of which some bundle together (again, as in sociolectal and dialectal variation), i.e., have similar contextual distribution, others have identical contextual distribution, and still others significantly have a unique contextual distribution, i.e., clearly cut across the bundles. It follows that linguistic items marked for context can be defined in terms of a set of values pertaining to a number of context (situational) dimensions. Halliday (1978) distinguishes three dimensions, Ervin-Tripp (1971) distinguishes five, Hymes (1974) distinguishes thirteen, Preston (1979) distinguishes several more, and they all seem not to have been able to identify all the relevant dimensions. Also, what is of utmost importance is the fact that identifying all the relevant dimensions is only the first step in the analysis since we will still be left with the formidable task of having to exactly define the contextual distribution of each linguistic item thus determining which items are uniquely distributed and which are not.

In view of what I have said so far the distribution of linguistic items in the multi-dimensional *contextual* space will graphically look like the following:

[5] For the 'user-use' distinction cf. Halliday *et al.* (1964).

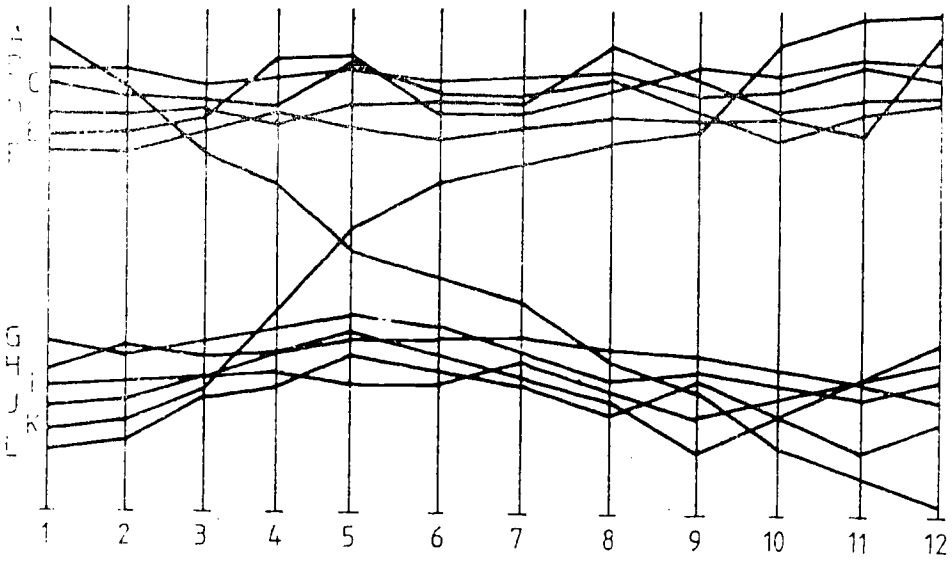

Fig. 5

1—12 stand for dimensions such as setting, topic, function, channel, speaker's emotional state, listener's emotional state, role-relationship holding between the interlocutors, listener's perceived age, listener's sex, listener's perceived social status, etc. Those are variables correlating with linguistic items (A—L) in a manner still largely unknown to us. One of the significant tasks that the sociolinguist faces is thus isolating the complete list of the relevant dimensions and values of those dimensions that correlate with linguistic items.[6]

Let me now bring all the present discussion back to contrastive sociolinguistics. Clearly, in view of what has been said so far, the A1 option (=studying linguistic behavior of sociologically predefined groups in non-linguistically predefined situations) can be either supplemented or replaced by option A2, whose critical characteristic is that of studying the distribution of linguistic items in the multi-dimensional social space. Thus, A2 is no doubt a linguistic perspective, an exponent of linguistic theory. It might seem to follow that A2 is the perspective for the contrastive sociolinguist to adopt. Whether A2 allows viewing contrastive sociolinguistics as an extention of contrastive linguistics is a question that I will take up shortly. In what follows I will try to show that both A1 and A2 are legitimate perspectives enabling the reaching of different goals, except that A2 no longer allows 'contrasting' in the sense of Fisiak et al. (1976).

[6] The distance between items G and F is preserved only for the reader to better grasp the idea of bundling. In reality there is no distance of any sort.

As was mentioned at the outset of this paper, A1 serves mainly sociological purposes. A1 may thus provide linguistic information on the functioning of social groups predefined in non-linguistic terms. Interestingly enough, that information may be taken seriously to the effect that definitions of social groups might incorporate the linguistic data provided.

In addition to the main sociological function, A1 will prove inevitable upon attempting to contrast the standard varieties of two languages, and will thus turn out to be useful in serving practical linguistic purposes. Language standardization always involves selection — selecting a variety to be considered 'standard' (Haugen 1966). Selection, in turn, implies resorting to one set of speakers and not others, as well as one set of situational variables, and not others. That is, standard varieties have normally been conceived as relating to specific social groups (those of high social prestige), and realms of activity (e.g., cultural events, mass media) non-linguistically preselected. Standard varieties are delimited for practical reasons of which the following three are the most important:

1. enabling relatively unencumbered communication within large, national aggregates of individuals, who, most often, do not naturally share a significantly homogeneous variety,

2. in foreign language learning/teaching, having to select one variety out of the many varieties of the foreign language is simply unavoidable if foreign language learning is to be feasible, and

3. translation requires preselecting varieties to be resorted to in the process.

It is not a goal of this paper to discuss the issue of how standard varieties have been or should be delimited. Suffice it to emphasize that in the history of 'standardization' it has been speaker and situation categories that have served as the basis for the procedure to be carried out upon (cf. Edwards (1976), Quirk (1968), Dittmar (1976)). Thus 'standardization' is clearly an exolinguistic process. It is the society's intervention in linguistic reality; it is an intervention of a sociopolitical nature.

Once standard varieties have been delimited, we are faced with the question of why standard varieties should be contrasted at all. It seems that the main two reasons are: 1. the practical needs of foreign language learning/teaching, and 2. the practical needs of translation. This kind of contrastive analysis will offer information on how linguistic items are distributed in two sets of predefined social categories, e.g., one such set (in L_1) will generate characteristics A, B, C... of the second person singular pronoun, another set (in L_2) will generate characteristics D, E, F... of the pronoun. Obviously, information on L_1 and L_2 in this respect will help account for *some* errors made by foreign/second language learners, and it will constitute valuable material in the overall process of foreign/second language learning/teaching, and in that of translation. Contrasting standard varieties, valuable as it might be for prac-

tical reasons, will not provide much information as to how linguistic items are *actually* distributed in social space. This is because delimiting and then contrasting standard varieties of two languages fall within the scope of A1, i.e., involve a non-linguistic predefinition of phenomena under investigation. In conclusion, it turns out that the A1 perspective serves *theoretical sociological* purposes and *practical linguistic* purposes.

The other perspective, A2, differs from A1 mainly in that A2, unlike A1, does not presuppose the predefinition of speaker and situation categories. In other words, the essence of A2 is defining the distribution of linguistic items in social space. A2 is not an exponent of sociological theory; it may be viewed as a verificational procedure for (socio)linguistic theory. While the center of attention in A1 is social categories, the center of heed in A2 is linguistic items.

It is essential to remember that studying the distribution of linguistic items in social space constitutes the core of A2. In this way, A2 resembles what Trudgill (1974) calls 'cluster analysis', in which linguistic similarities lead to grouping speakers together and identifying the nonlinguistic features that they share. More importantly, however, A2 will, implicitly or explicitly, bring to light the fact that boundaries between languages, dialects, or any varieties for that matter, are fluid. It follows, again, that 'a language', 'a dialect', or 'a variety' is a social notion in so far as it is defined in terms of who speaks it or in what social situations it is spoken.

A corollary of what has been said so far is that A2 is a trully (socio)linguistic perspective. It seems thus that within that perspective the essence of contrastive sociolinguistic inquiries will be contrasting linguistic items as they are distributed in the multi-dimensional social space. The goal here is clearly linguistic, i.e., assigning social descriptions to linguistic items helps to account for the multiaspectual reality of linguistic items, which constitute language. If one views the whole of language as complex networks of linguistic items (with respect to both 'user' and 'use'), including recognizable bundles but no discreet boundaries between them, the sociolinguist's ultimate aim — accounting for language, will necessarily involve taking resort to those very linguistic items. If, in turn, one conceives of contrastive sociolinguistics simply as a method of studying language, contrasting linguistic items has to ensue.

At this point we need to reflect again on the fundamental goal of contrastive linguistics as defined by most linguists conceptualizing language as knowledge. The goal is accounting for language, and it involves contrasting 'languages'. The implication here is that languages can be viewed as discreet entities. Consequently, putting them together in order to find similarities and differences between them is a feasible endeavor. When 'languages' or boundaries between them are surveyed from the sociolinguistic viewpoint, i.e., when the analysis adopts a significantly lower level of idealization, it becomes evident that 'discreet languages' are non-existent. What seems to result is that

contrastive analysis in the sense of Fisiak et al. (1978) is no longer plausible. A close look at linguistic phenomena described in terms of behavioral (*not* behavioristic) theory leads one to conclude that boundaries between languages, between regional dialects, between social dialects, registers, or any other varieties are very unlikely to be able to be set linguistically. What we are left with are linguistic items associated with a complex network of relationships pertaining to multi-dimensional social space. Can we then contrast linguistic items? If so, what for?

To preempt a possible reservation one has to admit that, certainly, linguistic items have been the object of contrastive analyses for a long time now. What are "Subject clauses in English and Polish", "On 'coming' and 'going' in English and German", "On items introducing finite relative and interrogative clauses in English and Dutch" but contrastive analyses of linguistic items?[7] However, linguistic items may be described or contrasted in a variety of ways or at various levels of language. In this connection, one should keep in mind the fact that most contrastive analyses (like those mentioned above) have been analyses of language at the phonological and grammatical levels. Linguistic items have been picked out from two languages tacitly assumed to be discreet entities with linguistic reality. What *I* am concerned with at present are linguistic items (including those same items that the phonologists and grammarians have been dealing with) at a higher level of analysis. In terms of systemic grammar, we are concerned here with the level of 'situation' and the interlevel of 'context'. Again, the interest in linguistic items and their distribution in social space is a corollary of one's interest in linguistic behavior.

In conclusion, I envisage the core of work in sociolinguistics (the A2 variant) to be basically a two stage analysis. First, answers should be sought to the question of what are the dimensions relevant to descriptions of linguistic items. In other words, one should try to isolate all the social parameters to which linguistic items are sensitive. The problem of utmost difficulty that the sociolinguist faces is that different linguistic items tend to be sensitive to different social parameters, with only some bundling present. Second, functional *values* (indicators) of the dimensions in question will have to be discriminated. The question is of, for example, what kinds of 'setting' (once 'setting' has been determined to be a relevant dimension) are linguistic items sensitive to.

We are thus brought to the fundamental question within A2 (from the point of view of the objective of the paper), namely, how can contrastive sociolinguistics be envisioned within that global perspective.

I will try to answer this question by again taking recourse to the work of the 'competence-linguist'. What the 'competence linguist' does is contrast

[7] Those are example titles of articles from *PSiCL*.

linguistic items or sets of linguistic items at the level of *form* and the interlevel of *phonology* (in terms of systemic grammar). In my understanding, the 'competence-linguist' has been contrasting languages without, however, explicitly claiming that 'languages' are linguistic notions. Furthermore, the 'competence-linguist' has not *explicitly* discussed the practical (teaching + translation) and the theoretical (linguistic universals) goals as viewed against such notions as 'a language', 'standard language', 'dialect', 'variety', 'style', etc.

What the 'behavior-/socio/linguist' will do is also contrast linguistic items or sets of linguistic items, except that the analysis will be carried out at the level of '*situation*' and the interlevel of '*context*' (again in terms of systemic linguistics). The interest in situation and context necessitates, among other things, defining the distribution of linguistic items in multi-dimensional social space. The 'behavior-linguist' seems to have to clearly distinguish between goals (theoretical vs practical) with reference to notions like "languages', 'standard languages', 'dialects', etc. Granted that distinction, A2 aims at the same type of goal that a lot of 'competence-linguists' do, namely, linguistic universals. Thus, A2 is geared toward reaching a *linguistic theoretical* goal — the description of the universals of language. One can certainly argue about the ontological status of those universals ('competence-linguist' is a mentalist whereas the 'behavior-linguist' is not necessarily so); however, I think that that discussion would go beyond the essence of the paper, and I therefore abandon it. Suffice it to say that the A2 sociolinguist is basically interested in the relationships holding between linguistic items and social space characteristics of language. In sum, the contrastive 'competence-linguist' and the contrastive 'behavior-linguist' (particularly the one who adopts the A2 perspective) have both the same *type* of research goal (linguistic theoretical) but not exactly the same goal. The difference in goal springs from differences in defining the object of inquiry. The sociolinguist and, by extention, the contrastive sociolinguist, investigate those aspects of linguistic reality that the 'competence-linguist' either implicitly ignores or explicitly rejects as legitimate objects of linguistic inquiry.

To finally arrive at the core of the answer to the question of 'how can contrastive sociolinguistics within the A2 perspective be envisioned' one may conclude that analysis of this sort will involve contrasting linguistic items in terms of their relationships to the multi-dimensional social space. Those items will only be *informally* taken to belong to different languages. The question of whether a given item belongs to language A or B will be inessential from the point of view of the goal of the research endeavor. Linguistic items will be scrutinized in social space, obviously, in order for regularities to be found, and thus for the social aspects of language to be accounted for. It can be seen that, following the present way of reasoning, one is free to study items 'intralingually' and 'interlingually' (i.e., items that typically belong to 'one lan-

guage' or those typically belonging to two 'different languages') with basically the same theoretical objective in mind. Concluding, once one accepts my line of thought, contrastive sociolinguistic analysis (the A2 perspective) may be tentatively defined as systematic juxtaposition of linguistic items as they are distributed in the multi-dimensional (multi-parameter) social space. The goal of such analysis will be *linguistic* and *theoretical*, i.e., this kind of analysis will enable search for universal laws pertaining to the social aspects of language.

Recapitulating, contrastive sociolinguistics, emerging as a consequence of focussing on linguistic behavior, may be understood as incorporating two fundamental working perspectives. The gist of one (A1) is studying linguistic behavior of sociologically predefined groups of people in sociologically predefined situations. With the contrastive method in mind, this perspective serves *theoretical sociological* purposes (verifying sociological theories) and *practical linguistic* purposes (language teaching+translation). The other perspective (A2) focusses on describing the distribution of linguistic items in the multi-dimensional social space. A2 does not necessitate any predefinitions of sociological nature. A2 may evolve into a contrastive analysis of linguistic items as they are distributed in social space. Such analysis is rendered for *theoretical linguistic* purposes, as the objective underlying the analysis is arriving at language universals. In spite of all the differences between A1 and A2 at the notional level, the two perspectives may be taken to globally complement each other. This is because theoretical feedback and practical permeation between A1 and A2 are inevitable.

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VARIATIONS IN POLISH NASAL /ę/: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTRASTIVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC METHODOLOGY

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Contrastive sociolinguistics (CS) is a relative newcomer to the field of contrastive linguistics. Although there has been as yet little empirical work done, attempts have been made to clarify a number of theoretical and methodological problems (Janicki 1979, 1982). In this article I will briefly review some of Janicki's ideas, and present some sociolinguistic data on Polish. Although these data were not collected within the theoretical and methodological framework of contrastive analysis, I believe they may help exemplify some points Janicki has made, and answer some questions he has raised.[1]

In his 1979 article on the development of CS, Janicki concerns himself primarily with the goals and methodology of CS, and in particular with the possibility, indeed the necessity, of finding equivalent sociolinguistic patterns in the two languages under investigation. This involves the extension of current sociolinguistic theory and methodology to the developing field of CS. This means studying language as it is used in the speech community, studying language as social behavior. The behavior in question consists of "actual

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[1] This article is loosely based on a paper presented at the 18th International Conference on Polish-English Contrastive Linguistics (Johnson 1982). I have made several substantial changes, however. The entire section on communicative competence has been removed; I am currently expanding it and will publish it as a separate paper. I have also dropped the discussion of the fronting of /a/, and have expanded the analysis of /ę/, including data not presented in the earlier version. (A full discussion of both variables can be found in Johnson 1980). An expanded version of the section on /a/ and language change-in-progress is also being prepared as a separate paper. I wish to thank the participants at the conference for their often insightful questions, comments, and criticisms, and especially for the interest and enthusiasm shown by many for whom quantitative analysis and variation theory are new approaches to the study of language.

performance as investigated on a group of speakers strictly defined by social and geographical parameters" (Janicki 1979:33).

Janicki outlines a two-fold objective for CS, to "provide a systematic juxtaposition of equivalent and nonequivalent sociolinguistic patterns, and provide an analytical framework for the formation of theories of language use" (*ibid.*:34). A major concern in the fulfillment of this objective is that the two varieties, in this case languages, actually be "comparable in sociolinguistic terms...Contrastive sociolinguistic analyses cannot be undertaken until the necessary *levels of comparability* have been established and clearly defined" (*ibid.*:35, emphasis in original).

The concept of levels of comparability is somewhat more complex than it appears at first glance. Granted, all languages are comparable in terms of function, i.e. all have a range of functional varieties. All languages have stylistic variation, or variation in registers; all languages reflect social differences based on categories such as age, sex, and social status. But the sociolinguistic markers of these linguistic varieties will not necessarily be the same in two different languages, making direct comparison difficult.

More recently, Janicki has raised yet another problem involved in establishing levels of comparability, in which he includes sociolectal and stylistic levels (Janicki 1982:2). The problem, of course, is that the number and/or range of, for example, stylistic levels, may be different in two different languages. If the "informal" style in one language includes a greater range of linguistic behavior than the "informal" style of another, then are these valid levels of comparability?

This notion of speech style is one that has troubled sociolinguists for some time because of the arbitrary nature of the styles delineated. We know from observation of speech behavior that all individuals and all speech communities include in their repertoires a range of speech styles, from almost cryptically intimate through an extremely formal or "frozen" style, to use Joos' term (Joos 1962). However, these styles represent a continuum; there are no natural boundaries separating one style from another. Since the boundaries are imposed by the linguist for his or her own purposes, there is no set number of styles in any language. We also know that it is virtually impossible for the linguist to elicit very informal speech from informants; the mere presence of an outsider with his or her paraphernalia is a constraining influence on the style of speech a person will use.

Nevertheless, we continue to use this concept of style, we continue to elicit arbitrarily bounded styles because they have proven to be useful. The kinds of cross-style variation speakers use give us more data, give us additional information about the range of variation the speakers have in their repertoires. The patterns of variation in speech that emerge as a speaker moves from the artificially formal style of the word list to the relatively informal con-

versational style have enabled us to make useful generalizations about linguistic behavior and linguistic or sociolinguistic processes. As long as we, the investigators, remember that our "styles" represent only a portion of the range of behavior available to the speaker, and as long as we remember that they are categories imposed on the data, we can continue to use them as heuristic devices and can test their validity as heuristic devices cross-culturally.

When we are trying to set up levels of comparability between two languages, we must decide whether we are interested in comparability at the level of function or at the level of analysis. Ideally, of course, these two levels would be congruent. In actual practice they need not be. It is obvious that the boundaries and even the contexts of "informal" speech may be different in Polish and English. My contention is that at this point in the development of CS it does not matter. The dividing line between "informal" speech and "careful" is arbitrarily set anyway, even in the speech of a single individual.

The stylistic range of any speech community, or any individual, is a continuum artificially divided into discrete segments by the sociolinguist. This division into segments is based on both linguistic and nonlinguistic factors. Traditionally, style has been defined by context, and data-gathering sessions are often designed to elicit a range of discrete styles, usually including artificially formal styles such as the reading of word lists. (See Labov (1972) for a detailed discussion of this problem.) The same techniques that are used to elicit styles in English can be used in other languages to test the hypothesis that different varieties of speech can be elicited by varying the context. Once we have established that the concept of style is valid and that changing the context can trigger some kind of style shifting, then we can, if we wish, investigate more carefully differences in the stylistic continua of two or more languages.

In this paper, therefore, I am not claiming that the styles I elicited represent all possible styles available in Polish, nor that the repertoires of Polish and English speech communities are identical. I do maintain that they are demonstrably comparable, and that the use of arbitrarily defined styles has resulted in the collection of data which indicate linguistic processes in Polish strikingly similar to those described in various studies of English and which add to our knowledge of language and linguistic behavior in general.

I am further arguing in this paper for the comparability, or even the equivalence, in Polish and English of other social factors such as age, sex, and social class membership which have been shown to affect or interact with sociolinguistic processes in English-speaking communities.[3] I believe that

[3] I am presenting only Polish data in this paper; comparable studies of English are legion. See for example Labov 1966, 1980; Trudgill 1974, 1978.

this approach meshes neatly with Janicki's proposed solution to the problem of establishing levels of comparability: "the essence of contrastive sociolinguistic inquiries will be contrasting linguistic items as they are distributed in the multi-dimensional social space" (Janicki 1982:11).

The data I am using for this paper come from a survey I conducted in Poznań in 1977.[3] The survey was based on the model developed by Labov in his New York study (Labov 1966) and subsequently used by others in various studies conducted in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. I used a stratified representative sample of 37 individuals. The stratification of the sample was based on age, sex, and social class membership. Social class membership, in the case of the adults, was determined by education and occupation; children were assigned to their parents' social class. The social class descriptors used were based on results of empirical sociological research done in Poland. (See, for example, Wesołowski 1979, Wesołowski and Słomczyński 1968).

The sample was further divided into two age groups: high school students 17 or 18 years old and their parents, whose ages ranged from 46 to 56. All the parents interviewed were either natives of Poznań or had lived there at least twenty years. All the students had been born and raised in Poznań. The final sample then consisted of sixteen members of the intelligentsia, evenly divided by sex and age, fourteen working class people (six adults, eight students) evenly divided by sex, and seven members of a socially ambiguous group (two adults, five students). These last were people who for various reasons did not fit neatly into the two previously delineated social groups. For example, there were students whose father was working class but whose mother was from the intelligentsia, and there were adults who came from a working class background, had little education, but who were working in jobs usually limited to the intelligentsia.

Data were collected in structured interviews in the schools and homes of the informants. I did not conduct the interviews myself, since my American accent caused most of the informants to slow down and speak more carefully. The interviews were actually conducted by a Polish sociology student; I was, of course, present at all interviews.

The interview schedule was designed to elicit a range of styles, including reading a word list, reading a connected text, and two conversational styles: a careful interview style and a more relaxed "informal" style. The division of conversational data into careful and informal styles was based in part on guidelines set forth by Labov (1972). Speech was automatically classified as careful if it was the first sentence in a direct response to a question or if it was

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[3] The research was funded by the Fulbright-Hays program and a Polish Government Grant.

directed at me. Speech was automatically classed as informal if it was directed to a friend or family member. For the classification of those utterances which did not fit any of these categories I used other linguistic and nonlinguistic cues: speech tempo, vowel reduction, and context (for example, speech occurring while the respondent was paying attention to something other than the interview was usually considered informal). Long narratives were classed as informal in most cases. For example, one of the questions prompted many of the adults to tell us about their experiences during and after the war. Any utterance about which I was unsure was classed as careful, so that any error would be on the conservative side.

The variable I will discuss here is the nasal vowel /ę/ in word-final position. This variable was originally chosen for analysis because I had noticed in informal observation that there seemed to be a great deal of variation in its realization, and I wondered what kinds of constraints there might be on this variation.

Previous studies of Polish nasal vowels show a remarkable lack of unanimity about their phonemic status, distribution, and phonetic realization. They agree, however, that word-final /ę/ is virtually always denasalized. Stankiewicz (1956:520) maintains that "the nasal vowel /ę/ is in free variation with /e/ in emphatic or, rather, artificial speech. In colloquial standard Polish there is no opposition between, e.g. /źem'e/ 'lands' (pl.) and (źem'e/ 'land' (acc. sg) [orthographically *ziemie* and *ziemię*]. The two forms are homonymous". He further maintains that in the Wielkopolska dialect, which includes Poznań, there are no nasal vowels, only oral ones.

Bąk, describing the realization of /ę/ in Standard Polish states, "The vowel /ę/ at the end of a word has weak nasalization in careful speech, and in colloquial speech a complete lack of nasalization" (1977:53; my translation). Entenman (1977:31) believes that Polish nasal vowels are nasalized only before continuants. Both he and Ruhlen (1978:230) explain the presence of the diphthong [ew̃] (see below) as a stage in the process of denasalization.

Brooks feels that the distribution of nasal vowels "is limited to two positions: before fricatives and word-finally" (1968:26), and considers the word-final position to be crucial in the analysis of nasal vowels. In an experiment using educated speakers of the Warsaw dialect, she found three variants of word-final /ę/: [e], [ew], and [ew̃], the third variant occurring "only in emphatic or deliberate speech" (1968:40). Only 14% to 17% of word-final /ę/ showed any nasality.

None of these studies accounts for the observed occurrences of nasal variants of /ę/ in colloquial speech or attempts to constrain their occurrence in careful speech. In this paper I will investigate the occurrences of word-final /ę/ in the Poznań dialect, and show how the variation is constrained by both linguistic and social factors.

The variable. In the data collected from the 37 speakers, there were 859 occurrences of word-final /ę/. Four variants were distinguished:

(ẽ) a monophthongal nasal vowel, 53 tokens, 6.2% of the data
(ew̃) a diphthong,[4] 285 tokens, 33.2%
(eN) a vowel followed by a nasal consonant, 188 tokens, 21.9%
(e) an oral monophthong, 333 tokens, 38.8%.

Of these, the first three were considered to be nasal variants; (e) was considered completely denasalized. Of the nasal variants, (ẽ) and (ew̃) are considered by many speakers to be "standard" or prestige forms. The use of (eN) in any phonological environment other than preceding a stop is stigmatized.

In the analysis presented here I shall present an overview of the distribution of these variants, with particular attention paid to the distribution of the variant (eN), the most interesting sociolinguistically.

Each occurrence of the variable in the corpus was coded for eight conditioning factors: stress; the grammatical form in which the variable occurred; the manner of articulation of the following segment; sex, age, and social class of the speaker; speech style; and the individual speaker. Stress, following phonological environment, style, and social class are the most interesting constraints on the general distribution of the variants; social class and age are the most significant factors constraining the occurrence of (eN). Interestingly enough, sex of speaker had virtually no effect on the realization of the variable.

Stress. When word-final /ę/ occurs in a stressed syllable it is almost invariably nasalized (See Figure 1.) Stress is, in effect, a categorical constraint. However, there is no corresponding effect of absence of stress, indicating that other factors also constrain nasalization.

	(ẽ)	(ew̃)	(eN)	(e)	
stressed	1.4%	59.8%	34.7%	4.1%	N=73
unstressed	6.6	30.7	20.7	42.0	N=786

Figure 1: Effects of stress

Phonological constraints. The effects of the manner of articulation of the following segment are interesting because they do not fit the expected pattern.

[4] As Brooks (1968) notes, the offglide of the diphthong is variably nasalized. Wiesław Awedyk has informed me that the non-nasalized diphthong is stigmatized, although Brooks described its use by educated speakers of the Warsaw dialect. Since I felt both variants of the diphthong to represent the same kind of linguistic behavior, I lumped them together in my final analysis. I realize now that that was probably an oversimplification. The raw data are not immediately available to me, but I believe that approximately 90% of the diphthongs in the corpus were nasalized, which supports Awedyk's contention.

According to references cited above (Brooks 1968; Enteiman 1977; Stankiewicz 1956) we would expect to find that the variable was always realized as (eN) before stops, as (ẽ) or (ew̃) before continuants, and as (e) before a pause.[5] This is not what the data show, however (See Figure 2).

