Languages in Contact 2012

edited by

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Contents

Introduction

Within the context of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, the edition of a new book series overseen by the Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch, together with the Philological School of Higher Education in Wrocław, under the title of *Languages in Contact* is vivid proof of unity in diversity. This unity in diversity is rendered in the new books series in two ways: through the interdisciplinary methodological apparatus of anthropological linguistics, contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, cognitive grammar, communicology, and studies of culture; and through the diversity of the corpus to be analyzed (literary texts, runic texts, sign languages or visual images). The present volume is composed of papers, many of which were presented in Wrocław at the conference "Languages in Contact 2012." The volume brings new and challenging insights into the studies of the languages in contact phenomenon: an analysis of the distribution of diagnostic features in the Atlantic English-lexified Creoles and across English-lexified contact languages (Andrei A. Avram); a critical reinterpretation of various models for the development of Slavic languages (Paul M. Barford); a fourfold perspective on the societal mission of the "Official English" movement within the fundamental tenets of American language ideology (Sándor Czeglédi); a comparative interlingual lexical contact analysis between Standard Hungarian and English (Anglo-)Hungarian (Éva Forintos and Szilárd Szentgyörgyi); a plea for using experimentally developed semantic networks of word associations as possibilities to study language mechanisms (Izabela Gatkowska); an analysis of the directions of blend elaboration as a cultural means of creative concept change (Agnieszka Gicala); the importance of communicology in the comparative study of the East and West cultural dimensions of human perception (Richard L. Lanigan); an anthropolinguistic approach to the early runic texts in the British Isles (Jacek Mianowski); a critical insight into the sociolinguistic conditions of the usefulness of the English language as shaping a given multilingual setting (Agnieszka Stępkowska); an interdisciplinary approach to women's clothing as a discursive mechanism

of constructing the female body as gendered (Andrea F. Szabó); a re-interpretation of the concept "Language Adaptive Operators" within the context of language adaptive strategies in human communication (Wiesław Szałaj); a critical insight into the glottogonic theories of language and a plea for framing gestures as a substantial component of early human communication (Agnieszka Szczepaniak); a comparative cognitive grammar approach to Polish Sign Language (PJM) sign order and Polish word order (Anna Ścibior--Gajewska); and an analysis of "bound semantic loan" as an overlapping concept between loan translation and semantic loan (Alicja Witalisz).

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Diagnostic Features of English Creoles: A Follow-up

Abstract. The present paper is to be considered as a follow-up to Baker and Huber's (2001) study of the diagnostic features of English-lexified contact languages. It looks into the distribution of the above mentioned features in five Atlantic varieties which have rather rarely been taken into consideration in previous comparative work on English-lexified Creoles, namely: Antiguan, Bahamian, Trinbagonian, Vincentian and Virgin Islands English Creole. The research findings are thoroughly discussed from the perspective of the characteristics of the Atlantic English--lexified Creoles as well as the historical relations between them. The distribution of several diagnostic features is shown here in an attempt to cut across the Western Caribbean – Eastern Caribbean divide. The evidence from the five Creoles that are examined shows that seven diagnostic features, which were previously classified as Atlantic, have, in fact, a world-wide distribution.

Keywords: diagnostic features, English-lexified Creoles, Atlantic features, world--wide features.

Introduction

The feature approach has proved to be a useful instrument in investigating the history of English-lexified Pidgins and Creoles and in assessing the genetic relationships among them. The present paper is a follow-up to Baker and Huber (2001), looking at five Atlantic English-lexified Creoles: Trinbagonian,[1] Vincentian, Antiguan, Virgin Islands English Creole and Bahamian. The examination of data from these varieties is relevant for several reasons. Firstly, three of them – Vincentian, Antiguan and Virgin Islands English Creole – are among the Atlantic English-lexified varieties which remain underresearched (Aceto 2008b: 658). Secondly, previous comparative work – *e.g.* Hancock (1987), Wells (1987), Aceto

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1   For the purposes of this paper, I treat Trinidadian and Tobagonian as a single entity; *cf.* Baker and Huber (2001: 161), who treat the Creoles of Suriname as a single entity.

(2008a and 2008b) – looks at mostly synchronic data. Thirdly, the five varieties under consideration have rarely figured in large-scale comparative studies of Atlantic English-lexified Creoles. Finally, Baker's (1999) feature-based comparative study includes diachronic and synchronic data from Vincentian and Antiguan, but not from the remaining three varieties.

1. Methodology

1.1. Corpus

The corpus of textual evidence consists of both published and unpublished sources (see the bibliographic references identifying data sources in Avram 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, forthcoming and submitted). Published sources include travel accounts, letters, diaries, memoirs, folklore, literary works, grammars, dictionaries, while the unpublished ones consist of proverbs, dictionaries, internet discussion lists, contributions to on-line newspapers, literary works as well as of data elicited from native speakers.[2]

1.2. Diagnostic features

The approach adopted makes use of the diagnostic features suggested by Baker and Huber (2001). Diagnostic features "represent significant phonological, lexical, or grammatical deviations from, or innovations to, varieties of British English – since British English was the major input in the restructuring process" (Baker, Huber 2001: 163).

The 302 diagnostic features proposed by Baker and Huber (2001: 165) are divided into three groups: Atlantic, world-wide, and Pacific. Atlantic features are recorded in at least two Atlantic varieties. World-wide features have to be attested in at least one Atlantic and one Pacific variety. To qualify for the Pacific group items must be found only in Pacific varieties. The diagnostic features taken into account are recorded at any time in the history of the varieties considered, even though some of these features may no longer be in use.

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2   Paula Prescod (Langage, Langues et Cultures d'Afrique Noire – Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris), for Vincentian; Bernadette Farquhar (University of the West Indies at Cave Hill), for Antiguan; Helean McPhee (College of the Bahamas), for Bahamian.

Reference to Baker and Huber's (2001) list of diagnostic features, already tested on two sets of seven Atlantic and respectively of six Pacific varieties, ensures comparability of the data. To this end and for ease of reference, each feature is numbered and labeled and/or defined as in Baker and Huber (2001: 197–204). The entry for each feature includes the date of the first attestation. When an exact year cannot be established: a year preceded by a hyphen reads "in or before," if followed by a hyphen "in or after," if preceded and followed by a hyphen "in or around;" an asterisk reads "not attested;" the earliest attestation appears in bold characters.

The following abbreviations are used: ATG = Antiguan; BAH = Bahamian; BJN = Bajan; GUL = Gullah; I-G = Indo-Guyanese; JAM = Jamaican; KRI = Krio; PIN = Pitkern and Norf'k; SKI = Kittitian; SRN = Suriname; TT = Trinbagonian; VI = Virgin Islands English Creole; SVI = Vincentian; WAF = West African Pidgin English.

2. First attestations

The first attestations of diagnostic features in the varieties considered are listed in Table 1. The list is based on data from: Avram (2012a) for TT; Avram (submitted) for SVI; Avram (2012c) for ATG; Avram (2012b) for VI; Hackert and Huber (2007) and Avram (forthcoming) for BAH. Bold characters highlight the earliest first attestation of a diagnostic feature in the five varieties at issue.

Table 1. First attestations of diagnostic features in five Atlantic English-lexified Creoles

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
2. *after* 'given that'	*	2011	2012	*	**1918**
3. *aki* (fruit/tree)	2008	1996	*	*	**1880**
4. *akra* (a savoury cake)	**1919**	*	*	1996	1976
5. *all we* (1PL)	–1825–	**1793**	1837	1878	1966
6. *all you* (2PL)	**1838**	1950–	–1844	1975	*
7. *Anancy* (folktale character)	1858	1925	**–1840**	1925	1917
8. *bad mouth* 'speak ill of, curse'	**1935**	2011	2012	1996	1982
9. *bakra* 'European, white person'	1802	**1791**	1774	–1794	1887
10. *bang* 'hit' (as punishment)	*	2004	1989	**1925**	*
11. *banja* 'banjo'	1883	1834	–1788	*	**1784**

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
13. *bateau* 'boat'	*	*	*	**1981**	1982
15. *big eye* 'greed(y)'	**1883**	1996	2009	1996	1895
16. *binness* 'business'	**1854**	*	*	*	*
17. *bobo* 'young boy'	*	*	*	*	**1886**
19. *bonikleba* 'sour milk'	**–1825–**	*	*	1925	*
20. *book* 'letter, knowledge, literacy'	**1821–**	*	*	*	*
22. *bra* 'brother'	*	1950–	**–1844**	1975	1918
23. *bubby* 'woman's breast'	1987	2008	**1920**	1975	1982
24. *buddy* (egalitarian address for a male)	**1827**	2011	1834	1843	*
25. *bumbo* 'vulva'	**1974**	*	1996	*	1982
26. *cacabelly* (fish sp.)	*	**1996**	*	*	*
27. *calaloo* 'a rich soup or stew'	1843	**1821–**	2004	1927	1971
28. *chaw* 'eat; food'	*	*	*	*	**1918**
29. *chigger* 'chigoe'	1827	1821–	–1788	1843	**1744**
30. *copper* 'money'	2005	2011	2012	*	**1877**
31. *crapaud* 'frog'	**1827**	1836	2009	1975	*
33. *cutacoo* 'basket'	*	*	**–1840**	1843	1982
34. *da*, *de* (progressive)	–1825–	**1821–**	1825	1925	1918
36. *day clean* 'daybreak'	1939	*	2012	1981	**1918**
37. *de*, *da*, *na*, *a* (equative copula)	**1827**	1987	1987	1834	1917
38. *de* (locative copula)	**1845**	1987	1972	1975	1917
39. *dead house* 'mortuary'	**1849**	*	1997	*	1982
40. *dem* (article, demonstrative)	1845	1821–	–1844	–1794	1887
41. postposed *dem* (nominal plural)	**1883**	*	1964	1957	1918
42. preposed *dem* (nominal plural)	*	**1904**	1920	1975	1918
43. *dem* (3PL POSS)	**1847**	2009	1989	2011	1989
44. *do* (clause-initial entreaty)	1839	*	**–1834**	1925	1895
45. *dokunu*/*dukna* (kind of starchy food)	1883	1996	**–1844**	1996	*
46. final *done* (completive)	*	*	2011	*	**2010**
47. *done* VERB (completive)	**1845**	1925	1920	1925	1887
48. *doormouth* 'threshold'	**1883**	1980	2012	1979	1919
49. *dohti* 'earth, dirt'	1883	*	**–1844**	*	1982

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
50. *dry eye* 'boldness'	∗	∗	∗	∗	**1966**
51. *duppy* 'zombie'	**1883**	2006	∗	1981	1918
52. *eddoe/ede* 'taro'	–1825–	**1821–**	–1844	1834	1886
53. *enty* (negative question particle)	1937	∗	∗	∗	**1923**
55. *eyewater* 'tear'	**1933**	2011	1996	1996	1982
58. *for* PRON NP (genitive)	**1827**	1987	1972	∗	2010
59. *for* VERB (modal)	1843	2009	**1825**	2011	2010
60. *for true* 'truly'	**1827**	1837	1991	1843	1966
61. *fufu* (starch food, boiled and pounded)	1974	∗	1996	∗	**1886**
62. *fullup* 'fill, be-full'	1940	∗	1996	2008	**1895**
63. *fum* 'beat'	∗	**1792**	∗	∗	∗
64. *funji* 'corn meal'	1974	1996	**1789**	1900	∗
65. *goatmouth* 'a Cassandra'	**1827**	1996	∗	1975	∗
66. *gongosha* 'deceit; gossip'	**1945**	∗	1996	∗	1970
67. *gumbay* 'drum'	∗	1836	∗	∗	**1784**
68. *heart burn* 'be angry'	**1827**	2011	∗	∗	∗
70. *how come* 'why'	∗	**1972**	∗	∗	∗
71. *hungry* 'hunger, starvation'	**1883**	2011	2010	∗	1918
72. *ina, na* (locative preposition)	1827	**1821–**	1987	1927	1966
73. *Irish potato* 'potato'	1917	**1821–**	–1840	∗	1886
75. *jackspaniard* 'wasp'	–**1825**–	1836	2009	1834	∗
76. *john crow* (bird sp.)	1888	∗	∗	∗	**1880**
77. *jook* 'pierce, stab *etc.*'	**1827**	2006	1996	1967	1909
78. *juju* 'magic'	∗	∗	∗	∗	**1918**
79. *jumbee* 'malevolent spirit, zombie'	1827	**1821–**	–1844	1925	1880
80. k/g affricated to ch/j	∗	∗	∗	**2010**	∗
81. k/g palatalized before /a/	1939	1925	1925	1925	**1917**
82. *kaanki* (corn dish)	**1974**	2008	1996	1981	∗
83. *kaban/cabin* 'bed'	**1800**	∗	∗	∗	∗
84. *kaka* 'shit, excrement'	**1933**	2011	∗	1981	1982
86. *kasada* 'cassava'	1802	1821–	**1774**	–1794	1966
87. *kata* 'head-pad'	**1881**	1996	1996	1996	∗
88. *ki!* (exclamation)	1846	∗	**1825**	1843	∗

	Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
89.	*kiba* 'cover'	*	*	**1920**	*	1982
90	*kill devil* 'rum'	*	*	*	**1971**	*
91.	*kokobe* 'leper, leprosy'	**1852**	*	1920	1927	*
94.	*kunumunu* 'stupid person'	1939	2011	2004	**1927**	*
96.	*look* 'see, find'	*	*	*	*	**1918**
98.	*maga* 'thin'	**1845**	2008	2008	1981	*
99.	*magass* 'crushed cane'	−1825−	1821−	1837	−**1794**	*
100.	*married* 'marry'	**1904**	**1904**	2011	1980	1918
102,	*mauby* 'drink from potatoes'	1833	**1821−**	−1840	1981	*
104.	*me one* 'just me'	*	2011	2012	*	**1989**
106.	*mouth* 'word, language'	**1956**	*	*	*	*
107.	*mouth water* 'saliva'	**1945**	1996	2012	*	*
108.	*mumu* 'dumb'	**1883**	*	*	1927	*
110.	*no more* 'merely'	**1858**	*	*	*	1982
111.	*nose hole* 'nostril'	**1940**	2011	2012	*	1982
112.	NP1 *for* NP2 (possessive N2's N1)	**1845**	*	*	1981	*
114.	*nufnuf* 'many, plenty of'	**1996**	*	*	*	*
115.	*(n)yam* 'eat food'	1827	**1821−**	1925	1927	1977
116.	*(n)yampi* 'dirt in the eyes'	1961	1996	1996	**1927**	*
118.	*(n)(y)anga* 'proud; pride; ostentation'	**1827**	1904	*	*	*
119.	*n(y)ung* 'young'	**1883**	1904	1834	*	*
120.	*obeah* 'kind of magic'	**1800**	1821−	1834	1843	1878
121.	*palaver* 'dispute, discourse, matter'	**1843**	*	*	*	*
122.	*pantap* 'on'	**2008**	2011	2012	*	*
125.	*pikin* 'small; child, offspring'	**1883**	*	*	*	1982
126.	*pikinega* 'black child'	*	*	**1989**	*	*
128.	*pinda* 'peanut'	*	*	*	−**1794**	*
129.	*(make) play* '(to have a) party, dance, amusement'	*	**1812**	−1840	*	*
132.	*potapota* 'mud; muddy'	**1883**	*	*	*	*
133.	*rata* 'rat'	−1825−	**1821−**	1920	1925	*
134.	*rockstone* 'stone'	1845	2011	−**1840**	1981	1982

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
135. *(for) sake (of)* 'because'	1884	*	*	**1843**	1977
137. *santapi* 'centipede'	–1905–	2011	1925	**–1794**	1982
138. *sapata* 'footwear'	**1849**	*	*	1981	1940
139. *say* (complementizer)	1827	**1812**	1925	*	1966
140. *self* 'even; (emphasis)'	**1827**	1987	–1844	1975	1918
143. *soso* 'only'	n.d.	*	*	**1975**	1982
144. *so te(l)* 'until; a long time'	1845	1904	**–1840**	*	1918
145. *stick* 'tree'	*	*	*	*	**1982**
146. *strong ears/hard ears* 'stubborness'	**1883**	2011	*	*	*
147. *sweet* 'tasty; please (v)'	**1883**	2010	1962	*	1918
148. *sweetmouth* 'flattery'	1993	1996	2009	**1981**	1982
149. *Takoma* 'Anansi's son'	**1883**	1925	1920	1925	*
150. *tan lek* 'be like, resemble'	**1827**	1904	2012	*	*
151. *tata* 'father'	*	*	**1996**	1996	*
152. *tief* 'steal'	–1825–	**1821–**	–1840	1925	1886
153. *titty* 'little girl, sister'	*	*	*	*	**1966**
154. *too* (preverbal) 'very, exceeding'	**1975**	*	2012	*	1982
155. *tote* 'carry'	**1904**	*	*	*	1918
156. *tother, tara* 'other'	1845	**1821–**	–1844	1925	1887
157. *tumtum = fufu*	–1825–	**1821–**	*	*	*
158. *ugly* 'evil'	*	*	2012	1981	**1917**
159. *una* (2PL)	*	2008	*	*	**1982**
160. *unu* (2PL)	*	**1964**	*	*	*
161. *vex* 'be-angry'	**1827**	1972	1920	1925	1891
162. *wari* (African board game)	*	*	1991	**1927**	1898
164. *we* (1PL POSS)	1883	**1821–**	2008	1957	1918
165. *we* (1PL OBL)	1849	1838	**1837**	1957	1886
166. WH *make* 'why'	**1845**	1972	1972	1975	1895
169. *woodslave* (lizard sp.)	1894	**1834**	–1844	–1794	*
171. *yabba* (kind of pot)	*	*	**–1844**	1996	*
172. *yai* 'eye'	**1827**	1904	–1844	1925	1918
173. *yerri* 'hear'	**1845**	*	*	*	1887
174. *all about* 'everywhere'	**1843**	2011	–1844	*	*
176. *be* (equative copula)	*	**1821–**	1987	*	*

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
177. *be* (predicative copula)	∗	**1821**–	1834	∗	∗
178. *been* (past/anterior)	**1827**	1904	–1840	1925	1895
179. *before time* 'formerly'	1985	∗	2009	∗	**1977**
180. *born* 'give birth'	∗	2011	2012	∗	**1977**
181. *bruck* 'break'	**1883**	1904	1989	1925	1886
182. *byandby* (adv.) 'soon'	–**1825**–	∗	1837	1967	1895
183. *capsize* 'spill, pour (out)'	∗	∗	∗	∗	**1978**
184. *catch* 'get, obtain reach'	∗	1925	∗	∗	**1887**
185. *comeout* 'go out, detach' (re-analysis)	∗	∗	2010	**1925**	∗
186. *da(t)* (definite article)	–**1825**–	∗	∗	1996	∗
187. *dead* 'die'	1884	**1821**–	1920	2008	1917
188. *dem* (3PL)	1827	**1812**	1834	1925	1980
190. *fashion* 'manner, way'	∗	∗	2010	2005	**1897**
192. *for* (infinitive)	**1809**	1821–	1834	1834	1886
193. *go* (future)	1809	**1791**	–1832	1896	1886
194. *got* 'have'	**1839**	1849	1920	1957	1886
195. *grande* 'big'	1833	1821–	**1787**	∗	∗
196. *he* (resumptive)	1843	1834	**1825**	1925	1886
197. *he* (3SG OBL)	1854	1904	–**1840**	1878	1966
198. *he* (3SG POSS)	–**1825**–	**1821**–	–**1844**	1834	1891
199. *him* (3SG POSS)	1827	**1821**–	2009	1843	1887
200. *him* (3SG)	1827	**1821**–	1834	1834	1887
201. *lick* 'flog'	–**1825**–	**1821**–	–1828	1925	1891
202. *lili* 'little'	1847	**1834**	**1834**	1981	1886
203. *little bit* 'slightly'	**1853**	∗	∗	∗	∗
205. *make* (causative/imperative)	–**1825**–	1996	–1840	∗	1982
206. *make haste* 'hurry'	2003	2011	–**1844**	1925	1891
207. *-man* (agentive suffix)	1939	2004	∗	**1925**	∗
208. *me* (1SG)	1802	**1791**	–1810–	–1794	1918
209. *me* (1SG POSS)	1827	**1821**–	1834	1896	1891
211. *more better*	**1904**	2011	2012	∗	1997
212. *most* 'almost'	1952	1925	–**1840**	1975	1904
213. NP1NP2 (possessive N1'SN2)	1827	1821–	**1774**	1834	1887