	(ẽ)	(ew̃)	(eN)	(e)	
stop	1.5%	7.3%	46.0%	45.3%	N=137
fricative	8.0	25.9	23.8	42.3	N=286
trill	35.9	28.2	10.3	25.6	N=39
liquid	5.4	37.8	2.7	54.1	N=37
glide	9.1	31.8	22.7	36.4	N=22
vowel	0.0	36.8	5.3	57.9	N=19
pause (no segment)	3.1	50.8	14.4	31.7	N=319

Figure 2: Effects of following segment

Only 46% of the variants before a stop are (eN); diphthongs are most likely to occur before a pause (162 of 289 diphthongs, or 53% are found in this environment); and oral vowels occur in all environments. In fact, all variants occur in all possible environments with only one exception: (ẽ) never occurs before a vowel. Even if we eliminate those cells with fewer than five cases each, to minimize error, we still find (ẽ) occurring before fricatives, trills, and pauses; (eN) before stops, fricatives, glides, and pauses; and the diphthong and oral variants in all possible phonological environments.

Obviously the following phonological environment cannot explain the distribution of the variants of /ę/. Other kinds of constraints must be operating on the variable, unless we assume that all variants of /ę/ are in free variation.

Style. Stylistic variation is clearly evident in these data (See Figure 3). In the word list style denasalization never occurs, regardless of following phonological environment. (There were three possible following phonological environments for the forms found in the word list: a following pause for those speakers who pronounced each word in isolation, which most did; and a following stop and fricative for those who read the list as though it were a connected text. The forms occurred in the following order: ...się, proszę, ś(więty)...)

	(ẽ)	(ew̃)	(eN)	(e)	
word list	4.2%	72.2%	23.6%	0.0%	N=72
reading	8.9	42.5	32.2	16.4	N=506
careful	2.5	8.5	3.9	86.0	N=200
informal	0.0	1.2	2.2	96.3	N=81

Figure 3: Effects of style

[5] A following /l/ (always realized in this dialect as [w]) and following nasal consonants were considered neutralizing environments; occurrences of the variable in these environments were not included in the analysis.

In the most informal style, however, 96.3% of all forms (78 of 81) were denasalized, again regardless of following phonological environment. Between these two extremes there is also a clear break between the two conversational styles on the one hand and the two reading styles on the other.

The patterns of stylistic variation displayed here are typical of those found in sociolinguistic studies of English-speaking speech communities, including Labov's work in New York City (1966) and Trudgill's in Norwich (1974).

Social class.[6] The effects of social class membership on the realization of the variable are suggestive, but are not as marked as the effects of style (See Figure 4).

	(ɵ̃)	(ɵw̃)	(ɵN)	(ɵ)	
intelligentsia	8.1%	36.3%	12.8%	42.9%	N=422
intermediate	3.4	37.0	16.4	43.2	N=146
working class	4.8	26.8	37.8	30.6	N=291

Figure 4: Effects of social class

The intelligentsia speakers use the "prestige" nasal variants more often than do the working class speakers; they also tend to denasalize the vowel more often. The most striking difference between the two groups is in their use of the (ɵN) variant: it accounts for only 12.8% of the tokens of the intelligentsia, while the working class use it in 37.8% of all possible cases.

Variation within a single style. Since the stylistic constraint is so powerful, it obscures any effect the other factors may have. In order to see to what extent age and social class affect the realization of /ɵ/ it is necessary to look at the variation within a single style. The reading style was chosen for this section of the analysis because it is the only style in which all speakers had a large number of occurrences of the variable in the same phonological environments (there were fifteen occurrences of word-final /ɵ/ in the reading). The results are noteworthy (See Figure 5).

	(ɵ̃)	(ɵw̃)	(ɵN)	(ɵ)
intelligentsia	10.3%	52.9%	18.8%	18.8%
intermediate	0.0	50.0	42.9	7.1
working class	4.2	15.6	69.8	10.4

Parents

	(ɵ̃)	(ɵw̃)	(ɵN)	(ɵ)
intelligentsia	14.8%	48.1%	18.5%	18.5%
intermediate	8.1	45.2	19.4	27.4
working class	7.4	47.4	32.6	12.6

Students

Figure 5: Effects of class and age in the reading

[6] The behavior of the intermediate social group is not discussed here; the group was so small (particularly in the parental generation) that the results may be insignificant or

The most obvious difference between social classes and age groups here is the use of (eN). The working class adults use (eN) more than twice as often as their children do, and almost four times as often as the intelligentsia. The fact that almost 70% of the tokens of the working class adults are (eN) cannot be explained by phonological environment; only 20% of the variables in the reading occurred before stops. It is obvious that in this controlled set of data social class is the strongest constraint on variation, with age of speaker also having a significant effect.

Phonological environments of (eN). Finally, to verify the effects of age and social class membership, I will show the distribution of the variant (eN), controlling for following phonological environment (See Figure 6). The figures given represent occurrences in all styles.

	CLASS		AGE	
	Intelligentsia	Working Class	Parents	Students
stop	56.6%	20.2%	26.3%	47.1%
fricative	26.4	38.5	34.8	38.2
pause	15.1	33.9	32.2	11.8
glide	1.9	3.7	3.4	1.5
trill	-	1.8	1.7	1.5
liquid	—	.9	.9	—
vowel		.9	.9	—
N=	53	109	118	68

Figure 6: Phonological environments of (eN) by class, age

Although a following stop is the predictable environment of the occurrence of (eN), only 20.2% of the (eN) tokens of the working class occur in that environment, compared to 56.6% for the intelligentsia. The lower than expected figures for all groups here is clearly a result of the effect of style; what is significant is the difference in the rate of occurrence between intelligentsia and working class, and between parents and students. Another surprising result is that for working class adults the second most favorable environment for (eN) is a following pause, resulting in forms like [idem] for *idę* or [śem] for *się*. A following stop actually ranks third in the list of contraints for these speakers. Working class adults are also the only speakers who can have (eN) in any environment, although the number of cases is too small to be significant in any category except stop, fricative, or pause.

Conclusions. The analysis presented above is significant on two different levels, for sociolinguistics in general and CS in particular. The analysis has shown that variation in the realization of /ę/ can not be considered random or

any but the anecdotal level, although I feel their behavior is indicative of larger social processes in Polish society (see Johnson 1979, 1980 for a further discussion of this problem). Data from this group were left in the charts for comparative purposes; they were omitted from Figure 6 because of lack of space.

free variation, and that the variable is sensitive to sociolinguistic constraints such as style, social class, and age of speaker. The variation is constrained by both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors: the occurrence of the variable in a stressed syllable and the style of speech are near-categorical constraints. Further variation can be accounted for by the social class and age of the speaker and by the manner of articulation of the following segment.

The constraints on the occurrence of the variant (eN) are particularly interesting. It is here that the effects of social class and age are most evident; elsewhere they are masked by the more powerful effects of speech style. It is likely that the use of (eN) by the working class is an example of what Trudgill (1974) has called covert prestige.

The results of the analysis have validated the use of elicited speech styles in Polish, even though the techniques for elicitation were developed for English-speaking speech communities. This in turn has important implications for the field of CS. The knowledge that elicited and arbitrarily bounded speech styles are meaningful in Polish, as they are in English, should make it easier to design research that is overtly contrastive in nature. We know now at least some of the dimensions that make up "the multi-dimensional social space" (Janicki 1982:11) — style, age, social class — and we know that they are as important in Polish as they are in English. Even though the stylistic reportoires of Polish and English are not identical, they are comparable at the level of analysis. Having established comparability at the level of analysis we can refine our techniques, expand our data base, and go on to comparative and contrastive analyses at the level of function.

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LANGUAGES IN CONTACT AND CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

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According to previous research and our own investigations, it is or should be possible:

1. to describe correspondences and differences between the Languages in Contact (LiC)-situation and Contrastive Linguistics (CL).
2. to attempt to apply the results of research into LiC to CL.

Furthermore, it should be possible

3. to apply the results from 1 and 2 to historical linguistics, to bilingualism and to other linguistic disciplines.

The basic constellation for LiC as well as CL is that L_1 and L_2 exert an influence on each other. However, LiC is characterized by a linguistic situation which, in general, should be approached from a diachronic viewpoint and which develops spontaneously. On the other hand, CL, which is subject to intentional steering and whose results mostly are or have to be applied to practical language teaching, is essentially a matter of synchronic linguistics.

It is necessary to differentiate different LiC-situations: the one taken as the basis for the following observations is the influence of L_1 (English) on L_2 (German). This process is mainly restricted to the written language and does not result in bilingualism (or diglossia). A different situation can be found in countries in which L_1-speakers have to learn L_2 which is L_1 in this particular environment, e.g. speakers of German who emigrate to Australia, the United States etc. In general, this LiC-situation happens in the spoken language and, ideally, results in bilingualism.

Other forms of the LiC-situation are possible, e.g. those whose result is creolization.

Still, both LiC and CL show a great number of common features. Correspondences can most clearly be seen in the phenomena of transference

(LiC), which are or can be relevant in CL as cases of transference and especially as cases of interference.

This is most obvious with phenomena like the following: phonemes in L_1 which do not exist in L_2 have to be substituted; lexemes which are transferred from L_2 to L_1 can undergo a development independent of their semantic models, and even syntagmemes can be transferred from one language to the other. An outline of an attempt will be made to systematize such phenomena occurring in LiC and to investigate how they can be evaluated and applied to CL.

All the observations made on LiC will be based on the Paderborn research-project "English influences on the German language after 1945". L_1 is German, L_2 is English.

Amongst others, the following categories can be derived from this particular LiC-situation, in which influences of L_2 are responsible for changes in L_1:

phonology
1. Phonemes of L_2 which do not exist in L_1 are substituted by their closest phonological equivalent(s):
   [dʒ], [tʃ], [θ], → [j] ..., [ʃ] ..., [s] ...: job, check, thriller ...
2. Voiced final consonants in L_2 are devoiced in L_1:
   b→p, d→t, g→k, v→f: job, trend, gag, live ...
3. Stress-patterns of L_2 can be transferred to lexemes of L_1:
   máke-up→Make-úp, rádar→Radár ...
4. Diphthongs in L_2 ([ei], [əu]) become monophthongs in L_2 ([e:], [o:]): steak, show ...

morphology
1. A general tendency towards neuter gender seems to be at work when L_2-words enter L_1.
2. L_2 substantives remain in their L_2 declension-classes or change to classes of L_1; mixed forms are possible:
   der Test — des Test, des Tests — die Tests, die Teste
3. Morphological patterns of L_2 can be changed in L_1:
   Mixpickles, Happy End, Dropse, Tennis-Crack etc. (←mixed pickles, happy ending, drops, a crack athlete).

lexis
1. "Etymological" transference result in "false friends":
   become→bekommen, closet→Klosett
   dome→Dom, tract→Trakt
2. L_2-words extend the "lexical field"
   (Lied, Schlager+French chanson, English song, hit, evergreen)

semantics
1. "Semantic" transferences result in "false friends":
   eventually→eventuel, Schreibmaschine→writing machine
2. Loan-meanings increase the range of meaning of L_1-words:
   kontrollieren, feuern, Philosophie (control, fire, philosophy)

syntax	Syntactic transferences can add syntactic possibilities which did not exist previously: das kannst Du vergessen, ich sehe Dich morgen, in Deutsch, Gewinnen Sie ...! (forget it, I'll see you tomorrow, in German, Win ...!)
pragmatics	paradigms existing in L_2 can be transferred to L_1, e.g. thanking for compliments

These characteristics, derived from a particular LiC-situation, can be applied to the theory and practice of CL in the following points:

1. the derivation of complete or partial correspondences and differences between L_1 and L_2 which are relevant for
2. foreign language teaching. Problematic linguistic patterns which represent particular instances of difficulty for learners of L_2 should thus become predictable: in other words, we should be in a position to isolate the cases of interference from the total quantity of transferences.
3. Principles of language acquisition should be derivable when we take L_2 as a starting-point.
4. Cases which present problems in CL could be illustrated by examples taken from the LiC-situation.

The concept of an (imaginary) norm is essential with regard to all these questions. There is a wide spectrum of possibilities as far as the LiC-situation is concerned, ranging from peripheral interferences ("false" pronunciations, syntactic constructions etc.) to changes of the norm. CL will have to deduce a notion of norm and will, essentially, have to base this notion on the principle of frequency. In other cases, the prestige value of L_2 will be essential.

Furthermore, it will be important to investigate spoken and written language separately.

The problem of the norm will also have to be extended to the two related linguistic situations under consideration. The model outlined is based on a speaker who is competent in L_1, who is exposed to L_2 and who integrates cases of transference of L_2 at least partly; in this process, however, influences of extremely varying degrees can be observed, ranging from zero to actual interference(s). CL, however, is concerned with the investigation of all possible linguistic phenomena in L_1 and L_2 and particularly with the influences of L_2 on L_1, whereas CL is primarily concerned with cases of transference in the field of grammar.

This outline makes possible some interesting insights and shows parallels in addition to results already known, e.g. devoicing of final consonants, a process which played an essential role in the Germanic Sound Shift; in the same way, changes in stress-patterns were of importance in (pre-)Germanic times.

In the field of lexis, the English language is a model example for the effects which an L_2, in this particular case French, can have.

There are numerous examples of linguistic changes resulting from a LiC-situation. The description of these cases might possibly be the starting-point for observations on language-typology. There is a wide range extending from single phenomena like the English influence on German up to creolized languages, and all these possibilities have been recorded in the development of languages.

VSO AND SVO ORDER IN WELSH AND BRETON

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The Celtic languages are often adduced as an example of the rare word order type verb-subject-object or VSO. This order is estimated by Keenan (1976 : 322) to be the deominant surface word order of only five to ten percent of the languages of the world.[1]

VSO, though clearly distinct from the frequently occurring order subject--verb-object or SVO, does share some syntactic features with SVO, e.g. placement of adjectives, genitives and relative clauses after the noun, and use of prepositions rather than postpositions. Lehmann distinguishes only OV and VO languages, and thus considers VSO and SVO more alike than different. Synchronic variation between the two orders is expressed in Greenberg's universal no. 6, "All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic word order" (Greenberg 1966 : 79).

Diachronic drift between VSO and SVO is observed in Welsh and Breton. The present paper describes this drift and offers explanation for the phenomenon based on universal tendencies of information structure and on the particular language contact situations of Welsh and Breton.

The documented history of Welsh begins in the sixth century A. D. This Early Welsh, as well as Old Welsh (eighth century) are attested rather poorly, but those texts which we do have show consistent VSO order. Middle Welsh prose of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rarely uses VSO order; both emphatic and unemphatic declarative sentences are usually SVO. Modern literary Welsh is VSO; there are some SVO tendencies, however.

Old Breton is mainly attested in glosses which tell us little about word order. According to Hsieh (1977 : 101) it was a free word order (FWO) language

[1] The present paper considers dominant surface word order only and makes no claims about underlying word order in the sense of transformational-generative grammar.

with VSO as the preferred variant. VSO order has been unusual in Breton since the Middle Breton period (twelfth century through sixteenth century). Modern spoken Breton is SVO; however, some writers now prefer a VSO style known as *brezhoneg chimik* or "Chemical Breton" (Varin 1979).

Considering that their Indo European ancestor was probably an SOV language, it is curious that the Celtic languages developed the quite different order VSO at an early date. This is however well documented by Old Irish. There may have been an intermediate SVO stage, if the scant Gaulish or Continental Celtic evidence is any indication of what the word order of unattested Insular Celtic was. Wagner (1959) posits a substratum influence on Celtic by Berber VSO languages. Hsieh, as mentioned, thinks that VSO was a preferred order which was eventually grammaticized. In any case, Celtic has exploited a rare option among word order types.

SVO languages may develop out of SOV (e.g. modern Germanic and Romance languages) or VSO (e.g. Breton's shift away from VSO, which is known in Breton grammar as *l'ordre celtique* or "Celtic order" and in Welsh grammar as "normal order".

Some Welsh constructions have always been subject-initial. This is the required order with emphatic reduplicated subject pronouns: modern Welsh

(1) Ninnau oedd yn cwyno "*We* were complaining". (ptc= particle)
we was ptc complain

The corresponding unemphatic sentence is

(2) Roeddwn ni yn cwyno. "We were complaining".
ptc-were we ptc complain

Subject-verb agreement is regularly suspended in Welsh emphatic constructions; compare Middle Welsh

(3) Fi a welais hwn "I saw this" and
I ptc saw-1 sg. this
(4) Fi a welodd hwn "I saw this".
I ptc saw-3 sg this

Other Welsh constructions with obligatory SV order are superlatives: Modern Welsh

(5) Fi ydy'r gorau "I am the best (one)" and
I is the best
(6) Fi sy yma "I am here" with a special suppletive verb known
I who-is here

as the relative copula. These constructions also show suspension of subject-verb agreement.

Researchers do not agree on the most natural word order for Welsh. Wagner notes considerable SVO tendencies in modern spoken Welsh, which he considers typologically similar to the Middle Welsh prose of the epic *Mabinogi*. VSO is seen as an artificial literary rule in modern Welsh. Mac Cana (1973) provides the opposite viewpoint; he sees SVO order in Middle Welsh as an artificial construct of which modern Welsh makes little use either in writing or in speech. Thomas (1973) notes however a tendency in her own dialect of Welsh to use SVO order when the subject is a personal pronoun and VSO when the subject is a noun. Thomas is a native speaker from Southeast Glamorgan, a part of Wales very close to the English border. The impact of English on Welsh will be discussed in detail below.

There is little question that the dominant word order in Modern Breton is SVO. Anderson and Chung (1977:13) perhaps give too much credence to VSO, which they describe as "grammatical but stylistically odd". Mac Cana considers noun-initial order the norm for Modern Breton. Dressler agrees, noting that not even a question can begin with a verb in Breton. He sees this restriction as the continuation of an Indo European discourse rule which reserved verb-initial order for highly marked structures (Dressler 1969).

It is fruitful to consider the general information structure of communication as a possible explanatory factor in word order change. The general tendency to place old, definite information before new, indefinite information was noted in the nineteenth century by Weil in his comparison of the word orders of ancient and modern languages. This distinction was particularly developed by Mathesius and other Prague School linguists who have worked with Functional Sentence Perspective.

This very important communicative tendency, which is also known as the Topic/Comment distinction, is particularly exploited in Breton. Any constituent may be topicalized; this is achieved by placing the constituent in sentence-initial position. The following examples illustrate topicalization of the subject, object and a locative prepositional phrase respectively (examples from Anderson 1981):

(7)	Perig a zo o klask e vreur er c'hoad Peter ptc is at look- his br. in-the woods	"Peter is looking for his brother in the woods".
(8)	E vreur a zo Perig o klask er c'hoad his br. ptc is P. at look- in-the woods	"Peter is looking for his brother in the woods".
(9)	Er c'hoad emañ Perig a klask e vreur in-the woods is Peter at look- his br. for	"It is in the woods that Peter is looking for his brother".

The first example, with topicalization of the subject, is not emphatic or contrastive. It is an example of the unmarked sentence type in Breton.

Both subjects (a syntactic category) and topics (a pragmatic notion) typically, although not necessarily, convey old information. Old information typically occupies sentence-initial position.

Topicalization of the subject is a stylistic option in VSO. If it becomes grammaticized, a VSO language can be said to have shifted to SVO. This has happened in Breton, although only in main clauses. Subordinate clause order is subordinating conjunction-verb-subject:

(10) Ma veze Yann skuizh... "If John is tired" (example from Anderson 1981)
if were John tired

The reduced role of topicalization in subordinate clauses is due to the occupation of the clause-initial position by a subordinating constituent. This prevents placement of topical material in clause-initial position, and may shed some light on the slowness of word order change in subordinate clauses.[2]

The rarity of VSO order can be explained by its contradiction of the general communicative tendency noted. A noun phrase can be old, definite information. The category of definiteness does not generally apply to verbs, which are not good candidates for topic status.[3]

Verb-initial order also causes perceptual difficulties, particularly if there is no nominal case system. Subjects and objects are formally similar; both are noun phrases. In SVO languages, they are clearly separated by the verb. In SOV languages, there is no such separation, but the typical presence of a suffixal case system reduces the formal similarity. Modern Irish Gaelic, a VSO Celtic language, also has a suffixal case systems. The predominance of VSO in modern Welsh, which has no system, seems to contradict universal information structure.

We suggest that a look at a very productive construction in modern Welsh may reconcile the structure of this language to that which one expects.

The verbal system of modern spoken Welsh is characterized by a large number of periphrastic tenses. There are also a few synthetic tenses, especially the preterite and the future, but even these are beginning to disappear in some dialects. Whereas a South Walian speaker uses the synthetic preterite

(11) Fe aeth e "he went",
pte went he

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[2] This may be observed in German, which has SVO order and productive topicalization (OVS) in main clauses, but the SOV order of Proto-Germanic in subordinate clauses.

[3] The suppletive forms of Welsh *bod* "be" do show some sensitivity to the definiteness of their nominal subject. For example, in questions, *oes* is used with indefinite subjects, *ydy* with definite subjects: *Oes car yma?* "Is there a car here?", but *Ydy'r car yma?* "is the car here?".

in North Walian the form is

(12) Ddaru e fynd "he went".
happened him go (North Walian *o*=South Walian *e*).

Ddaru is one of several auxiliaries which combine with non-finite verbal nouns[4] to form periphrastic tenses. Others are *gwneud* "do" and particularly *bod* "be". A typical sentence is

(13) Mae fy ffrind yn cysgu "My friend is sleeping".
is my friend pte sleep

The sentence-initial verb, which has certain *syntactic* qualities of a verb (tense and person), but little semantic weight, is complemented by a non-finite form which carries *semantic* information and is placed after the subject. Aspect is expressed by the particles *yn* (imperfective; see examples 1 and 13 above) and *wedi* (perfective):

(14) Mae e wedi cysgu "He has slept".[5]
is he after sleeping

There is [illegible] in the present paper to explore the interesting question of possible [illegible] status for auxiliaries (see Ross 1969). We will leave the question unanswered, but note that Welsh is syntactically a VSO language, but semantically often SVO.

There is a language-external factor which must be considered for both Welsh and Breton. Both languages are in constant contact with a national prestige language. Welsh speakers are almost invariably bilingual with English, as are Breton speakers with French. Anwyl (1899:164) notes "the fascinating phenomenon of adjustment of the categories of one language to those of another when the linguistic consciousness is of necessity bilingual".

The ultimate outcome of language contact between a national prestige language and a minority language is the death of the latter. Language death certainly has occurred when all speakers of a language have died. It may actually occur at an earlier point. Dressler points out that a language represented only by "semi-speakers", i. e. those who no longer use their minority language fluently or comfortably, is not really alive.

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[4] The verbal noun is a particularly Celtic phenomenon. Its nominal character is clear in Irish Gaelic, where nominal case is always expressed; the object of the verbal noun must be in the genitive. It cannot be in the accusative. In Welsh, case is distinguished only in the pronoun system. Compare *Fe welais i hi* "I saw her"
pte saw I her
with *Mae'r dyn yn ei gweld hi* "The man sees her".

[5] Some dialects of English used by speakers from Celtic countries show a substratum influence; for "he has slept" Scottish speakers may use rather "he is after sleeping".

The Celtic languages have all been affected by language death. Two languages, Cornish[6] and Manx, have become extinct in modern times. The others, Scottish Gaelic (the subject of a recent book entitled *Language Death*, Dorian (1981)), Irish Gaelic, Welsh and Breton, all exhibit features of language death (or language decay, as Dressler terms the process leading to ultimate language death.

Welsh was discouraged by a 1536 law, the Act of Union, which assigned official status to English only. The 1967 Welsh Language Act has restored some vitality to Welsh, the "healthiest" Celtic language. Attempts to save and revive a language are a phenomenon associated with language death. Breton is being discouraged by the French government to a greater extent than its speakers are able to defend it. There is, for example, no Breton-language radio or television, while the Welsh language is being spread by these media.

Welsh and Breton exhibit massive lexical borrowing from their respective prestige languages. Borrowing happens in various lexical categories: nouns: Welsh *car, beic, banc* (English car, bike, bank), the quantifier *lot* (English *a lot, lots*) and verbs: *licio, smocio* (English like, smoke) and an on-the-spot creation by a bilingual speaker: *areific* (English arrive) for Welsh *cyrraedd*. The English-based verbal nouns have generalized an *-io* ending; Welsh verbal nouns otherwise show little or no suffixal regularity, e. g. *rhedeg* "run", *canu* "sing", *gofyn* "ask".

We look to Breton for examples of syntactic borrowing. As syntax is notoriously slow to change, the fact of such borrowing in Breton is a testimony to its advanced stage of decay. Particularly striking is the development of a lexical and auxiliary verb *endevout* "have" in Breton. This is a clear French influence. The Celtic languages otherwise lack a verb meaning "have, possess" and express possession by constructions such as Welsh.

(15) Mae car gan fy ffrind "My friend has a car".
is car with my friend

The loss of the responsive or answer form (German *Antwortform*) is another indication of language death in Breton. Celtic languages generally lack words for "yes" and "no". Instead they have grammaticized a repetition of the verb used in the question. A simple example is Welsh.

(16) Oedd dy dad yn hapus? "was your father happy?"
was your f. ptc happy

(17) Oedd. "Yes".
was

[6] There is a Cornish language revival movement in Cornwall, but there are probably still not any fluent native speakers of the language known as "Resurrected Cornish"

Breton speakers vary greatly in their competence in Breton. Dressler (1981) refers to relatively healthy, preterminal and terminal speakers. Terminal speakers are no longer able to communicate in Breton with a sufficient degree of fluency or comfort to make such communication likely. Even preterminal speakers, however, avoid the responsive system and use invariant words corresponding to French *oui* and *non* when speaking Breton. Thomas (1973) notes a simplification of the responsive system in a Welsh dialect. Preterminal Breton speakers also tend to realign word order to the SVO pattern of modern standard French.[7]

In conclusion, we appeal to multiple causation for the observed drift towards SVO in Welsh and Breton. This is encouraged both by a universal communicative principle of "old before new" and by the language contact situation at hand. Conversely, this very language contact situation may be invoked to explain the existence of *brezhoneg chimik*. The artificially introduced VSO order of "Chemical Breton" is a reaction against the SVO order felt to be French, but also due to "a Welsh-based idea of what a Celtic language should be" (Varin 1979:83).

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TOPICAL SENTENCE POSITIONS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH*

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It is generally believed that topicalization subsumes two distinct processes: Left- and Right-Dislocation on the one hand, and Topicalization proper, on the other.[1] If related to Dik's functional sentence pattern, left dislocation corresponds to his P_2 position, whereas topicalization proper is realized in P_1 position.[2]

The left dislocated element is said to be autonomous, or at best loosely connected with predication proper; some pragmatic relation of relevance comparable to what can be found among Grice's maxims for rational communication (1967) is often formulated. It is separated from the predication proper by a comma in writing and a pause in speech. Such topics are also believed to show a distant kinship with topics "Chinese style" (Chafe 1976) and, as for Indo-European languages, to exhibit far-going similarities in pragmatic functions and grammatical behaviour.

Topicalization proper, on the other hand, is bound to seek compliance with the rules of grammar of a particular language: being located within the limits of the predication, the topic is subject to a number of language-specific constraints. Obviously, the fronting of some topical material is not equally

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[1] The present paper discusses some problems connected with topicalization as perceived by, e.g., Rodman (1974), Chafe (1976), Li (1976), Dik (1978); Halliday's marked thematization (1967) also falls under the same range of phenomena. Problems of Right-Dislocation are left out.

[2] The stand adopted here complies with Dik's definition of both terms, yet the notation is reverse: his *theme* corresponds to our *topic*. Dik's use seems rather unhappy against accepted terminological conventions.

feasible in all languages hence respective structures show different degrees of pragmatic markedness.