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
214. *never* (negative-completive)	∗	1950–	∗	∗	**1886**
215. *no* (negator)	1802	1812	1825	−**1794**	1887
216. *nogood* 'bad'	∗	**1821–**	−1844	∗	1918
218. *one* (indefinite article)	−1825–	**1821–**	−1840	1896	1891
219. *one time* '(at) once'	**1904**	1925	2010	1925	1918
220. paragogic vowels	**1802**	1980	−1840	1843	1887
221. *piccaninny* 'small; child'	−1825–	1821–	**1681**	1843	1887
222. *plenty* NOUN 'a lot of'	1846	**1821–**	−1840	1925	1887
223. *plenty* (postverbal) 'a lot'	−**1825–**	∗	2011	∗	1936
224. *plenty* 'very; many'	∗	∗	∗	∗	**1897**
225. *sabby* 'know'	**1809**	∗	1834	1843	∗
226. *-side* (locative suffix)	**1854**	2011	∗	∗	1918
227. *sitdown* 'sit, reside' (reanalysis)	**1845**	∗	2009	∗	∗
228. *word derived from something* 'thing'	1888	∗	−**1844**	∗	1918
230. *stop* (locative verb)	∗	∗	−1844	**1834**	∗
231. *suppose* 'if'	1827	**1821–**	−1844	1925	∗
232. *that time* 'when'	**1827**	∗	−1844	∗	∗
234. *throwaway* 'throw' (reanalysis)	∗	∗	∗	∗	**1887**
235. *too much* ADJ/VERB 'a lot'	∗	∗	−**1840**	∗	1887
236. ADJ/VERB *too much* 'a lot'	−1825–	**1821–**	−1840	1843	1886
238. *too much* NOUN 'many, a lot of'	∗	∗	∗	∗	**1880**
239. *walkabout* 'wander'	**1904**	∗	2009	∗	1982
240. *we* (relativizer)	**1845**	1973	∗	1925	1982
241. WH *for* 'why'	1827	**1821–**	1825	1834	∗
243. WH *place* 'where'	**1845**	∗	∗	∗	∗
244. WH *side* 'where'	**1972**	2011	∗	∗	1982
246. WH *time* 'when'	**1845**	∗	∗	∗	∗
247. ZERO (equative copula)	1845	**1821–**	−1840	∗	1887
248. ZERO (predicative copula)	1827	**1821–**	1834	1834	1886
259. *calico* 'cloth(es)'	−1825–	**1821–**	1834	∗	∗
268. *first time* 'ahead, formerly'	2003	1996	∗	∗	**1982**
277. *look see* 'inspect, see'	**1845**	∗	∗	∗	∗
287. *saltwater* 'sea; coastal'	1850	**1834**	2012	∗	2012

Feature	TT	SVI	ATG	VI	BAH
288. *sing out* 'shout'	*	1925	2012	*	**1895**
295. VERB-VM (transitive suffix)	**1888**	*	*	*	*
300. *yet* 'still'	*	*	*	*	**1918**

The total number of diagnostic features recorded in the five varieties considered is as follows: 162 in TT, 137 in SVI, 147 in ATG, 121 in VI and 143 in BAH. Note with respect to BAH that this number is higher than that reported by Hackert and Huber (2007), who identify only 124 diagnostic features.

A brief comment is in order with respect to the first attestations which predate 1900. According to Baker and Huber (2001: 159), the discovery of such attestations "minimizes the effect of later, non-diffusionist cross-influences […] *e.g.* through the media, modern communication or increased mobility in the 20th century," which might yield "a misleading impression of the affinities between them." As shown in Table 2, the varieties considered exhibit significant discrepancies in the number and percentage of pre-1900 first attestations:

Table 2. Pre-1900 first attestations

	Number	Percentage
TT	120	74.0
SVI	61	44.5
ATG	72	48.6
VI	40	33.0
BAH	56	39.1

These discrepancies can be attributed to two factors. One is the scarcity of currently known pre-1900 data sources: thus, for VI the corpus includes only six such sources. The other factor is the quantity of textual evidence that predates 1900, which is significantly higher for TT, SVI and ATG.

3. Some characteristics

The figures reported by Baker and Huber (2001) constitute a useful reference point. Consider first the absolute number of recorded diagnostic

features. Baker and Huber (2001: 171) state that "a fundamental difference between the Atlantic and Pacific varieties" is that "the absolute number of features in the latter is generally lower, with the average in the Atlantic being more than twice as high than that in the Pacific." Their conclusion is confirmed by the figures for TT, SVI, ATG, VI and BAH:

Table 3. Absolute number of diagnostic features

Average in Pacific varieties	63.3 (Baker, Huber 2001: 171)
Average in Atlantic varieties	145.4 (Baker, Huber 2001: 171)
Average for TT, SVI, ATG, VI, BAH	142.0

The average for TT, SVI, ATG, VI and BAH is only slightly below that obtaining for the seven Atlantic varieties analyzed by Baker and Huber (2001). Note also that TT and ATG score above this average. Further, while the figures for SVI, VI and BAH are below this average, all these three Creoles score significantly higher than the average for the Pacific varieties; even in VI, the lowest ranking one, the absolute number of attested diagnostic features is still almost twice as high than the average in the Pacific group.

Consider next the distribution of world-wide features in SRN, BJN, SKI, JAM, GUL, KRI and WAF – the Atlantic varieties considered by Baker and Huber (2001) – and in TT, SVI, ATG, VI and BAH.

Table 4. World-wide features in Atlantic varieties (Baker, Huber 2001: 171)

SRN	44.5
BJN	36.0
SKI	38.0
JAM	52.5
GUL	42.0
KRI	63.0
WAF	63.0
ATG	52.0
BAH	49.0
SVI	43.0
TT	50.0
VI	38.0

As can be seen, TT, SVI, ATG, VI, BAH would be situated within the range of Atlantic varieties (from 36 to 63). The proportion of world--wide features is set out below:

Table 5. Percentage of world-wide features in Atlantic varieties (Baker, Huber 2001: 172)

SRN	33.2
BJN	30.9
SKI	28.4
JAM	28.8
GUL	34.6
KRI	35.4
WAF	41.6
TT	30.8
SVI	31.3
ATG	35.3
VI	31.4
BAH	34.2

Again, TT, SVI, ATG, VI, BAH would fall within the Atlantic varieties range (from 28.4% to 41.6%).

Consider finally the average proportion of world-wide feature in the Atlantic and Pacific groups respectively:

Table 6. Average percentage of world-wide features (Baker, Huber 2001: 173)

Average percentage in Pacific varieties	66.6
Average percentage in Atlantic varieties	33.0
Average for TT, SVI, ATG, VI, BAH	32.6

The average obtaining for TT, SVI, ATG, VI and BAH comes close to that for the Atlantic varieties considered by Baker and Huber (2001). Moreover, it constitutes further confirmation of Baker and Huber's (2001: 174) generalization that "the New World Creoles have a considerably lower percentage of WW [= world-wide] features" than the Pacific varieties.

To sum up, TT, SVI, ATG, VI, BAH display characteristics typical of the Atlantic English-lexified Creoles.

4. Affinities

The identification of shared diagnostic features sheds light on the genetic relationships holding among varieties. However, as shown by Baker (1999: 337), Baker and Huber (2001: 181), the number of shared features in itself is not a reliable indicator of relatedness among individual varieties, given the discrepancies in the quantity and quality of data available for each such variety. Therefore, the degree of affinity has been quantified with the method used by Baker (1999) and Baker and Huber (2001). Thus, the number of diagnostic features a pair of varieties would share if the distribution of these were random is first calculated, by applying the formula: $N_i \times N_j / N_t$ (where N_i = number of features in variety$_i$, N_j = number of features in variety$_j$, N_t = total number of features considered). Next, the result is deducted from the actual number of features shared. This shows whether the number of the shared features is more/less than predicted by a random distribution. A high positive value of the difference between the actual and the predicted number indicates relatedness.

The data for BJN (124 features) and GUL (130.5) include additions from my own corpora, and those for SKI (135) include additions from Baker (in preparation). N_t consists of 158 Atlantic features and 98 world--wide features,[3] a total of 256.

4.1. TT with BJN

By 1831 approximately half of the population was born in Barbados (Le Page, Tabouret-Keller 1985: 54; Holm 1989: 460). This is reflected in the high positive value of the difference between the actual and the predicted number of shared features:

Table 7. Affinities of TT with BJN

	Actual number of shared features	Predicted number of shared features	Difference
TT with BJN	102	78.4	23.6

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3   Which include 23 additions to Baker and Huber's (2001) original list of 75 world-wide features. These additions are diagnostic features considered by Baker and Huber (2001) to be exclusively Atlantic or Pacific respectively, but which are shown by Avram (2004) to have a world-wide distribution.

4.2. SVI with ATG, BJN and SKI

After the British initially occupied St Vincent in 1763, the settlers (planters and their slaves) who arrived came from Barbados, Antigua, North America (Holm 1989: 458; Roberts 1997: 72), and, possibly, also from St Kitts (Baker 1999: 341). All three pairs, i.e. SVI with ATG, BJN and SKI respectively, have better than random scores:

Table 8. Affinities of SVI with ATG, BJN and SKI

	Actual number of shared features	Predicted number of shared features	Difference
SVI with ATG	113	78.9	34.1
SVI with BJN	94	66.6	27.4
SVI with SKI	94	72.2	21.8

4.3. ATG with BJN and SKI

Antigua was first settled from St Kitts in 1632, with later settlers arriving from Barbados in 1674 (Roberts 1997: 73; Baker 1999: 339). The better than predicted scores are obtained both for the pair ATG with BJN and for the pair ATG with SKI:

Table 9. Affinities of ATG with BJN and SKI

	Actual number of shared features	Predicted number of shared features	Difference
ATG with BJN	100.0	71.4	28.6
ATG with SKI	99.0	77.5	21.5

4.4. VI with SKI

Settlers from St Kitts fled to St Croix in 1642 (Corcoran, Mufwene 1999: 79). By the end of the 17th century, many indentured servants emigrated to neighbouring islands held by the Dutch or the Danes (Williams 1983), including the Virgin Islands. Finally, according to Baker (1999: 341), settlers from St Kitts may also have arrived at the end of the 18th century. The figure for the pair VI with SKI confirms the relatedness of the two varieties:

Table 10. Affinities of VI with SKI

	Actual number of shared features	Predicted number of shared features	Difference
VI with SKI	83.0	63.8	19.2

The relatedness of VI and SKI (including Nevis) is further confirmed by a number of commonalities: diagnostic features with a limited distribution, *e.g.* 19. *bonikleb* 'sour milk,' 80. k/g affricated to ch/j, 128. *pinda* 'peanut' and 171. *yabba* (kind of pot); the variant *jack spaniel* of feature 75. *jackspaniard* 'wasp;' other features, such as earlier *yeat* and its current counterpart *yet* 'eat;' many words from the African substrate languages (Baker 2012: 213).

4.5. BAH with GUL

The Bahamas and Carolina were settled as a single colony (1670–1720). After the American Revolution many loyalists and their slaves settled in the Bahamas (Holm 1989: 489; Hackert, Huber 2007: 280–298; Hackert, Holm 2009). The expectation that GUL exerted a significant influence on the formation of BAH is confirmed by the following figures:

Table 11. Affinities of BAH with GUL

	Actual number of shared features	Predicted number of shared features	Difference
BAH with GUL	99	72.8	26.2

Note that the results above differ from those in Hackert and Huber (2007), who report an actual number of only 82 shared features and a difference of 22.

Moreover, the influence of GUL on BAH is also reflected by the fact that the two varieties share several diagnostic features with a limited distribution, such as 78. *juju* 'magic' and 153. *titty* 'little girl, sister,' as well as features not found in the Caribbean Creoles, *e.g.* the diphthong [çI] in first and the merger of /v/ and /w/ as [ʙ].

5. Western Caribbean vs. Eastern Caribbean

The data from TT, SVI, ATG and VI are also relevant to the division of Caribbean English-lexified Creoles into Western and Eastern Caribbean varieties, given that the distribution of some diagnostic features cuts across this divide.

According to Holm (1989: 445), "the normal word for the spirit of a dead person is usually *jumby* in the Eastern group and *duppy* in the Western group," but both have been shown to occur in TT, SVI and VI.

Aceto (2008b: 651) notes that "the post-nominal plural marker [an dɛm] is generally diagnostic of the Anglophone Eastern Caribbean, though simple post-nominal [dɛm], the form generally associated with Western Caribbean varieties, is also heard." Again, both are found in TT, SVI, and also in ATG (contra Hancock 1987: 305).

Two features considered typical of Western Caribbean varieties (Aceto 2008b: 652) occur in two of the Eastern Caribbean Creoles considered: 159. *una* (2PL) in SVI 2008, and 160. *unu* (2PL) in ATG (contra Hancock 1987: 298, and Parkvall 2000: 102).

In his survey of pronominal forms, Aceto (2008: 652–653) concludes that "*(h)im* (as both subject and object pronoun) in Western varieties," while it is "nearly always *(h)i* (as a subject pronoun) […] in Eastern Caribbean varieties." However, both *him* and *hi* are recorded in TT, SVI, ATG and VI. Aceto (2008: 653) also writes that "*wi* is often the first person plural pronoun (as both subject and object pronouns) in Western varieties, and the corresponding form is *aawi* in the Eastern Caribbean," but both *wi* and *aawi* occur in TT, SVI, ATG and VI.

6. Status of features

The attestations in TT, SVI, ATG, SVI and BAH provide additional evidence that seven diagnostic features qualify in fact for world-wide status (see also Avram 2003 and 2004), contra Baker and Huber (2001), who include them in the Pacific group:

Table 12. World-wide status of seven features

Features classified as Pacific (Baker, Huber 2001)		Atlantic varieties in which they are found		Also attested in
259.	*calico* 'cloth(es)'	GUL	TT SVI ATG	
268.	*first time* 'ahead, formerly'	SRN JAM KRI WAF	TT SVI BAH	
277.	*look see* 'inspect, see'	SRN KRI	TT	PIN
287.	*saltwater* 'sea; coastal'	SRN JAM	TT SVI ATG BAH	PIN
288.	*sing out* 'shout'	SVI ATG BAH	PIN	
295.	VERB-VM (transitive suffix)	BJN WAF I-G	TT	
300.	*yet* 'still'	SRN SKI	BAH	PIN

As shown by Baker and Huber (2001), Avram (2003), Baker and Mühlhäusler (2012), PIN is a Pacific variety which exhibits Atlantic features. Consequently, the occurrence in PIN of a diagnostic feature cannot be evidence of its world-wide status (Baker, Huber 2001: 165). The occurrence in SVI, ATG and BAH – in addition to PIN – of feature 288. *sing out* 'shout' constitutes, therefore, indisputable evidence for its world-wide distribution.

Conclusions

The results represent additions to the body of data regarding the distribution of diagnostic features not only in the Atlantic English-lexified Creoles, but also across English-lexified contact languages.

The first attestations in TT, SVI, ATG, VI and BAH contribute to a better understanding of the history of these varieties as well as of the genetic relationships, provenance of features and their diffusion among the Atlantic English Creoles.

The findings confirm the role of Barbados and St Kitts as centres of diffusion (Baker 1999; Cooper 1999), of ATG in the emergence of SVI, and of GUL in the formation of BAH.

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Modelling Past Language Change and the Archaeology of the Early Slavs

ABSTRACT. The question of the origin, development and the early spread of the Slavic group of languages has long been the subject of an intense and thorough research in several scientific and scholarly disciplines. The following research has long been embedded in a search for 'national' identity, but in recent years the prominence of such concerns has become less prominent and we may even put forward a claim that a certain stagnation has set in. The prominence of the traditional and rather a simplistic evolutionary (*stammbaum*) models of language change and development that have, so far, been used instead of various new approaches to the phenomenon of linguistic contact and replacement have very often hindered many interdisciplinary discussions. The main aim of the following paper is to elaborate on some of the above mentioned issues and questions. As a consequence, the reinterpretation of the available material traces of the past events through such a perspective may add a new dimension to not only our understanding, perception and interpretation of the history of Eastern Europe and its languages but also, by posing various new questions, may have some useful feedback for the fields of study to which belongs for example historical linguistics.

KEYWORDS: language change, archaeology, Proto-Slavic, contact linguistics.

Introduction

For a century and a half, the distribution of the ancient human groups speaking various early versions of Slavic languages has been the subject of intense research in several disciplines, including of course linguistics. From wholly obscure beginnings, difficult to trace in any available sources, by the time better evidence is available at the beginning of the second millennium AD, we see that the languages of this group had already spread to much of the large areas of Eastern Europe where they were spoken in more recent times. The mechanisms by which this occurred are still unclear.

Quite early on in linguistics, several models developed to account for various facts about the Slavic languages, both the relationships between the various languages in the group, and the relationships between the Slavic languages and others of the Indo-European group. The models which came to dominate the field from about the middle of the 19th century were derived from comparative and historical linguistics and were based on two main postulates.

The first was that the Slavic languages as we know them today had developed by a progressive series of stages involving certain linguistic shifts from an initial form. This means that it could be explored by retrogression from the state known in the earliest documents to the unknown by a form of 'reverse engineering' (Shevelov 1965; Carlton 1991; Schenker 1996). The evolution of the Slavic languages is seen as having its beginning in one (reconstructed) archaic language, labelled "Proto-Slavic." The second postulate was that this "Proto-Slavic" language had been spoken (in a 'pure' form) in one compact area before its use then spread to give rise to the modern Slavic languages.

Much scholarly debate focused on this proto-language and where it had arisen and been initially spoken. The hunt therefore was on for the "Urheimat" of the Slavs – a notion not without political importance. There were two main periods of the development of the study of the so-called "Slavic ethnogenesis;" the first was connected with the 19th century search for national identities in Central and Eastern Europe (roughly 1830s continuing to the 1930s), while a second was connected with similar processes in the later 1940s to late 1980s (Barford 2001). After that, in research into this question a certain stagnation set in while post-Communist Central Europe sought other identities and the issue of the relationship between the various Slavic-speaking groups seemed less important.

In this brief note, it will not be attempted to make a detailed presentation of the various theories about the location and nature of this "Proto-Slavic Urheimat" (see for example the summary by Gołąb 1992, 2004). Suffice to say, as a result of the concentrated work of several generations of scholars of several disciplines in many countries, it has been given various sizes, borders and locations. All sorts of linguistic information were adduced to find it, hydronyms, ethnonyms, the names of trees and natural features, loan words, with varying results.