It is argued here that a similar demarcation of the two concepts is at least vulnerable. It seems to have been raised on account of some marginal phenomena, and to disregard of certain empirical counterevidence coming from languages such as, e. g., Polish or Czech. The levelling of the two topicalization processes in Polish is exemplified in Section 1. Section 2 adduces some further evidence undermining the alleged difference between left dislocated topics and the "proper" ones.

It is also claimed that the definition of topic as an element combining definiteness with a vaguely specified property of "setting the frame of individual reference"[2] or "serving as the point of departure", as well as its association with the first constituent in the sentence come across grave difficulties once transplanted on the grounds of, e. g., Polish; some of those are tentatively pointed out in Section 3.

1. A left-dislocated topic is said to be an instance of an explicit foregrounding of an information unit which thus becomes a point of departure for the following message. Since the topic of this kind stands outside the predication proper, usually no special syntactic means are required:

1. As for *music*, John prefers jazz
2. *That boy*, is he a friend of yours?
3. *That book*, I haven't read it yet.

These are also called "emphatic topicalizations" (Dahl 1974) or "contrast cases" (Kuno 1972). Sometimes the topical status of such structures is discussed in terms of categorial judgements as they do not seem to allow "thetic" readings (Kuroda 1972). The topicalized element is taken to be definite: whether we can talk about topicalization in the case of, e. g., (4)

4. *A porter*, you can see one at the gate

is not quite clear at the moment. Dahl (1974:7), e. g., admits topicalization of indefinite noun phrases minus quantifiers:

5. What concerns chairs, there is one in the corridor.

It seems that in such cases the left-dislocated element takes on a definite non-specific interpretation. Such problems, however, will not be investigated here any further.

Of primary interest to the present paper are sentences such as (2) and (3) above; the definiteness of dislocated topics in the English sentences is explicitly marked. As for Polish, it seem, the sentence also tends to resort to some

[2] Temporal and spatial frame of reference is not discussed here.

overt markers of definiteness, otherwise often expedient for the establishment of coreferentiality links. It is arguable whether this topicalizing function is not to be frequently associated with the non-initial particle *TO*[4] which, moreover, often entails the sequence: demonstrative pronoun *ten*[5] (this)+noun, *TO*+pronominal copy of the topic.

The last element — the internal proform to use Keenan's term — may be non-obligatory. The left-dislocated constituent does not exclude further modification. For the purpose of the present paper the *TO* particle will be rendered by the AS-FOR notation in respective English translations.

6. Janek, to on wyjechał w zeszłym tygodniu
   John, AS-FOR he left last week
7. Te pytania, to one były zbyt trudne
   These questions, AS-FOR they were too difficult
8. Ten twój sąsiad, to on upił się wczoraj wieczorem
   This your neighbour, AS-FOR he got drunk last night.

The character and scope of similar structures in Polish — in terms of their syntactic build-up and stylistic motivation — have been studied in some detail by, e.g., Buttler (1971), Paluszkiewicz (1971), Ostrowska (1971) and Wierzbicka (1966). Though relatively rare in standard written Polish, they are widespread in its dialectal variations and still live in colloquial speech. Since some observations made beyond the scope of topicalization studies are pertinent here, they will be presented in brief: these include first of all the function of the demonstrative pronoun on the one hand, and the so called double-subject construction, on the other.

As for the former, Topolińska (1976:48f) emphasizes that on top of its expressive function the demonstrative pronoun also plays an important communicative role: it signals that the referent of the noun was a moment ago in the sphere of our attention either syntactically (deixis) or textually (anaphora). Similar remarks are also made by Pisarkowa (1969), Jodłowski (1973) or Miodunka (1974:53), who points to cases of emphatic identification in sen-

[4] The morpheme *to* (*this*, singular, neuter) can take on a number of functions in Polish. Here it is discussed from the point of view of its pragmatic function, i.e. as the marker drawing a binary division between the topic and the comment. *TO* comes immediately after the topic.

[5] The demonstrative pronoun *ten* (*this*) is inflected in Polish for number and gender. *To* (*this*, singular, neuter) should be kept distinct from the topical *TO* particle. The two may co-occur in one sentence:
To krzesło, to ono jest złamane
This chair, AS-FOR it is broken
Next to *ten* (this), *tamten* (that) may also occur as a noun premodifier but it does so less frequently.

tences such as:

9. Ten wyraz to on jest przydawką
   This word AS-FOR it is an attribute
10. A Francuzi to oni się w tym specjalizują
    And the French people AS-FOR they specialize in it.

Related observations were made for Czech by Mathesius (1926).

Secondly, from the syntactic point of view the sentences in question are often instances of the so called double-subject: a grammatical device now characteristic of non-standard Polish, once a typical trait of both speech and writing. Discussing 16th century Polish prose, Wierzbicka (1966) sees an explanation for the widespread use of such structures in the then domineering stylistic habits. She argues that the fronting of the most accentuated element in the sentence (logical stress carrier) remained at variance with stylistic preferences which demanded that the sentence initial position be reserved for cohesion devices or discourse links. These conflicting tendencies within the sentence were reconciled by the introduction of a prop — a pronominal copy of the foregrounded element. The element became thus in fact syntactically expedient, and its only task was to make it possible for the sentence to sustain its preferable linear arrangement, i.e. the one compatible with rules of cohesion. Cf.:

11. Przodkowie nasi, jakoż oni w tak skryte rzeczy bez nauk trafiali?
    Our forefathers, how did they arrive at such mysterious things without schooling?
12. Pan Spytek Jordan, wojewoda krakowski, izali on nie jest orator w radzie krótki a słodki?
    Pan (honorific title) Spytek Jordan, the voivode of Cracow, is he not a brief and sweet-mouthed speaker in the council?

(both examples in 16th century Polish, Wierzbicka (1966:186)).

Discussing such structures Wierzbicka refers to Tesniere's term for related phenomena — "projection des actants" — to notice that contrary to his claim that the pronominal copy of the fronted element may not be left out in French (Wierzbicka 1966:185f), it often proves redundant in Polish. This appears to hold plausibly also in the case of present-day colloquial Polish; the non-obligatory[6] presence of the proform will make *a* and *b* equivalent:

[6] Such pronouns are also found redundant by Dahl (1974:11), who sees no evident connection between the presence of the internal proform and the topic-comment articulation. He quotes some evidence from Arabic to prove the pronoun dispensible unless the function of the topic is taken on by an element other that the subject of the sentence. Dahl's claim, however, finds no support in a number of languages, e.g., English or French. Nonetheless, the relative easiness with which Polish disposes of such internal proforms should not be left unnoticed.

13 a. Ten Janek, to on chyba oszalał
That John, AS-FOR he must have gone crazy
b. Ten Janek, to chyba oszalał
That John, AS-FOR (he) must have gone crazy
14 a. Janek, to on już śpi
John, AS-FOR he is already asleep
b. Janek, to już śpi
John, AS-FOR (he) is already asleep
15 a. Mój brat, to on nigdy nie był nad morzem
My brother, AS-FOR he has never been at the seaside
b. Mój brat, to nigdy nie był nad morzem
My brother, AS-FOR (he) has never been at the seaside.

Furthermore, it seems that the above sentences find very close counterparts in the c structures below:

13 c. Ten Janek to chyba oszalał
That John AS-FOR (he) must have gone crazy
14 c. Janek to już śpi
John AS-FOR (he) is already asleep
15 c. Mój brat to nigdy nie był nad morzem
My brother AS-FOR (he) has never been at the seaside.

It seems that the integration of the left-dislocated topic within the predication proper exercises here no significant effect on the pragmatic reading of the sentence. It is also believed that the *TO* particle lays a cesura between the topic and the comment: it thus explicitly demarcates and foregrounds the topical material within the sentence.

Pragmatic relevance of *TO* has been emphasized by Huszcza (1980, 1981). Discussing thematization in Polish Huszcza notices in passing the existence of such structures as:

16. Kawy to jeszcze nie piłem
Coffee AS-FOR (I) haven t drunk yet
17. Wczoraj to była burza
Yesterday AS-FOR we had a thunderstorm.

He also notices, which is worthwhile stressing here too, that the *TO* in question should be kept distinct from the same morpheme as often used in sentence initial position when it introduces emphatic rhemes: in such cases Polish sentences receive their best translations as English clefts:[7]

[7] In fact the problem is more complex than it might be expected. The initial occurrence of the *to* morpheme may call for an altogether different interpretation. Cf.:

18. To kawy jeszcze nie piłem
    It is coffee I haven't drunk yet
19. To wczoraj była burza
    It was yesterday that we had a thunderstorm
20. To Karol ma zawsze rację
    It is Charles who is always right.

The noninitial — topical — *TO* is according to Huszcza a preposed rheme marker which, at the same time, must be preceded by a theme. Working with isolated sentences Huszcza bypasses all contextual determinants relevant for functional sentence organization. In effect he fails to notice that this obligatory theme in front of *TO* is first of all topical, i.e. given and discurse motivated. Cf. 21a — 21d:

21. (Chcesz tę książkę?)
    (Do you want this book?)
    a. Tę książkę kupił już Janek, więc ją pożyczę od niego
       This book John has already bought, so I'll borrow it from him
    b. Tę książkę to kupił już Janek, więc ją pożyczę od niego
       This book AS-FOR John has already bought, so I'll borrow it from him
    c. Janek kupił już tę książkę, więc ją pożyczę od niego
       John has already bought this book, so I'll borrow it from him
    d. *Janek to już kupił tę książkę, więc ją pożyczę od niego
       John AS-FOR has already bought this book, so I'll borrow it from him.

(21 d) is unacceptable because *John* as representing new information — though it can still be placed on its own in sentence initial position — may not, however, be followed by the topical *TO*. Secondly, the sentence is also excluded on account of the fact that the communicative interest of the speaker associates not with *John* but with *John's buying of the book*, which runs counter to the exclusive topicalization of *John* as effected by the use of the particle.

The levelling of the distinction between left dislocation and topicalization proper, as propounded in the case of *TO*-marked structures in Polish, finds some support in Dik's reservations as to the real difference between the two topicalization processes. Dik admits namely that languages "may differ from each other in their treatment of the variables marking open term positions: some languages tend to always express these by means of pronominal elements, others leave them unexpressed in different conditions. This means that, alongside of constructions of type (41), we may expect to find languages with

emphatic *to*: To była noc!
What a night it was!
"cohering" *to*: To ja już pójdę
So (in this case) I'd better go
It's time for me to go

constructions such as (42):

(41) That man, I hate him
(42) That man, I hate.

The latter sort of construction, however, would be quite close to a construction like:

(43) That man I hate

which we shall not treat as a construction consisting of a Theme (i.e. topic in our notation — A. D.) and an open predication, but as a construction in which the Obj of the predication has been brought to initial position.

In languages having constructions of type (42), however, we may expect the difference between (42) and (43) to be less sharp that the distinction between (41) and (43) in languages like English" (Dik 1978:140—1).

This lenghty citation exhausts Dik's exposition on this point. The mere statement of the fact that the object "has been brought to initial position" obviously leaves a number of questions unresolved. Once we concede that the P_1 position in languages such as Polish may be an outcome of left dislocation as well as topicalization proper, the separability of the two processes becomes less plausible.

2. The present section points to some facts which, it is believed, further undermine the claim about two different topics.[8] It is usually maintained, for instance, that owing to its fairly loose ties with the predication, left dislocation is perticularly appropriate as a means of introducing new topics, or reintroducing "distant" ones, i.e., those which do not belong to the immediate field of communicative concern. On the other hand, topics of instant communicative pertinence, i.e. resumptive themes, are said to be signalled first of all through topicalization proper. Such statements, however, are bound to cause certain difficulties.[9]

First of all, while sidetracking from the main thread of discourse, the speaker is apt to use expressions such as, e.g , *as for*, *concerning*, *with regard to*, etc., which serve as prompts as to where he would like to direct the listener's attention. Incidentally, Dik admits that "bare" constructions may in some lan-

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[8] It should be admitted, however, that the present approach ignores differences in intonation contours; left dislocated topics, as an instance of hesitation phenomena, are marked off from the rest of the sentence by a pause in speech.

[9] It might be worthwhile mentioning at this point that Rodman's corroborative evidence does not seem very convincing. In fact both of the examples he adduces strike as odd:
What can you tell me about John?
Nothing. *But Bill Mary kissed
Nothing. But Bill, Mary kissed him (Rodman 1974).

guages be evaluated as "a substandard or sloppy way of expressing oneself" (1978:140). Stronger reservations at this point are voiced by Quirk, who says that such constructions as, e.g., *Your friend John, I saw him here last night*, are considered by some substandard (1972:9.150). According to him they seem to be "anacolutha, that is to say, they appear to involve an abandonment of the originally intended construction and a fresh start in mid-sentence" (ibidem). Quirk claims further that standard English has a number of expressions for introducing the topic of the sentence initially and substituting a pro-form later in the sentence:

22. Talking of (informal)
    To turn now to
    Regarding
    With respect to (formal)
    As for
    your friend John, I saw him here last night.

Secondly, the fact that left dislocations stand outside the performative modality of the predication does not have to restrain them from being used as resumptive themes. Dik (1978:135) maintains, e.g., that a left-dislocated topic can have itself interrogative modality:

23. My brother? I haven't seen him for years

However, his exposition is not quite clear to me: there seems to be no reason why a similar sentence may not be used when the topic resumes a fact of immediate communicative concern. In other words, why should (24 a) be preferable to (24 b):

24. (How is your brother?)
    a. My brother I haven't seen for years
    b. My brother? I haven't seen him for years

It seems that neither can be excluded. As for (24 b), it is more appropriate when the speaker wants to sound, e.g., apologetic, uncertain, or baffled, hence it is potentially more emphatic and more expressive than the other option.

Equally debatable is the problem of case marking on left dislocations: the absolute (nominative) form is often found preferable and sometimes simply obligatory. The latter is said to obtain in the case of, e.g., English and French:

25. a. That man, we gave the book to him yesterday
    b. *To that man, we gave the book to him yesterday
26. a. Cet homme, nous lui avons donné le livre hier
    b. *A cet homme, nous lui avons donné le livre hier

(both from Dik 1978:135).

Admittedly, Dik does not leave unnoticed the fact that in some languages, or in certain conditions, the topic "may anticipate the semantic and syntactic

role it is going to have in the following predication" (ibidem). Following Comrie, he quotes a Russian example and approves of either of its versions:

27 a. televizory, v étom magazine ix mnogo
televisions$_{nom}$, in this shop of them$_{gen}$ many
b. televizorov, v étom magazine ix mnogo
of televisions$_{gen}$, in this shop of them$_{gen}$ many

Rodman notices that a left-dislocated topic in German must agree in case with its copy in the main sentence (1974:455f). Sgall (1980:120) approves of both possibilities in Czech:

28. Martin(a), toho jsem včera neviděl
Martin$_{nom/acc}$, him I yesterday did not see.

Incidentally, it might be pointed out that left-dislocated pronouns in English are always in the accusative (Cf. Rodman 1974:456).

29. Me, I like booze
30. Him, he is crazy.

It is argued here that left-dislocations in Polish usually carry a trait of bizarreness unless marked for case. Cf.:

31 a. ?Ten chłopiec, to jego wczoraj nie było
That boy$_{nom}$, AS-FOR he$_{gen}$ yesterday was not there
b. Tego chłopca, to jego wczoraj nie było
That boy$_{gen}$, AS-FOR he$_{gen}$ yesterday was not there
32 a. ?Janek, to jemu trzeba dać podwyżkę
John$_{nom}$, AS-FOR he$_{dat}$ one must give a pay-rise
b. Jankowi, to jemu trzeba dać podwyżkę
John$_{dat}$, AS-FOR he$_{dat}$ one must give a pay-rise
33 a. ?Ten twój sąsiad, to jego wczoraj znaleźli pijanego
That your neighbour$_{nom}$, AS-FOR he$_{acc}$ they found drunk yesterday
b. Tego twojego sąsiada, to jego wczoraj znaleźli pijanego
That your neighbour$_{acc}$, AS-FOR he$_{acc}$ they found drunk yesterday

Needless to say the proforms in *b*'s are redundant hence the sentences exhibit a strong tendency to dispose of such pronominal elements. Finally, an unmarked (absolute) left-dislocation appears acceptable in Polish only as carrier of interrogative modality:

34. Telewizory? w tym sklepie jest ich dużo
Televisions? in this shop there are many of them.

In this way the identification of a left-dislocated topic seems of little consequence for the understanding of topicalization processes in languages; such

topics are basically due to hesitation phenomena in speech. Likewise, their kinship with the topic in a topic-prominent language (Li 1976) is at best disputable: the inadequacy of a "Chinese style" topic for the description of topicalization phenomena in Indo-European languages was anticipated by Chafe (1976).

3. The topics analysed so far — both left-dislocations and topics proper — were signalled by the *TO* particle. There remains the question of whether we can still propound the "levelling" hypothesis in the absence of *TO*; though a similar contention appears intuitively plausible, such considerations will not be followed here any further. What will receive some attention is a problem much more principal for related investigations, and namely: what happens in the absence of *TO*, i.e. whether the element in the first position in the sentence remains equally marked for topicality. The present section will concentrate only on fronted objects in Polish and their estimation in terms of Functional Sentence Perspective. Discussed will be the relationship obtaining between structures such as (35-6a) — with an overtly topicalized element at the beginning — and (35-6b), where position is the only topicality marker:

35 a. Kawy to Janek nie lubi
Coffee$_{gen}$ AS-FOR John$_{nom}$ does not like
b. Kawy Janek nie lubi
Coffee$_{gen}$ John$_{nom}$ does not like
36 a. Marię to Janek odwiedzi jutro
Mary$_{acc}$ AS-FOR John$_{nom}$ will visit tomorrow
b. Marię Janek odwiedzi jutro
Mary$_{acc}$ John$_{nom}$ will visit tomorrow

It raises no doubt that *a* sentences are pragmatically marked in the sense that they are evidently emphatic and possibly contrastive:

37. Kawy to Janek nie lubi, ale chętnie napije się herbaty
Coffee$_{gen}$ AS-FOR John$_{nom}$ does not like, but he won't mind having tea.

All that brings them very close to what Halliday (1967) formulates as conditions obtaining in the case of marked thematization in English:

38. These houses my grandfather sold
39. The play John saw last night.[10]

A closer look at the P_1 position in Polish sentences appears necessary once we want to find out to what extent the *one*-and-*first* constituent interpretation of the topic is verifiable against some evidence from "free" word order langua-

[10] Since Halliday's views are well known, they will not be presented here in any detail.

ges; similar investigations could certainly assist a better understanding of topicalization phenomena in languages. The present paper does not aspire to put forward any conclusive statements: it attempts only at pointing out to some "fuzzy" edges of English- and Polish-style topics.

Studies in thematization and topicalization in Polish are relatively recent and fairly general in solutions. Huszcza (1980, 1981) is right to notice that the thematic-rhematic bipartition of the sentence in Polish is heavily dependent on the position of the verb.[11] Regretfully, however, his further observations are not much revealing as they are basically limited to a mechanical delimitation of isolated sentences. His exposition on the thematic status of fronted objects in Polish can be summarized in the following: (40) and (41) below, due to a different position of the verb, do not have to represent the same distribution of pragmatic functions:

40. Artykuł Jan przepisał
    $\text{Article}_{\text{acc}}$ John_{nom} copied
41. Artykuł przepisał Jan
    $\text{Article}_{\text{acc}}$ copied John_{nom}

As for (40), the theme-rheme ceasura (/) may run only after the first element, which means combining the subject and the verb into one functional component:

42. Artykuł/Jan przepisał
    $\text{Article}_{\text{acc}}$/$\text{John}_{\text{nom}}$ copied

Another segmentation of the sentence is untenable on the strength of the fact that the first two constituents, *article* and *John*, are not directly connected syntactically and thus they may not constitute one functional entity, viz. the principle of syntactic continuum.

(41), on the other hand, admits two different interpretations:

43 a. Artykuł/przepisał Jan
    $\text{Article}_{\text{acc}}$/copied John_{nom}
  b. Artykuł przepisał/Jan
    $\text{Article}_{\text{acc}}$ copied/John_{nom}

In this way the fronting of the same topical material does not trigger the same pragmatic effects: (43 b) may be an answer to the question *Who copied the article*?, and thus act as subject-rhematizing structure. In such cases English would have to put the subject under contrastive stress or resort to clefting: *It*

[11] The medial position is believed to be typical of the Polish verb. Any deviations thereof are taken as signals of pragmatic markedness: verbs in sentence initial position are relatively rare and serve as emphatic rhemes, whereas the placement of the verb at the end of the sentence is associated with an overtone of emphasis and contrastiveness.

was John who copied the article. (42) and (43 a), on the other hand, foreground the same topical element, yet display a different organization within their rhematic sections: (42) lays emphasis on the verb, whereas (43 a) highlights the subject. Such effects have obviously much to do with the tendency in Polish to place the new information towards the right-most end of the sentence. And this appears to be the final conclusion to be drawn from similar investigations.

The definiteness of the object in sentence initial position is also pointed out by Szwedek (1981:56), who stresses that the first noun in sentences such as (44) below should be coreferential:

44. Książkę kupiła kobieta
(the) book$_{acc}$ bought (a) woman$_{nom}$

In conclusion of his coreferentiality constraints on word order in Polish Szwedek emphasises that it "is used to express the new/given information distribution which encompasses in a natural way the coreferential ('given') — noncoreferential ('new') distinction of nouns" (op. cit.: 60).

Similar sweeping generalizations are certainly binding for a number of the so called "free" word order languages, where linear modification serves as the primary exponent of Functional Sentence Perspective and information distribution within the sentence. Discussing Czech and Russian, Sgall (1974:30) claims that in Czech participants preceding the verb can be regarded as contextually bound:

45. Karel vám ten obraz prodá lacino
Charles$_{nom}$ you$_{dat}$ this picture$_{acc}$ will sell cheaply

Related assumptions are laid forward by Kramsky (1972:43), who believes that *vazu* in (46) below implies determinedness:

46. Vazu rozbila mlada divka
(the) vase$_{acc}$ broke (a) young [illegible]

Such intuitions are by all means frequent as well as well-grounded. It seems that thay have been voiced best, though in a somewhat radical form, by Sgall (1982:26): "for Czech, and with some minor changes also for other Slavonic languages, it is possible to state that the modifications (dependent words, participants) standing to the left of the verb belong to the topic, while the rightmost participants belong to the focus". Strong as it certainly sounds, Sgall's claim disposes of a one-constituent topic within the sentence to propound instead a topical section. (See also Firbas for his concept of the thematic and non-thematic section of the sentence, esp. 1964, 1975, 1981).

'It appers then that the "English style" topic, i.e. the one associated with one and first constituent in the sentence does not in fact prove verifiable against some evidence from "free" word order languages; in those languages the

delimitation of the first position in the sentence is less conspicuous, so that we can rather talk about a topicality scope. At this point the position of the verb demands further studies; it seems plausible to perceive it as marker of the topic-comment boundary within the sentence. In (47) below the new information comes after the verb and the elements preceding the verb are taken to be given:

47. Kawę chłopcom po obiedzie podasz w tych filiżankach
Coffee$_{acc}$ boys$_{dat}$ after dinner (you) will serve in these cups.

The question that asks itself is whether we can hope for any reconcilliation of the "English"- and "Polish"-style topics, so as to work out a concept of topic with a cross-linguistic applicability. Needless to say, a similar attempt would activate a number of problems far surpassing the scope of the present investigations. What seems worthwhile mentioning, however, is the fact that the perception of topicalization in Slavonic languages shows clearly that we may not escape from contextual considerations in Functional Sentence Perspective. Furthermore, it is not all that clear that we can do so in the case of English: despite the autonomy claim for his thematization, Halliday (1967) comes close to admit that theme often coincides with given. Obviously enough his marked theme is in fact not an outcome of an "autonomous" thematization process, but an instance of information structure: it combines with given and is discourse motivated.

It is also worthwhile noticing that all the examples of marked thematization in English known to me cite invariably only bound elements in the preverbal section of the sentence. In other words, it might be interesting to check what constraints, if any, are laid on subjects in respective constructions. Cf., e.g., (48—50) below, taken that it is the subject each time that should bring in the new piece of information:

48. ?This hat a young lady has already claimed
49. ?That book two students asked for
50. ?That woman over there a man hit and ran away.

The situation seems to change in case of structures in which it is not the subject but some other sentence constituent that becomes the *focus proper*,[12] cf., (51) below:

51. That letter a girl found *under the stairs*.

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[12] Incidentally, Polish and English appear to coincide in their treatment of sentences with two information foci:
Przedstawienie Janek widział wczoraj wieczorem
The play John saw last night,
where *the play* is topical, and *last night* is evidently focal. It is also noteworthy that the

Incidentally, it appears that no constraints are laid on generic subjects, i.e. those which are definite but non-specific:

52. This book a girl like me won't read

The subject here is taken to be topical and the new piece of information associates with the fact of *not reading*. Cf., also (53):

53. Such films children shouldn't watch at night.

To conclude, an analysis of topicalization phenomena in English and Polish may not bypass the scope of topicalization; this involves not only the number of sentence positions occupied by topical elements in both languages, but also the presentation of the given/new information distribution. As was pointed out, the placement of an object in sentence initial position in English (marked thematization) highlights the element much more than it is possible to attain by mere fronting in Polish. This is, obviously, by no means surprising since the relative mobility of word order in Polish as well as the lack or non-obligatory presence of coreferential signals weakens similar topicalizing effects. Consequently, the topic in Polish is less evidently linked with, and restricted to, the first position in the sentence: it merges instead into what is intuitively perceived as a topical section.

Conclusion. The main purpose of the present paper was to take a look at some aspects of left dislocation and topicalization proper in English and Polish. It was argued that left-dislocated topics are triggered by basically the same topicalization mechanism. Some empirical facts from Polish and other "free" word order languages can be taken as counterevidence to the general claim that propounds separateness of the two topics. Owing to the operation of some levelling processes, e.g., frequent imposition of case marking on left dislocations, possible redundancy of internal proforms, the transfer of a left-dislocated topic into the proper one is feasible, and often preferable.

The prevailing — and basically well-grounded — contention that word order in such languages as Polish is oriented primarily on the projection of given/new information distribution opens the need for a further specifictation of the topical positions within the sentence. A high mobility of word order in Polish lessens the perception and the proper recognition among language users

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subject-verb order exercises no effect on the pragmatic reading of the sentence in Polish; the distribution of information remains the same:
Matkę kochał Janusz nadzwyczajnie
Mother$_{acc}$ loved John$_{nom}$ immensely
Matkę Janusz kochał nadzwyczajnie
Mother$_{acc}$ John$_{nom}$ loved immensely.
The examples are taken from Buttler (1971:406), who cites such structures as the only word order invariants in Polish.

of the pragmatic contrasts effected by such modulations: the topical material is more evidently foregrounded once marked off by the *TO* particle. By and large, it seems disputable whether the association of the topic exclusively with the first position in the sentence can receive any cross-linguistic justification. It might be expected that a better perception of topicalization phenomena can come first of all through scrutiny of related facts in languages more dependent on linearity in the reflection of Functional Sentence Perspective.

Needless to say, topicalization in Polish awaits further studies: the work done so far is relatively scanty and fragmentary. Regretfully, the observations presented here are also only random and tentative.

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VERB INITIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN PORTUGUESE AND THEIR COUNTERPART CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH*

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In Kato (1980) I showed that Portuguese is a language that makes wide use of verb-initial constructions, a fact that is due to the optionality of the subject as a basic sentence constituent.