In these discussions, throughout much of the 20th century, the dominant paradigm at the basis of the study of the topic by several disciplines was the envisioning of language change primarily as a normative evolutionary model, with the Slavic languages separating from others and evolving from one fixed state to another. 'Progress' from one stage to another was by a series of steps which corresponded to 'laws' and each step was completed allegedly in the same order and same pace all over the area where the Slavic languages were spoken.

This leads some linguists applying this traditional model to postulate that the "Slavic homeland" was a relatively compact area with few barriers to the movement of communication patterns from one end to the next. It was in such a context that the various methods of defining the location of the "Slavic homeland" were applied. Many loanwords and other 'influences' attested in all Slavic languages for example were believed to have been adopted by the Proto-Slavic language, and used accordingly to help define the location and extent of this region.

The traditional approach also was initially ahistorical. Linguistic 'facts' were first established, and the results then were fitted into the scenario known from historical records. Very rarely was an attempt made to identify historical processes and model what this would mean for the development of languages. Various factors led to the scholars in various disciplines investigating the early spread of the Slavic languages not adopting models deriving from developments in the wider world of historical linguistics, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics from the 1980s onwards. As a result, until recently much work on the topic by, for example archaeologists and historians, has tended to be based on assumptions related to rather simplistic linguistic models, rather than looking at the historical distribution of the Slavic languages as the result of processes of language replacement and language death.

According to the traditional model in which forms of the Slavic language moved out from the Proto-Slavic speakers' homeland to surrounding areas, and on the way split into the three main groups (South, East and West Slavic), the most obvious mechanism – particularly to 19th and early 20th century thought – would have been with colonial expansion of the Slavic-speaking peoples. A typical comment is that by Henning Andersen (1998: 417): "During the first few centuries of our era, Slavs begin to expand their territory. In the east they move northward,

infiltrating the Baltic-speaking areas…founding colonies…and assimi-
lation of local populations…" Note that here we have the assumption
that "the Slavs" was at this time an ethnic group – in other words as-
suming a link between language and identity. It is not at all infrequent
to find other scholars using this sort of terminology. A similar assump-
tion is made by linguist Johanna Nichols (1999: 240) who, though she
concludes that there is "no reason to assume that the Slavic expansion
was a primarily demographic event […] the parsimonious assumption is
the Slavic expansion was primarily a linguistic spread," she still seems to
see the process as one of "ethnic spread."

On the basis of the same reasoning, if a Proto-Slavic language was be-
ing spoken by a culturally-distinct ancient group of people in a distinct
area, then archaeologists tried to identify the culture of those people. If it
moved by a migration of peoples – the archaeologist would be able to
show how a distinctive culture spread with these Slav-speaking people.
That was the theory. Reality proved to be somewhat different.

First of all, is the practical problem of explaining why these migra-
tions would have taken place at all. Why would whole populations pack
up house and home and move to a far off unknown area? Secondly, how
does a restricted "homeland" produce the demographic resources to
populate what amounts to almost half of Europe within a few centuries?
And when these primitive farming folk moved out into other communi-
ties in the wider world, proponents of this model rarely consider why
it was their language that replaced those already being spoken there.
By what mechanism did it replace them?

Identifying the people themselves has also proven to be a problem.
Until the 4th century AD, the archaeological cultures of central Europe
reflect a specific type of identity closely related in its material aspects to
material further west. The written sources suggest that the area of east
central Europe was inhabited by people who, even if they did not iden-
tify themselves as such, were classified by classical writers as Germanic
(Todd 2004; Cunliffe, Todd 2001). These material culture patterns had
spread into the area from the west, possibly (in central Europe) as early
as the 2nd century BC (the archaeological Oksywie and Przeworsk cul-
ture groups). Many scholars agree that this is a reflection of the spread
into the area of (East) Germanic speech patterns, accompanying the es-
tablishment over much of central Europe of social systems probably

organized as warrior bands and prestige networks. These groups had a rich array of material culture which they used to proclaim both their identity and status. Most probably, the populations speaking earlier versions of the Slavic languages were at that time a social substrate in these systems, but one which is near-invisible from the material culture.

1. The Proto-Slavic problem

The conclusions of two centuries' work on the relationships between and development of the Indo-European languages leads us to assume that for a lengthy period of time there were various communities speaking various differently-related languages which were transitional between early forms of Indo-European and those that were to give rise to the Slavic languages. The time-span over which these changes were taking place is uncertain. Two opposing models are currently the most popular. Renfrew's (1987) thesis postulates that the movement of Indo-European speech patterns into Europe can be dated to the spread of agriculture as early as 6000–5500 BC, while the Kurgan Hypothesis of Gimbutas (1956) would see them spreading more recently, with the Corded Ware about 3000 BC. Both these models have received much criticism in various circles, but the key issue is that whichever is correct, the Proto-Indo--European (PIE) language(s) was/were developing in Europe over a period of at least three and a half (and possibly six) millennia from which we have not a scrap of firm evidence against which to test linguistic theories and constructions. The main method to attempt to work out what was happening was to assume that changes took place by predictable and regular processes and work back from the earliest forms of the languages witnessed in the written sources.

Somewhere and sometime in that long period of development, changes took place in the dialects of PIE that gave rise to speech patterns that were to eventually be developed into the early forms of the Slavic languages. We are only able to observe by more direct means the crystallisation of the latter only after the middle of the first millennium AD where we have reports of words used by these communities, and then – but only after the 9th century when we have actual texts in these languages.

Any attempt to work out what was happening before that requires a number of assumptions to be made, among them are that changes took place in a law-like manner and were not reversible, that they occurred throughout the region where the languages were spoken more or less at the same time and in the same order, that there was no process later on in the development of the languages which wiped out whole swathes of the developments up to that point, that there were no significant complicating interactions with cognate third languages which have subsequently disappeared. Given the variability that might be expected in several thousand years' development of the languages spoken in various contexts by scattered and relatively isolated (and possibly mutually hostile) local communities, the latter seems particularly difficult to accept.

Zbigniew Gołąb (1992, Polish edition 2004: 157) for example postulates eleven stages of lexical innovation (dialectical layers) which led from PIE to Proto-Slavic (the rise of which he tentatively dates to c. 500 BC), so 2500 years. They represent innovations occurring in neighbouring language groups as they were in the process of diverging from each other. Gołąb (2004: 273–362) identifies a series of loanwords in Proto-Slavic from Iranian, Germanic (three chronologically distinct layers) and Altaic speech patterns. His presentation of the material he gathered suggests a relatively slow rate of change in the first two millennia, but the pace increased substantially in the first part of the first millennium BC. After which it seems he is implying that there was a period about a millennium long of relative stability in the Proto-Slavic language and thus formed. To what extent is this picture an artefact of the material gathered and the assumptions made in interpreting it? Georg Holzer (1996) discusses the theoretical reconstruction of lost languages, he too (Holzer 1995) sees the Slavic languages still comprising more or less a single system at the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries.

The region (somewhere in Europe, most probably in East-central Europe) where various stages and dialects of the Proto-Slavic derivatives of the PIE languages were apparently spoken has been identified by some writers as the broad zone marked by the occurrence of hydronyms identified by linguists (Babik 2001; Trubachev 1968, 1991) as 'archaic.' This stretches from the middle reaches of the Oder (Pol. Odra) in the west to the middle reaches of the Dniestr in the east and from the Pripet and Notec (Pol. Noteć) on the north and the Carpathians and

upper Dniestr on the south. That makes a zone 1400 km long and about 350 km wide which we may envisage as bordering on the Baltic languages on the northeast, and a variety of other languages on the other sides. Popowska-Taborska (1993: 45–49) however questions whether these supposed Proto-Slavic river names are indeed all of direct Slavic origin, and considers that those which are could be the result of later folk-movements. Considering that there is a lack of evidence available for a strong phonetic differentiation of Proto-Slavic until at least the 5th century AD, leads her to postulate that the zone in which these languages were spoken "must have been therefore a relatively small area within which there could take place free and permanent communication between various tribal groups" (Popowska-Taborska 1993: 45–49). She leaves open the question however of the size of such a communication community. If we accept that certain types of evidence point to the original extent of the language being more extensive and dispersed, we have to question assumptions about our reconstruction of the early development of the language group. Other linguists however (see Długosz-Kurczabowa, Dubisz 2003: 45) claim to be able to detect traces in the substrate of the South Slavic languages, traces of the differentiation of the Proto-Slavic into 'eastern' and 'western' dialects before the migration of some groups to the Danube (see below).

Irrespective of their geographical extent, it is interesting in the degree to which earlier forms of Proto-Slavic did not get displaced by those spoken by the social elite of the region for several centuries.

These languages left their traces on the landscape in the form of hydronyms identified as Germanic by linguists (Babik 2001: 66–68). This raises the question of the linguistic relations between the various social groups of the area.

2. Systemic change

In the last decades of the 4th century, right across the ancient world, there was a total breakdown of the old cultural patterns. This means that when the dominant group with their showy culture dissolves, the archaeological record which is left by those who remained is markedly poor. Although the picture is not very clear, the increasingly fluid and chaotic situation in central Europe outside the Roman borders in the 5th

and early 6th century was reflected by the creation and dissolution of new groups and the movement of others.

The total breakdown of the equilibrium at the end of the 4th century sees the Huns, Turkic nomad horsemen, break in across the Pontic steppes and into the Lower Danubian area. There was a migration of the East Germanic tribes (Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians) out of central Europe down into the Roman Empire itself.

It seems likely that the central European Slavic-speaking populations were affected by this. Some of them seem to have seen opportunities in joining successful warrior bands some 600 kilometres to the south on the peripheries of the collapsing Roman world. Roman chronicles record raids from the 490s onwards by a series of groups of Barbarians apparently relatively newly arrived on the Danubian frontiers. Among the raiders they name groups called the Antes and Sclaveni who seem (from later evidence) to have been Slavic-speaking (Curta 2001). They had certainly not been present in the area in preceding centuries (when a large area in the arc of the Carpathians had, between 106 and 275 AD, been the Roman province of Dacia). The Slavic-speaking communities must have moved into the area from the north, perhaps across the Carpathians from what is now southern Poland, or along the outside of the Carpathian arc (through Galicia, Podolia and Moldavia), or maybe by both routes.

These newcomers were among the groups that written records of the time suggest came to dominate the area along the north bank of the Danube in the regions of what is now Wallachia with other groups further west in Serbia. While initially their activities were restricted to hit-and-run raids (in part due to decreasingly effective Roman resistance), after the breakdown of the frontiers from the early 7th century onwards, these Slavic-speaking groups started to cross the borders into Roman territories to settle the abandoned farmlands as autonomous groups. Here they were to form the basis of the South Slavic tribes.

About 560, the Avars had arrived on the north bank of the Danube. These were Turkic-speaking nomad horsemen who at first were paid by the Byzantine Empire to terrorize the groups north of the frontier. But they very soon set up an independent confederacy made up of the groups settled on the Hungarian Plain and a wider area beyond. This was to last 230 years until the end of the 8th century. They were

followed in the 680s by another group of Turkic horsemen, the Bulgars who fairly rapidly formed a powerful state cantered on the plains either side of the Danube and at times extending deep into Transylvania and the Balkans. This was to prove more permanent than Avar rule and was a serious rival to the Byzantine Empire for the lands of Thrace (roughly: modern Bulgaria) until the end of the 10th century.

In the area north of the Carpathians, there must have been some reduction in the numbers of the Proto-Slavic-speaking population with the movement of some groups to the lands of new opportunity along the Danube. The numbers may not have been huge, since factors other than numerical superiority may have been involved in the Slavic language dominating the linguistic scene down there. It has been suggested by some archaeologists (for example Dulinicz 2001: 18–19, 207–209) that there was a breakdown of the settlement network in the Oder and Elbe regions between the fifth and end of the 7th century which might be a result of such a migration. There are fewer traces of such a crisis in the southern and southeastern parts of Poland. The archaeological evidence shows that south of the Carpathians in the Moravian and Bohemian basins there are no signs of a Slav presence in the 6th century, the area was only settled by Slav-speaking communities in the 7th and 8th centuries (Curta 2008, 2009).

As a result, it seems that in the regions in which the West Slavic languages were to come to dominate just a few centuries later, they were relatively new arrivals. This raises questions about the nature of the process and the linguistic relationship between the languages spoken here and those being spoken at the same time on the Danubian plain. Perhaps Proto-Slavic was used as some form of a *lingua franca* in central Europe (what is now Bohemia, Moravia [Slovakia?], northeastern Poland and the Elbe region) to facilitate communication between scattered disparate groups of varying linguistic affinities as the settlement network was reorganized after a breakdown in the 5th and 6th centuries.

The gathering on the Danubian borders of previously disparate, linguistically and dialectically distinct groups in communities large enough to pose a threat to the Roman Empire is also precisely the situation which leads to language contact and language shift. Obviously a whole series of linguistic processes will come into play in a newly formed communication community like this.

What seems to have happened in the confederacies which collected around the Avars and Bulgars is instructive. The Avar elite that formed the core of the group were a relatively small number. They had however at their command much larger numbers of subjects of other ethnic groups attracted by the prestige and successes of these leaders. Though there are Turkic loanwords in Slavic (probably mostly acquired at this stage rather than by an older form of Proto-Slavic) there are no traces that the Avars imposed their own language on the people by elite dominance. Horace Lunt (1984) suggested that it was an archaic form of Slavic language which was used as a *lingua franca* in the Avar Khaganate. This would explain a lot (but raises other questions).

The same thing happened 120 years later when between the 8th and the 10th centuries, the Bulgar elite gradually lost their own Turkic language and adopted the Slavic language of their subjects. It was in the 7th to 10th centuries that across the Balkans and broad region south of the Danube the processes of linguistic contact and language shift in the area led to the rise of the ancestral forms of the South Slavic languages (Bulgarian and Macedonian in the East and Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian and related forms in the West). It also gave rise to Old Church Slavonic.

This process would seem to confirm the model suggested by those writers who claim there was an extraordinary linguistic unity of the Slavic dialects before this process. It may be suggested that unless other processes were active, had there been a wider divergence in the elements from which a Slavic *lingua franca* developed in the cultural melting pot on the Lower Danube in the 6th to 8th centuries, the various Slavic languages would be further apart from the South Slavic ones than they are today. According to the traditional historical linguistic picture, the last shared innovations common to all modern Slavic languages are dated to the 9th century. This is followed by a period in which other innovations followed (Schenker 1996). "Common Slavic" sound changes occurred – now in the period where there is some degree of literary attestation – for some three centuries more, though they did not actually occur completely in some Slavic dialects and some of the changes were absent from certain peripheral dialects.

Nevertheless there remains a problem of how such changes occurred – in theory simultaneously and in the same order – over such wide areas (by now a zone some 2000 km from east to west and north to south).

Also even if Slavic was used as a *lingua franca* in the Avar and Bulgar confederacies, it does not explain how features which developed within those communication communities (for example Turkic loanwords) were spread to the speech patterns of the areas well outside the zones dominated by these political groups. In the first millennium AD people did not travel far from home, there were no media to provide patterns of linguistic habits from distant areas (and even if there were, what would be the motives for adopting them?). It seems the wide spread of such modifications invites us to try to find some kind of social context for them, but based in the social realities of those times.

3. The influence of levelling factors

One important process of language shift needs to be taken into account when we try to apply the results of comparative (diachronic) linguistics to the questions of the "origin of the Slavs." That is the replacement by a process of elite dominance of tribal languages by a state language in the changed social conditions caused by the crystallisation of various polities such as early states when social change may be reflected by rapid processes of linguistic development. In the 9th and 10th centuries, states were forming in the east and west of the regions where Slavic dialects were spoken, and it seems likely that the process was reflected in dynamic linguistic processes which – in the absence of a literary record of the situation before state formation – we can only guess at. The languages of the new state displace pre-existing tribal and local languages.

A good example is the formation of the Russian state (Franklin, Shepard 1996). The broad outlines seem clear from the chronicles, the political unification of much of Early Medieval Russia took place in the 880s, with the rulers of Kiev subjugating a series of (probably Slavic-speaking) tribes south of the Pripet: Drevlians, Severians, Vyatichs, and Radimichs. Later on they extended their rule across the looser clusters of scattered communities – tribal groups such as the Krivichi, Slovienie and Vyatichi – extending 1000 km deep into the forest zone (an area about 1000 km across dominated by Baltic and Finno-Ugric hydronyms). The chroniclers are clear that before they became united into a single state under a single ruler, these groups had culturally been very diverse. We may imagine this extended to the languages they spoke.

These themselves (if they had survived) would have contained evidence of their own development, but since they have vanished leaving barely a trace, there are obviously limits to the degree that we can reconstruct the earlier stages of the development of these vanished local languages by retrogression.

It was a century later that literacy was finally introduced from Bulgaria in the 980s under Vladimir of Kiev who was trying to establish his power over the tribes of Russia. This led to the South Slavic Old Church Slavonic being introduced as the liturgical and literary language, probably used also in state administration. The early documentation of this is also scanty, apart from a few earlier fragments, the first major texts are 12th century. Documentation of the vernacular language of this period is even more scarce, making it difficult at best fully to determine the relationship between the literary language and its spoken dialects. What evidence we do have (Novgorod birchbark letters) suggests that in the 11th to 14th century there was originally quite substantial dialectical differentiation in the spoken language across the area (Zaliznyak 2004; Birnbaum 1991).

The introduction of a special-purpose literary language which would overlay existing speech patterns would clearly well disrupt attempts to consider through retrogression the development of the Slavic languages as a simple evolutionary process, especially when the main sources of information from such an analysis come from early literary texts. While from the 12th century on it is possible to follow more closely the development of the regional dialects of the Russian language and their social context, it is much more difficult to take the study back beyond the 9th and 10th century imposition of a literary and common administrative language in the process of state formation. The possibilities of penetrating deeper below those processes to reconstruct the form of the regional varieties of the languages spoken in the region in the 6th and 7th centuries become even more remote. The formation of blanket languages replacing previous linguistic diversity forms a partial barrier to retrogressive analysis starting from later forms, and will inevitably complicate any attempt to understand the details of the earlier stages of the development of the Slavic languages (see Walczak 1985 for a similar point of view).

This literary language was an imposition from outside, originating in the southwest. It was specially created for the newly-converted

Slavic-speaking peoples and its use rapidly spread with the creation of Christian states to become the fourth liturgical language of the Christian world. It was first introduced to a Frankish vassal state in Moravia deep beyond the imperial realms in the 860s by the evangelists Cyril and Methodius. This was a key event in its history, even though the use of the Slavic liturgy in Great Moravia was an episode which lasted only about 22 years. In the 860s–890s in a period of political expansion into several areas around, including Bohemia, the state reached its greatest territorial extent (and probably with it an elite state language), though a few decades later the Moravian empire collapsed. At the end of the 9th century (in the 880s and 890s) the same literary and liturgical language was introduced from there to wider areas such as Bulgaria, Croatia, and Bohemia. It was in the First Bulgarian Empire's Preslav Academy that the Cyrillic script was created and it was from Bulgaria that a century later the liturgical and possibly administrative use of the Slavic language was taken to Ruthenia. To what extent has the elite dominance of linguistic patterns derived from the use of a single literary language over a wide region contaminated our picture of the complexities of the earlier development of the Slavic languages?

4. Linguistic models and other disciplines

This raises the issue of what the archaeologist should be looking for in trying to understand the so-called "origin of the Slavs." Applying the traditional evolutionary models of language development implied that we are looking for movements of people in the archaeological record, which is basically what eastern European archaeologists have steadfastly been doing (Kaczanowski, Parczewski (eds.) 2005). Linguistic methodology has made advances in the past few decades, but these new approaches may – for a number of reasons – take a long time to come to the awareness of practitioners of other disciplines and become part of their conceptual toolkit. If we were to accept more subtle models involving the diffusion of linguistic change the archaeologist would be looking for evidence of the social conditions responsible for those linguistic changes, language shift and replacement, language death. The choice of one or another model used in historical linguistics has therefore implications for other disciplines.

The traditional model proposed by linguists for the development of the Slavic languages involved the establishment of an abstract and initially ahistorical model of linguistic change which it was then attempted to fit into the historical framework. A fruitful approach to the study of these processes would be to work the other way around, and apply what linguists and other humanists have learnt in recent decades to the problem. One of these involves the whole issue of identity, and its relationship to factors such as language. The other body of knowledge that should be applied are more sophisticated models of linguistic change involving contact, language shift and language death – within the historical context (in part including that derived from more modern approaches to the archaeological evidence). These may allow us to question the linguistic data in a different manner to that of the traditional normative and evolutionary approach. The reinterpretation of the material traces of past events through such a perspective may add a new dimension to not only our understanding of the history of eastern Europe but, by posing new questions, may also have some useful feedback for historical linguistics.

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The "Image of English" in State-Level Official English Proposals

ABSTRACT. The Official English movement has scored a series of spectacular successes during the past three decades by effectively managing to shake off the "English-only" stigma and elevating the officialization question to the level of mainstream patriotism. While this phenomenon may sound the tocsin of crisis among the proponents of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, the current trend is hardly incompatible with the fundamental tenets of American language ideology. A somewhat neglected aspect of these developments is how the purported role of the English language in American identity-formation and nation building has evolved especially since the 1980s. The principal aim of this paper is to assess the perceived societal mission of the English language by examining all enacted and pending state-level Official English pieces of legislation from four perspectives. First, (1) the "English-intrinsic" (*i.e.* "what English is") arguments in the already passed statutes or constitutional amendments are compared and contrasted with the pieces that are still being considered by various state legislatures. Next, (2) the attention shifts to the "English-functional" arguments (*i.e.* "what English does" or is supposed to do); and the last two research questions address (3) the "needs" of English (*i.e.* whether the majority language should be protected, cultivated or promoted); and, finally, (4) the supposed societal roles of other languages are also discussed – as reflected in the examined laws and proposals.

KEYWORDS: English in America, language planning, language policy, linguistic imperialism, social change.

Introduction

Probably the most salient of all areas of potential language policy conflict in the United States is the Official English (or: "English-only") question. Since the early 1980s, 26 new names have been added to the growing list of those states (numbering 31 in June 2012) that legally enshrine the official status of the English language either in statutory law or by

a constitutional amendment (Official English map). This string of piece-meal success stories forms a marked contrast with the repeated failures of similar federal-level legislative proposals, the most promising of which (HR 997, or the "English Language Unity Act" of 2011) currently stands a mere 1% chance of being enacted despite having garnered 113 cosponsors (HR 997). The reasons behind the state-level Official English momentum are numerous. In 1995, Raymond Tatalovich identified anti-Hispanic feelings, conservative attitudes, lower education levels, but first and foremost a strong feeling of 'Americanism,' which coalesced and culminated in the re-emergence of nativism (Tatalovich 1995: 243–246).

James Crawford in 2000 warned that the Official English move-ment had by that time become a "mainstream phenomenon," not simply "a creature of the far right fringe of American politics" (Crawford 2000: 4–5). Deborah Schildkraut's (2005) research on language policy and public opinion has highlighted the misleading nature of emphasizing liberalism alone as a decisive component of American national identity: the neglected "civic republican tradition" (focusing on the responsibili-ties of citizenship) and "ethnoculturalism" (which stresses the alleged ascriptive or immutable characteristics of American identity) also shape and influence language-related political rhetoric (Schildkraut 2005: 194–198). Besides identity politics – in which competing discourses center around arguments to foster "national unity" vs. "equality" – the other ingredient of potential language policy conflict is the expectation that the government play an active role with respect to language diversity, lan-guage contact, and language competition (Schmidt 2000: 37–38). Ethnic and linguistic diversity has been growing steadily in the U.S. (entailing more frequent contact situations and heightened competition as well) at least since the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, with the result that the percentage of the five years and older population who "speak a language other than English at home" had increased from 17.9% in 2000 (U.S. Summary (2000) 2002: 3) to 20.6% by 2010, repre-senting 15% growth (American Community Survey 2010). Nevertheless, the percentage of those who speak English less than 'very well' was 8.1% in 2000 and had reached only 8.7% by 2010 (amounting to 7.4% growth) (American Community Survey 2010), which suggests that bilingualism had spread at a remarkable rate during the decade – and there is little reason to doubt that the tendency is likely to continue in the future.

As far as expectations of government activism are concerned, the dozens of "Official English" legislative proposals introduced mostly since the early 1980s clearly signal that ordinary citizens increasingly want to see their state and federal government to fulfill a language status planning role. Even the followers of the Tea Party movement, whose avowed goals are 'less government,' 'more freedom' and 'protecting the Constitution,' frequently endorse and promote the officialization idea at a grassroots level (Czeglédi 2011: 243–245).

1. Aims and method

The principal aim of this inquiry is to assess the perceived societal mission of the English language by examining all enacted and currently pending state-level "Official English" pieces of legislation from four perspectives. The "descriptive framework" or "accounting scheme" (Cooper 1989: 98) employed is a modified version of Robert Phillipson's set of arguments (*i.e.* "English-intrinsic," "English-extrinsic," and "English-functional") originally used to analyze the global promotion of the English language (Phillipson 1992: 271–272). The present exploration mainly focuses on the first and the third arguments, trying to gauge the extent of the "innate power" and "structural power" that the language is supposed to wield. Since quintessentially "English-extrinsic" arguments do not appear in the examined pieces, the "resource power" of the language is not examined separately – it is understood as being immensely superior even to the most formidable competitor in North America: Spanish. In order to enhance the "predictive adequacy" (Cooper 1989: 48) of the descriptive framework, the pending pieces of legislation – *i.e.* "policies in the making" (Lo Bianco 1999: 61) – are also taken into consideration besides the already enacted statutes. The text of statutes and constitutional amendments in force were accessed *via* the website of *ProEnglish* (Official English map), whereas the pending pieces during the 2011–2012 congressional sessions were downloaded from the individual state legislatures, with the list provided by *ProEnglish* at http://proenglish.org/official-english/legislation/state.html having been used as a gateway. Altogether there are 31 states with "Official English" laws in force (as of May 15, 2012), while 36 more or less similar measures are being considered in 15 states according to *ProEnglish*. Nonetheless,

Indiana's SB 590 had to be removed from the list, since the enrolled version does not contain the English language requirements concerning official documents or communication – despite having had such stipulations earlier in the introduced bill (State Enrolled Act, No. 590). Another dubious case is House Bill 327 of Mississippi, which died in committee in 2011 (HB 327). After the correction, the number of relevant bills still being considered in 13 state legislatures is reduced to 34. Furthermore, some pending pieces are merely focused on one single aspect of officialization (*e.g.* on "English-only" driving examinations). In addition, a few of them are sister bills, *i.e.* the (nearly) identical versions of the same proposal, introduced simultaneously in both houses of the state legislature. The number of "purely" "Official English" proposals is 21; they are concentrated in 9 state legislatures: Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Washington, and West Virginia. Three of these entities (North Carolina, South Carolina, and Oklahoma) are "Official English" states already: here the general aim of the proposals is to provide implementation guidelines and strengthen enforcement.

The present research focuses on four questions (or potential problem areas). First, (1) the "English-intrinsic" (*i.e.* "what English is") arguments in the already passed statutes or constitutional amendments are compared and contrasted with the pieces that are still being considered by various state legislatures. Next, (2) the attention shifts to the "English-functional" arguments (*i.e.* "what English does" or is supposed to do). The last two research questions address (3) the "needs" of English (*i.e.* whether the majority language should be protected, cultivated or promoted); and, finally, (4) the supposed societal roles of other languages are discussed, especially in the context of foreign language teaching and/or bilingual education.

2. Findings

Even a cursory glance at the list of the enacted laws reveals two plus one watersheds in the history of "Official English" pieces in the 20th century. The first one marked the beginning of a long period of inactivity after WWI (lasting roughly until the 1980s), which was due to the immigration restrictions of the 1920s and the clear preference for entrants coming

from Western and Northern Europe, resulting in accelerated assimilation and relatively swift Americanization. However, nativist feelings began to resurface in the early 1980s when the number (and percentage) of foreign-born population started to slant steeply upward again (see *e.g.*: Foreign-Born Population…); the U.S. economy was experiencing a recession (with significant cuts in domestic spending); and the education system seemed to be in a state of near chaos – at least according to a 1983 report (*A Nation at Risk*) released by the U.S. Department of Education. "Official English" activism reappeared both on state and federal congressional agenda: Senator Samuel I. Hayakawa's proposed constitutional amendment – SJRes 72 – marked the formal beginning of the movement at the national level in April 1981.

Hardly noticeable in the wake of this second watershed was the tendency of abandoning wholly symbolic, usually one-sentence declarations in favor of legislative pieces with explicit binding force, occasionally containing unambiguous references to bilingual education and to the legally prescribed practice of multilingual ballots in certain circumstances. After 1988 all state-level "Official English" laws have become substantive; furthermore, the ones accepted by the people at voter referenda routinely scored over an 80% approval rating in recent years. There is not a single symbolic piece among the 34 pending proposals, either.

2.1 "English-intrinsic" arguments

2.1.1. Enacted proposals

The first reference to English as a "common language" crops up in California's Proposition 63 in 1986, which became added to the state constitution in the same year (Calif. State Const., Art III, Sec. 6, Sec. 1(a)). The phrase "common language" is the most frequently repeated designation, appearing in North Carolina's statute in 1987 (North Carolina Code, §14512(a)); Alabama's constitutional amendment (1990) (Constitution of Alabama, Amendement 509); and in South Dakota's statute (1995) as well (South Dakota Code, §1-27-20). Since 1998 several versions of "common language" have emerged: Alaska's statute (1998) mentions "common unifying language" (Ballot Measure 6, Sec. 1); Iowa's statute (2002) refers to English as the "common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds together" (Iowa Code, Ch. 1.18, Sec. 1(b)); Idaho's statute (2007) describes English as a "binding common thread"

(Idaho Code, §73-121, Statement of Purpose); while Oklahoma's constitutional amendment refers to it as a "common and unifying language" (State Question 751). Altogether 8/31 (25.8%) of the "Official English" laws currently in force contain any "English-intrinsic" references; most frequently a variant of "common (unifying) language."

2.1.2. Pending proposals

Twelve bills out of the total of 34 (37.5%) portray English as a "common language" (four proposals); "traditional and common language," "the strongest bond to one another as fellow citizens" (two proposals); "the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds" (four proposals); "the common language of the people" (one proposal); or "common unifying language" (one proposal). On the basis of the pending proposals the need to define English as a "common language" appears to be at least as strong as in the more recently enacted laws. If only the 21 "proper" "Official English" bills are counted, then the proportion of those that contain "English-intrinsic" references is 11/21 (52.4%).

On the other hand, while New Jersey's a 965 is not a general "Official English" bill and merely specifies that "it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to require an employee to speak English while performing duties falling within the scope of employment" (Assembly Bill, No. 965, Sec. 11(a)), but it also describes English as a "common unifying language" (Assembly Bill, No. 965, Statement).

2.2. "English-functional" arguments

2.2.1. Enacted proposals

While several "English-intrinsic" arguments might be classified as implicit "English-functional" as well – since the "unifying" language unites, and the "common bond" obviously binds – the explicit arguments reveal additional missions that the "common unifying language" is entrusted with.

Iowa's 2002 statute emphasizes that English facilitates "participation in the economic, political, and cultural activities of this state and of the United States" (Iowa Code, Ch. 1.18, Sec. 1(2)); whereas Idaho's 2007 law points out that the common language "has allowed us to discuss, debate, and come to agreement on difficult issues" (Idaho Code, §73-121, Statement of Purpose). Besides the two statutes (6.5% of the total

of 31) emphasizing "participation" and "agreement," no other "English--functional" motives can be found in the enacted laws.

2.2.2. Pending proposals

Here the proportion of "English-functional" arguments is significantly greater: 16 bills out of 34 (47.1%) contain relevant examples. Among the proper "Official English" bills the similar figure is 10/21 (47.6%).

On the basis of the pending proposals English is endowed with numerous and wide-ranging tasks and capabilities:

- It "removes barriers of misunderstanding and helps to unify the people;" "enables full economic and civic participation;" and benefits the state commercially and culturally (appearing in four proposals: Minnesota's HF 64 and SF 175, and Oklahoma's HB 2083 and HB 1444);
- It enables to "participate in and take full advantage of opportunities afforded by American life;" enables citizens to "make their voices heard in the legislative process, effectively exercise their right to vote, or fully understand the rights afforded them" (four proposals: New York's a 01258 and S 00469; Washington's HB 1769 and SB 6053);
- It is essential for the "full exercise of constitutional freedoms;" "informed and knowledgeable empowerment as voters;" "citizen checks against government abuses;" and to achieve "individual prosperity and independence;" promotes "national unity and societal cohesiveness" (two proposals: Pennsylvania's HB 888 and HB 361);
- It promotes "public welfare" (two proposals: Tennessee's HB 2721 and SB 2602);
- It promotes "greater understanding" (one proposal: New York's S 05911);
- It promotes commercial activities (one proposal: New Jersey's Assembly Bill No. 965);
- It increases public safety (one proposal: North Carolina's H 396).

The accumulation of these heightened, language-based expectations regarding nation-building is a novel phenomenon in state-level pieces, although federal "Official English" bills have regularly contained similar references at least since 1989 (Czeglédi 2008: 110–111).

2.3 What English needs

2.3.1 Enacted proposals

In order to enable the majority language to unlock its maximum assimilative and transformative potential with respect to individual citizens and society alike, the idea of *expressis verbis* legislative protection has been gaining ground since the adoption of California's constitutional amendment in 1986.

Ever since the referendum victory of Proposition 63 in the "Golden State," five other states have declared that the English language must be "preserved," "protected," strengthened," "enhanced," and "promoted." In Alabama (1990), Alaska (1998), and Arizona (2006) these "Official English" measures were also the result of voter initiatives, which signals considerable popular support behind the idea of language protectionism. It is important to note, however, that this type of protectionism is motivated by language status considerations, and not by corpus-conscious purism.

2.3.2 Pending proposals

While only 19.4% of all enacted proposals try to protect English explicitly, the proportion is slightly greater among the pending pieces (9/34 = 26.5%). Furthermore, the promotion and preservation of English is described as a "compelling" state or governmental interest in four proposals (Minnesota's HF 64 and SF 175, and Oklahoma's HB 2083 and HB 1444).

2.4 The role of other languages

2.4.1 Enacted proposals

The Hawaii constitution is the ultimate exception in this group because it has established both English and Native Hawaiian as official languages since 1978 (Haw. Const., Art. XV, §4). Constitutionally sanctioned official bilingualism as a viable option has not emerged with respect to any other state ever since, although Puerto Rico might opt for a similar arrangement on accession to statehood. As early as 1920, Nebraska's "Official English" constitutional amendment stipulated that "the common school branches shall be taught in said language in public, private, denominational and parochial schools" (Neb. Const., Art. 1 §27).

This policy reflected the generally disillusioned, isolationist and anti-foreign mood immediately after WWI, which culminated in several state-level bans on foreign language teaching prior to the *Meyer vs. Nebraska* (1923) Supreme Court decision. In a somewhat similar vein Virginia also declared in 1981 that "school boards shall have no obligation to teach the standard curriculum, except courses in foreign languages, in a language other than English" (VA. Code Ann., §22.1-212.1). The immediate context for the "Official English" statute (and for the specific reference to school boards) was the state's struggle to implement content-based ESL as an "alternative method" to the federally promoted transitional (and to a lesser degree: maintenance) bilingual education models (Crawford 2004: 120). While the Nebraska constitutional amendment was directed against virtually any non-English language in 1920, the Virginia statute made an exception for foreign language teaching (FLT), although it clearly tried to eliminate immigrant native languages from the educational process. No exemption was granted to indigenous languages, either. The Tennessee statute in 1984 seemingly went a step further towards assimilationist intolerance by declaring that "All communications and publications, including ballots, produced by governmental entities… shall be in English, and instruction in public schools and colleges of Tennessee shall be conducted in English unless the nature of the course would require otherwise" (Tenn. Code Ann., §4-1-404). Although there remained a theoretical escape clause for bilingual education models, the reference to monolingual ballots indicates that the framers of the law did not entirely favor federally mandated minority language accommodations.

The "Official English" law of Arkansas (1987) is one of the mildest measures of its kind. The declaration that "The English language shall be the official language of the state of Arkansas" is immediately followed by a disclaimer that "This section shall not prohibit the public schools from performing their duty to provide equal educational opportunities to all children" (Ark. Code Ann., §1-4-117(a-b)). In 1987 the provision of "equal educational opportunity" must have meant some form of bilingual education – now, 25 years later, it would rather imply the employment of monolingual models, *e.g.* structured English immersion. As a tendency, FLT has been granted exemption from the scope of the "Official English" laws since the early 1980s, while the maintenance

and intergenerational transmission of Native American languages have been granted similar protection since the mid-1990s (in compliance with the federal Native American Languages Act (NALA) of 1990 and 1992). As far as minority bilingual education (BE) models are concerned, the mid-1990s witnessed the endorsement of transitional BE models by three "Official English" statutes (New Hampshire 1995; South Dakota 1995; Wyoming 1996). A few years later, however, Utah's initiative statute (2000) (Utah Code Ann., §63-13-1.5. 5(a)) and Idaho's statute (2007) (Idaho Code, §73-121 6(a)) urged "non-English speaking children and adults (…) [to] become able to read, write, and understand English as quickly as possible" and called for the expansion of ESL programs – *i.e.* both pieces were aimed at the bare minimum of constitutionally acceptable accommodations for English learners in the wake of the *Lau vs. Nichols* Supreme Court decision, which outlawed "sink-or--swim" in 1974.

On the other hand, while openly promoting subtractive acculturation models, both statutes encouraged foreign language instruction – thus continuing the "schizophrenic" tradition of American language ideology (Kjolseth 1983, quoted in Crawford 2004: 65).

2.4.2 Pending proposals

Approximately half of the pending proposals specify the applicability of the future "Official English" laws in the educational context, continuing the tradition of exempting FLT and the NALA from the provisions of the introduced pieces. Minnesota's "Official English" bills are unique since they are the only proposals that explicitly protect private non--English language use (HF 64, Sec. 1, Subd. 4 and SF 175, Sec. 1, Subd. 4). Conversely, Oklahoma's constitutional amendment implementation guidelines – while acknowledging that proficiency in non-English languages should be encouraged (HB 2083, Sec. 2(B); HB 1444, Sec. 2(B)) – also declare that "Bilingual or bicultural education programs which maintain a student in a language other than English shall be presumed to diminish or ignore the role of English as the official language" (HB 2083, Sec. 3(C)2(e) and HB 1444, Sec. 3(C)2(e)). Thus both static and developmental maintenance BE programs would be prohibited in Oklahoma after the bills' passage – although the now 10-year-old "No Child Left Behind" Act has already decimated the remainder of late-exit

BE programs all over the U.S., anyway. At this stage it is unclear, however, whether this Oklahoma proposal would also affect the status of two-way immersion programs in the state.