I have also argued that this feature of Portuguese correlates systematically with several other properties which are apparently dissociated and have been treated in independent chapters in traditional grammars. The facts are the following: a) passives without subject raising; b) subject pronoun deletion; c) postposed subjects.

Berman (1980) has shown that Hebrew is also a case of an (S) VO language and has independently concluded that this type of language tends to manifest the properties that I had predicted to be characteristic of (S) VO languages.

As both Hebrew and Portuguese show this systematic correlation among facts that were not traditionally thought to be related, and English, unlike Hebrew and Portuguese, has an obligatory subject constituent, it seems sensible to have all these facts grouped in a contrastive analysis and have this systematicity used for pedagogical purposes. In this paper my aim is to show how the facts analysed in Portuguese are manifested in English.

Generally speaking both English and Portuguese exhibit the SVO order for unmarked neutral sentences, both for transitive and intransitive constructions.

João come torta de galinha.	John eats chicken-pie.
O bebê dormia.	The baby slept.

* The first draft of this paper was presented at the ABRAPUI Seminar, Salvador (1981). I thank Leila Barbara for having contributed valuable comments on it.

In certain constructions, however, they differ in the presence or absence of the subject.

1. In *Existential Sentences*, while Portuguese is subjectless, English has a dummy *there* acting as subject. In English, unlike Portuguese, agreement is governed by the object.

Há um unicórnio no jardim.	There is a unicorn in the garden.
Há unicórnios no jardim.	There are unicorns in the garden.

2. In *Weather and Time Expressions*, while English has a dummy *it* for subject, Portuguese is subjectless.

Vai chover.	It is going to rain.
É tarde.	It is late.

3. *Agentless Constructions* in Portuguese can be either active[1] without subject or passive, while in English the only possibility is the passive construction with an overt subject.

Venderam a casa.	_____
Vendeu-se a casa.	_____
A casa foi vendida.	The house was sold.

4. *Modal Constructions* with a sentential complement are subjectless in Portuguese, whereas in English the corresponding forms have a dummy *it* for subject.

Parece que ele não gosta de futebol.	It seems that he does not like soccer.
Acontece que ele é burro.	It happens that he is stupid.

5. *Request Formulas with 'Poder'* can be impersonal in Portuguese but not in English.

Pode comer esse bolo?[2]	_____
(Eu) posso comer esse bolo?	Can I eat this cake?

[1] Traditional grammars call sentences with the active verbal form with *se* 'synthetic passives'. I prefer to consider them agentless active forms.

[2] This form is preferred in informal speech and child discourse. It might be claimed that this is a shortened version of *A gente pode comer bolo?* (*a gente* being an informal expression for *we*), but as the latter appears in child language before the complete form, I imagine that the subjectless construction is an impersonal request formula which is later expanded into a more analytical form like *Eu posso?* (can I?), *A gente pode?* (can we?), or *Nós podemos?* (can we?).

The fact that, though an SVO language, Portuguese does not reject a verb-initial construction explains why *subject creating transformations* are not productive in Portuguese while obligatory in English.

6. When the subject is made vacant in the *passive transformation*, if the original object is a sentence, there is an obligatory insertion of *it* in English. Portuguese remains subjectless.

A comissão confirmou que houve vazamento de informação.
(the committee confirmed that there was leakage of information)
Ø Foi confirmado (pela comissão) que houve vazamento de informação.
*Ø was confirmed (by the committee) that there was leakage of information.
It was confirmed (by the committee) that there was leakage of information.

7. When the subject is made vacant by *extraposition*, English inserts the dummy *it* obligatorily. Portuguese leaves the sentence subjectless.

Convencer Pedro é fácil.	To convince Peter is easy.
Ø É fácil convencer Pedro.	*Ø is easy to convince Peter.
	It is easy to convince Peter.

8. *Subject Raising* is less productive in Portuguese than in English:

Parece que *João* mentiu.	It seems that *John* lied.
João parece ter mentido.	*John* seems to have lied.
É provável que *João* vença.	It is likely that *John* will win.
———————	*John* is likely to win.
Aconteceu que *João* estava lá.	It happened that *John* was there.
———————	John happened to be there.

Even a dummy subject in a subordinate clause can undergo raising in English:

Parece que há problemas lá.	It seems that there are problems there.
———————	There seems to be some problems there.

Portuguese, on the other hand, often resorts to topicalization when foregrounding is required:

João, acontence que (ele)estava lá. ———————
O João, é possível que (ele) vença. ———————

While subject creating transformations are less productive in Portuguese, transformations that make subject position vacant are productive in Portuguese but not in English.

9. *Subject downgrading or subject postposing*

9.1. Subject downgrading in finite sentences is very productive in Portuguese with presentative, aspectual and psychological verbs and also with verbs of pain. In English, when applied, it is required that the dummy *there* be inserted.

a) presentative verbs[4]

Minha carteira sumiu.	My wallet disappeared.
Sumiu minha carteira.	
Uma rosa apareceu no jardim.	A rose appeared in the garden.
Apareceu uma rosa no jardim.	There appeared a rose in the garden.
Sobrou um ovo.[3]	
Há um ovo sobrando.	There is an egg left.

b) aspectual verbs

A festa começou.	The party began.
Começou a festa.	
O barulho continuou.	The noise went on.
Continuou o barulgo.	

c) psychological verbs

Esta cor me agrada.	This color pleases me.
Me agrada esta cor.	
Sua opinião não lhe interessa.	Your opinion does not interest him.
Não lhe interessa sua opinião.	

9.2. verbs that denote pain

A cabeça me dói.	(my head aches)
Me dói a cabeça.	
Eu estou com/tenho dor de cabeça.	I have a headache.
Tudo me dói.	(every part in me is in pain)
Me dói tudo.	
	I ache all over.

The dative case with verbs of pain appears as an oblique complement of the verb in Portuguese whereas in English it appears as subject. The objective case can appear as a subject in normal position or as a downgraded subject in Portuguese, but only as a subject in initial position in English.

[3] Actually *sobrar* behaves more like an existential verb and as such may have the VS order as basic.

9.3. Subject postposing is obligatory in Portuguese in gerundive clauses and disallowed in English.

Os automóveis no Brasil são muito caros, *sendo o Landau* o menos accessivel.	Cars are very expensive in Brazil, *the Landau being* the least accessible.

9.4. In complement clauses where the predicate is an adjective, the subject of this adjective can be postposed in Portuguese, but not in English.

As mulheres consideram *as brincadeiras dos maridos inocentes.*	The wives consider *their husbands' jokes innocent.*
As mulheres consideram *inocentes as brincadeiras dos maridos.*	_____ _____

Subject downgrading or postposing has to be distinguished from *permutation of subject and adverbial*, which does not leave the sentence-initial position vacant.

Up came the rabbit.
Down ran the children.

10. *Subject pronoun deletion*

10.1. When the verb is unequivocally marked for person and number the pronoun can be ommited in Portuguese, but not in English.

(Nós) fala*mos* duas linguas.	(we) speak+1st p. pl two languages
(Tu) gosta*ste* de peça?	(you) like+2nd p. pl the play?
(Eu) est*ou* com fome.	(I) am hungry

10.1. In Portuguese

Questions with the illoqutionary force of a request, an offer or an invitation (indirect speech acts) can have the pronoun *você* (the addressee) ommited even if the verb is unmarked.

(Você) quer café?	(you) want coffee?
(Você) precisa de ajuda?	(you) need help?
(Você) não quer entrar?	(you) not want come in?

Pronoun deletion is less applicable when questions are intended as real questions, though sometimes forms like the following, with elliptical subject, can be heard, when the speaker wants to avoid using an address form (*você* or *senhor*(*a*)).

(?) toca violão ?	( ) play the guitar?=Do you play the guitar?
(?) come feijão ?	( ) eat beans?=Do you eat beans?
(?) está com pressa ?	( ) are in a hurry?=Are you in a hurry?

Note. in English subject deletion can occur in questions, in loose pragmatic constructions, normally involving auxiliary deletion as well.

— (Are you) going somewhere?
— (you) wanna see?

10.2. Anaphoric pronouns can be deleted in Portuguese when the 'precede-command' condition is met. In English the pronoun is retained.

Pedro pensa que (ele) é honesto.	Peter thinks he is honest.
Quando (ele) estewe aqui, Pedro estava descabelado.[4]	When (he) was here, Peter was dishevelled

10.3. In short yes-no answers, Portuguese deletes the anaphoric pronouns. In English the pronoun is never deleted.

— João vem à festa?	— Is John coming to the party?
— Vem.	— Yes, he is.

In order to explain why certain rules are more productive in one language while being constrained to be applied in the other, I have attributed this phenomenon to the 'structure-preserving' nature of transformations (cf. Emmonds (1972)), which states that, except for the root transformations, all transformational rules yield forms that are predictable through phrase structure rules.[5] Postulating a base-rule of the form

$$S \rightarrow (NP)\ VP$$

any rule that has as its structural change the form VP will be well-formed in Portuguese. Likewise English will have a rule

$$S \rightarrow NP\ VP$$

which predicts that a rule cannot have as its output a sentence of the form VP in English. Imperatives would constitute an exception to this proposal, but their exceptional character may be due to the fact that they have been treated

[4] In the first example *Pedro* precedes the pronoun *ele* and in the second example *Pedro* comanands the pronoun as the S node that dominates the latter does not dominate the former.

[5] Structure-preserving transformations are cyclic whereas root transformations can only modify the topmost sentence.

as sentences when they may actually constitute a speech act with no sentence constituenthood. Like exclamations, which encode several types of speech acts, they can be just phrases from the syntactic point of view. Considered as such, imperatives would not constitute an exception in our proposal.

Permutation of subject and adverbial in English and topicalization in Portuguese, which distort the canonic word order SVO, would be root transformations. As such they cannot be applied to subordinate clauses as can be seen in the ill-formed sentences below:

*I saw that *up came the rabbit.*
*Ele disse que *o João, acontece que estava lá.*
(he said that John happens that was there)

I have also shown (Kato 1980) that the phrase-structure rule above was not sufficient to account for the problem of subject postposition in Portuguese. In order for subject postposing to be a structure-preserving rule, we would have to say that after postposition the NP becomes the object of the verb, thus meeting the structural description of the phrase-structure rule that expands VP:

$$VP \rightarrow V\ NP$$

However, though positionally the NP in

Sumiu minha carteira

is an object, its behavior with regard to cliticization is not that of an object. Compare the two constructions:

Comi as uas. → Comi-as
(I) ate the grapes) ((I) ate-them)
Sumiu minha carteira → *Sumiu-a
(disappeared my wallet) (disappeared-it)

Moreover, at least in a formal register, the postposed NP retains one property of subjects, which is to govern agreement, though it might be argued that this property is being lost as many speakers who apply agreement when the NP is preposed do not do so when it is postposed

As notas de $5 sumiram.
(the bills of $5 disappeared+3rd p. pl)
Sumiu as notas de $ 5.
(disappeared the bills of $ 5)

Another possible explanation is to consider subject postposing a root transformation. However, unlike topicalization or adverbial and NP shift,

sentences with postposed NPs can occur in subordinate clauses, which makes postposition a structure-preserving rule.

Eu disse que começaram as aulas
(I said that began classes)
Eu notei que sumiram as notas de $ 5.
(I noticed that disappeared the bills of $ 5)

The solution for our problem is to postulate an alternative phrase structure rule for Portuguese so that two canonical positions for subject will be predicted in the base. The expansion rule for sentence will have the following form:

$$S \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} (NP)\ VP \\ V\ \ NP \end{Bmatrix}$$

where both NPs are interpreted as subjects as they are immediately dominated by S. The rule also shows that verb initial constructions are always intransitive.

Base-generated verb-initial constructions would include: existential sentences, weather and time expressions, agentles active constructions, modal constructions and impersonal forms with 'poder'. All cases of subject downgrading would be transformationally derived. Initial subjects would be converted into postposed subjects, a structure-preserving operation guaranted by the last phrase-structure rule proposed.

We shall now analyse what I initially called "passives without raising". Comparing English and Portuguese, one can say that after agent postposing, Portuguese does not require that the subject be raised to subject sentence initial position.

Portuguese	English
A polícia confirmou a notícia	The police confirmed the news.
Foi confirmada a notícia pela polícia.	*Ø was confirmed the news by the police.
A notícia foi confirmada pela polícia.	The news was confirmed by the police.

However, if the object is plural the verb agrees with it after the passive operation:

Foram confirmadas todas as notícias.
(were confirmed all the news)

Two possible accounts can be given for this fact:
a) in the absence of a subject agreement is governed by the object.
b) the original object is actually raised, not to the position of the initial subject, but to post-verbal subject position.

The latter seems a better explanation as sometimes in informal Portuguese we may have constructions where agreement does not operate:

Foi feito consertos no banheiro de baixo.
(*was* made *repairs* in the bathroom downstairs)

The last example would be a case of passive without raising and the previous one, with agreement, would have raising to post-verbal position. Raising to sentence initial position would not be obligatory like in English due to the optionality of the initial subject in the phrase structure rule of Portuguese.

The phrase-structure rule proposed for Portuguese states that this language is a partially verb-initial language, a fact that, I believe, is correlated to the optional choice of the NP in the first alternative (S→(NP) VP). The alternative expansions of S are therefore hypothesized to be typologically linked, a proposal that finds support in the analysis of Hebrew made by Ruth Berman and in our analysis of English, in a contrastive approach with Portuguese, which showed that English has no verb-initial constructions either basic or derived.

Finally, our paper makes a small contribution to theoretical linguistics expanding Emmonds' structure-preserving constraint to predict not only possible movement operations, but also possible deletion sites.[6]

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[6] I do not consider gapping and other forms of coordination ellipsis as syntactic deletion rules. I follow the interpretive view that they are construal rules, not transformational rules.

ON SOME REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

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1. The inscrutability of reference has always attracted philosophers and linguists. An indispensable concept to most theories of meaning, reference still could not escape the danger of being rejected by, for example, Davidson's (1980) absolute theory of truth. Moreover, it has hardly ever been given a uniform definition.

The aim of the present paper is to elucidate the problem in question by examining the characteristics of what Thrane (1980) labelled referential expressions.[1] On the basis of some data from English and Polish it will be demonstrated that reference is not only an utterance-dependent notion (cf. Lyons 1977 : 180) but also it is conditioned by such variables as the speaker's attitude to the referent of the expression and the idiomatic vs. literal meanings of words. Finally, the data will reveal how the grammars of the two languages analysed handle the above-mentioned factors.

2. If reference is to be taken as an utterance-dependent notion, then it is the speaker who refers to an individual (i.e. the referent) by means of the referring expression.[2] However, as Lyons himself admits (1977:177):

> "It is terminologically convenient to be able to say that an expression refers to its referent (when the expression is used on some particular occasion and satisfies the relevant conditions)"

[1] Thrane (1980:40) makes an important distinction between referential and referring expressions: "Although 'referring expression' has a certain standing as a technical term in (philosophical) treatments of reference, it usually carries the implication (—) that there is a referent for any referring expression (—)... an expression is a referential expression solely by virtue of its form".

[2] For the distinction of referential expression and referring expression, cf. ft. 1. The present analysis employs traditional terminology wherever it was used by relevant authors. For the purposes of our investigations, however, the term 'referential expression' will be adopted.

Although this approach sounds convincing, it is not clear what entities can be subsumed under the label of 'referring expression'. It is hardly surprising since the notion has been defined in terms of reference being a vague concept itself. Thus in the course of development of linguistic thought the term 'referring expression' ranged over different language elements and was subject to several subclassifications.

What Frege (1952) labelled a 'proper name' comprises linguistic items ranging from sign and sign combination to word and expression. These are of two-fold semantic structure, expressing their sense and simultaneously designating their reference which is presupposed (1952 : 62). Russell (1905) distinguished two types of 'denoting phrases', i.e. the most primitive ones including indefinite pronouns and more complex expressions with the definite article *the*. Since denoting phrases never have any meaning, but every verbally expressed proposition containing them has a meaning, it is their primary vs. secondary occurrence that determines the truth value of the whole utterance (1905 : 480).

Strawson (1970) clearly delineated the class of expressions which appear in the "uniquely referring use". These comprise: singular demonstrative pronouns, proper names, singular personal and impersonal pronouns and phrases with the definite article *the* (1970 : 162). Having rejected Russell's approach, Strawson envisages the referring function of expressions as conditioned by the distinction between a sentence, a use of a sentence and an utterance of a sentence.

Though seemingly well-defined, the concept of a referring expression has been subject to controversies. Quine (1960 : 180) advocated reparsing of singular terms as general terms which should apply to proper names traditionally treated on a par with singular pronouns and indefinite singular terms. As to the referential positions of singular terms, they were viewed pragmatically both by Quine and later by Katz (1977) who ascribed this property of expressions entirely to the context. For Searle (1970) it was the juxtaposition of describing vs. referring function of expressions that underlined the distinction between definite descriptions and proper names. Geach's (1962) definition of a referring phrase comprises proper names and general terms with the reservation that the latter must stand in a context where a proper name might have stood (1962 : 48). Finally, Linsky (1970 : 72) follows Strawson in claiming that it is the users of language who refer and not the expressions that they use in so doing. In his comment on Russell's, Strawson's and Linsky's accounts of definite descriptions Donnellan (1972) points out that they failed to make the distinction between two uses of such descriptions, i.e. the attributive and referential use. Whether or not an expression is employed in these functions is determined by speaker's intentions, which is what agrees with our hypothesis. Moreover, Donnellan adheres to another

point to be pursued here, i.e. the fact that definite descriptions can always be assigned the referential function in isolation from a particular occasion on which they are used (1971 : 10; cf. also Thrane 1980 : 30). Vendler's discussion of proper names (1971) casts even more light on the nature of singular terms. It turns out that proper names share some co-occurrence restrictions with mass nouns and personal pronouns. The ordering of singular terms suggested by Vendler shows how they approximate the status of proper names. Finally, Kripke's (1972) influential analysis of the link between a proper name and its referent is based on the notion of rigid designation. Thus, a designating term is called rigid if it designates the same individual in every possible world. Since the content of the designating term could vary, Kripke's analysis amounts to the claim that proper names refer to individuals simpliciter, without necessarily attributing to them any specific content. As Coppieters (1982 : 2) puts it:

> "To consider proper names as rigid designators, then, is to assume that proper names refer not only in a non-descriptive way (—) but in a global fashion. No internal structure can be assigned to the individual referred to, since such an internal structure would automatically become the covered descriptive content of the proper name".

Coppieters advocates an opposite view to the effect that individuals are themselves endowed with some internal structure; hence reference cannot be analysed independently from the way in which the individual referred to is conceptually understood, grasped, etc.

3. The idea of relativising reference and ontology to forms of human conceptualization seems to be particularly adequate to the analysis of referential expressions to be carried out below. My hypothesis is that the speaker's attitude and his literal vs. idiomatic use of language affect the ontological status of the individual referred to. Moreover, it can be conjectured that these factors receive distinct formal realizations in English and Polish.

As was pointed out above, the present study will be concerned with referential expressions, i.e. such that their form secures their possible referring function, cf. Thrane (1980 : 30—40). Our pragmatic approach to reference will concentrate on the relation between proper names and definite descriptions on the one hand, and personal as well as deictic pronouns, on the other. It has been inspired by Coppieters' discussion of the attitudes which the speaker can take towards himself, i.e. the intrinsic vs. extrinsic attitude, as illustrated by 1. and 2., respectively:

1. I am scared stiff and running down the street as fast as I can when this guy comes ...
2. So there you have it, all in all, I am a real failure

According to Coppieters (i.a.) 1. the speaker shows himself as a subject, whereas 2. is a case of split personality: *I* is then no longer an independent subject but

becomes a concept. As follows from further examples these two attitudes, one presenting the *I* as 'a being-as-subject', the other as 'a being-as-concept' extend to others as well, e.g. in

3. Nixon is sad and would like to go home

the speaker takes the role of an omniscient narrator and in 4. he passes his own judgement upon Nixon in the same way as was done in 2.:

4. Nixon was a pitiful president (1982:3—4)

The distinction of the two attitudes leads Coppieters to some important conclusions concerning the grammar of French. It is supposed to underlie the distribution of the third person pronoun *il* as opposed to the demonstrative pronoun *ce*. Thus the use of the former is governed by the intrinsic attitude, and the latter is a reflection of the extrinsic attitude.[3] As clearly follows from the analysis, the grammatical phenomena in French do not have any equivalents in English.

It will be demonstrated below that Polish grammar is closer to French in this respect. Consequently, the restrictions on the occurrence of personal pronouns *on/ona* 'he/she' are parallel to those imposed on *il*, whereas the distribution of the demonstrative pronoun *to* 'this' is conditioned analogously to that of *ce*. The Polish examples will be contrasted with their English equivalents and although the distinction does not hold for this language if the meaning of words is taken literally, it seems to operate on the idiomatic level.

4. Before it is shown how the intrinsic vs. extrinsic attitude of the speaker triggers some grammatical phenomena, the characteristics of the two concepts are worth investigating. It can be assumed that both are clearly differentiated in English and Polish and this is indeed the case, cf.:

5. Margie is depressed and she doesn't want to see anyone
5'. Margie jest przygnębiona i nie chce nikogo widzieć
6. Ed Kennedy believes that Democrats will win the next election
6'. Ed Kennedy wierzy, że Demokraci wygrają następne wybory

These representatives of the intrinsic attitude contrast with 7—8 where the speaker imposes his judgements on the subjects, thus treats them as concepts:

7. Margie is an unbalanced character
7'. Margie jest osobą niezrównoważoną

[3] For details, cf. Coppieters (1982).

8. Ed Kennedy doesn't make a good candidate for the next election
8'. Ed Kennedy nie stanowi dobrej kandydatury na następne wybory

According to Coppieters (1982:5) the two attitudes are in a sense mutually exclusive so that their conjunctions would result in odd statements, like:

9. *Margie is depressed and she is an unbalanced character
9'. *Margie jest przygnębiona i jest osobą niezrównoważoną
10. *Ed Kennedy believes that Democrats will win the next election and he doesn't make a good candidate
10'. *Ed Kennedy wierzy, że Demokraci wygrają następne wybory i nie stanowi dobrej kandydatury

However, as is the case with most speaker-relative notions, the problem is often tantamount to an appropriate paraphrase in the right context. Despite the fact that the conjunction *and* sounds 'too strong' in this case, a weak relation of implication would be appropriate (the intrinsic/extrinsic attitudes being subsumed under a kind of a deductive schema), cf.:

11. Margie is an unbalanced character, so she is often depressed
11'. Margie jest osobą niezrównoważoną, więc jest często przygnębiona
12. Ed Kennedy doesn't make a good candidate for the next election because he believes that Democrats will win[4]
12'. Ed Kennedy nie stanowi dobrej kandydatury na następne wybory, ponieważ wierzy, że Demokraci wygrają

Since the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy seems psychologically real, it might be more closely examined in terms of its impact on the grammars of English and Polish.

4.1. The main line of our analysis is concerned with the distribution of some referential expressions, i.e. pronouns with proper names and definite NP's as their antecedents. According to our hypothesis personal pronouns *on/ona* 'he/she' should occur in sentences expressing a more subjective, i.e. intrinsic, attitude of the speaker, whereas a demonstrative *to* 'this' will reflect a more detached, i.e. extrinsic attitude. Doroszewski's remarks on the copula *być* 'to be' constitute some support of this standpoint. He claims that *być* is a marker of a subjective relation of the speaker to objective reality which is thus viewed in terms of the *me* vs. *not-me* dichotomy (1970:143). Moreover, the anaphoric nature of personal pronouns makes them far more subjective from demonstratives which are, in most cases, employed deictically. Compare Lyons' observations on the complexity of the relation between anaphora and

[4] The sentence would get an appropriate reading provided that the speaker does not sympathize with Democrats.

deixis, to the effect that the latter is far more basic than the former (1977: 659—71).

These contentions are confirmed by the following examples:[5]

13. Bonick wierzył, że strzeli choć jednego gola dla Polski:
a. [(on)] był przecież najlepszy [-m] gracz [-em] w drużynie
b. [*to] [Ø] [Ø]

13'. Bonick believed that he'd score at least one point for Poland; [he / *this] was after all the best player on the team

14. Bonick strzelił gola dla Polski; a. [?on] był najlepszy [-m] gracz
b. [to] [Ø]

[-em] w drużynie; nikt tego nie negował
[Ø]

14'. Bonick had scored a point for Poland; [he / *this] was the best player on the team; nobody denied it

The data presented support our hypothesis only with regard to Polish. Thus the intrinsic attitude of the speaker governs the use of personal/anaphoric pronouns *on/ona*, whereas the extrinsic one requires the occurrence of a demonstrative *to*. Note that the entities being the predicators in sentences with *on/ona* take Instrumental, and these following *to* take Nominative. At this point an objection could be raised as to the structures of sentences representing the two attitudes. Thus it could be argued that while the intrinsic attitude governs a structure of the type *X jest Y* (X is Y), the extrinsic attitude occurs only in sentences of a more complex structure: *X to jest Y* (X this is Y). This counterargument is, however, quite easy to refute if we analyse the relevant sentences as employing two distinct pronominal subclasses with a reservation that they are coreferential with the antecedent NP. Thus, 13''a. and 13''b. would correspond to 13a and 13b., respectively:

13''a. X ... ($\text{Pron}_{\text{Anaph.}}$ jest $\text{Y}_{\text{Instr.}}$), where X is coreferential with Pron.
13''b. X ... ($\text{Pron}_{\text{Demon.}}$ jest $\text{Y}_{\text{Nomin.}}$)

Moreover, the present distinction cuts across another one, i.e. the inherent vs. instantaneous characteristics of the pronominal antecedent, which results in an analogous syntactic contrast. Consequently, the intrinsic attitude is

[5] It has been pointed out to me that 13. concerns not so much the speaker's but Bonick's subjective beliefs, which proves the point to be pursued here, i.e. the subject as taking the intrinsic attitude towards himself, cf. example 3. above. Note also the optionality of the personal pronounson *'he'* which is normally deleted due to Pronominal Subject Deletion, cf. Fisiak, et al. 1978:22.

related to a subjective instantaneous view of the subject hence predicated of by a noun in Instrumental; the objective extrinsic attitude corresponds then to more constant characteristics predicated of the subject by a noun in Nominative (which is also true of introductions, cf. 24a. below). Compare 15., an example of the latter case, with 16. and 17. where, depending on the instantaneous vs. inherent characteristics ascribed to the subject either *on* or *to* can be used, respectively:

15. Poznaj Staśka. [To / *On] jest nasza złota rączka
15'. Meet Stasiek. [*This / He] is our jack-of-all trades
16. Ten mężczyzna jest lotnikiem, chociaż w zeszłym roku był on nawigatorem
16'. This man is a pilot, although he was a navigator last year
17. Ten mężczyzna jest odważny. To jest lotnik.[6]
17'. This man is brave. He is a pilot.

It follows from the discussion so far that the attitude of the speaker towards the subject of the utterance is of utmost importance to the Polish language as it affects its grammatical structure. This takes the form of a two-stage process:

Step 1: Choose *on/ona* if referring to the subject approached intrinsically or *to* if referring to the subject approached extrinsically;
Step 2: Attach proper inflectional endings to the predicator of the copula *być*, i.e. Instrumental and Nominative, respectively.

Moreover, the intrinsic attitude is related to instantaneous characteristics of the subject, whereas the extrinsic one to its inherent features. This double relation is reflected in the grammar of Polish, the former pair of notions requiring the predicator in Instrumental and the latter assigning Nominative to it.