Conclusions

The second wave of "Official English" activism since the 1980s has brought about considerable changes in the ways the English language is perceived and its societal mission is envisioned in the United States. While the "Official English" movement was becoming ever more accepted as a mainstream expression of American identity, the perceptions concerning the nation-building role of the majority language also began to crystallize in enforceable legislative proposals that increasingly went beyond symbolic, one-sentence declarations of sentiment. English has firmly become the "common unifying language," and at least 50% of the current officialization-oriented proposals contain references to that effect. Yet, the most remarkable departure from past tendencies is discernible among the "English-functional" arguments in the pending proposals. In addition to the sevenfold increase in the rate of their occurrence as compared to the enacted pieces, several bills contain wholly identical phrases, which lend added weight to the notions of promoting "understanding," enabling "full economic and civic participation," and benefiting the given state "commercially and culturally." In addition to the ideas of "participation" and "opportunity," the bills being considered in the New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania state assemblies also emphasize the (exclusive) role of English in making people "informed and knowledgeable" voters, who are able to exercise their "constitutional freedoms" fully. While these statements are innocuously straightforward on the surface, they may have a hidden agenda to undermine the rationale for existing minority language accommodations. The two most frequently criticized federal policies of this type are the provision of multilingual ballots as prescribed by the current extension of the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975 and the more recent Executive Order (EO) 13166, which mandates federal agencies to improve access for limited English proficient persons to their services. The suspicion that state-level "Official English" proposals are actually mounting an oblique attack against multilingual ballots and EO 13166 is corroborated by the fact that two

current federal-level "Official English" proposals – HR 1164, the "National Language Act of 2011," and Rep. Pete King's (R-NY) HR 1307 – try to abolish these regulations altogether. In order to facilitate the unifying and empowering mission of English, a "compelling" state interest exists now to preserve, promote and enhance the *de facto* official language. While in European contexts the notion of language protectionism would invariably invoke the ideas of "cultivation" and "purism," here the struggle (mostly against the spread of Spanish) is restricted to status issues and domains. Non-English languages appear in the "Official English" proposals either as "Native American" (indigenous) tongues or as "foreign" languages (in the FLT context). While the former enjoy considerable protections, the latter category is carefully delimited so as to prevent the transformation of foreign language courses into programs that foster the maintenance of immigrant minority languages. Quick transitional programs for English learners (formerly: limited English proficient students) are supported at best – and bilingual/bicultural programs would be outlawed at worst.

Somewhat paradoxically, the need to encourage foreign language learning also appears in the most stringent proposals, which suggests the continuation of the American linguistic tradition of idolizing "elite" bilingualism (which frequently means the reacquisition of one's long-forgotten heritage language) while simultaneously eliminating the conditions for taxpayer-funded immigrant language maintenance and intergenerational transmission.

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Language Contact Phenomena in the Written Language of the Hungarian Community in the United Kingdom

Abstract. This paper investigates how the written language (Hungarian) of a minority group (L1) functions outside its traditional setting in central Europe in an environment where an alternative language (L2) is used (English in the United Kingdom). The phenomenon of an intraregional language contact situation occurs where Hungarian immigrants live among the dominant language-speaking population of the United Kingdom. The two languages involved are genealogically non-related and structural-typologically non-identical languages.

This study of interlingual lexical contact phenomena reveals differences between Standard Hungarian (SH) and English (Anglo) Hungarian (AH) as a result of the influence of the English language on the above mentioned Hungarian community language; for example it identifies lexical items that are present in AH but not a constituent of SH. The study employs the corpus of written language samples taken from the Anglo-Hungarian community's quarterly published newspaper titled *Angliai Magyar Tükör* (AMT), which is the Journal of the National Federation of Hungarians in England. The aim of the study is to provide both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis of the data. Besides giving a typology of the lexical contacts between the two languages, we also aim at characterizing the accommodation of English vowels in the Hungarian language in the case of vowel harmony phenomena, which is easily observable in written language. We will classify data into groups on the basis of how much they follow the Hungarian vowel harmony patterns and attempt to explain those cases when the data diverges from the Hungarian counterparts.

Keywords: language contact, Standard Hungarian, intraregional language, community.

Introduction

Standard Hungarian is represented by the Hungarian National Corpus (HNC) created by the Department of Corpus Linguistics of the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under the supervision of Váradi (2002), see also Sass (2009). HNC includes 187.6 million words. It is divided into five subcorpora by regional language variants, in addition to five subcorpora by text genres: press, literature, science, official and personal.[1]

As far as language contact research in Hungary is concerned, the varieties of Hungarian spoken in the neighbouring countries and overseas have been the subject of previous research (*cf.* Csernicskó 1998; Fenyvesi 1995, 2005; Göncz 1999; Kontra 1990; Lanstyák 2000). The language contact of Australian Hungarian has been studied by Kovács (1996, 2001a, 2001b), Hatoss (2004), Vászolyi (2003) and Forintos (2008). This line of more sociolinguistically oriented research is complemented by this study, which is fundamentally concerned with the linguistic context of language contact.

1. Data and method

Since the language of Hungarian migrants in the United Kingdom – unlike that of their counterparts in the United States of America, as well as the language(s) of Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin – has not been the subject of comprehensive research, this study employs the corpus of written language samples obtained from the Anglo-Hungarian community's quarterly published newspaper titled *Angliai Magyar Tükör* (AMT), which is the Journal of the National Federation of Hungarians in England (issues of 1996, 1997, 1999 and 2006).

As for the method applied during the research, the linguistic manifestations were collected manually. The author's coding scheme creates simplified information for easier comprehension of the research. It can be interpreted in the following sequence:

2006/1/
2006 – the year of publication
1 – the issue number

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1   http://corpus.nytud.hu/mnsz/index_eng.html [ED 26.07.2012].

Dictionaries (*e.g., Akadémiai MoBiMouse Plus Angol-magyar, Magyar-angol Akadémiai Nagyszótár CD-Rom*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2003) were consulted in order to define exact definitions of the Hungarian and English terms.

2. Results and discussion

According to Winford (2003: 29–59) lexical borrowing must be seen as one aspect of a creative process of lexical change under contact, which builds on both native and foreign resources. The results of linguistic interference on the level of lexis of the receptor-language are manifested in the form of lexical borrowings, mainly modelled on the donor language, and native creations. The process of borrowing can be very selective, adopting a foreign form but assigning it a new meaning, or adopting a foreign meaning or concept and assigning it to a native form. Many of the outcomes of lexical borrowing involve word formations or creations that have no counterpart in the donor language. Some of these adaptations may be created out of donor materials, others may be created out of native materials, and still other creations are blends of native and foreign items.

In the relevant literature, numerous definitions exist for the different types of direct and indirect loans. Linguists are not only incapable of arriving at an agreement about the dividing criteria of each term, but also the terminologies differ from each other to a great extent.

Winford (2003: 42) analyses the different attempts made to establish a coherent framework for dealing with contact-induced changes in the lexicon. He states that the "most comprehensive of the early frameworks may have been that of Betz (1949), whose basic distinction between loanword and loan-coinage still forms the basis for current descriptions," and his very detailed and refined terminology describes word-borrowing in many aspects. According to Winford:

> Haugen (1950a, 1950b, 1953) added a new dimension to existing classifications because he made distinction between importation and substitution – a dichotomy based on the presence or absence of foreignness markers (1950b). Importation refers to the adoption of a foreign form and/or its meaning, and may involve complete or partial imitation. Substitution refers to the process by which native sounds or morphemes are substituted for those in the donor model. Cases where a meaning or concept is borrowed, but expressed by a native form, are instances

of morphemic substitution. Following Haugen (1953), lexical contact phenomena can be classified into two broad categories – *lexical borrowings*, which involve imitation of some aspect of the donor model, and *creations*, which are entirely native and have no counterpart in the donor language. (Winford 2003: 43)

Winford (2003: 43) subdivides lexical borrowings into two categories: loanwords and loanshifts. "There are *loanwords*, in which all or part of the morphemic composition of the loan derives from the external source language." To clarify: "loanword" refers to the total morphemic importation of single or compound words. These elements show no morphological substitutions, but they do show degrees of phonological substitutions.

Winford (2003: 43) states that "Loanwords may be divided into two categories:" 'pure loanwords;' for example:

Table 1. Pure loans

Road {AMT/1999/4}	Authentic meals and desserts {AMT/1996/4}
Hungarian Speciality Food {AMT/1999/4}	Live Gipsy music {AMT/1996/4}
Lane {AMT/1999/4}	Advance table reservation recommended {AMT/1996/4}
Voice {AMT/1999/4}	Opening hours {AMT/1996/4}
Answerphone {AMT/1999/4}	Tuesday to Saturday {AMT/1996/4}
Facsimile {AMT/1999/4}	Sunday {AMT/1996/4}
Voice mail {AMT/1999/4}	12 noon to 5pm {AMT/1996/4}
Mail order {AMT/1999/4}	P. O. Box {AMT/2006/4}
Prior appointment {AMT/1999/4}	The proof of the pudding is the eating {AMT/2006/4}
Hungarian and International Law Consultants {AMT/1999/4}	Hill {AMT/2006/4}
Legal advice and representations {AMT/1999/4}	Stone {AMT/2006/4}
Certified translations {AMT/1999/4}	School of Slavonic and East European Studies {AMT/1997/4}
Hungarian Book Agency {AMT/1996/4}	New Winter Timetable {AMT/1996/4}
British-Hungarian Fellowship {AMT/1996/4}	National Federation of Hungarians {AMT/1996/4}
Telephone {AMT/1996/4}	Reasonable prices {AMT/1996/4}

and 'loanblends.'

Loanblends are combinations of L1 material with L2 material; *e.g.*, they involve transferring a component of the foreign model and the reproduction of the rest (importation of a foreign morpheme combined with substitution of a native one). Examples of such "hybrids" include (a) derivational blends: imported stem + native affix; for example:

Table 2. Derivational blends

Club-ban {AMT/1999/4} (Club-INE)	Alley-ben {AMT/2006/4} (Alley-INE)
Royal Academy-hez {AMT/1999/4} (Royal Academy-ALL)	House-t {AMT/2006/4} (House-ACC)
Scottish Office-tól {AMT/1999/4} (Scottish Office-ABL)	Christmas pudding-ot {AMT/2006/4} (Christmas pudding-LVe-ACC)
Road-on {AMT/1999/4} (Road-SUP)	Pudding-basin-ben {AMT/2006/4} (pudding-basin-INE)
Hospital-ban {AMT/2006/4} (Hospital-INE)	Steak and kidney pudding-ot {AMT/2006/4} (steak and kidney pudding-LVo-ACC)
City-ben {AMT/2006/4} (City-INE)	Treacle pudding-ot {AMT/2006/4} (treacle pudding-LVo-ACC)
City-t {AMT/2006/4} (City-ACC)	Hall-ban {AMT/2006/4} (Hall-INE)
City-ből {AMT/2006/4} (City-ELA)	Church-ben {AMT/2006/4} (church-INE)
Row-ban {AMT/2006/4} (Row-INE)	VAT-t {AMT/2006/4} (VAT-ACC)
Street-en {AMT/2006/4} (Street-SUP)	British-Hungarian fellowship-el {AMT/1996/4} (British-Hungarian fellowship-INS)
Street-re {AMT/2006/4} (Street-SUB)	Gallery-ben {AMT/1996/4} (Gallery-INE)
Place-en {AMT/2006/4} (Place-SUP)	Guinness Book of Records-ban {AMT/1997/4} (Guinness Book of Records-INE)
Lane-en {AMT/2006/4} (Lane-SUP)	Crown Agents-től {AMT/1997/4} (Crown Agents-ABL)
Lane-re {AMT/2006/4} (Lane-ACC)	Alley-ben {AMT/2006/4} (Alley-INE)

or native stem + imported affix (no example found in the corpus) and (b) compound blends: imported stem + native stem; for example:

(1) húspuddingot *{AMT/2006/4}* [steakpudding-LinV-ACC]

Loanblends – and many other products are not strictly speech borrowings, but innovations that have no counterparts in the source language.

Furthermore, "there are *loanshifts*" (also called *loan meanings*) "in which the morphemic composition of the item is entirely native, though its meaning derives at least in part from the donor language. Each of these categories can be further subdivided according to the types of importation and substitution involved" (Winford 2003: 43). Loanshifts do not actually include surface-level alien morphemes, but instead influence L1 material. They can be divided into the following subtypes. When a native word undergoes extension of its meaning on the model of a foreign counterpart, these are cases of "extensions" or "semantic loans." For example:

(2) pápa megegyezést *kötött {AMT/1999/4}* [the Pope agreed with sy]

In the case of (2), the English word "agreement" has to be considered. It can mean the act of agreeing and harmony of opinion, *i.e.*, accord, as well as an arrangement between parties regarding a method of action, *i.e.*, a covenant. In the Hungarian language when referring to the process of 'making an agreement,' a proper collocation can be 'to bring about an agreement' [*egyezséget, megállapodást hoz létre* in SH], 'to arrive at an agreement with sy' [*megállapodásra, megegyezésre jut vkvel, megállapodik vkvel* in SH]; or 'to conclude an agreement with sy' [*megállapodást, szerződést köt vkvel* in SH] but the noun and the verb included in the example do not collocate with each other. The proper form would be "megegyezésre jutott" or "megállapodást kötött."

(3) tételek alcíme *megjelölik* X-et *{AMT/2006/4}* [items marked with an 'X' in the subtitle]

The two meanings of "to denote" relevant to example (3) are: to mark, indicate, to serve as a symbol or name for the meaning of [*megjelöl* in SH]; and to signify directly, refer to specifically [*utal* in SH]. Due to the context in which the debated term appears, *utal* conveys the most appropriate meaning required within the text.

(4) cím nem *mutat* karácsonyra *{AMT/2006/4}* [the title does not refer to Christmas]

Although the investigated verb in (4) is different form the verb in (2), still the same English verb is to be considered, *e.g.*, "to denote," which can mean "to mark, indicate, to serve as a symbol or name for the meaning

of" [*megjelöli, (rá)mutat* in SH]; and to signify directly, refer to specifically [*utal* in SH]. Similarly to the former example, the context would require the second meaning.

(5) hasonló próbálkozást *kezdeni {AMT/2006/4}* [to start similar attempts]

The extension of the English verb "to introduce" can be found in example (5) since it can mean: to bring forward (a plan, for example) for consideration, [*bevezet*, *kezdeményez* in SH], as well as to open or begin [*(meg)kezd* in SH]. The context infers that the preceding Hungarian term is more appropriate in this instance.

(6) Bartók és Kodály *számokat* játszani {AMT/1996/4} [to play Bartók's and Kodály's tracks]

The English phrase "musical composition" must have motivated the choice in example (6) because in English it denotes both classical and popular pieces of music. In comparison, the Hungarian term *(zene) szám* generally refers to popular music and the term *zenedarab* would be the appropriate choice for the given context.

Winford (2003: 43) states that "loanshifts may take the form of 'pure loan translations' or calques in which the foreign model is replicated exactly by native words;" for example:

Table 3. Loanshifts

arra is *talált időt {AMT/1999/3}* [also found time for] (vs. SH szakít időt vmre, ráér vmre, be tudja iktatni programjába)	*újév estje {AMT/1996/4}* [New Year's Eve] (vs. SH szilveszter)
rádió-színdarab {AMT/2006/4} [radio play] (vs. SH rádiójáték, hangjáték)	*tiszta* magyarok voltunk *{AMT/1996/4}* [we were pure Hungarians] (vs. SH csak/teljesen/tisztán)
Nagy tűzvész {AMT/2006/4} [(The) Great Fire (of London in 1666)] (vs. SH a nagy londoni tűzvész)	*készen volt* a szerepre *{AMT/1996/4}* [he was ready for the role] (vs. SH készen állt)
Akadémia *előudvarában {AMT/2006/4}* [in the Academy's front courtyard] (vs. SH előkert)	nemzetiségi *meggondolásokon {AMT/1996/4}* [ethnic considerations] (vs. SH alapon/megfontolásból/figyelembevételével)
királyi herceg-pár {AMT/2006/4} [Crown Prince/Royal Couple] (vs. hercegi pár)	nyolc *hálószobából* áll *{AMT/1997/4}* [8-bedroomed] (vs. SH nyolcszobás)

gránit emléktömbök {AMT/2006/4} [granite memorial tombstone] (vs. SH gránit sírkő, síremlék)	*tervmunkát {AMT/1997/4}* [design-works/draft plans] (vs. SH pályamunka)
meghívtak *valami* 250 magyart *{AMT/1996/4}* [they invited some 250 Hungarians] (vs. SH hozzávetőleg, körülbelül)	eljegyzési *fogadása {AMT/1997/4}* [engagement reception] (vs. SH vacsora/ebéd)
az alkalom prezentálta magát {AMT/1996/4} [the occasion presented itself] (vs. SH megfelelő volt a hely és az idő)	

According to Winford (2003: 44), "creative word formation involving imported items is another by-product of lexical borrowing, which Haugen includes in his category of 'native creations.'" 'Pure native creations' would mean innovative use of native words to express foreign concepts; for example:

Table 4. Native creations

Jelentkezést kérünk az *északiak* esetében … a *déliek* esetében *{AMT/1999/4}* [Hungarians living in the north and in the south]	Hogy belénk tudják *tolmácsolni az angolságot {AMT/1996/4}* [so the English lifestyle could be interpreted into our own lives]
hét font tíz shillinget kerestem *hetenként {AMT/1996/4}* [I earned seven pounds and 10 shillings per week]	de *haza gondoltunk* leginkább *{AMT/1996/4}* [but our thoughts were at home mainly]
magyarul karácsonyoztunk {AMT/1996/4} [we celebrated Christmas according to Hungarian tradition]	*emigránsmagányról {AMT/1996/4}* [on/about emigrant solitude/loneliness in exile]
bányászkülönítmény {AMT/1996/4} [mining detachment]	*elangolosodott {AMT/1996/4}* [become English, adopt English manners]
Nagyon *magyarosan teltek a karácsonyok {AMT/1996/4}* [Christmases were filled with Hungarian tradition]	valami *magyarost* találni a legtöbb bélyegén *{AMT/1997/4}* [something characteristically Hungarian can be found in many of his stamps]
Nem tudtuk, hogy ők hogyan *csinálják {AMT/1996/4}* [we had no idea how they did it, *e.g.*, live their ordinary lives]	

'Hybrid creations' are blends of native and foreign morphemes to express foreign concepts, for example:

Table 5. Hybrid creations

hires one square mile {AMT/2006/4} [well-known one square mile]	*BT díjain {AMT/2006/4}* [on the fares of BT]
Cornhill utca 32. sz. ajtaja {AMT/2006/4} [door of 32 Cornhill Street]	*Exhibition Road 55 épületén {AMT/1996/4}* [on the building of 55 Exhibition Road]
Lord Mayor rezidenciáját {AMT/2006/4} [Lord Mayor's residency]	*Outlook című {AMT/1996/4}* [titled Outlook]
Eastcheap 33–35 száma {AMT/2006/4} [33–35 Eastcheap Street]	*BBC tárgyilagosság {AMT/1996/4}* [BBC objectivity]
VAT-t tartalmazzák {AMT/2006/4} [VAT is included]	*Danubian Helpline bejegyzett jótékonysági szervezet {AMT/1997/4}* [Danubian Helpline registered charity organisation]

Winford (2003: 42–43), with his aforementioned classification, expanded Haugen's category of 'native creations' to include a third subcategory: "creations using only foreign morphemes," which was not included in Haugen's classification. Haugen's divisions are not often observed today, as most discussions refer only interchangeably to either 'borrowings' or 'loanwords' instead; although loan translations or calques are recognised. What Haugen called semantic borrowings are generally subsumed under the rubric of convergence (Myers-Scotton 2002). When considering the different lexical borrowings, in this study Winford's (2003: 42–43) classification is observed because it fulfills the purpose of this research most effectively.

3. A morphophonological analysis of loanblends

3.1. Hungarian suffix vowel alternations

In this section, we address the problem of suffix vowel behavior after loanblends similarly to as we did in Forintos and Szentgyörgyi (2012).

Table 6. The Hungarian vowel system

| | | Front | | | Back | | | |
| | | – round | | + round | | – round | | + round | |
	short	long	short	long	short	long	short	long
High	i [i]	í [iː]	ü [y]	ű [yː]			u [u]	ú [uː]
Mid		é [eː]	ö [ø]	ő [øː]			o [o]	ó [oː]
Low	e [ɛ]					á [aː]	a [ɒ]	

Hungarian has 14 vowels, seven short–long pairs as indicated in (1). Front and back rounded vowels are considered to be harmonic while non-low unrounded vowels are considered to be neutral with regards to vowel harmony, *i.e.* they generally do not influence the selection of the suffix vowel, while the rest of the vowels are considered harmonic. However [ɛ], the low front unrounded vowel is often considered to be harmonic as there are no non-alternating suffixes with this vowel, as opposed to [eː], [i] or [iː], *e.g. -ért* and *-ig* and because there are no anti-harmonic roots containing this vowel only as opposed to antiharmonic roots like [hiːd] and [tˢeːl].

We give the facts of Hungarian suffix vowel harmony below for binary, ternary, and quaternary suffixes respectively:

Table 7. Binary alternation: -nɔk/-nɛk DAT

Back		Front		Back + Neutral	
kɔr-nɔk	'arm'	fɛj-nɛk	'head'	rɔdiːr-nɔk	'eraser'
haːz-nɔk	'house'	keːz-nɛk	'hand'	bɔbeːr-nɔk	'laurel'
kor-nɔk	'age'	kør-nɛk	'circle'	pɔli-nɔk	'Paul dim'

As we can see, stems with back vowels always take back suffixes and generally stems with front vowels take front vowel suffixes as do stems with only neutral vowels, *e.g.* [keːz] in the second column. Polysyllabic native roots select alternating suffixes according to the backness of the harmonic vowels of the root, [bɔraːt-nɔk] 'friend,' while loanwords select the alternant according to the backness of the last harmonic vowel of the root, [ɔtːitüːdnɛk], [rønoːnɔk]. If, however, a back vowel or a sequence of back vowels is followed by a neutral vowel, the suffix will

often have a back vowel showing that neutral vowels are transparent to backness harmony.[2]

Table 8. Ternary alternation: -hoz/-hɛz/-høz ALL

Back		Front unrounded		Front rounded		Back – Neutral	
kɔr-hoz	'arm'	fɛj-hɛz	'head'	kør-høz	'circle'	rədiːr-hoz	'eraser'
haːz-hoz	'house'	keːz-hɛz	'hand'	bøːr-høz	'skin'	bɔbeːr-hoz	'laurel'
kor-hoz	'age'	sirt-hɛz	'cliff'	ʃylt-høz	'roast'	pɔli-hoz	'Paul dim'

Ternary harmony only differs from its binary counterpart as far as front roots are concerned. The choice of a back or front ternary suffix is governed by the same rules as in binary suffixes but front roots fall into two groups based on the final vowel of the root: roots with a final rounded front vowel take the front rounded alternant, *cf.* right column, while roots with a final front unrounded vowel, whether harmonic or not, *i.e.* [i], [iː], [eː] vs. [ɛ], take the front unrounded alternant.

Quaternary harmony differs from ternary harmony in that it involves the phenomenon of lowering, a result of adding quaternary suffixes to members of a morphologically marked closed lexical class, the so-called lowering stems:

Table 9. Quaternary alternation: -ɔk/-ok/-k/-øk PL

Back					
I	kɔr-ɔk	'arm'	II	fɔl-ɔk	'wall'
	baːr-ɔk	'bar'		haːz-ɔk	'house'
	kor-ok	'age'		hold-ɔk	'moon'

Front					
III	fɛj-ɛk	'head'	IV	køɲv-ɛk	'book'
	keːz-ɛk	'hand'		tøːɟ-ɛk	'udder'
	sirt-ɛk	'cliff'		ʃylt-ɛk	'roast'

V	kør-øk	'circle'			
	bøːr-øk	'skin'			
	kyrt-øk	'horn'			

Stems in groups I, III, and V behave exactly as they do with ternary suffixes. Stems in groups II and IV are exceptional, however, in that the former do not take back mid suffix vowels but back low vowels instead, and also in that the latter do not take front (rounded) mid suffix vowels but

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2   For words with back vowels followed by neutral vowels see Ringen & Kontra (1989).

front (unrounded) low vowels instead, hence the name of the phenom-enon, lowering.

Thus, we can conclude that stems in Groups II and IV, constituting a grammatically marked class of stems called "lowering stems" as op-posed to the unmarked stems shown in Groups I, II, and V, behave dif-ferently when taking quaternary suffixes. For this reason this class must be marked in the lexicon.[3]

3.2. The suffixation of loanblends

Now let us turn our attention to a morphophonological analysis of the data we presented in (2). We will discuss the data classified on the ba-sis of the suffix behavior in the loanblend.

Table 10. Vowelless suffixes

City-t	ACC	{AMT/2006/4}
House-t	ACC	{AMT/2006/4}
VAT-t /viː eɪ tiːt/	ACC	{AMT/2006/4}

Words in this group take a vowelless suffix as any similar Hungarian word would – *cf. kicsi-t* 'small' ACC; *rész-t* 'part' ACC; *ABC-t* /aː beː tseːt/ 'grocery store' ACC. That is, we may claim that the loanblends in the above list behave just as their native phonological counterparts do in identical environments.

Table 11. Back vowelled suffixes

Club-ban	INE	{AMT/1999/4}
Road-on	SUP	{AMT/1999/4}
Row-ban	INE	{AMT/2006/4}
Hall-ban	INE	{AMT/2006/4}
Guinness Book of Records-ban	INE	{AMT/1997/4}

The second class of loanblends displayed above contains word stems ending in back harmonic vowels and as a result they take back vowelled suffixes without exception. Their behavior, thus, is identical to similar na-tive Hungarian roots like *klub-ban* 'club' INE; *hód-on* 'beaver' SUP; *szó-ban* 'word' INE; *fal-ban* 'wall' INE; *record-ban* 'record' INE respectively.

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3   For a more detailed description of vowel harmony and lowering phenomena see for instance Szentgyörgyi (2000) and Kiefer (2001).

Table 12. Front vowelled suffixes

City-ben	INE	{AMT/2006/4}
City-ből	ELA	{AMT/2006/4}
Street-en	SUP	{AMT/2006/4}
Street-re	SUB	{AMT/2006/4}
Place-en	SUP	{AMT/2006/4}
Lane-en	SUP	{AMT/2006/4}
Lane-re	SUB	{AMT/2006/4}
Alley-ben	INE	{AMT/2006/4}
Pudding-basin-ben	INE	{AMT/2006/4}

Loanblends in the third class are the mirror image of the previous category in that the stems here only contain front vowels and so they take front vowelled suffixes as a consequence. This way, their behavior is an exact copy of similar native Hungarian roots like *kicsi-ben* 'small' INE, *kicsi-ből* ELA; *hit-en* 'faith' SUP, *hit-re* SUB; *rész-en* 'part' SUP; *kén-en* 'sulphur' SUP, *kén-re* SUB; *Nelli-ben* 'Nelly' INE respectively. Again, there is nothing unusual about suffix vowel behavior in this group.

Table 13. Mixed vowel stems

Scottish Office-tól	ABL	{AMT/1999/4}
Christmas pudding-ot	ACC	{AMT/2006/4}
Steak and kidney pudding-ot	ACC	{AMT/2006/4}
Húspuddingot	ACC	{AMT/2006/4} 'meatpudding' ACC
Treacle pudding-ot	ACC	{AMT/2006/4}
Hospital-ban	INE	{AMT/2006/4}

Words in the fourth class are phonologically more complex than the ones above as they contain a back vowel followed by one front unrounded (*i.e.* neutral) vowel very much like the Hungarian native stem *radír* 'eraser.' Such stems take back suffixes as in *radír-ok* 'eraser' PL, so we may claim that these loanblends perfectly copy the behavior of such native stems. The last word in the list is somewhat different in that it contains a back vowel + front unrounded vowel + central vowel /ə/ sequence, *i.e.* /ˈhɒspɪtəl/. The Hungarian central vowel /aː/ patterns together with back vowels so if loanblends containing central English vowels follow this pattern, we would expect that such words should be followed by back

vowelled suffixes. According to the data this prediction is borne out in *Hospital-ban*. There is one more, however, for the suffix vowel to be back in such words: the final syllable in the English word often loses its vowel by the process called Syllabic Consonant Formation (Balogné Bérces, Szentgyörgyi 2006: 75). In such cases the sonorant consonant following the omitted vowel becomes syllabic. Syllabic Ľ's in most British dialects also involve the process of L-darkening by which Ľ's are velarized and they receive a vowel-like quality making them very similar to back vowels (Balogné Bérces, Szentgyörgyi 2006: 21, 91).[4] This similarity to back vowels may also be manifest in these stems taking a back suffix vowel.

Thus we may conclude that the behavior of Hospital-ban may follow this pattern either on the basis of the behavior of central vowels in Hungarian or on the basis of the quality of the syllabic consonant in English pronunciation.

Table 14. Stems with central vowels

Royal Academy-hez	ALL	{AMT/1999/4}
Gallery-ben	INE	{AMT/1996/4}
British-Hungarian fellowship-el	INS	{AMT/1996/4}

In this group we have three words that have similar structures: *Academy-hez* /əˈkædəmihɛz/, *Gallery-ben* /ˈgæləribɛn/ and *fellowship--pel* /ˈfeləʃɪpːɛl/ all have a stressed front vowel /æ/ or /e/ followed by a central vowel, /ə/ or /əʊ/, and then a front unrounded (and neutral) vowel /i/ or /ɪ/. On the basis of what we have seen above, there are two possible ways such words may behave:

- because of the central vowel which behaves like back vowels and the following (front) neutral vowel the word may take a back vowelled suffix, *i.e. Academy-hoz*, *Gallery-ban* and *fellowship-pal*;
- or because of the front nature of the final vowel the stem the word may take a front vowelled suffix regardless of the back or central vowel(s) before it, as in some Hungarian stems like *hidrogén-ben* 'hydrogen' INE,[5] yielding *Academy-ben*, *Gallery-ben* and *fellowship-pel*.

In this case the second option applies and, as a result, the suffix surfaces with a front vowel.

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4   In many southern dialects in Britain such dark Ľ's may even be replaced by a back mid /ɔ/ vowel, a process called L-vocalization (Balogné Bérces, Szentgyörgyi 2006: 22).

5   For more on the suffix vowel behavior after such stems, see Ringen & Kontra (1989).

Table 15. Problematic cases

| Crown Agents-től | ABL | {AMT/1997/4} |
| Church-ben | INE | {AMT/2006/4} |

Loanblends in the last class display a behavior quite different from the ones we have seen above. In these two expressions there is a central vowel in the stem final syllable, a schwa /ə/ in Agents-ből /ˈeɪdʒəntsbøːl/ and its long stressed version, /ɜ/, in /tʃɜːtʃbɛn/. As we have seen above, central vowels – and even non-Hungarian central vowels, like /ə/ and /ɜː/ – behave like Hungarian native back vowels do, *i.e.* they trigger back harmony. Given this, the data above is strikingly different as after the central stem vowels we have front vowelled suffixes. And here even the spelling of the word is unable to offer a possible explanation – in Forintos and Szentgyörgyi (2012: 18) we argued that in some cases there is no other explanation for the selection of the suffix vowel than the silent final <E> of some English words, as in *costume-ök-be* 'costume' PL + ILL or *culture-ük* 'culture' 3rd PL POSS. However, the words in Table 15 do not end in silent final letters that would make such an explanation possible.

The only possible explanation left is that central vowels of English, like /ə/ and /ɜː/ are treated as front vowels contrary to what we have been assuming so far. If we pursue this possibility, then we have to see how it influences the cases above where there was a central vowel in the word. This behavior is still consistent with the second explanation we have presented for Table 14. The last example in Table 13, *i.e.* Hospital-ban INE is still also explicable as this way the word would contain one back vowel followed by two front vowels, in which case such suffix behavior is still acceptable, just like in *aszpirin-ban* 'aspirin' INE.[6] The only problematic cases we have to face with this solution are examples *Club-ban* INE, *Guinness Book of Records-ban* INE in Table 11, where, if the central vowels /ʌ/ and /ə/ in the last syllables of the stems are interpreted as front vowels, we would expect front vowelled suffixes, *i.e. Club-ben* and *Records-ben*. This prediction is not borne out, however. To conclude, we may only suggest that English central vowels are Janus-faced: sometimes they are taken to be like back harmonic vowels, yet on other occasions they behave as front vowels do.

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6   We have to note, though, that words like *aszpirin* 'aspirin' tend to vacillate between back and front suffixes. For a detailed discussion, see Ringen & Kontra (1989).

Conclusions

The quarterly published Journal of the National Federation of Hungarians in England, *Angliai Magyar Tükör* (issues of 1996, 1997, 1999 and 2006) – used as this essay's corpus – is an example of the Hungarian community's written language. It is evident that this corpus constitutes diverse forms of interlingual linguistic manifestations, as substantiated by this research. The occurrence of interlingual lexical borrowings is relatively low compared to the whole number of words found in the entire corpus, which is made up of four issues of the newspaper. The number of the features resulting mainly from the influence of English is exactly 99. This low percentage of lexical borrowings may prove that the language contact situation of the Anglo-Hungarians can be considered a language maintenance situation. Out of the 99 lexical borrowings modelled on the donor language, 58 are loanwords, which makes 58% of all the findings. Out of the 58 loanwords 30 are pure loanwords (30%), and 28 loanblends (28%). In total there are 20 loanshifts in the corpus (20%), out of which 5 (5%) are semantic loans and 15 are loan translations (15%). As for the third group of borrowings, *i.e.*, native creations, there are 21 (21%) belonging to this group. Out of the 21 items 11 are purely native creations (11%), and 10 are hybrid creations (10%).

As for the morphophonological behavior of the suffixed loanblends, we may claim that the vast majority of such stems behave just like phonologically similar native words in Hungarian. The harmonic quality of the suffix vowels is almost always (92%) completely predictable by rules of vowel harmony. In the only words that do not fit this description, we may claim that it is the ambiguous, central position of tongue during the articulation that causes these vowels to be sometimes treated as front and sometimes as back vowels. The decision of this question clearly requires further study on a much larger sample database.

Abbreviations

Case	Suffixes	English equivalent
Inessive (INE)	-ban, -ben	in
Allative (ALL)	-hoz, -hez, -höz	to
Ablative (ABL)	-tól, -től	from (nearby)

Case	Suffixes	English equivalent
Superessive (SUP)	-on, -en, -ön	on
Accusative (ACC)	-t, -ot, -et, -öt	-
Elative (ELA)	-ból, -ből	out of
Sublative (SUB)	-ra, -re	onto
Instrumental (INS)	-(V)al, -(V)el	with

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Word Associations as a Linguistic Data

Abstract. Word associations derived from the free word association test (developed by psychologists) were out of linguistic interest for a long lime. Though the linguistic importance of word associations was shown by Herbert Clark in 1970, the real interest in the study of word associations rose in computational linguistics, where human associations derived experimentally served as a norm to evaluate the efficiency of algorithms. But if one recognize that word associations form a network, the one will find the data structure, which brings a new possibility to study language mechanisms.

Keywords: semantics, association, lexicon, psycholinguistics, language mechanisms.

1. Association test

Rather early on, it was noted that words in the human mind are linked. American clinical psychologists Grace Kent and Aaron Joshua Rosanoff (1910), perceived the diagnostic usefulness of an analysis of the links between words. The duo created and conducted a test of free association of words. They conducted research on 1000 people of varied educational backgrounds and professions, asking their research subjects to give the first word that came into their minds as a result from stimulus-words. Those researched were supplied with 100 word-stimuli (principally nouns and adjectives). The free word association tests were made by psychologists to obtain a diagnostic standard (association norm). There was no interest in analyzing the linguistic importance of the data derived from the experiment.

Word association research was continued by Palermo, Jenkins (1964), Postman, Keppel (1970), Kiss, Armstrong, Milroy, Piper (1973), Moss, Older (1996), Nelson, McEvoy, Schreiber (1998), and the repeatability

of results allowed the number of research subjects to be reduced, while at the same time increasing the number of word-stimuli to be employed – for example 500 research subjects and 200 words (Palermo, Jenkins 1964), or 100 research subjects and 8400 words (Kiss, Armstrong, Milroy, Piper 1973). Increasing the number of words used in these tests resulted in the fact that the last experiment was conducted for many years, but the experiment permitted the creation of a thesaurus of the English language, the Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus (EAT).

2. The association list

The free word association test produces a set of stimulus response pairs. The human association list is a list of words associated to a stimulus--word ordered by frequency of responses. As in the following example which presents the sample of responses to stimulus *dom*, given by 540 tested subjects (Gatkowska 2012, 2013), where the first column presents the response-word, the second the number of responses, the third the medium response time, the fourth the minimum response time and the fifth the maximum response time.

rodzinny	125	3.65	2.04	10.11
mieszkanie	113	3.52	2.09	8.5
rodzina	82	4.09	2.17	10.91
spokój	21	4.24	2.45	8.8
ciepło	19	3.92	2.27	7.06
ogród	18	4.1	2.51	6.13
mój	17	3.33	1.86	7.23
bezpieczeństwo	13	5.91	3.47	11.00
dach	12	3.82	2.63	6.19
pokój	11	3.91	2.6	6.61
mama	11	3.18	1.43	5.93

It is well known (Clark 1970) that such a list consists of responses, which are semantically related to the stimulus, *e.g. house – chimney*, responses which reflect pragmatic dependencies, *e.g. house – Jack*, and so--called "clang responses" *e.g. house – mouse*. Unfortunately, we can not automatically distinguish those word, which enter into semantic relation to the stimulus-word by frequency of responses or by computed

association strength – for example in the list associated to the word *table* the semantically unrelated *cloth* is substantially more frequent than *legs* and *leg*, which enter into the 'part of' relation to the *table* (Palermo, Jenkins 1964). The described observation that non-semantic associations may be stronger than some semantic ones is repeatable in different experiments, as in responses to the stimulus *house*: *roof* 0.04, *Jack* 0.02, *wall* 0.01. in the Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus (EAT).