The English equivalents of Polish sentences seem to suggest that the attitude of the speaker towards the subject finds no overt realization in the grammar of English. This is corroborated by Lyons (1977: 648—50) discussion

[6] No agreement can be noticed on this point among Polish linguists. Jodłowski (1976:69) recognizes anaphoric *to* as referring not only to objects but also to human beings. In the latter case *to* requires in the predicative position a noun in Nominative, as opposed to nouns in Instrumental used with personal pronouns *on/ona*. According to Jodłowski the difference between the two cases is purely stylistic, Nominative being more colloquial. Doroszewski, on the other hand, represents an opinion analogous to our standpoint; cf. 1976: 152.

on the lexicalization of anaphora and deixis in different languages. Thus, the only possible counterparts of Polish pronouns in the two uses would be personal anaphoric pronouns *he/she*. Although English allows for the occurrence of *that* doing service to both [+HUMAN] nouns in restrictive relative clauses, it does not hold for any other contexts. Thus, while we can say:

18. The guy that you met yesterday is our jack-of-all-trades

the equivalent of Polish sentence 15. can only be 15'a. but not b.:

15'. Meet Stasiek. a. He

b. *That is our jack-of-all-trades[7]

4.2. Consequently, the contrastive data have not offered much with respect to English apart from the fact that it seems to be much more restricted than Polish as regards the use of pronouns in the discussed contexts. Nevertheless, the matter can be pursued further so as to test the explanatory adequacy of our conclusions in other areas of language use. It turns out that the situation changes with idioms. At least some examples of the relevant structures can be found in both languages such that they will reflect the extrinsic and intrinsic attitudes of the speaker. The former will result in an idiomatic meaning of the entity predicating of the subject, thus it will take Nominative in Polish and will require a finite structure in English. The latter, intrinsic attitude, amounts to the literal meaning of the predicator in Polish and it might result in ungrammatical structures in English, cf. a. and b. examples, respectively:[8]

19. a. [to / O] jest [gość / gościem] 'Kowalski is a guest'
    b. Kowalski
19'. a. [great guy / *guy]
    b. Smith is a
20. a. [to jeszcze dziecko / *jest jeszcze dzieckiem]
    b. Jej mąż
20'. a. [such a child / *a child]
    b. Her husband is (still)

It must be noted that since the area of idiomatic use is extremely capricious, some counterexamples to this observation can be found, not to mention numerous dubious cases. Thus 21—22. might express both the literal and the

[7] As has been pointed out to me, *that* can be used in this context only jokingly or ironically.

[8] The use of idioms is obviously related to colloquial language and this is what the distinction is about, i.e. the extrinsic (objective) attitude of the speaker makes use of formal language employing chiefly literal meanings of words. Conversely, the intrinsic (subjective) attitude is found in colloquial language and/or the conventionalized forms, i.e. idioms.

idiomatic meanings of the NP describing the subject (referent). This holds true for English and Polish:

21. Richard is an idiot
21'. Ryszard jest {idiotą / idiotą}
22. Mary is an angel
22'. Maria jest {anioł / aniołem}

Note that the only literal meaning of 22. could be the case of telling a story to a child and explaining that Mary is dead now (an analogous use would be found in Polish).

Finally, the intrinsic/extrinsic distinction comes up in both languages in introductions where Polish allows for the proper name to take both Nominative and Instrumental while their English equivalents are equally acceptable, however, under the condition that they occur in suitable contexts (neutral for the Nominative and its English counterpart, cf. 23a., and more elaborate for the Instrumental), cf.:[9]

23a. This is John Brown
b. This guy is John Brown
23'a. To jest John Brown
b. Ten facet jest Johnem Brownem

It has become evident that, apart from some idioms, the only possible use of the intrinsic attitude with referential expressions of the nominal kind (i.e. definite NP's, proper names) is in the introductions. As to the intrinsic attitude, it is possible only if the speaker imposes his own judgements on the subject, which requires some special texts, otherwise b. sentences would sound unnatural.

5. To recapitulate, the attitude of the speaker towards the subject of the utterance is of utmost importance to the study of reference. Referential expressions such as definite NP's, proper names and pronouns have proved to be sensitive to the intrinsic/extrinsic distinction, though more so in Polish than in English. While in Polish the distinction resulted in grammatical consequences, in English only a few realizations of this phenomenon could be found.

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[9] Note that Instrumental in b. examples of 23.-23'. requires a special, instantaneous characteristics of the subject, e.g.: *Let's imagine we are performing a play. This guy, Bob Lee, is John Brown; this liquid can be called beer*, etc. This, again, proves my point that subjective, intrinsic attitude is expressed by the instrumental case, cf. the Polish version: *Wyobraźmy sobie, że gramy sztukę. Ten facet, Bob Lee, jest Johnem Brownem; ten płyn jest piwem*, etc.

The present sketchy treatment of the issue has signalled a small point of a much vaster area. And it is the ontological and pragmatic perspectives that should be taken into account in further studies of semantic notions such as reference.

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FROM TEMPORAL ADVERB TO MODAL PARTICLE
SOME COMPARATIVE REMARKS ON POLISH "CZASEM" ("SOMETIMES")[1]

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0 This is a pilot study of a planned universalist investigation on the distribution, use and development of modal particles. The hypotheses proposed for the Polish word "czasem" are very tentative. As modal particles typically constitute both a much neglected area of grammar — neglected because their use is characteristic of the spoken colloquial register — and a rather complex one, and as particles typically exhibit such delicate nuances of meaning as to require a native or near-native competence of the language, I really cannot hope to do more than to awaken the research interests of those more competent than I am.[3] Another reason for why it is worthwhile to draw attention to modal particles is that they have recently proved to be an exciting touchstone for theories of semantics and pragmatics (see esp. Weydt (ed.), 1977; 1979).

1. In present-day Polish the word "czasem" is ambiguous. In what was probably once its only meaning, "czasem" is a temporal adverb and it means "sometimes". In this use it is replaceable by "czasami".

[1] This paper was presented at the 18th International Conference of Polish-English Contrastive Linguistics (December 1982) near Poznań. It owes its existence to a casual remark made by Wiesław Oleksy sometime close to Christmas 1981. For the Polish data, I am grateful to Lech and Riet Martynowski-Depestel, Wiesław and Elżbieta Oleksy (Bydgoszcz), Ida Rudzka (Louvain), and Dorota Szymczyk (Warsaw). For German I thank Rosemarie Gläser (Leipzig), for French Marc Dominicy (Brussels) and Paul Gochet (Liège), and for Afrikaans Geert van Jaarsveld (Bloemfontein). As is customary with acknowledgments, I am the only one to be blamed for the use of the data.

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[3] I gather (from private correspondence and discussion) that there is, to date, no (good) study of Polish particles and, more particularly, of "czasem".

(1) Jan *czasem* jeździ do Warszawy.
John drive to Warsaw.
John sometimes drives to Warsaw.

In a derived meaning "czasem" is a modal particle meaning something like "by any chance" or "perhaps". In that case it can be replaced by "przypadkiem".

(2) Czy nie chciałbyś *czasem* kawy?
question negation like coffee
Wouldn't you like coffee by any chance?

Such polysemy is neither common nor unique in a language. Among the Slavic languages only Ukrainian seems to have a similar phenomenon ("часом", see *Український-російський словник*, VI:408). Among the Germanic languages, only Dutch, a variety of German and probably Afrikaans seem to have it. In Dutch the most common "sometimes" word is "soms".

(3) *Soms* gaat Jan naar Brussel.
go John to Brussels
John sometimes goes to Brussels.

Yet in (4) "soms" has a modal function, derived from the temporal one, the very same as exercised by the word "misschien" ("perhaps").

(4) Lust je koffie *soms*?
like you coffee
Do you like coffee by any chance?

The archaic and dialectical variant "somtijds" is similarly ambiguous. In Standard German the usual word for "sometimes", "manchmal" only has a temporal use.

(5) *Manchmal* fährt Johann nach Berlin.
travel John to Berlin
Sometimes John travels to Berlin.

Yet in the colloquial speech ("städtische Umgangssprache") of Saxony in the triangle between Dresden, Leipzig and Karl-Marx-Stadt "manchmal" can be synonymous with "vielleicht" ("perhaps").

(6) Haben Sie *manchmal* Feuer?
have you fire
Have you got a light by any chance?

As to Afrikaans, according to the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (I:165), "altemit(s)" has both a temporal "sometimes" and a modal "perhaps" meaning.

(7) Die kerel kom so *altemit* hier.
that guy come here
That guy comes here sometimes.
(8) Het jy *altemit* vir my 'n vuurhoutjie?
have you for me a match
Could you give me a match by any chance?

Among the Romance languages the phenomenon may only exist in French, yet not, interestingly enough for "parfois", the most common "sometimes" word, but for the colloquial "des fois".

(9) *Des fois* Jean va à Paris.
John go to Paris
Sometimes John goes to Paris.
(10) Tu n' as pas *des fois* des allumettes?
you negation have matches
You wouldn't have any matches by any chance?

For the Eastern non-Slavic Germanic-Romance languages that I have checked (Albanian, Amharic, Arabic, Finnish, Japanese, Swahili and Turkana) the results were negative, i.e. the "sometimes" words only have temporal meanings.[4] Thus we see that the time-modality switch for "sometimes" is not too common, and it is therefore not too surprising that it has received little or no attention.

It should not be thought, however, that the time-modality alternation in "sometimes" is an isolated phenomenon in the sense that it would be restricted to "sometimes". In German and Dutch it also exists for "once", for example (Ger. "mal", Du. "eens") and in Afrikaans for "soon" ("dalk" and "dalkers"). The very fact that a time word takes on a modal meaning furthermore fits the well-attested localist theory of meaning change, which says, roughly, that the abstract domains of vocabulary are filled with words originally belonging to the more concrete registers.

2. In the above section I have briefly pointed to the similarities between Pl. "ezasem", Du. "soms", Sax. "manchmal" and Fr. "des fois" – for lack of data other than a dictionary entry Ukrainian and Afrikaans will have to disregarded. There are interesting differences, however. In all four languages, there are distributional restrictions on the use of modal "sometimes". In Saxon, these restrictions seem to be the most severe. It looks as if modal "manchmal" is restricted to "yes/no"-questions, preferably or even exclusively to second person "yes/no"-questions that function as indirect requests.

[4] Eva Stephanides (Budapest) has suggested to me that an Hungarian "sometimes" word is ambiguous too. Judging from a dictionary entry (*Thai-English Student's Dictionary*: 287) Thai "baangthii" would also be interesting to look at in detail.

(11) Können Sie *manchmal* eine Mark wechseln?
can you a Mark change
Could you change a Mark perhaps?
(12) Haben Sie *manchmal* genaue Zeit?
have you exact time
Would you happen to have the exact time?

In French and Polish "des fois" and "czasem" seem to be restricted to two types of contexts: "if"-clauses and preferably negative "yes/no"-questions.

(13) Si *des fois* tu vas à Paris, dis Jean que je viens.
if you go to Paris say John that I come
If you happen to go to Paris, tell John that I am coming.
(14) Tu n' es pas *des fois* anarchiste?
you negation are anarchist
You are not an anarchist by any chance?
(*5) Gdyby *czasem* to była Bruksela, to bylibyśmy w Belgii.
if this be Brussels this be in Belgium
If this were Brussels, then we would be in Belgium.
(2) Czy nie chciałbyś *czasem* kawy?
question negation like coffee
Wouldn't you like coffee by any chance?

It is difficult to judge — at the present stage of data collection — just how strong the preference for negative "yes/no"-questions is. Judgments on positive "yes/no"-questions range from "impossible", "understandable but I would never say it" to "acceptable though uncommon".[5]

In Dutch the modal "soms" occurs freely in "if"-clauses and in all types of "yes/no"-questions, i.e. there is no restriction to second person or negative "yes/no"-questions:

(16) Als dit *soms* Brussel is, ben ik in België.
if this be Brussels be then be I in Belgium
If this is Brussels, then I am in Belgium.
(17) Heeft Jan zijn auto *soms* genomen?
have John his car take
Has John taken his car perhaps?

It can even show up in imperatives, when they express a suggestion:

[5] For Polish, each of the reactions was recorded. For French, the (two) reactions were of the "understandable but I would not say it" type. It is interesting that the "acceptable but uncommon" reaction occurred as an afterthought correcting an earlier "impossible" judgment.

(1[illegible]) [illegible] *soms* vanavond een [illegible]
come [illegible] to night
Why don't you come tonight?

It is fairly clear that the two most hospitable contexts for modal "sometimes" are "if" clauses and "yes/no"-questions. It further appears that there is something particularly hospitable about second person request "yes/no"-questions (see Saxon [illegible] and even the Afrikaans example) and [illegible] negative "yes/no" questions (see French and Polish). These tendencies need to be explained. In the search for such an explanation, we will have to face two further, though related questions: (i) what is the function/meaning of modal "ezasem"/"des fois"/"manchmal"/"soms"? (ii) how did the modal meanings develop out of the temporal ones? In the rest of this discussion I will have a closer look at "yes/no"-questions.

3 In "yes/no" questions modal "sometimes" seems to have two possible functions. It shares these functions with "perhaps" words (see Van der Auwera 1983). The first is that of a *politeness* marker. Most typically it occurs in second person questions that function as requests. This use is exemplified in (2), (4), (6), (10), (11) and (12).

The development of the politeness usage out of the temporal one seems to be straightforward. In speech acts politeness often involves making a *weaker* speech act than the one actually intended. So, instead of literally requesting a hearer to tell the time, which is what the speaker in (19) is really up to,

(19) Weet je hoe laat het is?
know you how late it be
Do you happen to know the time?

he merely asks whether the hearer knows what time it is. On the level of the literal meaning, the speaker doesn't commit the hearer to do anything more than to answer with something like "yes" or "no"; the encroachment on the freedom of the hearer is small. Of course, the politeness effect is fully conventionalized. It would be very improper if the hearer only reacted with "yes" or "no". What happens if the speech act in (19) contains a "soms" is simply that it gets a further weakening.

(20) Weet je soms hoe laat het is?

Now the speaker does not even ask the pointed question of whether the hearer knows the time at the one, particular moment of speaking. Instead he iss[illegible] [illegible] more general question, one that should be easier to answer, of whether the hearer sometimes knows the time.

The second usage is the "*reactive*" one. A reactive particle — the term is due to Wunderlich (1976:77) and Franck (1980:53–54) turns the speech act in which it occurs into a reaction to an immediately preceding state of affairs or

speech act. Usually the reactive speech act suggests an explanation of the preceding state of affairs or the state of affairs talked about in the preceding speech act.

(21) Mizernie wyglądasz. Czy pilesz *czasem*?
miserable look question drink
You look miserable. Have you been drinking perhaps?

(22) Elke dag lees jo de krant. Heb je *soms* een abonnement?
every day read you the paper have you a subscription
Every day you are reading the paper. Have you got a subscription perhaps?

(23) Ton comportement est assez bizarre. Tu n'es
your behaviour be rather bizarre you negation
pas *des fois* anarchiste?
anarchist?
Your behaviour is rather bizarre. You are not an anarchist by any chance?

Saxon "machmal" does not seem to licence this use.

A "yes/no"-question can be reactive without "czasem" ... fois", too. But it need not be. Its reactiveness is only due to context ... it can also function as a neutral information question. With (24), for instance, a speaker can signal that he simply wants to know whether or not the hearer has drunk. It need

(24) Czy piłeś?
Question drink
Have you been drinking?

not suggest as the question in (21) typically would, that the drinking forms an explanation of some state of affairs, either immediately preceding or just talked about.

The development of the reactive use is harder to understand than that of the politeness use. Here are, tentatively, two elements of explanation. The first is politeness again or, at least, discretion or caution. Consider the following speech act.

(25) Aren't you lonely sometimes?

(25) or something very close to it is said by Barry Lyndon in the film named after him. Barry Lyndon has been travelling for days, when he finally finds a shelter. His host is a most charming young woman whose husband has long before gone to war. Guest and host feel attracted towards each other and one evening Barry Lyndon ventures (25). The context strongly suggests that (25) is not meant as a neutral information question. It counts as cautious flirting, meaning or better, implicating, something like (26).

(26) Aren't you lonely NOW PERHAPS?

The flirting is cautious because it allows the hearer to opt out and to reply to the literal meaning of the question. In English the "now perhaps" implicature is "particularized" and totally context bound. There is no reason to declare the English "sometimes" ambiguous between a temporal and a "perhaps" "reading". It is well attested, however — see Cole (1975), Morgan (1978) and Fretheim (1981) — that implicatures can get conventionalized and give rise to polysemy. Perhaps — tive "ezasem", "soms" and "des fois" are the results of such a conventio — ation.

The second element of explanation concerns the fact that reactive questions convey a positive bias. While (24) as such is no more conducive to a positive than to a negative answer, the question in (21) suggests a positive answer. Similarly, the questions in (22) and (23) suggest, respectively, that the hearer has a subscription and that he is an anarchist, while (26) intimates that the hearer is lonely. The relevance of this is that even temporal "sometimes" has a positive orientation. That is to say — hat temporal "ezasem", "soms" and "des fois" are positive polarity items, their negative counterparts being "kiedykolwiek", "ooit" and "jamais".[8] It is rather plausible, therefore, that the positive bias of modal "sometimes" is just inherited from temporal "sometimes".

Somewhat paradoxically, the positive polarity of the "sometimes" words provides a clue as to why modal "sometimes" should prefer negative "yes/no"-questions. In many languages and among them English, Polish, Dutch and French, negative "yes/no" questions happen to convey a positive bias, (27), for instance:

(27) Isn't George wonderful?

is oriented towards a positive answer. This is a well-known fact, though it is not well accounted for.[9] Yet, whatever its own explanation is, it explains why positive polarity items are fully acceptable in negative "yes/no"-questions while they are ill-formed in negative assertions.[10]

(28) Isn't George absolutely wonderful?
(29) *George isn't absolutely wonderful.

[8] Positive polarity items are words and phrases that only occur in positive contexts. This is a very rough description. Unfortunately, the study of positive polarity has not come — far above — that of negative polarity (see Ladusaw 1980; Linebarger 1981).

[9] See Pope (1976), Kiefer (1980:98 — 99), Karttunen (1978:205). Perhaps the explanation resides in the highly propositional nature of negation (see Givón 1979:91 — 114).

[10] (30), (31) and (33) are acceptable only when they do as well — echo a positive assertion.

(30) Isn't Bo rather stupid?
(31) ?? Bo isn't rather stupid.
(32) Don't you sometimes think that it's all nonsense?
(33) ?? I don't sometimes think that it's all nonsense.

The fact that negative "yes/no"-questions carry a positive bias makes it furthermore understandable why they form a more natural environment for positive polarity items then the bias-less positive "yes/no"-questions.

(34) ?? Is George absolutely wonderful?
(35) ?? Is Bo rather stupid?
(36) Do you sometimes think that it's all nonsense?

Note that positive "yes/no"-questions do not treat all positive polarity items in the same way: while (34) and (35) seem to me to be as bad as (29) and (31), (36) is by no means unacceptable, though it may be somewhat unusual. The aparallel with the distribution of modal "sometimes" is striking and maybe explanatory — if one remembers that modal "sometimes" is derived from temporal "sometimes": modal "sometimes" is not impossible in positive "yes/no"-questions, though French and Polish exhibit a preference for negative "yes/no"-questions.

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CONVERSATIONAL VERSUS CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURE AND SOME POLARITY ITEMS IN POLISH AND ENGLISH

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The aim of this paper is to discuss the pragmatic concept of implicature[1] in connection with what was traditionally referred to as adverbs of time, and more recently as polarity items, namely, *już*, *jeszcze*, and their English equivalents: *already*, *still*, *any more* and *yet*.

It has been noticed by various authors that these items convey information which cannot be represented within the truth-conditional bivalent semantics. That is, these words as such, or at least some of them, do not contribute anything to the truth conditions of a sentence, but they nevertheless convey meaning which has to be described if not by the semantic then by the pragmatic component. Horn (1970 : 321–324) says that these items carry presuppositions, which he describes by means of the following formulae:

I. still/any more	$(\exists i)\ (i<o\ \&\ t_i\ (S))$	Assertion:	
II. already/yet	$(\exists i)\ (i>o\ \&\ t_i\ (S))$	$t_o\ (S)$	$\sim t_o(S);\ t_o = \text{now}$

Horn claims that these presuppositions may be suspended in some, but *not* in all negative sentences, as his example proves:

1. *Tricia isn't a virgin yet.

Wilson (1975 : 117–120) discusses *yet* only, but what she says is of great interest, since it constitutes a proposal of how non-truth-conditional information may be incorporated into the truth-conditional semantics. She suggests

[1] "An implicature in Gricean terms means the following. If the uttering of a sentence ø in a given context licenses the inference that p even though the proposition p is something over and above what the speaker actually says, then he has implicated that p and p is an implicature (or implicatum) of the utterance of ø." (Kartunnen and Papers 1979:2 fn. 3)

that *yet* carries non-logical implication:

2. John is not yet here.
Truth conditions: John is not here
Non-logical implication: John will be here

"The speaker is committed to the truth-conditional, but not the non-logical implications of what he has said. ... The meaning of the sentence is the sum of the two types of semantic implication, but a truth value is assigned only on the basic of the truth conditions: the non-logical implication is separately evaluated". Wilson mentions in passing that the non-logical implication may be treated as conventional implicature, but she does not discuss this further.

It seems that *już, jeszcze*, and their English equivalents form a category not only because they are adverbs of time,[2] but also because they are polarity items, and therefore they should possess common properties, whether semantic or pragmatic. It would be undesirable to ascribe non-logical implication to *yet* without ascribing one to *any more*. Does this mean though that the positive counterparts, i.e. *still* and *already*, also carry non-logical implications? Wilson obviously thinks that they do not, since she parenthetically notes (1975 : 132): "a semantically related item *still* very definitely carries an entailment". In a homogeneous entailment analysis of the implications of a sentence, negative sentences unlike positive sentences have no specific entailments other than a disjunction of negated entailments of a positive sentence. The fact that in the case of *yet*, the negated entailment of the related *still* is not one of the disjuncts — and it should be according to entailment analysis — suggests that entailments may not be uniform. Therefore, the asymmetry between positive and negative sentences seems to be even greater than the truth-conditional semantics predicts, namely, negation changes logical implication (entailment) into non-logical implication, which is a qualitative change and which in turn implies that negation may not be uniform, that is, that there are two kinds of negation. This is a view that truth-conditional semantics definitely wants to avoid. The situation might be remedied by ordering entailments as suggested by Wilson and Sperber (1979), but it is not clear how their theory could be applied to negative sentences, and particularly to sentences with the above items, since lexical entailments (and here this would be the case) cannot be directly ordered.

An alternative analysis might treat non-truth-conditional meaning of these polarity items as conversationally implicated in negative sentences, but entailed in positive. This would account for the nonsuspendability in

[2] Pasicki (1976) notes that classifying these items as adverbs of time may not be entirely proper, since the items in question display modal as well as aspectual properties. Besides, they do not always involve reference to time.

positive sentences, but would not adequately account for nonsuspendability in negative sentences, (Cf. ex. 2), which is unfortunate, since one of the tests for conversational implicature is that it is cancellable. The implicature of *yet* and *any more* is cancellable only in a specific situation, namely when it can be ascribed to somebody else than the speaker, and then cancellation might not be the proper word to use:

3. John isn't here yet and I don't think he will come.
   Janka jeszcze nie ma i sądzę, że nie przyjdzie.

This sentence suggests that it is the hearer, rather than the speaker, who believes that John is coming.
But note the oddity of the utterance when this expectation cannot be ascribed to the hearer:

4. John isn't here yet. As you know, he has left the country for good/for ever.
   Janka jeszcze nie ma. Jak wiesz opuścił kraj na zawsze.
5. John isn't here any more. As you know, he never even managed to get here.

   Janka już nie ma. Jak wiesz nie udało mu się tu nigdy dotrzeć.

If conversational implicatures are taken to be cancellable, the above utterances should not sound contradictory, but it seems that they do. Sadock (1978) claims that the order of the cancelling expression and the expression carrying the implicature is irrelevant. In our case, it definitely is relevant, since the sentence of 3) is acceptable, whereas 6) and 7) much less so:

6. I don't think John will come today. He isn't here yet.
   Sądzę, że Janek dzisiaj nie przyjdzie. Nie ma go jeszcze.
7. John wasn't here today. He isn't here any more.
   Janka dzisiaj nie było. Nie ma go już.

Sadock (1981) argues in connection with the word *almost* that cancellability may fail as a test for conversational implicature when the implicature is context-free, generalized and very strong. But then the only reason for not calling it conventional implicature is the attempted simplification of grammar, as no independent statement of the implicature needs to be made in the description of language. Unfortunately, the borderline between conventional and conversational implicature becomes so thin, then, that it is nearly non-existent.

Another characteristic of conversational implicature is its nondetachability, this means that any utterance that is semantically equivalent to the one that carries certain conversational implicature, possibly in the same context, should also carry this implicature. However, Sadock (1978) argues that in

many cases it is difficult to apply this test, since no well-formed paraphrases exist for the tested utterance, not to mention the fact that sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the two utterances are actually synonymous. Moreover, some conversational implicatures are dependent not only on the meaning, but also on the form of the utterance and then the test does not prove anything. We might try to offer some paraphrases for the sentences with polarity items, though their well-formedness can be questioned.[3]

8. John isn't here yet — John isn't here so far — John isn't here up to now — John isn't here by this time.
9. Janka jeszcze nie ma — Janka wciąż nie ma — Janka w dalszym ciągu nie ma — Janka dotąd nie ma.

It seems that these paraphrases do convey the message that John is expected, however, since the expectation is relatively weaker, we would be more inclined to assume the test is inconclusive, rather than that we have a case of conversational implicature.

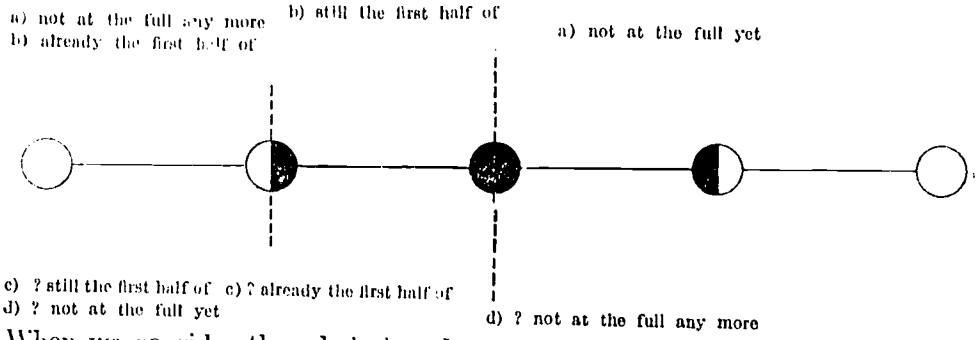
One more test may be used to check conversational implicature, viz., calculability. Conversational implicature can be "worked out" from the meaning of the utterance on the basis of the Cooperative Principle and Conversational Maxims and, possibly but not necessarily, context. If we wanted to insist on the presence of conversational implicature in utterances with polarity items, we would have to specify the meaning from which the implicature can be calculated. This means that the items would have to convey something else beside the conversational implicature, since otherwise there would be nothing on the basis of which the implicature could be "worked out". And indeed, it seems that they do convey more than is contained in Horn's formulae, or else the following sentences should not be odd, while they clearly are:

10. a) Mary is 2 months old and she already is a baby.
    b) ..... and she is and will be a baby.
11. a) Marysia ma 2 miesiące i jest już dzieckiem.
    b) ..... i jest i będzie dzieckiem.
12. a) Mary is 80 years old and she is still an old woman.
    b) ..... and she was and is an old woman.
13. a) Maria ma 80 lat i jest jeszcze staruszką.
    b) ..... i była i jest staruszką.
14. a) John has just left and he isn't here yet.
    b) ..... and he isn't here but he will be here.
15. a) Janek właśnie wyszedł i nie ma go jeszcze.
    b) ..... i nie ma go ale będzie.