3. Associations are comparable across languages

The Kent–Rosanoff list of words was translated into several languages, in which this experiment was repeated, thereby enabling comparative research to be carried out.

The free word association test was implemented in many languages for example: French – Rosenzweig (1957), German – Russell and Meseck (1959) and Italian – Rosenzweig (1961). Research on the free association of words has also been conducted in Poland. This research was conducted in 1964/65 by Ida Kurcz. In this experiment, Kurcz researched the incidence of responses to stimuli, dividing research subjects into groups of men and women. The association list was composed of 100 words from the Kent–Rosanoff list, and responses were gathered from 1000 students from an University and a Polytechnic. A compilation of results as well as a short introductory article were published in the VII volume of *Studia Psychologiczne* in 1967.

It is important to notice that associations are comparable across languages. We can show a simple comparison made for computational purposes (Gatkowska *et al.* 2013). We selected an ambiguous Polish word *dom*, which refers to the English words *home* and *house*. The lists will present the words associated with their basic stimulus, and ordered in accordance to their strength of association. The table below presents the ten highest in rank (the most frequent) associations to *dom*, *home* and *house*. Polish associations are obtained from the author's experiment (Gatkowska 2012), and English associations from EAT.

dom	*home*	*house*
rodzinny (family a.)	house	home
mieszkanie (flat)	family	garden

dom	*home*	*house*
rodzina (family n.)	mother	door
spokój (peace)	away	boat
ciepło (warmth)	life	chimney
ogród (garden)	parents	roof
mój (my)	help	flat
bezpieczeństwo (security)	range	brick
mama (mother)	rest	building
pokój (room)	stead	bungalow

To compare association lists, each Polish association-word was carefully translated into English, then the lists were automatically compared for identical words. Due to the varied number of responses (95 for *home* and *house* and 540 for *dom*), we will be using a more qualitative measure of similarity based on the rank of occurring words on the list, rather than a direct comparison of association strength. Because words may differ in rank on the compared lists, the table presents words, which are present on both lists, preserving the order of the English list.

Those lists can be compared separately (*home* vs. *dom* and *house* vs. *dom*), but considering the ambiguity of *dom*, we have to also compare the list of the association of *dom* with the list of intersparsed – *home* and *house* (*i.e.* A list composed of the first word related to *home*, next to the first word associated with *house*, then the second word related to *home etc.*). The associations of both *home* and *house* lists were obtained from EAT.

home + house vs. *dom*	*home* vs. *dom*	*house* vs. *dom*
family	family	garden
garden	mother	flat
mother	cottage	roof
roof	garden	room
flat	parents	building
building	peace	chimney
chimney	security	cottage
parents	warmth	mother
room		brick
brick		security
cottage		warm

home + house vs. *dom*	*home* vs. *dom*	*house* vs. *dom*
security		warmth
peace		
warm		
warmth		

Each resulting list consists of words, each of which is semantically related to a stimulus-word. In other words, the comparison of the human association list will automatically extract a sub-list of semantic associations. But we have to say that this simple comparison method may truncate semantic associations, which are present only on a specific list. For example, we can find some semantic associations among words truncated from the *home* list: *house – away*, *life*, *help*, *range*, *rest*, *stead*, *sweet*, *town*, *bed*, *Birmingham*, *care*, *comfort*, *cooking*, *county*, *door*, *Douglas*, *elephant*, *fire*, *from*, *happy*, *litter*, *Liverpool*, *London*, *made*, *maker*, *mum*, *Norwich*, *office*, *park*, *people*, *place*, *pride*, *school*, *sea*, *self*, *service*, *time*, *Wales*, *way*, *where*, *wife*. Therefore a comparison that would bring valuable results to a linguist must be more sophisticated. On the other hand even such a simple method can bring results, which are useful in automatic text processing.

4. Association lists in computational linguistics

Computational linguistics also became involved in the research on the free association of words, though at times these experiments didn't employ the rigors used by psychologists when conducting experiments – for example, those that permitted the possibility of providing several responses to an individual stimulus (Schulte im Walde, Borgwaldt, Jauch 2012). On the other hand Rapp (2008, 2013) used multi-word stimuli during his experiment.

An alternative to the psychological formula of the testing of the free association of words also appeared in computational linguistics. Church and Hanks (1990) were the first to propose a statistical mechanism for generating word associations on the basis of blocks of texts. This method is based on the co-appearance of words in a given context – five words to the left and five words to the right of the word being analyzed, which curbed the range of association. Research conducted

afterwards, introduced an advanced statistical apparatus. Nevertheless, automatically generated associations are rather reluctantly compared with the results of psycho-linguistic experiments.

The rare attempt to compare both types of association (Rapp 2002) demonstrates – that even a mechanism which statistically modulates the properties of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, in only 27 out of 100 instances, can generate associations, which are comparable to those associations from the Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus – however, under the condition, that only the five most frequently appearing associations are compared. This observation was supported by a number of various types of research (Wandmacher 2005; Wandmacher *et al.* 2008; Rapp *et al.* 2005; Rapp 2008, 2013; Gatkowska *et al.* 2013).

5. Linguistic importance of associations

As we said before, the free word association tests were made by psychologists to obtain a diagnostic standard (association norm). There was no interest in analyzing the linguistic value of the data derived from the experiment. The linguistic importance of association list was acknowledged by Clark in 1970, which promulgated the hypothesis that word associations are produced by the same language mechanism that is used to produce a sentence or a text.

> Even the most preliminary analysis of the word-association game reveals its kinship with language comprehension and production. The game has three identifiable stages: (1) the player must "understand" the stimulus; (2) he must "operate" on the meaning of the stimulus; and (3) he must "produce" a response. It is the unique second stage that clearly sets this game apart from normal language mechanisms. It contains an "associating mechanism," which, through its "associating rules," fixes the response at the third stage. (Clark 1970: 273)

We have to agree, but only if we restrict the analysis of language mechanism to sentence production. If we extend the analysis to the dialog, for example: *Aunty, I have got a terrier! – It is really nice, but you have to take care of the animal*, then we may find that the associating mechanism is not so 'unique.' To explain this, we have to restrict our interest to associations, which are semantically dependent. If we do this, then we can find that there are very frequent direct associations in the list, *i.e.* such as

those which follow a single semantic relation, *e.g.* 'whole–part' (consists of): *house – wall* (dom – ściana), and not so frequent indirect associations like: *mutton – horns* (baranina – rogi), which must be explained by a chain of relations, in our example: 'source' relation *mutton – ram* (baranina – baran), followed by a 'whole–part' relation *ram – horns* (baran – rogi) or the association: *mutton – wool* (baranina – wełna), explained by a 'source' relation *mutton – ram* (baranina – baran), followed by 'whole–part' *ram – fleece* (baran – runo), which is followed by a 'source' relation *fleece – wool* (runo – wełna). These association chains suggest that some indirect associations are based on a semantic network.

6. Association network

The network structure of associations was acknowledged by Kiss, Armstrong, Milroy, Piper (1973), but the test to produce the Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus was designed as a single phase test, *i.e.* associations were not deliberately used as stimuli. The research which lead to the construction of the EAT, was intended to cover a minimal dictionary of English. To build a rich association network which would explain indirect associations, we have to take a large set of stimuli and redesign the experiment into a multiphase test, in which associations from phase one would serve as stimuli in phase two and so on. The resulting network is a structure built from lexical nodes and relations, as in the figure below, which presents a network for the word *dom*, built in the two phase word association test (Gatkowska 2013).

There are several studies of the mathematical properties of the association network, (*e.g.* De Deyne, Storms 2008; Amancio *et al.* 2012). There are also many computer oriented applications of the association network: in computational linguistics, to study the semantic structure of a text (Wettler *et al.* 2005; Rapp 2008, 2013) or semantic-driven navigation (Borge-Holthoefer, Arenas 2009) in psychology and psycholinguistics, to study semantic memory and intellectual activity (Borge-Holthoefer, Arenas 2010; De Deyne, Storms 2008), and even in medical diagnostics to study a network change in neural diseases (*e.g.* Borge-Holthoefer *et al.* 2011). But there is still little interest in the study of the linguistic properties of the association network. And what we can find in the literature is more observation than analysis (as in De Deyne, Storms 2008), that
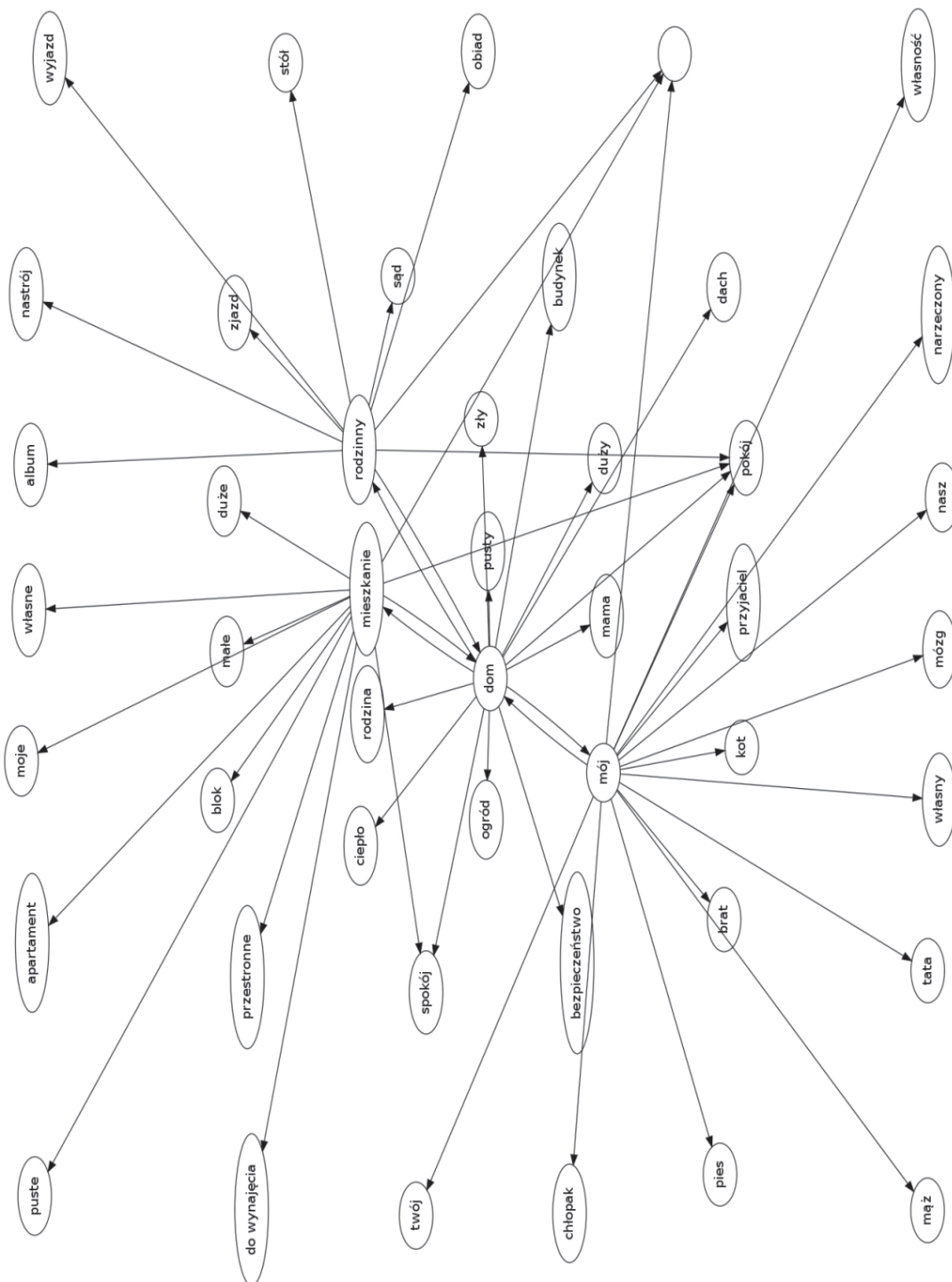
Figure 1. Association network for the word *dom* in the two phase experiment

nouns are the most frequent with 72% of the associations, adjectives are 18%, and verbs are only 9% of the responses.

To perform a more serious linguistic analysis of associations, we need to operate on a semantic network. In this case one may assume that the set of relations defines the meaning of a lexical unit. The path in the network may explain how we can derive information, which is not lexically present in a sentence, *e.g.* in the dialog: *Aunty, I have got a terrier! – It is really nice, but you have to take care of the animal.*

To obtain the semantic network we have to reduce the association network, by the withdrawal of all non-semantic associations. To perform this reduction we need a semantic model and an appropriate relation set. It seems to be obvious that we shall look for such a model in manually built semantic dictionaries such as WordNet and FrameNet, which have a network structure.

7. Hand-made semantic networks

The study of a semantic network as a source of information on language structure was beyond linguistic interest for most of the 20th century, even if semantic networks were developed experimentally by psychologists, performing free word association tests. Also psychology was not interested in the study of network properties. The real need to develop a study of a semantic network was recognized by Artificial Intelligence, especially by those researchers who worked on language understanding (Schank 1972, 1975) and image understanding (Minsky 1975).

This situation changed at the end of the century. Two large projects on semantic networks were done: WordNet (Miller *et al.* 1990), and FrameNet (Fillmore 1982; Fillmore *et al.* 2004). WordNet uses a well defined by structural linguistics (Lyons 1972) set of paradigmatic relations to build a semantic ontology, therefore there are no syntagmatic relations in WordNet. As a result computational linguists started to expand the WordNet by association networks (Sinopalnikova, Smrz 2004; Budanitsky, Hirst 2006). On the other hand, FrameNet is developing frame structures, which are models for the semantic structure of sentences, *e.g.* frame 'revenge' is a causal chain of actions performed by an 'offender' (causes 'injury') and an 'avenger' (do 'punishment'), and unfortunately, this model does not use explicit syntagmatic relations (Fillmore, slides).

The only relations that are included in the frame model are paradigmatic relations between frames.

As a result we have to look for a model, which brings a consistent set of syntagmatic relations, which would exceed a selectional restrictions mechanism to explain very frequent, and present in different languages, semantic based associations like: *igła – nitka* (needle – thread), *chleb – masło* (bread – butter), *stół – krzesło* (table – chair), *dom – drewno* (house – wood). The intuition shows that each of the listed association is based on a unique (specific) relation.

Therefore we have to look back to network models developed by the research on Artificial Intelligence. From our point of view, the most interesting and influential proposals were made by Conceptual Dependency, which uses explicit syntagmatic relations coexisting with paradigmatic ones. This CD model was classified as a model to fully describe a semantic network for natural language (Sowa 2006). We have only to add a set of relations to expand the CD relations set, to classify semantic associations. But it is a matter for a separate study.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that the study of an experimentally developed semantic network may bring new knowledge concerning language mechanisms. But it must be clear that conducting a multi-phase word association test to experimentally develop a rich association network is the large job. The analysis of a network is even harder – the association network is an extremely large data structure (*e.g.* De Deyne, Storms 2008). This means that such a study must be performed semi-automatically. First the software would find all possible paths in the network for each indirect association. Then the linguist can do the analysis of selected paths. But it is worth doing, because this may bring valuable data to test the Clark (1970) hypothesis, as well as study those aspects of language mechanism, which are not visible in the text structure – it has been proven that a semantic network derived automatically from a large text collection contains only a small fraction of the network derived from humans by the free word association experiment (see Wettler *et al.* 2005; Rapp 2002, 2008; Wandmacher 2005; Wandmacher *et al.* 2008; Gatkowska *et al.* 2013).

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Blend Elaboration as a Mechanism of Concept Change in Examples of Death the Grim Reaper

ABSTRACT. Blending theory, which was developed and expounded upon by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner within the framework of cognitive linguistics and thoroughly presented in their fundamental book *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (2002) offers an innovative outlook on complex mental operations resulting in linguistic expression of phenomena such as for example metaphor and metonymy. Among the most important mechanisms of blending are composition, completion and elaboration. In the present paper I would like to trace the examples of the development of the blend of Death the Grim Reaper, one of Fauconnier and Turner's most representative and known examples of metaphorical blending. The examination of blend composition and completion will mainly draw upon the stereotypes of death that still do exist in our society and its culture. The main focus of the present study is, however, the exploration of the blend of Death the Grim Reaper in various creative instances which, later on, leads to the analysis of the various ways in which the mechanism of blend elaboration operates in them. Thus, the aim of the paper is to carefully investigate the possible directions of blend elaboration used as a mechanism of creative concept change.

KEYWORDS: blending theory, metaphor, metonymy, Death the Grim Reaper, creative concept change.

1. The origin of the concept of Death the Grim Reaper

Death the Grim Reaper is a conventional image of death that functions in our culture. It is a personification of the phenomenon of death as a human skeleton (male or female), usually dressed in a black cloak or robe and holding a scythe. Death the Grim Reaper constitutes one of Fauconnier and Turner's most representative examples of metaphorical blending, described in detail in their book *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending*

and the Mind's Hidden Complexities (2002), where they call it "a cultural commonplace" (Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 294) and discuss it in its conventional form. I would like to mention the origin of this concept, refer to Fauconnier and Turner's analysis of Death the Grim Reaper as a blend entrenched in our culture, and then proceed to investigate several recent examples of creative development of this blend.

Personified death can, among others, be traced back to the Bible, where it appears in "The Revelation of St John" (6:8):

> And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death and with the beasts of the earth. (*King James' Bible*, "The Revelation of St John" 6:8)

Later on, in the 14th and 15th centuries, the biblical concept of death as a horse rider killing people with a weapon developed further as the Plague, then called the Black Death, struck Europe taking the lives of one third of its population. When it reached England in 1665, it killed each fifth inhabitant of London. That particular outbreak became known as the Great Plague of London. Due to the high mortality caused by the Plague, the concept of personified death underwent some alteration in its visual representation: while it was not necessarily depicted on a horse, it gained detail in that it took the form of a human skeleton and became clothed in a black cloak with a hood which often hid its face. It carried a scythe as a weapon. It is probably then, along with that attribute, that death received the name the Grim Reaper and has thus become perhaps the most common image of death.

2. Blending, blend elaboration, Death the Grim Reaper as a blend

In their seminal book *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (2002), Fauconnier and Turner analyse the personification of death as the Grim Reaper and recognize in it the product of conceptual integration, or a metaphorical blend.

As its very name suggests, conceptual integration, also called blending, is a mental process in which the content of different mental spaces undergoes creative and selective transformation to form a new, more

complex concept. Conceptual integration involves mental spaces, *i.e.* small units of conceptual content, each related to a given conceptual domain.[1] The model of conceptual integration forms a network of at least four mental spaces, which are defined in the following way:

> Mental spaces are small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. […] Mental spaces are connected to long-term schematic knowledge called "frames" […] and to long-term specific knowledge […]. (Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 40)

The connection to long-term knowledge is emphasized also by other scholars specialising in cognitive linguistics and the Blending Theory:

> Mental spaces (or 'spaces' for short) are not equivalent to domains, but, rather, they depend on them: spaces represent particular scenarios which are structured by given domains. […] While their representation appeals to our knowledge […], the recruited structure is only a small subset of knowledge of that domain. In short, a mental space is a short--term construct informed by the more general and more stable knowledge structures associated with a particular domain. (Grady, Oakley, Coulson 1999: 2)

To come back to the phenomenon of conceptual integration and the Grim Reaper blend in particular, the structure of this very blend, or this conceptual integration network, basically consists of three input spaces ("Reaper," "Killer" and "Death") and the Grim Reaper blended space, which is the product of selective and creative use of the inputs. However, in this particular network one of the inputs (namely "Death") relies on (*i.e.* is structured by) two other input spaces which provide schematic structure for it. These two additional inputs are "Human Death" and "Causal Tautology."[2] Taking into consideration this entire network of spaces, in which "Death" is a blend which serves as one of the inputs for the final blend, *i.e.* the Grim Reaper, Fauconnier and Turner call this phenomenon a multiple blend, and explain that this kind of conceptual integration is "a dynamic operation over any number of mental spaces

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1   A conceptual domain is an integrated, extensive and relatively stable knowledge structure in the mind. It is stored in the long-term memory.