[3] I substitute for the item in question its dictionary description.

16. a) John isn't here any more and he will be back in a second.
    b) John was here but he isn't here now and .....
17. a) Janka już nie ma i będzie za chwilę.
    b) Janek był ale go nie ma i będzie za chwilę.

Undoubtedly there is something wrong with the logic of these sentences. The b) versions are better in this respect, though they assert exactly what is being implicated by the respective a) versions with one of the items. They may sound overinformative, partly redundant, but their logic is better than that of the a) versions. A natural reaction would be to say that the wrong adverb was used in the sentence. The reason why these sentences are so odd lies in the fact that the items convey something that is inconsistent with the rest of the meaning of the sentence. For instance, *already/już* suggest that the action began not long before the point of reference, *still/jeszcze* suggest that the action may end soon or at least that its end is closer than its beginning, *any more/już nie* suggest that the action will not take place again in the near future, *not yet/jeszcze nie* suggest that in the recent past the action did not take place, or that its next occurrence is closer in time to the point of reference of the sentence than its last occurrence. A graphic representation of a lunar month may be used as an illustration of the possible distribution of the items in question:



When we consider the whole length of the lunar month, the d) expressions (below the line) seem not precise since they do not describe the state of affairs adequately, but this inadequacy is gradable: The closer they are to the middle the less imprecise they become, to entirely adequate at the new moon point and further on, and vice versa, the closer they get to the extremal points, i.e. the further from the middle, the less adequate they become. It seems that their adequacy depends on their relative distance in time from the two extremal points.

When only one half of the lunar month is considered, the d) expressions are even less acceptable and this does not vary with the distance from the extremal points. They cannot be called imprecise now but rather entirely inadequate. The c) expressions also seem to depend on their relative distances.

from the extremal points: The further from the middle, the less precise they are, and the further from the extremal points and the closer to the middle the more precise they are.

What does this graphic representation indicate?. It seems that it suggests that the items in question should be treated as an aspectual phenomenon because, when their scope extends over the verb, they place the action in relation to other occurrences of the same action and they express the relative distances between the points of reference and the beginning and the end of the action. Undoubtedly, these notions belong to the category of aspect. It has been claimed more than once that aspect is not only a grammatical but also a semantic category. However, since it is non-deictic, it is difficult to predict how it contributes to the truth conditions of a statement. Therefore, in truth-conditional semantics of the type proposed by Kempson (1975, 1977), there might be no place for aspect unless a precise classification of the aspectual character of verb is incorporated into the theory.

No matter whether aspect is truth-conditional or not, the items will have to be assigned some aspectual features in the lexicon. As the first approximation, we might suggest formulae adapted for our purposes from Åqvist and Guenthner (1978), who present a model-theoretic account of aspect:

III. still/yet jeszcze $P\Diamond\rightarrow\Box \quad \{\pm\}A \,\&\, \{\pm\}A \,\&\, F\Diamond\rightarrow\Box -\{\pm\}A$

IV. already/any more już $P\Diamond\rightarrow\Box -\{\pm\}A \,\&\, \{\pm\}A \,\&\, F\Diamond\rightarrow\Box \quad \{\pm\}A$

where: —and +mean negative and positive sentence respectively

$- + = -$ and $- - = \emptyset$

$P\Diamond$ it has at least once been the case that

$F\Diamond$ it will at least once be the case that

$\rightarrow\Diamond$ in the open interval of time determined by ..... it is always the case that

These formulae may be disjunctively presented for each item as:[4]

V. still, jeszcze $P\Diamond\rightarrow\Box A \,\&\, A \,\&\, F\Diamond\rightarrow\Box -A$

VI. yet, jeszcze nie $P\Diamond\rightarrow\Box -A \,\&\, -A \,\&\, F\Diamond\rightarrow\Box \quad A$

VII. already, już $P\Diamond\rightarrow\Box -A \,\&\, A \,\&\, F\Diamond\rightarrow\Box \quad A$

VIII. any more, już nie $P\Diamond\rightarrow\Box A \,\&\, -A \,\&\, F\Diamond\rightarrow\Box -A$

The above formulae, although only crude approximations of what such formulae should contain, capture some intricate relations between the items

[4] Dr A. Pasicki pointed out to me that the implicature referring to the future is always weaker than the one referring to the past. The above formulae in their present shape do not admit any possibility of formalizing the relative strength of the implicatures.

they describe:

1) *still* and *yet* are related items – they can be assigned a common aspectual formula, but at the same time they are mirror image words,
2) *already* and *any more* – likewise,
3) *jeszcze, jeszcze nie* – likewise,
4) *już, już nie* – likewise,
5) If we assume that the central part of the formula, i.e. A or —A, is not only aspectual, but at the same time truth-conditional, and the non-truth conditional aspectual parts of the formulae are to the left and to the right of A or —A, i.e. the ones preceded by the aspectual operators, then it is evident why *already* may be used to negate the appropriateness of the use of the item *still*, since the relevant parts of the formulae are negations of each other.[5]
   18. It's not that he is STILL here, he is ALREADY here.
   or I'm not ALREADY here, I'm STILL here.
   similarly in Polish:
   19. Nie JUŻ tu jestem, tylko JESZCZE tu jestem.
6) The formulae may also let us explain why *yet*, though related to *still*, and *jeszcze nie* to *jeszcze*, etc., are not used in denials of affirmative sentences with the related items. Thus, to negate a sentence with *still*, we would rather use *any more*, and to negate one with *already* we would use *yet*; in Polish we would negate a sentence with *jeszcze* by using *już nie*, and one with *już* by using *jeszcze nie*.
   20. It's not true that John is already here=John isn't here yet.
   21. It's not true that John is still here=He isn't here any more.
   22. Nieprawda, że Janek już tu jest=Janka jeszcze nie ma.
   23. Nieprawda, że Janek jeszcze tu jest=Janka już tu nie ma.

Also in sentences with Neg-raising verbs the items may interchange in English, but must interchange in Polish:

24. I don't think he is still here=I think he isn't here any more.
25. I don't think he is already here=I think he isn't here yet.
26. Nie sądzę, żeby jeszcze tu był=Sądzę, że już go tu nie ma.
27. Nie sądzę, żeby już tu był=Sądzę, że jeszcze go tu nie ma.

The explanation may lie in the identity of the non-truth-conditional parts of the formulae of the respective items. Denying somebody's utterance usually amounts to stating that it is not true, unless we want to negate its relevance,

[5] Sentences 18) and 19) constitute a problem for truth-conditional semantics, since if we assume that the polarity items do not participate in truth-value assignment, these sentences will be predicted as necessarily false, or contradictory at the purely truth-conditional level. Yet they do not seem to be in the slightest contradictory.

which in turn causes a disruption in the flow of discourse. So, unless we want to deny the relevance of the utterance, we deny one or more of its truth conditions, i.e. we do not deny its non-truth-conditional elements. Only such an exchange is natural, since it constitutes a constructive contribution to a conversation. Therefore, a natural denial, such that it does not disrupt this order, is the one that shares some of its own truth conditions with the denied utterance, and, moreover shares all the non-truth-conditional but conventional content with the denied utterance. It would be unreasonable to demand of adjacent utterances to share conversational implicatures, which are non-conventional.

Returning to the question raised earlier in the paper, namely, whether the polarity items under discussion carry conversational implicatures, I would be inclined to answer it negatively. Although, we have discovered the basis on which the conversational implicature could be calculated, its noncancellability and its preservation under negation argue against it. Moreover, when conversational implicature is false, the utterance that implicates it is merely uncooperative, whereas the utterance with one of the polarity items is rather infelicitous or inappropriate when the implicature is false, also due to the fact that it does not conform to some part of the aspectual specification. Besides, the regularity and the symmetry of the phenomenon suggests that it is rather conventional than non-conventional (i.e. conversational) in nature.

Conventional implicatures, as defined by Kartunnen and Peters (1979 : 2), "arise not from the interplay of what is said with conversational maxims, but from the conventional meanings of words and grammatical constructions that occur in the sentence. ... They are detachable but not cancellable".

This definition much better conforms to the facts under discussion than that of conversational implicature. Moreover, as further defined by Kartunnen and Peters, conventional implicature should belong to the "common ground", that is, to the common set of presumptions that the utterance of the sentence is intended to increment, if the sentence is to be noncontroversial and contributive. This very well explains why *yet* is used in denial of a sentence with *already* etc., since as they share the parts of the formulae that give rise to the implicature—the non—truth—conditional, aspectual parts—so they share the implicature and consequently they share the "common ground". Therefore, they are negations of each other not in the strict syntactic or semantic sense, but rather in the pragmatic sense — as natural exchanges in a cooperative conversation.

However, there is one problem with the definition of conventional implicature that must not be overlooked, namely that it seems to be vaguely circular. The word "arise" is misleading, since for instance in the case of *even*, as analysed by Kartunnen and Peters (1979:52) *even* by itself does not carry any meaning beside the conventional implicature and the meaning postulate for

even specifies its implicature. This amounts to the claim that conventional implicatures arise from ... conventional implicatures, which is not very illuminating. In the case of our polarity items the implicature arises not from the whole specification of aspect, but only from its non truth-conditional parts. This in turn is tantamount to defining conventional implicature (in a negative way) as everything that is conveyed by a sentence minus its truth conditions. It is hard to say whether this is more adequate, since this definition implies that all spectual phenomena could be treated in terms of conventional implicature and this might be too broad a generalization. Thus if we accept this definition of conventional implicature, all the sentences below will have to be analysed in a likewise manner:[6]

28. Mary is still a human being.
29. Mary is already a human being.
30. Mary has been a human being.

These sentences will have to be analysed as infelicitous or inappropriate, that is, the internal inconsistency would be analysed as arising from conflicting conventional implicatures. In other words, the items implicate that the action is limited in time – it either began not long before the point of reference or it may end soon after it – whereas *to be a human being* implicates that it lats one's lifetime.

As Sadock (1978) sadly admitted, pragmatics cannot be successful until we all agree at least as to whether a certain bit of what is conveyed is semantically contained or not. This lack of agreement results in a situation converse to that of the happy days of presupposition. For instance, definite descriptions analysed before as presupposing the existence of their referent, nowadays are claimed to:

1) entail the existence of their referent (Kempson 1975, 1977),
2) entail and presuppose the existence of their referent in positive sentences, but only presuppose it in negative sentences (Gazdar 1977)
3) entail in positive but conversationally implicate it in negative sentences (Atlas 1979),
4) entail in positive but either entail or conversationally implicate it in negative sentences, since they are structurally ambiguous (Grice 1981).

Since pragmatics, for lack of consistent methodology is as yet derivative of semantics, this diversity is not surprising because every one of the above-mentioned authors assumes a slightly different semantics.

In the analysis of the polarity items, we have been trying to apply the pragmatic concept of implicature assuming at the same time truth-conditional

[6] Naturally, if aspect is assumed to be non-truth-conditional.

semantics. It seems that with such meaning of semantics, pragmatic analysis of the polarity items is the only alternative. It has some attractions, as it explains the distribution of the polarity items and the relations between them in positive and negative sentences. At the same time we have tried to show that it has some dangers.

The subject of these particular polarity items is much broader and more complicated than has been assumed in this analysis. Pasicki (1976), discussing *już*, *jeszcze* and their English equivalents, shows that their distribution is not even nearly as symmetrical and obvious as it might follow from the analysis presented above. It is even more complicated by their interaction with various classes of verbs and different time references. The aim of this paper could not therefore have been an adequate description of these items but rather an investigation into one of the directions that such a description might take. Needless to say, there are countless other possibilities.

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STRESS-PATTERNS OF ENGLISH PHRASAL NOUNS OF THE TYPE *MAKE-UP* IN GERMAN

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A considerable number of English Phrasal Nouns (PNs) of the type *make-up* have been adopted into present-day German, and the productivity of this particular word-formation type in colloquial English, in the terminology of science and technology as well as in different fields of journalism, will certainly continue to bring new loans into German (Uesseler 1973; 1978; 1979; 1980).

A systematic treatment of the integration process has to consider phonological, morphological, and orthographical adaptations as well as semantic changes and modifications. This paper will concentrate on one phonological aspect, i.e. the stress-shift that supposedly occurs when English NPs are adopted into present-day German.

In the past there has been some controversy as to the correct stress-pattern of PNs in English. Carstensen (1973), who has reviewed a number of English dictionaries and linguistic studies on the subject, arrived at the conclusion that there is a strong tendency towards fore-stress but that there is no general agreement in all cases, and this could be an indication of instability in these stress-patterns.

Uesseler (1977) in a comparison of pronouncing dictionaries that were published over the last 75 years shows a distinct trend towards fore-stressing but only Lewis (1972) uses forestress exclusively in all examples while *EEPD 13* often gives level-stress and end-stress as possible alternatives. In a supplementary analysis of PNs in spoken language (radio broadcasts, informal discussions, etc.), Uesseler (1977) found that more than 90% of all PNs had their stress on the onesyllable verbal stem, while the results for the far less frequent PNs with a two-syllable verbal stem were somewhat lower.

Sørensen (1979:55) in a comparison of the stress-patterns in *EEPD* 13 and *EEPD 14* cites a number of examples in which the fore-stress changed to

end-stress and "feels tempted to interpret these facts as suggesting a general tendency towards increased end-stressing".

However, one of the crucial points involved in all of these analyses is the fact that PNs are often new words many of which are not yet listed in any of the pronouncing dictionaries or in any other dictionaries. Since the *EEPD 14* lists only 105 exponents of the word-type under discussion, a fraction of the ever-increasing total inventory, Sørensen's observations have to be treated with some caution, and we will have to wait for further editions to verify this possibly new trend.

Since, however, most of the newer dictionaries such as *OALD* (1980) and *LDCE* (1978) and most of the works discussed above take fore-stress as the dominant stress-pattern, we will assume for reasons of simplicity that the stress-pattern of PNs in English is ˈ—, and disregard other subsidiary variants. Carstensen (1973:41) hypothesized that English PNs used in German do not have fore-stress like the English source words but end-stress. However, his analysis of stress-patterns in German dictionaries only revealed the uncertainty of their authors and editors which in turn might reflect the uncertainty of those German speakers using PNs.

This study has the following goals:

1. Working with a systematic sampling of stress-patterns given for PNs in 14 German dictionaries, most of which were published after 1973 or are new editions of older ones, we shall endeavor to test
   — if the stress-patterns given in the dictionaries comply with the above-mentioned hypothesis,
   — which of the PNs receive the same stress-patterns in all dictionaries,
   — which dictionaries consistently use one stress-pattern for all PNs.
2. With the result of a reading test we shall examine the question as to whether the stress-shift hypotehsis can be verified in general or if it has to be modified.

26 PNs were selected on the grounds that they were examined previously or are frequently listed in German dictionaries. Some of them are not necessarily familiar to many German speakers (e.g. *Kickoff*, *Pickup*), some are analogies to other PNs already established in German (*Drive-in*, *Love-In*), some are more technical (*Take-Off*), some are relatively new loans (*Handout*, *Hangover*) and there is one pseudo-loan (*Pullunder*). We also included the pseudo-PN *Ketchup*.

Since these 26 PNs appear more or less frequently in German dictionaries, they were used in preparing the dictionary chart. (Appendix A)

For the reading test seven others, none of them found in German dictionaries, were added to the list (*Breakdown*, *Hangup*, *Holdup*, *Laugh-In*, *Liftoff*, *Singout*, *Standby*). With these items, one can be reasonably sure that most of

the subjects had never heard them before and that their production to some extent might yield some information on how German speakers pronounce new English PNs.

Since the subjects were required to read aloud the PNs as part of fake news-items, care had to be taken that the various spellings would not influence the stress-patterns of the German speakers. In order to emphasize the substantival character of the PNs and to avoid highlighting the test items spelt in an unusual manner, all items were capitalized. Hyphens between verbal components and particles were only introduced in those cases where leaving them out would possibly result in a false pronunciation:

Take-Off but: *Hangup*

In *Makeup* and *Layout* the hyphen was omitted since this way of spelling them in German is firmly established. On the other hand the hyphen was kept in all PNs with the particle — *in*.

Of the 33 PNs selected, 26 appear in at least one of the 14 dictionaries that were consulted for stress-patterns. Neske/Neske (1972) were excluded because they always give the English pronunciation with no modification, and therefore invariably list fore-stress.

For the 26 PNs, we found a total of 238 entries, 41 (17%) with fore-stress, 183 (77%) with end-stress and 14 (6%) with level-stress. The entries for *Ketchup*, for obvious reasons, are not included in these figures. Thus 23% of all the stresspatterns are not in accordance with the stress-shift hypothesis.

Only three dictionaries use end-stress exclusively with all PNs (*Wahrig 75*, *Wahrig FWL 74*, *Knaur 78*). In only 14 out of 26 cases do they unanimously agree on one stress-pattern (these items are underlined in Appendix A), however, the relatively new loans *Checkup* and *Take-Off* receive fore-stress. The pseudo-PN *Ketchup* is marked with fore-stress in all dictionaries. With the other 12 PNs there is considerable disagreement, especially with *Blackout*, *Countdown*, *Drive-In*, *Feedback*, *Layout* and *Playback*.

Identical stress-patterns for PNs appearing more frequently are, of course, somewhat more conclusive than those that are only listed in two or three dictionaries; e.g. *Pullover* appears in all dictionaries consulted, whereas *Flashback* is only listed in *Wahrig 75*, *Wahrig FWL 74* and *Knaur 78*.

One would expect that a new English PN taken over into German would move from fore-stress to end-stress as a result of the integration process and that this process might somehow be reflected in the dictionaries. *Playback* roughly follows this pattern up to a certain point, although *DR 80* still gives fore-stress. A comparison of *DR 73* and *DR 80* reveals three new entries, *Feedback* and *Handout* having forestress, but *Showdown* having end-stress. *Fallout* has endstress in *DR 73* and *DR 80*, but *Duden Wb 76* returns to the fore-stress pattern.

In summarizing the chart, one might say that although there is a definite tendency towards assigning end-stress to English PNs in German dictionaries, there are a number of cases in which we have considerable disagreement and inconsistency. It remains to be seen how these observations compare to the pronunciations produced by German speakers in the reading test.

In a preliminary test in which several subjects were asked to produce the PNs in isolation, it was shown that under such test conditions the subjects would choose one stress-pattern in one of the earlier items and use it invariably throughout the test. Therefore, in order to avoid this effect and to achieve more realistic test conditions several fake news-items in which the 31 PNs appeared were made up.

The subjects were asked to read the texts aloud as a German newscaster on radio or television would. They were aware of the fact that their productions were being taped.

To disguise the actual goal of the experiment a few other Anglicisms were introduced into the text along with the PNs. When asked after the experiment, most subjects suspected that the "correct pronunciation" of the English words should be checked but none of the subjects actually mentioned the PNs.

The texts were read by 10 subjects who had had between one and nine years of English at school and whose schooling was at least five years back. Subjects without a knowledge of English were not tested, since it was expected that they would produce a larger number of three-syllable instead of two syllable PNs. The group tested being relatively small, additional information such as age, place of birth, contact with the media etc. was not taken into account.

The results of the experiment show that 75% of the PNs were spoken with end-stress, 18% with fore-stress and 7% with levelstress. Interestingly enough, these percentages roughly correspond to those obtained in the dictionary survey, though not necessarily with corresponding results for individual items.

Nine PNs were spoken with end-stress by all of the subjects:

1. Knockout	2. Breakdown	3. Drive-In
Makeup	Knockdown	
Pullover	Showdown	
Pullunder	Knowhow	

The results of the first group are not srprising: Only a few German speakers are aware that *Pullover* is of English origin, and this is also true of the analogous pseudo-loan *Pullunder*. Both of these items have a two-syllable particle which in general favors the stress-shift, and they occur within the same text. *Makeup* and *Knockout* are relatively frequent in spoken language. All four

items unanimously receive the stress-pattern —'— in those German dictionaries in which they are listed.

Interpreting the results of the second group is somewhat more difficult. Only for *Knockdown*, which appears in six dictionaries, do the entries agree with each other (possible analogy to the more frequently used *Knockout*), while there is some disagreement for *Knowhow* and *Showdown*. *Breakdown* is not listed in any of the dictionaries consulted and can therefore be considered a "transfer-item".

All four of these PNs share the diphthong [aʊ] in the particle, i.e. the diphthong is not monophthongized, while the diphthongs in the first syllable of *Breakdown*, *Showdown* and *Knowhow* are all reduced to a long vowel in the German pronunciation. One can therefore conclude that, under these circumstances, stressshift is most likely to take place, even when the PN is relatively new and unknown, as is the case with *Breakdown*. As an example to the contrary one might cite *Countdown* where only six of the subjects placed the main stress on the second syllable, while the four others used level-stress, very likely because the diphthong [aʊ] in this PN occurs in both syllables. Incidentally, 7 out of 13 dictionaries also use level-stress.

Drive-In was used in the text as part of a compound (*Drive-In-Schalter*), since it is almost exclusively listed in the dictionaries in this way (*Drive-In-Restaurant*, *Drive-In-Kino*). The identical productions with the main stress on the particle produced by all of the subjects tested indicates that the stress-shift is facilitated when the PN is part of a compound.

Ketchup was the only item to receive fore-stress in all of the productions recorded, and thus confirms the stress-pattern in all of the dictionaries. This pseudo-PN was included because its structural makeup is very similar to that of PNs of the type *verb + -up*, and it was expected that some speakers would use an analogous end-stress pronunciation. The results, however, show that none of the subjects falsely associated this item with the PNs of the type *verb + -up*.

12 more PNs received end-stress by seven or more of the ten subjects tested.

There are three PNs (*Singout*, *Layout*, *Standby*) which have a diphthong in their particle which is not reduced to a long vowel in the German pronunciation. It seems that this again is one of the more influential factors in facilitating the stress-shift, even with new and relatively unfamiliar PNs, as is the case with *Singout* and *Standby* (compare the results for PNs with the particle *-down* and *Knowhow* discussed earlier). *Layout* is firmly established in German and has already formed the verb *layouten* and the noun *Layouter*.

Hangover has a two-syllable particle and follows the pattern already discussed for *Pullover* and *Pullander*.

Checkup (which was twice on the reading test with almost identical results), *Hangup*, *Holdup* and *Pickup*, together with *Makeup* discussed earlier, complete

the group of PNs with the particle *-up*. This group of PNs rather consistently displays stress-shift for all of its items, although *Hangup* and *Holdup* are to be considered relatively new loans which are not yet listed in the German dictionaries. *Pickup* appears in almost all dictionaries with the meaning "the part of a record-player which receives and plays the sound from a record" (*LDCE*), a meaning which is most likely unfamiliar to many German speakers, and has only recently acquired a new meaning in German: "type of light VAN having an open body with low sides" (*LDCE*).

The PNs of the type *verb* + *-up*, together with the PNs having two-syllable particles are the only groups that consistently show the stress-shift in all cases. It was mentioned earlier that those PNs with a diphthong in their particle (*-out, -down, -how, -by*) in the majority of cases have end-stress, and thus might be added to the two preceding groups.

The results for the PNs of the type *verb* + *-back* in the reading test correlate with some of the inconsistencies found in the dictionaries. All 14 dictionaries agree on the end-stress of *Comeback*, as do nine of the subjects on the reading test. However, there was no clearly discernible stress-shift pattern for *Feedback*, *Flashback* and *Playback*. In the case of *Feedback* and *Playback*, the long vowel of the first syllable in the German pronunciation could be a factor in preventing the stress-shift.

Of the five PNs with the particle *-in* only *Drive-In*, for reasons explained earlier, and *Love-In* show stress-shift, while the results for *Laugh-In*, *Sit-In* and *Teach-In* are somewhat inconclusive. This is rather surprising because the PN *verb* + *-in* was very productive in the 60's and early 70's during the time of the student protest movements. Beside a number of English loans and pseudo-loans using English word-material, there were even some PNs using German wordmaterial + *-In*, although most of these were coined to produce a comic effect. With the end of the protest movements, many of these PNs more or less disappeared. and they have rarely been used in the new political protest movements of today, so that we find them in a considerable number of dictionaries but rarely read them in newspapaers or hear them on radio or television today.

The results of the dictionary survey and of the reading test confirm the overall tendency towards end-stress in English PNs which are used in German. 21 out of 32 PNs on the reading test were spoken with end-stress by most of the informants, while with the remaining PNs there was considerable inconsistency and disagreement among the subjects tested.

Stress-shift occured in virtually all PNs with a two-syllable particle, with particles containing a diphthong in their German pronunciation and with the particle *-up*. In some cases, the vowel quantity in the verbal component in comparison to the particle is an influential factor.

If the PN is part of a compound, the stress-shift is facilitated as was demonstrated in the item *Drive-In-Schalter*.

A final note on the possible reasons for the stress-shift that takes place in the integration process of English PNs into German: Darstensen (1973:45) dismisses the notion that a German speaker producing a PN subconsciously thinks of an imperative pattern, in which case the particle receives primary stress in German (e.g. Mach 'auf!). However, some examples, mostly taken from the area of advertising, seem to support this hypothesis: *Fahr mit* is the name of a German student travel agency, *Rubbel-mit(-Gewinnspiel)* was a lottery game used in a sales-campaign of a German oil company. In sales at department stores you sometimes find *Greif-zu-Preise*. A fruit juice is called *Drink out Fruchtsaftgetränk*, a brand name for a particular kind of candy is *Nimm 2*.

Appendix A

Chart of Stress-Patterns of 26 PNs in 14 German Dictionaries

List of Symbols

1 =stress-pattern '— —
2 =stress-pattern —'--
3 =stress-pattern '—'—
— =not listed or no stress-pattern given
* =transcription marked "engl."
Pickup=same stress-pattern in all dictionaries
Walrig 75=same stress-pattern for all PNs in this dictionary (excluding *Ketchup*)

	Duden Wb - 76 ff.	DR 73	DR 80	DA 74	DF 74	Schülerduden 7.	*Wahrig 75*	*Wahrig FWB 74*	Herder 73	*Knaur 78*	DR 76 (Ost)	GF 77	KF 72	Klappenbach/Steinitz
Blackout	13	—	—	132	1	13	2	2	—	2	—	1	2	1
Checkup	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Comeback	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Countdown	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	—	—
Drive-In	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	—	2	—	—
Fallout	1	2	2	1*	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	2	2	—
Feedback	1	—	1	1*	1	1	2	2	—	2	—	1	3	—
Flashback	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Handout	1	—	1	1	12	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hangover	2	—	—	1*	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kickoff	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	—
Knockdown	2	—	—	2	2	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—
Knockout	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Knowhow	21*	21*	21*	1*	2	2	2	—	2	3	2	2	—	—
Layout	21	12	12	12	12	12	2	2	12	2	12	12	13	21
Love-In	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Makeup	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Pickup	21*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	2	2	2	—
Playback	2	1	1	1*	1	12	2	2	—	2	2	2	2	1
Pullover	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Pullunder	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	—
Showdown	2	—	2	—	3	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Sit-In	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	1	2	—
Take-Off	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teach-In	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	2	—	2	—	—
Ketchup	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

*

Appendix B

The results for the PNs are presented in the same order as they appeared in the test. If more than two thirds of the subjects used one particular stress-pattern, the results are encircled.

		'_ _	_'_	'_'_
1.	Pickup	1	(7)	2
2.	Singout	2	(8)	0
3.	Comeback	1	(9)	0
4.	Playback	5	4	1
5.	Teach-in	4	4	2
6.	Fallout	4	6	0
7.	Checkups	1	(8)	1
8.	Handout	5	5	0
9.	Sit-in	3	5	2
10.	Laugh-in	0	4	6
11.	Layout	2	(7)	1
12.	Makeup	0	(10)	0
13.	Feedback	1	(7)	2
14.	Countdown	0	6	4
15	Standby	1	(9)	0
16.	Liftoff	2	(8)	0
17.	Take-Off	4	6	0
18.	Knowhow	0	(10)	0
19.	Blackout	5	5	0
20.	Breakdown	0	(10)	0
21.	Flashback	3	6	1
22.	Holdup	1	(9)	0
23.	Hangover	2	(7)	1
24.	Showdown	0	(10)	0

25.	Love-In	2	(8)	0
26.	Hangup	3	(7)	0
27.	Knockdown	0	(10)	0
28.	Knockout	0	(10)	0
29.	Checkup	2	(8)	0
30.	Kickoff	6	3	1
31.	Drive-In	0	(10)	0
32.	Pullover	0	(10)	0
33.	Pullunder	0	(10)	0
		60	246	24
		18%	75%	7%
34.	Ketchup	(10)	0	0

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THE TRANSLATION ASPECT OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

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Contrastive linguistics, in describing pairs of languages on various linguistic levels synchronically, provides essential preconditions for translation theory. There are, however, differences between the two disciplines. Whereas contrastive linguistics in the past used to analyse the simple or complex word (lexeme) or the word-group only within the framework of the linguistic system and chiefly *free from its communicative context*, translation theory studies the word or the word-group *context-bound*, because of their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic interrelations with their textual and situational environment. We must bear in mind that in the translation process the linguistic unit of the source language does not always coincide with that of the target language; a word-group may be paraphrased by a sentence; a clause may be condensed in a wordgroup, but the invariance of content of the text in the source language and the target language remains the ultimate criterion of translation. An essential factor for an adequate translation is the socio-cultural setting of the text and its pragmatic function. For the purpose of this paper, translation is defined as the cognitive and linguistic process the translator performs in decoding a text which is the result of a communication act in the source language, and in encoding it as a speech product in the target language by preserving the content and achieving the stylistic quality of the source language text. Thus translation is both a process and its linguistic result.

So far, the favourite units of contrastive analysis have been words and their semantic orderings in word fields, which were often described as conceptual or thematic classes. Comparatively little research work, however, has been bestowed on phraseological units, neither by comparing their constituent structure, their semantic stability and idiomaticity in two language nor their occurrence in the texts of the source and target languages. In this respect, the

aspect of the language system should be supplemented by that of its communicative function, which is manifest in texts.

My study will deal with phraseological units in English and German in two respects:

a) their semantic similarity or diversity against the background of the two linguistic systems (cf. Gläser (1981); Fleischer (1982));
b) their form and function in texts of prose fiction. (This comparison will be based on samples from an English/American/ and a German novel and their German and English translations respectively.) The contrastive analysis from the two angles leads to interesting results.

At the outset, before turning to a bilingual analysis of the phraseological units, I shall give a definition of the terms phraseological unit and idiom and a brief outline of the scope of the phraseological system in English. By definition, a phraseological unit is a lexicalized word-group which has syntactic and semantic stability and optionally an intensifying function in the text. This definition holds for word-like phrases and for the phraseological system in the narrower sense. Cf. *the wear and tear of time* (=obsolescence); *shipshape and Bristol fashion* (=orderly); *to grease sb's palm* (=bribe sb.); *before you can say Jack Robinson* (=rapidly). These examples belong to the principal parts of speech and may be substituted by other simple words in the text. Besides, these word-groups are also idioms, because their referential meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of their constituents. In terms of quantity and semantic variation, the idiom may be regarded as the prototype of the phraseological unit. Semantically speaking, an idiom is characterised by a specific choice and combination of semantic components (or semantic markers or semes) carried by the constituents which form the word-group. In the extreme case, an idiom may comprise such semantic components as have no representation in the semantic components of the constituents of the phrase at all, but are added, so to speak, "from outside". This well-known fact has been described as "exosememic meaning" (Pilz (1978)) or "external" or "exocentric meaning" (Rothkegel (1973)).

To describe the phraseological system of Modern English according to its internal hierarchy I should decide in favour of the *model of centre and periphery* which modern linguistics owes to the Prague School and which has proved its applicability to a number of fields of the linguistic system. Thus I distinguish between the centre, which comprises phraseological units in nominative function (word-groups designating phenomena, objects, processes, actions, states, qualities, relations etc. in the outside world), the transition area which is adjacent to the centre and includes at the same time phraseological units which are nominations, but which are also parts of propositions (i.e. parts of a sentence, such as fragments of proverbs (*a fool and his money*); proverbial sayings (*to see how the cat jumps*); literary allusions, fragments of quotations (*Mrs*

Grundy); irreversible binomials (*hit or miss*) and stereotyped comparisons (*as old the hills*), (*to behave like a bull in a china shop*). The periphery of the phraseological system covers set expressions which are chiefly propositions and function as sentences, although their idiomatic character greatly varies. These include proverbs, quotations, slogans, commandments, phatic and rhetorical formulas. Phatic formulas contribute to establishing and maintaining the contact among communication partners, e.g. *how do you do*? *don't mention it*; *come again*! *what's cooking*?, whereas rhetorical formulas often serve as 'fillers' in speeches or accentuate the speaker's standpoint, e.g. *as a matter of fact*; *let's face it*; *like it or not*; *last but not least*; *needless to say that*; *there can be little doubt that*; *I daresay*. This system has been fully developed in my students' coursebook, *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache*, Potsdam 1981.

In terms of contrastive analysis, a comparison between this textbook and that of Wolfgang Fleischer, *Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, Leipzig 1982, which is also designed for students, but also for a wider audience, would reveal striking similarities and contrasts between the phraseological systems of either language, not only in terminology and internal classification of the lexical material, but also in the equivalence relations which exist among the idioms and other phrases which are not idioms, but set expressions only. In this respect we can speak of three types of lexical equivalence when we compare English and German phraseological units, and apply the categories set up by the Soviet linguist L. Barkhudarow (*Sprache und Übersetzung*, Moskau/Leipzig 1979) for translation [illegible]. He distinguishes between 1. *complete*; 2. *partial* and 3. *zero equivalence* in the target language. This distinction is chiefly of theoretical interest, but in translation practice, which is always based on the text, zero equivalence can generally be compensated by a circumscription of the denotational meaning of the word or the word-group from the source language, so that there is no deficit of information in the target language.

With a view to phraseological units, there are plenty of examples of *complete equivalence* in English and German. The following phrases show a close correspondence in their constituent structure and their complex meaning; they are not idiomatized.

nouns:	*the Lost Generation*	— *die verlorene Generation*
	the Glorious Revolution	— *die Glorreiche Revolution*
	receipts and expenses	— *Einnahmen und Ausgaben*
adjectives:	*null and void*	— *null und nichtig*
	numb with cold	— *erstarrt vor Kälte*
	to commit a crime	— *ein Verbrechen begehen*
verbs:	*to take into account*	— *in Betracht ziehen*
	to have a walk	— *einen Spaziergang machen*

adverbs: *of one's own accord* — *aus eigenem Antrieb*
once and for all — *ein für allemal.*

Complete equivalence, of course, is also possible among idioms. This may include a congruence or identity of the denotational (in this case transferred) meaning, and also of the connotational, expressive (or emotive) and stylistic meanings of the idioms compared. In a number of cases, the metaphor or metonymy which has brought about the transferred meaning of the idiom in either language, comes from a different referent in the outside world, and the two idioms vary in their figurative character and motivation. Since we are dealing with lexicalized idioms, this fact does not impair the translatability of a text, because the target language (German) offers an equivalent with the same denotational meaning, although a different "picture" in the idiom, which is faded anyway. As in simple or complex words, most metaphors and metonymies in idioms are no longer stylistic devices. There are, however, examples where the metaphor underlying the idiom still has some cultural or historical connotations in one of the languages compared, so that the concept of complete equivalence does not hold any longer and there is only a relation of partial equivalence.

The following idioms agree in their denotational meaning and their sources of the metaphors:

nouns: *apple of discord* — *Zankapfel* (slight connotations: the judgement of Paris)

lame duck — *lahme Ente* (the German idiom, however, refers to human agents only, whereas the English may also denote an enterprise)

cold war — *kalter Krieg*

adjectives: *as proud as a peacock* — *stolz wie ein Pfau*

as white as snow — *weiß wie Schnee; schneeweiß*

verbs: *to run the gauntlet* — *Spießruten laufen* (in both languages historical connotations)

to slip through one's fingers — *durch die Finger rinnen*

to tighten one's belt — *den Gürtel enger schnallen*

to throw out the baby with the bath water — *das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten*

adverbs: *like a bolt from the blue* — *wie ein Blitz aus heiterem Himmel*

out of joint — *aus den Fugen.*

Where idioms strikingly differ in their referential base of a metaphor or metonymy, their connotational and stylistic meanings, they are to be considered as cases of *partial equivalence*. On the whole, there seem to be more cases of different metaphorized referents than of identical ones, and certain connotational differences in the languages compared. In the following examples, however, there is agreement in the stylistic meaning, as the idioms in either language belong to the neutral level of usage.

nouns:	*a Jack-of-all-trades*	— *Hans Dampf in allen Gassen*; *Allerweltskerl*; *Faktotum* (the German equivalent is not a fragment of a proverb and hence has no connotations "and a master of none" which is often implied in the English idiom)
	dog in the manger	— *Neidhammel*
	a storm in a teacup	— *ein Sturm im Wasserglas*
	a bull in a china-shop	— *ein Elefant im Porzellanladen*
adjectives:	*green with envy*	— *blaß vor Neid*
	spick and span	— *geschniegelt und gebügelt* (the alliteration of the English idiom compares favourably to the assonance in the German one)
verbs:	*to make no bones about*	— *nicht viel Federlesens machen mit*
	to buy a pig in a poke	— *die Katze im Sack kaufen*
	to keep a stiff upper lip	— *die Ohren steifhalten*
adverbs:	*according to Cocker*	— *nach Adam Ries(e)*
	once in a blue moon	— *alle Jubeljahre*
	from pillar to post	— *von Pontius zu Pilatus*
	before you can say Jack Robinson	— *im Handumdrehen* (the latter is colloquial in English and German).

Partial equivalence also applies to English idioms which have no idiomatic counterparts in German, but a compound or a simple word which seldom has an emotive meaning and which may be situated on a different stylistic level. Here we are faced with difficulties in establishing "word equations" for the two languages compared, because every pair of idioms woud require a careful analysis of the whole range of meaning (including the semantic markers that express connotations or stylistic shades).

nouns:	*white lie*	— *Notlüge*
	wet blanket	— *Spielverderber, Spaßverderber* (the English idiom is polysemous, which the German is not)
	bread and butter	— *Lebensunterhalt*
	red tape	— *Bürokratismus*
	cock-and-bull story	— *Ammenmärchen* (similar connotations in German)
adjectives:	*full of beans*	— *lebhaft* (the English idiom is colloquial, the German is neutral style)
	down in the mouth	— *niedergeschlagen*
	dyed-in-the-wool	— *waschecht*
	as thick as hailstones	— *knüppeldick* (a similar metaphor in German)
verbs:	*to jump the queue*	— *sich vordrängen*
	to grease sb's palm	— *jmdn bestechen*
	to send sb to Coventry	— *jmdn schneiden* (in German without military connotations)
	to take to one's heels	— *ausreißen; sich aus dem Staube machen*
adverbs:	*by leaps and bounds*	— *sprunghaft*
	by fits and starts	— *ruckweise*
	once and for all	— *endgültig* (as opposed to the German equivalent *ein für allemal*, which is a case of complete equivalence because of its intensifying function in the text)

Zero equivalence of English idioms in German is comparatively rare, but in no way does it question the translatability of a sentence. Even if there is no approximate expression in the target language, in the last resort a paraphrase of the denotational meaning of the idiom of the source language is possible, although its pragmatic meaning (in L. Barchudarow's terms, the connotations, the register and the stylistic meaning of the lexical unit) may not be represented adequately in the target language. The following examples are verbal idioms which designate professions of social prestige in Britain, but for

socio-cultural reasons have no counterpart in German and no idiomatic equivalent which is based on a metonymy. Cf. the following examples:

to eat one's dinners/one's terms	— the equivalent given in the dictionary by Muret/Sanders resembles a definition: "seine Studien an den Inns of Court absolvieren (und an den vorgeschriebenen Essen teilnehmen)"
to be called to the bar	— "als Barrister oder Advokat oder plädierender Anwalt zugelassen werden"
to take (holy) orders	— "die heiligen Weihen empfangen, in den geistlichen Stand eintreten".

There are also cases of idiomatic nouns which so far only occur in monolingual English dictionaries, but are not even listed in the dictionary by Muret/Sanders so far, so that the German translation will be a circumscription which cannot imitate the special flavour of the English idiom. Cf. *a/the golden handshake* — according to the *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* (London 1979) is "a large payment given to a person leaving a company or organization" — the German equivalent could be "ein finanzielles Abschiedsgeschenk"; *green fingers* has only a paraphrastic equivalent in German, according to Muret/Sanders "geschickte Hand für Gartenarbeit, gärtnerische Begabung".

Semantically speaking, zero equivalence does not mean a gap in the notional or conceptual system of a language, but a different ordering of reality in linguistic items. The target language is able to express every state of affairs by exploiting all linguistic means inside the sentence and beyond its boundaries.

The three types of equivalence occurring in the phraseological system discussed so far, only refer to isolated, context-free examples drawn from dictionaries. In daily communication and translation practice, however, it is the text that matters most of all. It is the material result of communication and determined by the sender's intention and the function of the message, the situational setting of the message in time and space, and the special features of the recipient. In this social context, those phraseological units belonging to the transition area and the periphery of the phraseological system acquire their communicative relevance. Proverbs tend to give a text, be it a public speech or a popular article on a rather specific subject, more colour, vividness and emotive value.

In the field of proverbs, which, being propositions, belong to the periphery of the phraseological system and touch upon folklore studies, we come across the same relations of equivalence as in the centre of the phraseological system, which comprises word-like phrases and idioms.

Complete equivalence:
All roads lead to Rome. — *Alle Wege führen nach Rom.*
No man can serve two masters. — *Keiner kann zweien Herren dienen.*
A burnt child dreads the fire. — *Gebranntes Kind scheut das Feuer.*
Partial equivalence:
A friend in need is a friend indeed. — *Freunde in der Not gehn tausend auf ein Lot.*
Make hay while the sun shines. — *Schmiede das Eisen, solange es heiß ist.*
Look before you leap. — *Erst wägen, dann wagen.*
Charity begins at home. — *Ein jeder ist sich selbst der Nächste.*
(The English proverb originally meant that the child must learn to practise charity at home, in the family, and not selfishness.)

Zero equivalence:
Fine words butter no parsnips.
A stitch in time saves nine.
The fish will soon be caught that nibbles at every bait.

In this case, the target language will offer a circumscription of the denotational meaning or a word-by-word translation. The problem of equivalence becomes even more crucial when we are faced with idiomatic book titles and phatic formulas in direct speech. This aspect of the phraseological unit will be demonstrated in the following part of this paper.

The examples are taken from two novels and their English or German translations. The sources are: Christa Wolf, *Nachdenken über Christa T.*, Halle/Saale 1968, and its English translation by Christopher Middleton, *The Quest for Christa T*, London 1971; and Joseph Heller's novel *Catch-22*, repr. London 1979, translated into German by Irene and Günther Danehl under the title *Der IKS-Haken*, Frankfurt/Main 1964, licensed edition for the GDR, Berlin 1975[3]). We must take into consideration that a literary translation requires a considerable amount of experience, artistic skill and socio-cultural background knowledge on the part of the translator.

A striking example of a complicated book title is *Catch-22*, a fictitious coinage by its author, Joseph Heller, who described in his novel the absurdity of military action in World War Two. The title is ambiguous because it is also an idiom. The motto of the novel reads: "There was only one catch, and that was Cath-22."
The German translation of the title reads *Der IKS-Haken* (which may be read as an abbreviation, a cryptic code), and the motto has been translated as

"Es war nur ein Haken dabei,
und das war der IKS-Haken."

(The underlying English idiom "there is a catch in it" corresponds to the German saying "die Sache hat einen Haken").

In the translation itself we come across many idiomatic phrases which may be classified under the headings of complete, partial and zero equivalence. The examples from Joseph Heller's novel will be supplemented by those taken from the English translation of Christa Wolf's novel *Nachdenken über Christa T.* In some cases the translator has used the idiom which the reader who knows languages could anticipate, but in other cases, the translator has preferred a completely different version by either substituting the phraseological unit by a simple word in the target language or even leaving it untranslated when he thinks it appropriate.

Examples of *complete equivalence*;

Catch-22

It was *love at first sight*. The first time Yossarian saw the chaplain *he fell* madly *in love with him*. (p. 13)

Es war Liebe auf den ersten Blick. Als Yossarian den Kaplan zum ersten Male sah, *verliebte er sich* auf der Stelle *in ihn*. (S. 7)

For a frantic half hour it was touch and go. Then the firemen began *to get the upperhand*. (p. 17)

Eine aufregende halbe Stunde hing alles an einem Faden. Dann *bekam* die Feuerwehr *die Oberhand*. (S. 12)

Christa Wolf, Nachdenken über Christa T.

Ich fühlte die kostbaren Wochen mir *durch die Finger rinnen*... (S. 16)

I felt the valuable weeks *slipping through my fingers*... (p. 11)

Ums Leben verpaßt ist soviel wie *um Haaresbreite*, wir hatten es erfahren... (S. 34)

To have *missed something by a lifetime* is the same as *missing* it *by a hair's breadth*, we had found out about that;... (p. 27)

(This example illustrates the author's individual variation of the German phrase "um Haaresbreite". Such a "play with words and phrases" is rather frequent in poetry and prose fiction as the writer is always in search of ways of expressing himself/herself in an original, unpredictable way.)

Phatic formulas, i.e. sentence-like phrases, require special attention, because they depend on the communicative situation, chiefly the dialogue in direct or represented speech (interior monologue). They are typical examples of *partial equivalence*.

Catch-22

"*Oh, shut up*," Dunbar told Clevinger. (p. 26)

"*Oh, halt dein Maul*," sagte Dunbar zu Clevinger. (S. 21)

(These expressions are on the same colloquial level)

"*Who gives a shit*?" he asked tiredly, and turned over on his side to go to sleep. (p. 16)

"*Na, und*?" fragte er müde und legte sich auf die andere Seite, um einzuschlafen. (S. 10)

(This translation may count as an example of *partial equivalence*, because the

stylistic level has been shifted from vulgar in the source language to colloquial in the target language.)

We find similar examples in Christa Wolf's novel.

Na und wenn schon. (S. 12)

So what? (p. 8)

Eichholz — *du lieber Himmel!* (S. 11)

Eichholz — *good heavens!* (p. 17)

Kurz und gut: Die Liebe hatte den Günter zu Fall gebracht. (S. 83)

Anyhow: love was Günter's undoing. (p. 65)

These exclamations and emphatic formulas have the character of interjections. They are used by the author in inner represented speech (erlebter Rede). (This term is used by Galperin (1977 : 236).

Partial equivalence of phraseological units in the source and target language may also be illustrated by examples, where the idiom of the source language is translated by a simple word which has no transferred meaning in the target language. The result may be a loss of expressiveness.

Catch-22

Yossarian *made up his mind to* keep his mouth shut and did. (p. 30)

Yossiarian *beschloß*, den Mund zu halten, und tat es auch. (S. 25)

Christa T.

War es möglich, hätte sie *mit den Brauen gezuckt*, als unsere Lehrerin sie duzte. (S. 10)

Was it possible, had she *frowned*, just for an instant, when our teacher used the familiar form of address. (p. 7)

Links liegenlassen. (S. 12)

Ignore her. (p. 8)

There are also opposite examples that the target language uses an idiom where there is none in the source language.

Catch-22

... and it wasn't long before he *donated* his views, (p. 15)

... und es dauerte nicht lange, da *gab* er bereits seine Ansichten *zum besten.* (p. 9/10)

The case of *zero equivalence* is also possible, but its reason is not a gap in the vocabulary of the target language, but the translator's decision to leave out the idiom in the text of the target language or to render it in a different way. Here we must make allowances for stylistic considerations.

Christa T.

Schularbeiten *kamen* seit langem *nicht in Frage*, Sonne schien auch keine. (S. 13)

We hadn't been given any homework for months, and the sun wasn't shining either. (p. 8)

Catch-22

How could they *cope with* a Major like Major Major? (p. 98)
Was sollte man mit einem Major wie Major Major *tun*? (S. 94)
Milo was *gone like a shot*. (p. 434)
Sogleich war Milo *verschwunden*. (S. 438)
"*All right, gee wiz*. Stop rubbing it in, will you?" (p. 446)
"*Also schön*, nur reiben Sie mir das nicht immer wieder unter die Nase." (S. 450).
(*gee wiz*! is an exclamatory slang word in American English, corresponding to the German expression "Donnerwetter! Mensch (sowas)!" cf. Muret/Sanders. Although the translators have deleted it, the conversation does not become politer, because the following sentence is rather rude.)
A rare example of zero equivalence in the phraseological system is the following:
He was rocking the boat, Milo said, and Yossarian nodded once more. (p. 429).
Er gefährde das Vaterland, sagte Milo, und Yossarian nickte wieder. (S. 432)
(This translation is an example of a text-bound equivalent, as there is no similar idiom in German. The translator has derived the correct meaning from the general mood of the conversation and the plot of the novel. The German equivalent of *to rock the boat* according to Muret/Sanders is rather unspecified "die Sache ins Wanken bringen.")

CONCLUSION

The problems arising from the stylistic aspect of literary translation in which the phraseological unit is only one item in a whole set of linguistic features to be rendered in the target language, reach far beyond the scope of phraseology and contrastive linguistics, since several functional aspects come into play:

1. The textual embedding of a phraseological unit in particular text types (e.g. novel vs. leading article in a newspaper);
2. The preference or avoidance of phrases or idioms by the individual author and different stylistic choices in the source language;
3. The personal stylistic choice made by the translator in using an equivalent of a phrase or idiom in the target language may differ markedly from that listed in the bilingual dictionary (English-German, German-English). The literary translator, however, does not primarily rely on "word equations" in the dictionary, but on his own command of the source and target languages, and on the text itself which — in the case of a verbal work of art — is usually to be translated into his/her mother tongue — and not in the opposite direction.
4. The comparison between two or more translations of a verbal work of art is a special field of translation theory and involves also aesthetic and stylistic criteria. It has also some bearing on applied text linguistics.

5. The stylistic and translation aspect of the phraseological unit as a constituent of the text (of all varieties of usage) as illustrated in this paper, seem to corroborate the concept of a phraseological level inside the stylistic system, which has been tentatively called "phraseo-stylistics".

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ON THE USE OF LEXICAL AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES IN FOREIGN-LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION

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INTRODUCTION AND AIM

According to Pit Cordor, a foreign-language learner facing language difficulty in a foreign-language communication situation may adopt either of two principal "macro-strategies" (Corder 1978). He may have a strong motivation or need to express meaning in the foreign language, and therefore use all the linguistic resources at his disposal, often at the risk of failing to reach his communicative goal, i.e. the successful passing on of precise information to his interlocutor. To these resources, which include paraphrasing, the invention of new words, guessing, and borrowing from the mother tongue, Corder gave the collective name "risk-taking" or "resource-expansion" strategies. Throughout this paper, however, they will be referred to as "achievement strategies" (so termed by Faerch and Kasper 1980).

In the opposite case, the learner ignores or abandons the target concepts for which he lacks the appropriate vocabulary. Due to inability to express meaning in the foreign language, he prefers to resort to one "escape route" (Ickenroth 1975) or another, at the cost of informative preciseness. These escape routes, commonly referred to as "avoidance strategies" in the recent literature, have also been termed "risk-avoiding strategies" (Corder 1978), "message-adjustment strategies" (Váradi 1980), and "reduction strategies" (Faerch and Kasper 1980).

The aim of the present paper is to present a typology of lexical avoidance strategies, to interpret the results as to the proportion of avoidance strategies and achievement strategies used by the learners in three different experiments conducted in the field of communication strategies, and to comment on some of the problems involved in the study of communication strategies in general and avoidance strategies in particular.

A TYPOLOGY OF AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES

Although there exists some terminological and classificatory disagreement in the typologies established for communication strategies, most of them derive from the typology originally presented by Váradi (1980) and enlarged upon by Tarone (1977). In these typologies it has been customary to distinguish between three different avoidance strategies:

(a) *Topic avoidance* (Tarone et. al. 1976a, 1976b; Tarone 1977; Corder 1978) occurs when the learner does not talk about concepts (or "topics") for which the vocabulary is not known. In extreme cases this may result in no communition at all. In less extreme cases the learner directs his conversation away from the troublesome topic, e.g. by omission.

(b) *Message abandonment* (Tarone et al. 1976a; Tarone 1977; Corder 1978) occurs when the learner starts expressing a target concept and suddenly realizes that he does not know how to go on. He then stops in mid-sentence, chooses another topic, and continues his conversation. In both topic avoidance and message abandonment, therefore, the troublesome topic is completely dropped by the learner.

(c) In *meaning replacement* (Váradi 1980), unlike in topic avoidance and message abandonment, the topic is, in fact, not dropped but preserved by the learner. However, instead of trying to expand his linguistic resources and overcome his communicative problem, he deliberately chooses to be less specific than he originally intended to be. This kind of "semantic avoidance" (so termed in Tarone et al. 1976b) always results in some degree of vagueness.

In an experiment designed to elicit the communication strategies that Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns adopt when communicating in English (Palmberg 1979), 103 learners were asked to describe a series of pictures, the first two of which depicted a cave in the mountains and a caveman coming out from the cave. The following examples are taken from the data collected, and illustrate how three learners chose to avoid the target item *cave*:

(1) "I can see three mountains." TOPIC AVOIDANCE
(2) "A man is coming out from a ... er ... MESSAGE ABANDONMENT it's a stone aged man ..."
(3) "A man comes out from his ... home". MEANING REPLACEMENT

Faerch and Kasper define strategies as "potentially conscious plans ... for solving what to the individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular goal" (1980:60). The strategy of topic avoidance is adopted exclusively by learners perceiving problems in the planning phase of reaching their communicative goal. Message abandonment and meaning replacement, on the other hand, may also be adopted by learners confronted by a planning or retrieval

problem at a later stage, i.e. in the realization phase. The three avoidance strategies, therefore, should be seen as a continuum rather than three separate categories, because, as Faerch and Kasper point out: "At the one end, the learner says 'almost' what she wants to say about a given topic (= meaning replacement), at the other end she says nothing at all about this (= topic avoidance)" (1980: 91).

ESTABLISHING THE LEARNERS' OPTIMAL MEANING

A great problem in the study of avoidance strategies is to know when learners actually avoid. In other words: How do we know when learners say anything rather than what they wanted to say? This is a problem well-known to those studying learners' errors (see e.g. Schachter 1974, 1979). In a critical paper on the uses of Error Analysis, Stig Johansson objects both to tests of free production (e.g. compositions) and to translations as reliable, error-eliciting devices. In the former, he points out, "the choice of words and constructions can be controlled by the learner" (1975:331). In the latter, on the other hand, "an error is often avoided by an inexact translation or a translation which is correct from the viewpoint of the foreign language but is not a correct rendering of the original text" (p. 250).

In the study of communication strategies, the first attempt to systematically solve the problem of pinpointing learners' avoidance behaviour was that of Váradi. In an experiment designed to find out how close foreign-language learners came to producing what they actually wanted to produce, Váradi asked Hungarian learners of English to describe in writing a series of pictures, first in English, then in Hungarian. The rationale behind this procedure was that the mother-tongue version, written immediately after the English version, would reveal exactly what each learner wanted to produce, i.e. his "optimal meaning" (Váradi 1980).

LEARNERS' USE OF AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES IN THREE DIFFERENT EXPERIMENTS

Váradi's methodology was soon adopted by other investigators in the field of communication strategies. There were often modifications in the elicitation techniques used, the most important of which was a shift of interest from written to oral communication strategies. Three different experiments are presented below, those conducted by Tarone et al. (1976b), Tarone (1977), and Erwin (1979). Throughout the presentation of the results, the main emphasis will be on learners' use of avoidance strategies.

EXPERIMENT 1 (TARONE ET AL. 1976b)

In an attempt to show patterns of stability or instability in children's use of communication strategies in a foreign language over a period of time, Tarone et al. used a "native-language base-line" to establish the learners' optimal meaning. Their elicitation instrument was a cartoon, and in addition to asking the learners, who were English-speaking children in a French immersion school in Toronto, to tell the events of the cartoon in French, they asked a control group consisting of monolingual English-speaking children of the same age group (viz 7 1/2 years) to tell the story in English. Tape-recordings were made of the narratives.

Table 1 (interpreted and modified from p. 130) shows the frequency of avoidance strategies used by six children, as compared to their use of achievement strategies and their use of correct French for the target items. The specific target items were verbs as well as objects decided upon in the semantic content of the cartoon (as judged by the native-language versions provided by the control group).

TABLE 1. Interpretation of Tarone et al:s data

Macro-strategies or correct French	Number of occurrences	%
Avoidance strategies	13	26
Achievement strategies	9	18
Correct French	28	56
Total	50	100

One year later, the same children were asked to perform the same task (with the same pictures) again, and their production was analysed as to their use of communication strategies.

For the 13 occurrences of avoidance strategies at Time I, the results are as follows: There were 11 shifts to correct French at Time II, one shift to an achievement strategy, and one occurrence of stabilized avoidance. Furthermore, there was a shift from correct French at Time I to avoidance at Time II.

EXPERIMENT 2 (TARONE 1977)

In Tarone's study of the use of communication strategies by adult foreign-language learners, the frequency of avoidance strategies was fairly small. Following Váradi, Tarone set out to isolate the learners' optimal meaning with the aid of a story-telling task in both the native and the foreign language. The stories performed by the nine learners (who spoke Spanish, Turkish, and Mandarin as their mother tongue) were recorded on tape.

Table 2 (modified from p. 201) shows the strategy preferences for seven semantic target concepts by each learner (identified by their initials).

TABLE 2. Interpretation of Tarone's data

Learner & LI	Spanish			Turkish			Mandarin			Total
Macrostrategies	GU	RD	CT	DR	AH	BL	MR	JO	MS	
Avoidance strategies	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	8
Achievement strategies	8	6	4	7	6	9	10	4	5	59
Total	9	7	6	7	6	9	10	8	5	67

EXPERIMENT 3 (ERWIN 1979)

Somewhat different results were obtained by Erwin in his study of communication strategies used by 14 intermediate-level American students learning Russian as a foreign language. He elicited his data through oral narratives in English and in Russian, and each student provided his version of three different picture stories, containing in all 32 specific semantic target items.

In Erwin's study, the total number of occurrences of avoidance strategies and achievement strategies used in the task were 108 and 159 respectively. Moreover, assuming that the non-use of a communication strategy (as reported by Erwin) presupposed the knowledge of the correct Russian word, we get the results shown in Table 3 (interpreted and modified from p. 331).

TABLE 3. Interpretation of Erwin's data

Macro-strategies or correct Russian	Number of occurrences	%
Avoidance strategies	108	24.1
Achievement strategies	159	35.5
Correct Russian	181	40.4
Total	448	100.0

DISCUSSION

As the three studies show, it is obvious that foreign-language learners make use of avoidance strategies to different extents, irrespective of age, mother tongue, or target language. It is equally obvious that these studies can only give very general directions as to the overall use of avoidance strategies by foreign learners at different levels of language proficiency. Great caution should be shown when interpreting such results, for several reasons.

Fist of all, reliable divisions of communication strategies even into either of the two macro-strategies suggested by Corder are very difficult to make. This has been demonstrated in Palmberg (1981/82), and was also pointed out by Erwin, who used a panel of four judges to classify and to decide on the communicative efficiency of the learners' productions (1979).

Secondly, it is clear that a final typology of communication strategies has not yet been achieved (see e.g. Bialystok and Fröhlich 1980, Erwin 1979). Therefore, in Tables 1-3, the interpretation and classification of communication strategies have been made according to the definitions of strategies given by the individual researchers, not according to their choice of terminology (cf. e.g. the principles of avoidance/paraphrase categorization in Tarone et al. 1976b and in Tarone 1977).

Thirdly, there is not yet any generally accepted way by which the frequency of different communication strategies could be accounted for. Tarone, to give but one example, clearly regards the use of *two* different communication strategies used by *one* learner to communicate *one* target item, as *two* occurrences of communication strategies. This may be seen in Table 2 e.g. for learner GU, who used, in all, *nine* communication strategies to communicate *seven* target items.

Fourthly, the number of factors governing the choice of communication strategies on the part of the learner is fairly large. These factors seem to be dependent on two main variables: a *learner* variable and a *situation* variable. The learner variable includes factors such as the learner's age, his learning level or stage of proficiency, his mother tongue, his knowledge of languages other than the mother tongue and the foreign language being communicated, and, finally, his personality characteristics. The situation variable, on the other hand, includes factors such as the foreign language being communicated, the target items being communicated (lexical vs. syntactic), the type of communication (real-life vs. test situation, motivated vs. unmotivated, written vs. spoken, one-way vs. two-way communication), and the language background of the interlocutor/experimenter (native speaker of the learner's target language vs. fellow foreign-language learner).

Therefore, as pointed out by Tarone (1979), it is essential that researchers take more care when reporting on their experiments, including for example the following information:

(a) What exactly was the testee asked to do?
(b) Who was present in the experimental siautation?
(c) What was their relationship to the testee?
(d) What were their age and sex (experimenter as well as testee)?
(e) Was it a formal or informal situation?

FINAL COMMENTS

Avoidance behaviour is, by definition, an "easy way out" for the foreign-language learner who is unable to communicate a desired meaning due to vocabulary difficulty. Paradoxically, avoidance strategies may also be used by the learner to *ensure* correct comprehension by his interlocutor. Japanese

learners who are tired of being constantly misunderstood when trying to pronounce an English word containing an /l/ or /r/ sound, may therefore deliberately avoid that word and instead use a synonym which causes them less difficulty in pronunciation. Although this phenomenon is claimed to be extremely rare (Schachter 1974), examples are provided in the literature. Cohen, for example, reports that Celce-Murcia's 2 1/2 year-old daughter would at times borrow a word from her second language rather than using a mother-tongue word with a sound that she had not yet mastered (Cohen 1975 : 121–122). Avoidance of this type presupposes a choice, and has therefore been referred to as "true avoidance" (Levenston and Blum 1977). In addition to second- or foreign-language learners, true avoidance in the lexical field is frequently adopted by e.g. teachers, translators and editors of Simplified Readers intended for foreign-language learners.

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CONTRASTIVE AND ERROR ANALYSIS: VIETNAMESE — GERMAN

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0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In this article I should like to report on an aspect of our work which has gained considerable importance during the past months. Due to political developments in South East Asia, Germany, within a relatively short period of time, was confronted with some 26,000 immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The situation being as it is, these immigrants will probably stay in Germany for some time to come.

One of the immediate necessities fundamental to their social integration into German society was to make them acquainted with the new language. At first, the immigrants were sent to various language teaching institutions where in some cases, it was possible to teach them in homogeneous classes. In most of the courses, however, results were unsatisfactory because these institutions were not sufficiently prepared for the special task of teaching German to South East Asians in the shortest possible time. As it turned out, the situation could only be improved by giving teachers a special training[1] and by developing specific teaching materials. This was the starting point for our work which aims at defining possible areas of learning difficulties and at designing time-saving and efficient means of language teaching. The first step towards this goal was to gather detailed information on the learners'

[1] The teaching objective here cannot be the same as for the instruction of foreign workers or of foreign university students, who are in Germany only temporarily. As pointed out initially, the South East Asian immigrants are to stay in Germany for a long time and their integration into German society is a must, if only for economic reasons. Therefore their language should as little as possible be stigmatized as utterly foreign. Furthermore their language instruction should include paralinguistic signals including those on the phonetic level (such as hesitation sounds, emphatic forms of intonation, and so on).

sociocultural background, on their learning behaviour, on problems they might have in communication and — last not least — on the differences between their mother tongues and the German language.

Contrastive analyses of the four languages spoken by the majority of the immigrants served to delimit areas of linguistically based learning problems. The languages concerned were:

— Vietnamese (also called Annamese)
— Laotian
— Khmer (or Cambodian)
— Guangdonghna (the language of the largest Chinese minority group in Indochina, more commonly known as Cantonese).

The contrastive analyses included the phonetic, grammatical, and lexical levels as well as aspects of semantics and pragmatics. The objectives of the contrastive analyses was to give some preliminary information to teachers of German as a foreign language who never taught learners from South East Asia before and who are not acquainted with the mother tongues of their students. These contrastive analyses will be complemented by error analyses conducted for each of the above languages with a total of about 500 pupils; the results of both kinds of investigation will then be compared. Up to now, only preliminary observations were recorded from utterances of some 25 randomly selected students.[2] I shall try and relate these findings to the contrastive analyses — with all necessary predications, keeping in mind the small number of informants and the provisional status of the results.

1. THE FRAMEWORK

I will have to restrict the scope of this report to one language and within that language to one aspect only. As an example, I will take the segmental phonetic features of Vietnamese.

This raises the question of the theoretical framework for a description and a comparison the two languages, Vietnamese and German, which poses the problem of choosing between a number of possible concepts. Since neither the phonemic approach — as exemplified e.g. in the *Contrastive Structure Series* — nor the generative approach are satisfactory[3] with regard to the goal set for this project, it is assumed that only the phonetic substance, i.e.

[2] All pupils were enrolled in a German language course and were not previously exposed to German at all. If foreign language knowledge has been acquired in Vietnam, this was usually French and/or (American) English. This, however, is only true for a small group.

[3] I have dealt with this problem in several articles and in my book *Phonetische Probleme im Fremdsprachenunterricht* (1976). In my opinion, a phonemic approach is very satisfactory when the task is a purely descriptive one or especially when an effec-

the physical reality, provides valid material for a contrastive analysis especially with regard to a later comparison with the findings of error analyses.

Even if the teaching objective is defined in terms of "communicative competence", a phonological basis for both analyses and their comparison seems to be quite inadequate. The assumption that only phonological oppositions have any bearing on the validity and qualitity of pronunciation is quite wrong. Phonological oppositions are vital for the establishment and description of a language system (*langue*) but not necessarily for the speech act (*parole*), which is the object of the analyses and the target of the project.[4] Nor can traditional phonology bring out the phenomena connected with speech rhythm — and as their result the various forms of coarticulation, reduction, assimilation, epentheses, and elision — nor those aspects which can be summarized under the term 'basis of articulation'.[5]

Thus we will proceed by describing and comparing the two languages, i.e. the mother tongue and the target language, on the basis of their phonetic substances, and by using well established parameters.

2. THE LINGUISTIC MATERIAL

German and Vietnamese are two languages differing in many respects. Genetically the former belongs to the Indo-European family, whereas the latter's classification is not absolutely clear.[6] Typologically, German is of an incorporating type, Vietnamese of an isolating one. While German is a stress-timed language, Vietnamese is a syllable-timed one, and it is a tone language, whereas German is not.

Therefore, further differences are to be expected not only on the morpho-syntactic, but also on the phonetic level. The phonetics of Vietnamese is characterized

(1) by the limited phonotactic possibilities for the formation of monosyllabic morphemes; (2) by the phonemic value of syllable tones; (3) by the manifold possibilities for phonemic contrasts in the vowel system.

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tive writing system is to be developed on the basis of pronunciation; a generative approach is quite satisfactory when phonological processes are to be demonstrated and also when explanations should be given as to why certain changes occur.

[4] cf. also Kelz, H. P. (1977).

[5] cf. also Kelz, H. P. (1971) and (1978).

[6] Although Vietnamese contains lexical material of Chinese, the Thai and the Mon-Khmer languages it is not related to either one of them. Some linguists (such as W. Schmidt) consider it a branch of the Austro-asian language family. Those who consider it a member of the Sino-Tibetian family do not agree on the point of subgrouping: while some (such as R. Shafer) prefer to group it under the Tibeto-Burmese branch, others (such as H. Maspéro) see it as part of the Lao-Thai branch.

2.1. The vowels

Vietnamese has 47 vowel phonemes. Of these 11 are monophthongs, 24 diphthongs and 12 triphthongs. Among the monophthongs (cf. chart 1) there are three rounded and three unrounded back vowels (u, o, ɔ] and [ɯ, ɣ, ɑ], four front vowels [i, e, ɛ, a] and one central vowel [ə]. The Vietnamese learner will thus have little difficulties with the primary vowel qualities: [i, u, e, o, ɛ, ə, a] and [ɑ] have similar qualities in German; only German open [ɪ] (as in *Mitte*) and open [ʊ] (as in *Mutter*) have no equivalents in Vietnamese. Secondary vowels are found in both languages: while, however, Vietnamese has unrounded back vowels [ɯ, ɣ], German has rounded front vowels [y, ɣ, ø, œ] and these have no equivalents in Vietnamese. Vietnamese has only one central vowel [ə], while German has two, [ə] (as in *bitte*) and [ɐ] (as in *bitter*).

A further difference between German and Vietnamese lies in the vowel quantity: German has long and short monophthongs as phonological oppositions, Vietnamese does not.

Another problem for the Vietnamese learner of German may arise from some dialectal variants in Vietnamese where some of the vowels are diphthongized: this refers especially to the vowels [ɑ] (pronounced [ɑʊ]) and [o] (pronounced [oʊ]).

Beside these regionally occurring diphthongs, there are 18 falling diphthongs, among them are the equivalents for three German falling diphthongs: [aɪ], [ɑʊ] and [ɔy]. The fact that Vietnamese has six rising diphthongs while German has none, does not lead to interferences.

However, Vietnamese has no equivalents for the seven German centralising *h*iphthongs: [iɐ] as in *ihr*, [yɐ] as in *für*, [uɐ] as in *hr*, [eɐ] as in *er*, [øɐ] as in d*ör*, [oɐ] as in *vor* and [ɑɐ] as in *Bar*.

2.2. The Consonants

The consonant system of Vietnamese (cf. chart 2) also shows a great variety of sunds, which becomes particularly evident with regard to the plosives. There are four kinds of voiceless stops:
(1) fully articulated, non-aspirated stops; (2) aspirated stops; (3) affricate stops; (4) glottalized stops.

Glottalized stops appear only in final position, where they are the only stops occurring. Since glottalized stops do not exist in German, German listeners may not even hear the stops when pronounced by a Vietnamese. Non-aspirated voiceless stops occur initially in positions where (Standard) German has nothing but aspirated stops. There are only three affricates: one which is normally pronounced as a retroflex, one alveo-palatal, and one which is a variant of aspirated [k^h]. The only other aspirated stop is a dental.

Only the voiced stops have immediate equivalents in German, in the same position and with basically the same points of articulation.

There are three pairs of fricatives (voiced and voiceless): the labio-dental, the retroflex and the alveo-palatal fricatives. In addition, there are a voiceless velar fricative, which is a variant of the velar aspirated stop resp. affricate (see above), pre-aspiration of the vowel (aspirated vowel onset), which may be considered as a pharyngal fricative, and a voiced labialized velar fricative, mostly, however, pronounced as a continuant (semivowel). Since the German alveolar and palato-alveolar fricative pairs are missing, problems will arise here as well as with the German *ich*-sound [ç].

The nasals will pose no major problem. In addition to the points of articulation of the nasals in German, Vietnamese has a palatal one. However, nasals in final position are generally glottalized, and in some areas of Vietnam a tendency for nasalization of the preceding vowel will occur as a result of an anticipatory lowering of the velum.

The German [R], though, will cause difficulties in all positions since there is no r-sound at all in Vietnamese[7], while [l] will only partly cause difficulties, since in Vietnamese it never appears in final position. The cases of sound conflicts in the two consonant systems are illustrated in chart 3.

2.3. Syllable Structure

In contrast to the rather complex sounds system, Vietnamese has a very simple syllable structure. This feature of Vietnamese underlies most of the learner's difficulties. Except for the affricates mentioned above there are no consonant clusters. Only the nasals and the glottalized stop may occur in final position; in all other cases the syllable ends in one of the 47 vowel phonemes.

The fact that German has a highly developed system of consonant combinations on the one hand leads to omissions and, on the other hand, to the insertion of svarabhakti on the part of the Vietnamese learner.

To compensate the limited possibilities for syllable formation, the Vietnamese language offers the possibility of pronouncing syllables on different tones: identical phonotagms can have up to six different meanings according to the tonal feature of the respective syllable. This fact leads to a positive learning effect in so far as it enables the Vietnamese learner to grasp the German intonation contours more easily, being highly sensitive to tonal features of speech.

Difficulties, however, arise from the difference in the rhythmic structure of both languages. While Vietnamese is a syllable-timed language, German is accent-timed. Thus Vietnamese will often speak German with a type of

[7] The written ⟨r⟩ of Vietnamese is pronounced [ʒ].

staccato pronunciation with little dynamics. Furthermore, since all words in Vietnamese have only one accent, the German word accent will be quite a new phenomenon to the Vietnamese learner.

3. ERROR DATA

The error analysis complementing the contrastive analysis serves to find out not only whether errors are actually made where linguistic comparison reveals differences, and thus to detect probabilities of interference. It also helps to evaluate the learning difficulties caused by interferences, and the persistency of these errors, the final goal being the establishment of a hierarchy of difficulties on the statistical basis of the errors made.

The 25 pupils selected for the investigation of pronunciation errors were asked
(1) to read a text; (2) to tell a story according to a series of cartoon-like pictures; and (3) to repeat sentences or phrases which they heard from a tape recording. Their oral productions werde recorded on tape for later analysis. This measure was taken so that possible discrepancies in their oral production could later be differentiated according to the three stimuli used:
(1) graphic stimulus; (2) visual stimulus; and (3) auditory stimulus.

4. DISCUSSION

A comparison of the contrastive analysis with the observation of the errors actually made reveals some discrepancies.

On the basis of the contrastive analysis it is e.g. assumed that learners will substitute the [ʃ]-sound of German with the closest fricative in Vietnamese i.e. with [ʂ]. The examination of the verbal material, however, shows that in only 15 out of 19 cases where errors were made [ʃ] was substituted by the retroflex [ʂ]. In the remaining four cases it was substituted by the alveolar [s], a sound not occurring in Vietnamese, but rather one to be learned.

Similarly, the initial cluster [ʃt] (as in *stehen, Stuhl*) was replaced by the retroflex [ʂt] and the alveolar [st]. The former occurred in five out of eleven cases; the latter variant occurred six times, but only in the section which was read by the pupils, not in free production.

The affricate [ts] in the initial position (as in *zu, zwei*) also created problems It was generally pronounced as a single fricative: in 23 out of 40 cases as simple [s]; this happened whenever a vowel followed. If, however, a consonant (here only [v] is possible) followed, it was generally pronounced as [ʂ]. In words like *zwei, zwar, Zweck*, yet another error was observed (particularly when the text was read): the substitution of [v] by [w]. If this semivowel was used

instead of the consonant [v] the pronunciation was also [s], the same as was the case when a vowel followed.

These examples already show that there can be no generalization as to the substitution expected on the basis of transfer hypotheses. Contrary to expectations, sounds not yet mastered were substituted by other sounds of German; their distribution depended both on linguistic context (as in the third case) and on the stimulus used (as in the second case) as well as on other factors (as in the first case).

It also appears that the majority of errors was not due to a simple, or complex, one-to-one substitution, but that they were rather errors which may be attributed to the phonotactic structure of German. Since Vietnamese has practically no consonant clusters, faulty pronunciation occurs with German consonant combinations. In this respect, two types of errors were found: the use of svarabhakti and the omission of consonants, such as:

[rft] as in *durften* → [ft^h st^h]
[ft^h] as in *verletzt* → [st^h, t^h]
[ft] as in *Haft* → [f, p]

It is, however, interesting to observe that the omission of consonants occurred more frequently in free production (after a visual stimulus) than in repetition (after an auditory stimulus) where the insertion or addition of pro- and epenthetic vowels occurred more often.

5. SUMMARY

(1) The preliminary data show that syntagmatic phonetic errors are even more frequent than paradigmatic phonetic errors. This is interesting in so far as most contrastive analyses — even those which try to establish a hierarchy of difficulties[8] — are mainly based on paradigmatic phonetic characteristics, thus comparing two sound systems by isolating the segments and without taking the aspects of phonosyntagmatic structure into consideration.

(2) In cases of paradigmatic substitution the choice is not always the "closest sound' available in L 1; in a number of instances it is a sound of L 2.

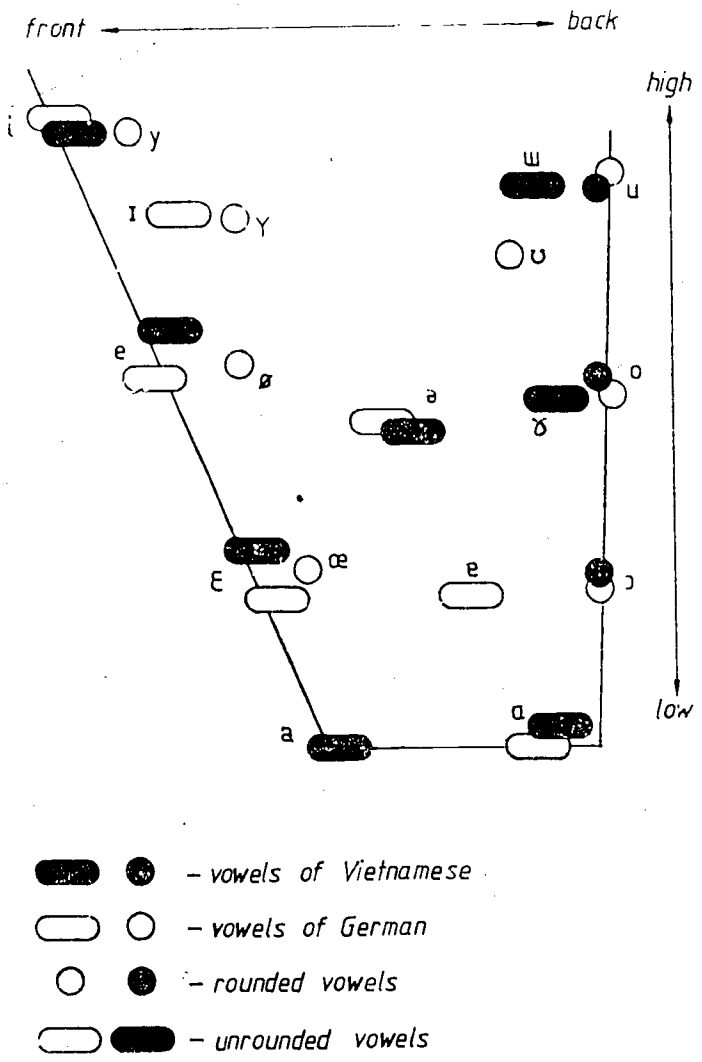
(3) If, however, L1-substitutions occur phonological major class features do not seem to play a role. Thus the lateral [l] of German in final position is generally replaced by the nasal [n].

(4) In evaluating the errors and in search of possible causes, not only L1-behaviour has to be taken into account, but also a number of other factors, such as the kind of stimulation (reading, oral reproduction, free production), auditory problems which antecede articulation in the learning process, factors due to the teaching method, and even environmental factors of learning.

[8] As e.g. in Stockwell/Bowen 1965.

Finally it should be pointed out that some discrepancies between the contrastive and the error analyses may be attributed to dialectal and sociolectal variants, both in Vietnam[9] and in Germany.

Chart 1



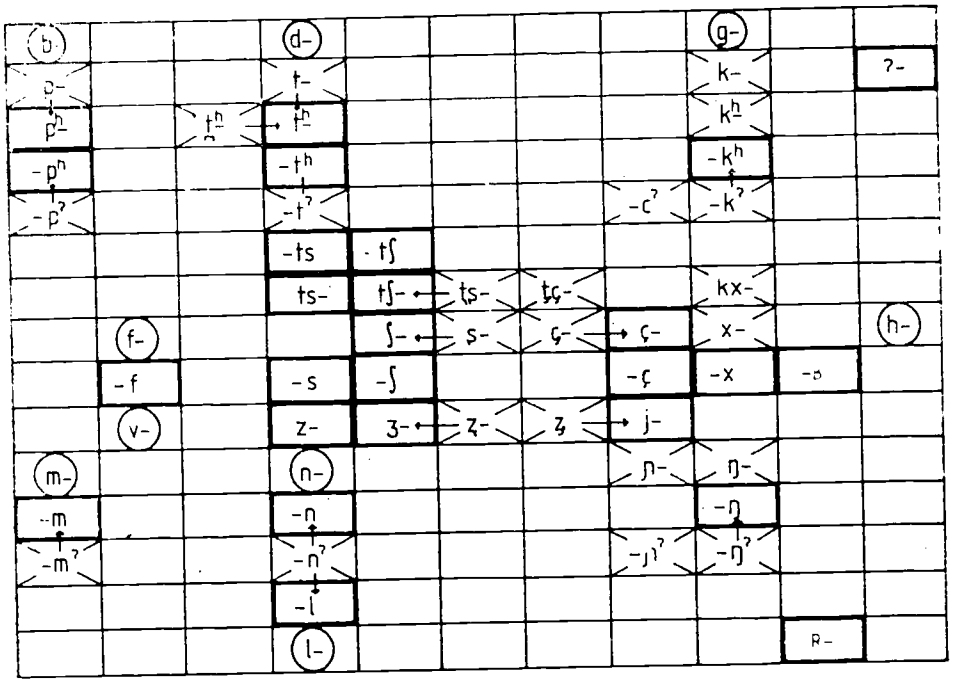
[9] Vietnamese has three major language variants: The dialects of the Tongking area, those of the Annam Highland and those of the Mekong Delta. The Tongking variety is considered standard and was the basis for the contrastive analysis, but most of the immigrants come from the South. — In Germany, too, the dialectal variant of the area where the language course takes place, may have an influence, although all teachers speak Standard German in class. Similarly, previous knowledge of another foreign language (French, English) may have some influence by way of negative transfer, faux amis, etc.

Chart 2

point of articulation → / manner ↓	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	retroflex	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar	pharyn-geal
voiced plosives	b (-b)			d (-d)				g (g / gh-)	
voiceless plosives	p (-p-)			t (-t)				k (c- / k- / q-)*	
glottalized plosives	p' (-p)			t' (-t)			c' (-ch)	k' (-c)	
aspirated plosives			t^h (th-)					k^h (kh-)	
affricates					ʦ (tr-)	ʧ (ch-)		kx (kh-)	
voiceless fricatives		f (ph-)			ʂ (s-)	ɕ (x-)		x (kh-)	h (h-)
voiced fricatives	w (u)*	v (v-)			ʐ (d- / r-)	ʑ (gi-)		w (u)*	
voiced nasals	m (m-)			n (n-)			ɲ (nh-)	ŋ (ng-)	
glottalized nasals	m' (-m)			n' (-n)			ɲ' (-nh)	ŋ' (-ng / -ngh)	
lateral				l (l-)					

*only in kw (qu-)

Chart 3



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