2   A very detailed description of all elements and relations in this blend, accompanied by its graphic representation in the form of a diagram, is presented in Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 291–295.

that moreover can apply *repeatedly, its outputs becoming inputs for further blending* [emphasis mine – A.G.]" (Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 279). The authors distinguish two possibilities of multiple blending: "As we will see, there are two main ways in which networks can be multiple blends: Either several inputs are projected in parallel, or they are projected successively into intermediate blends, which themselves serve as inputs to further blends" (Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 279). The structure of the Grim Reaper blend seems to indicate that it belongs to the latter type.

Having described the constituents of a blend, let us now proceed to their interaction, *i.e.* the blending as an operation. Blending involves three mechanisms; the first two of which are *composition* and *completion*:

> The blend develops emergent structure that is not in the inputs. First, *composition* of elements from the inputs makes relations available in the blend that do not exist in the separate inputs. […] Second, *completion* brings additional structure to the blend […] [which is – A.G.] a salient part of a familiar background frame […]. Third, by means of *completion*, this familiar structure is recruited into the blended space. (Fauconnier, Turner 2002: 42–43)

Thirdly, in the blend, everything that has been imported, becomes integrated into a new, coherent structure, which can be further developed. This third mechanism is called *elaboration*. Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 44) describe it as imaginative modification of the blended structure, or "running the blend." The following definition is given by Evans:

> **Elaboration** (1) (also **running the blend**) In **Blending Theory**, one of the three component processes that give rise to emergent structure in the blended space. Elaboration is the process whereby structure which emerges due to composition and completion can be further developed by virtue of a simulation in order to develop further new structure. (Evans 2007: 65)

When commenting on blend elaboration, Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 48–49) add that "[p]art of the power of blending is that there are always many different possible lines of elaboration, and elaboration can go on indefinitely. We can run the blend as much and as long and in as many alternative directions as we choose."

Following Fauconnier and Turner, Libura stresses the fact the value of blending lies in possibilities of its creative development, which she

perceives as its "enrichment." It the quotation below, I have emphasized this aspect by means of italics:

> *Amalgamat* wzbogacić się *[emphasis mine – A.G.] może w wyniku swo-istego, kognitywnego rozwoju, zgodnie z logiką właściwą nowo utworzonej przestrzeni. Fauconnier i Turner twierdzą, że można dokonywać wielu symulacji rozwoju według zasad, które dla danego amalgamatu zostały ustanowione w wyniku procesów kompozycji i uzupełniania, i rozwój ten może teoretycznie być nieskończony [emphasis mine – A.G.].* (Libura 2007: 24)

> [A blend can be *enriched* as a result of particular cognitive elaboration, in accordance with the logic appropriate for the newly created space. Fauconnier and Turner claim that many simulations of elaboration can be performed following the rules which have been established for a given blend due to processes of composition and completion, and *this elaboration may theoretically be indefinite*.]

What is very important for the analysis in the present paper, Libura further states (in the same place) that, in the example that she discusses the possibilities of blend elaboration, based on corresponding stable knowledge structures, include relevant emotions and intentions. Thus it may be claimed that the emotional and, what follows, the axiological aspect (as emotions associated with a concept influence its positive or negative valuation) may play a crucial role in the emergence of novel meaning in a blend.

I would like to focus on this imaginative, novel simulation – or running – of a blend and present selected examples of how the conventional image of Death the Grim Reaper can be further elaborated in interesting ways.

3. Analysis

3.1. Emily Dickinson "Because I could not stop for Death" (712)

Because I could not stop for Death –
He kindly stopped for me –
The Carriage held but just Ourselves –
And Immortality.

We slowly drove – He knew no haste
And I had put away
My labor and my leisure too,
For His Civility –

We passed the School, where Children strove
At Recess – in the Ring –
We passed the Fields of Gazing Grain –
We passed the Setting Sun –

Or rather – He passed us –
The Dews drew quivering and chill –
For only Gossamer, my Gown –
My Tippet – only Tulle –

We paused before a House that seemed
A Swelling of the Ground –
The Roof was scarcely visible –
The Cornice – in the Ground –

Since then – 'tis Centuries – and yet
Feels shorter than the Day
I first surmised the Horses' Heads
Were toward Eternity –

Despite the fact that Dickinson's poem depicts a delicate and gentle scene, I would like to argue that the figure of Death in it is a creative elaboration of the conventional Death the Grim Reaper. In the poem, the Grim Reaper blend seems to be elaborated in a very special way which consists in removing some detail rather than adding new features.

Dickinson's Death is capitalized both in its noun form and when referred to as a personal pronoun ("He") and possessive adjective ("His"), which clearly indicates that this is a person. Moreover, Death is personified as a male, the gender that is traditionally associated with the concept of death in the English language. As a personification with the male gender, this Death may be interpreted as a poetic elaboration of the Grim Reaper although He lacks His typical accessory, the scythe, and is definitely not grim. This Death appears to be a courteous gentleman, who takes the poem's heroine on a slow and rather pleasant ride. She barely

notices both the destination, which is her grave (only hinted in the poem in a very delicate manner: sketching some details of the tomb which do not quite resemble those of a house), and the large span of time that has passed since the beginning of the ride.

To examine this example more closely, the elaboration or "running" of the Grim Reaper blend in Dickinson's poem consists in changing the concept's axiological charge from negative to positive; secondly, it develops into the story of a ride taken by a lady and a gentleman in a carriage. These two aspects need explanation. Starting from the latter, it seems that the unconventional blend of a pleasant ride with Death arises from selective combination of content from the conventional Grim Reaper blend (used as an input space) and another space: a ride in a horse-drawn carriage, thus making it a multiple blend. Since this last space contains the element of pleasure, or entertainment, as the purpose of such a ride, the Death in Dickinson's poem "inherits" the positive emotional value. In the poem, the meaning of a person's dying is not negative but positive; Death is not frightening or cruel but helpful and kind: He assists the poem's heroine on her way to the grave. The novel meaning, which is a distinct characteristic of blending, lies in the reversal of the conventional axiology of death from negative to positive – and this conceptual change was successfully verbalised by Emily Dickinson.

3.2. The film *Meet Joe Black* directed by Martin Brest (1998)

The most detailed elaboration of the conventional image, or blend, of Death the Grim Reaper necessarily occurs in films, which require not only many visual, realistic details but also action. One of the best-known films with personified Death as one of the characters is *Meet Joe Black* directed by Martin Brest, starring Brad Pitt as Joe Black (Death) and Anthony Hopkins as William Parrish (an old man whose life is claimed by Joe Black). The film is a remake of a much earlier (1934) one called *Death Takes a Holiday*.

In this creative elaboration of the traditional blend, the grim character of Death is signalled only by the surname he adopts: Black (the colour traditionally associated with death and mourning in our culture). To summarize the plot very briefly, Death appears in the world in the body of a young man Joe Black, who accompanies a rich old man William Parrish in his last days of life and then takes him away. In the meantime,

Death learns a lot about life, including the love of a woman and the sacrifice of one's desires for the good of another person. In other words, while Death remains death in ultimately fulfilling his duty to end life, he also becomes human and humane. As far as the amount of elaboration is concerned, this blend is indeed developed into a full-length scenario of a film, thus belonging to the most elaborate among the creative Grim Reaper blends.

To compare this blend elaboration with the poem by Emily Dickinson analysed above, the Joe Black version is obviously more dynamic due to the medium (film) and necessarily richer in detail, including the visual aspect as well as the psychological one. What the two blend elaborations share is the positive axiological charge of the personified Death as a kind, non-violent man. In the remaining examples, the creative aspect, or novel emergent meaning, of the Grim Reaper blends adds the humorous side to the phenomenon of death.

3.3. The 'death of a canary' joke

In this Polish joke, there is a knock on the door of someone's house of flat, and when a family member opens it, s/he sees a tiny Death the Grim Reaper standing on the doorstep with a miniature scythe. When the person asks, frightened, why Death has come, Death explains that she (Death has the female gender in Polish) is supposed to take the life of their canary (or another small pet).

The joke exists in numerous versions in Polish, it has even been recorded by the Polish poet-priest Jan Twardowski in various forms in some of his books (*cf. e.g. Elementarz księdza Twardowskiego dla najmłodszego, średniaka i starszego*, 2007). Naturally, it can also be found on several Polish websites devoted to humour.

The joke is another multiple blend in that it builds new meaning on the basis of the conventional Death the Grim Reaper concept, treating it as an input space for a new blend, where the other input space is the death of a canary or another small animal. Additionally, the inputs share a generic space containing the preconceptual image-schema[3] of SCALE,

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3   A preconceptual image-schema is a term used in cognitive linguistics to denote "[a] relatively abstract conceptual representation that arises directly from our everyday interaction with and observation of the world around us" (Evans 2007: 106). Examples of common image-schemas include spatial orientations, such as UP–DOWN, IN–OUT, FRONT–BACK, LEFT–RIGHT, *etc.*

i.e. the abstract notion of SMALL–LARGE SCALE that the human mind is equipped with. Such elaboration of the conventional blend is possible *via* the application of the SCALE, allowing for a reduction in the physical size of the figure of Death, relative to the small size of its victim.

3.4. Other examples of funny Grim Reapers

Surprisingly, a funny little Grim Reaper is used as the graphic illustration for the "Grim Reaper" entry in *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* – surprisingly since dictionaries are supposed to provide above all the essential rather than peripheral word meanings. The figure in the picture is hunched and seems small; it is wearing a hood that resembles one worn by witches in children's books, which makes an overall impression of not being really dangerous. This little picture may not correspond well to the quite serious definition in the relevant entry but reflects a very human tendency of trying to come to terms with the most frightening and unavoidable fact in our life, which is death. This little picture in question, as well as many others that one encounters *e.g.* on the Internet or in some cartoons, makes the phenomenon of death "smaller" not only literally but also metaphorically: less tragic, more familiar.

Indeed, the Internet is full of similar visual representations of Death the Grim Reaper, *i.e.* ones that make death less frightening. For instance, the website www.fanpop.com/spots/the-grim-reaper/images/ displays the picture of a Grim Reaper on a bike, which makes him more modern, showing that he too has to adapt to our times in which his traditional "vehicle" (a skeletal horse) is no longer effective. Another image there depicts a Grim Reaper carrying a briefcase, an accessory that nowadays is more useful than Death's traditional scythe. My favourite picture shows a frightened cat with as many as nine Grim Reapers standing in front of it. According to folk wisdom, cats have nine lives; that is why the arrival of nine Deaths is so ominous in this context.

Conclusions

According to the assumption adopted by cognitive linguistics, language is a capacity of the human mind: a reflection of our mechanisms and ways of forming and transforming concepts. Thus, language change mirrors

conceptual change. The process of conceptual integration (blending), a common but extremely complex phenomenon occurring on the mental level, may produce countless creative metaphors, realised in language (as single linguistic expressions, jokes, poems, stories, *etc.*) but also *e.g.* in visual arts, such as paintings, cartoons, film. As shown in the analysis above, conceptual change in a creative blend may consist in the reversal of a concept's axiological charge. This may in turn bring about a change in the valuation of a word or phrase, which makes room for poetry and humour – sometimes even in the face of death.

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Contact Confusion in Perception: West Meets East, One Actuality Becomes Two Realities

ABSTRACT. Perception is a cultural construct in which the actual world (empirical) is perceived as the real world (eidetic). When cross-cultural experience bring one culture into contact with another culture, a person's actuality suddenly confronts at least two reality constructs. Part of being bilingual, then, is the challenge of thinking in two languages, which is to say, seeing two realities for what is actually there! As Merleau-Ponty (1964: 42) suggests: "To perceive is to render oneself present to something through the body. All the while the thing keeps its place within the horizon of the world, and the structurization consists in putting each detail in the perceptual horizons which belong to it." My analysis explores two cultural dimensions of human perception as a function of communicology: (1) the visual distinction between "homogeneous Euclidean scientific space" and "nonhomogeneous non-Euclidean physiological space" (Heelan 1983: 46), and (2) the logic of the visual distinction between the "isometric perspective" of the West (horizontal horizon; foreground down) and the "axonometric perspective" of the East (diagonal horizon; foreground up). Position (1) requires the metaphysics of Phenomenalism wherein Width (Horizontal) + Height (Vertical) = Depth (Diagonal) and is the cultural perspective of the West. Position (2) utilizes the metaphysics of Phenomenology in which Depth (Diagonal) = Height (Vertical) + Width (Horizontal). In short, Western logic ("order of analysis") demands that perspective in which the "horizon" is the "line" marking Width. Eastern logic ("order of experience") requires that perspective in which the "horizon" is the "line" marking Depth ["Heaven is High, and the Emperor is Far Away!"]. The West is digital (Either/Or) and reductive ["You see or you do not" = Actuality is either Reality or Illusion]. The East is analogue (Both/And) and expansive ["There is always an option" = there are always at least four: my Reality, your Reality, and our Reality… leading to Actuality]. Images from West and East are used as examples.

KEYWORDS: art, axonometric perspective, China, communicology, intercultural perception.

1. Perception in cultures

Culturology is the study of value transformations in society and result-
ing practical formations of personal practice. This is to say plainly, we are
born into a family whose language and behavior both record the value
assumptions of their ancestors and teach these assumptions as govern-
ing norms for judging the activity of others. In short, we assume people
mean what they say, no matter how imperfectly they say it. Most children
soon learn that language can be manipulated to desired formations of
meaning. In semiotic terms, this is to say the language behavior system
of signification can be controlled by the speech and gesture system of
meaning. All of this is the study of discourse, the main focus of the hu-
man science of Communicology.

     We will not spend much time on this human science history, other
than to refer to Table 1 which summaries the Western (Aristotelian) tra-
dition of Discourse, which is to say the art of Rhetoric. The table summa-
rizes the study of all values (axiology) from the perspective of the axis,
the judgment point at which a value formation (speech act) with social
consequence takes place in language behavior.

     The primary concern with Table 1 is the relationship transformations
that connect the view we have of Other people (Ethics) with the view that
we have of natural Objects (Aesthetics). You can see why philosophers
want us to be careful of rhetoricians when things become words only to
become new things!

     My purpose in this paper is to take up the problematical conjunction
of Culturology and Communicology, *i.e.*, the problematic of perception
(Arnheim 1969: 232). Both empirical actuality and eidetic reality join
to form what we call "cultural practice" and "social preference," the de-
sired ways of seeing the world (*in communis*: community by discourse or
Politics) and how to talk about it (*in proprium*: socially appropriate dis-
course or Rhetoric). Our immediate focus is the situation, for example,
in which a person must cope with speaking two languages represent-
ing two ways of symbolizing actual experience. As Whorf (1952) and
Sapir (1931) suggested long ago, the choice of a language is necessarily
the choice of a cultural perspective and all the normative rules that are
thereby entailed. When cross-cultural experience brings one culture into
contact with another culture, a person's actuality suddenly confronts at

Table 1. Discourse Axiology

Axiology (Values) (Philosophy Subdiscipline)	Stases (State-of-Affairs; Phenomenology)	Questions (Arguments) USA Cultural Preference for Arguments in Rank Order = ( )	Evidence Tests:
Individual:			
1. **Ethics** (Personal) Judgments about the Other(s). *Consciousness* = a sense of social norms. [Morality = Judgments about your Self. *Consciousness* = a sense of conscience.]	1. **Fact** WHAT happened? (Description)	1. **Fact** (Private) (1) Empirically Verifiable. (2) Usually requires group discussion if facts are verifiable. ☞ *Argument by SIGN* (Rank 2)	1. **Fact** (*Data*) Is the evidence: (1) Directly observable? (2) Authoritatively reported? (3) Statistically acceptable? (4) Logically acceptable?
2. **Aesthetics** (Objects) Judgments about Objects and Events. *Consciousness* = a sense of cultural taste, beauty.	2. **Definition** HOW did it happen? (Reduction)	2. **Value** (Private) (1) Deals with unquantifiable such as "worth," "good," "benefits." (2) Experientially verifiable (not empirically verifiable). ☞ *Argument by AUTHORITY* (Rank 1)	2. **Opinion** (*Capta*) Is the evidence: (1) Authoritative? (2) Objective? (3) Recent? (4) Consistent? (5) Sufficient (condition)?
Group:			
3. **Politics** (Public) Judgments about *both* the Self *and* Other(s). *Consciousness* = sense of cultural mores/ customs.	3. **Value** (Norm) WHY did it happen? (Reduction)	3. **Policy** (Public) (1) Almost always uses "should" or equivalent word in question. (2) Advocates a change from the status quo. ☞ *Argument by EXAMPLE* (Rank 3)	3. **Statistical** (*Acta*) Is the evidence: (1) Acceptable operational definition? (2) Replicable? (3) Objectively reported?
4. **Rhetoric** (Discourse) Judgments about *both* Language signification *and* Speech meaning. *Consciousness* = a sense of intentionality.	4. **Venue** WHERE does it matter? (Interpretation)	4. **Venue** (Public) (1) Where will it happen? (2) Who will be the judge? ☞ *Argument by CAUSE* (Rank 4)	4. **Logical** (*Acta*) Is the evidence: (1) Acceptable neccessary condition? (2) Replicable? (3) Objectively reported?

least two reality constructs. Part of being bilingual, then, is the challenge of thinking in two languages, which is to say, seeing two realities for what is actually there! As Merleau-Ponty (1964: 42) suggests: "To perceive is to render oneself present to something through the body. All the while the thing keeps its place within the horizon of the world, and the structurization consists in putting each detail in the perceptual horizons which belong to it."

2. Two views of actuality: West reality and East reality

The issues related to the cultural perception of actuality (empirical) will be viewed from a Western (American, European) perspective on reality (eidetic) in comparison to an Eastern (Chinese, Japanese) perspective on reality (eidetic). For convenience, I shall respectively refer to W-reality and E-reality in the following analysis. Following the lead of a definitive account of this problematic by Francis L. K. Hsu (1953: 17), art will be the thing we examine to understand what actuality is served by discursive reality. This quest is inherently rhetorical inasmuch as art (aesthetics) serves (rhetorics) the individual (ethics) and social (politics) purpose of cultural narrative.

I begin simply with a lay person's take on visual perception. In the West, we are accustomed to a Geometric Linear Perspective based in occidental discourse [L. *occidere*: the sun falls, sets in the West; perspective converges on a horizon point in space; *terminus ad quem* = terminal point]. Here, the "isometric perspective" of the West (horizontal horizon; foreground down) requires the metaphysics of Phenomenalism wherein Width (Horizontal) + Height (Vertical) = Depth (Diagonal) and is the "correct" cultural perspective for W-reality.

By comparison in the East, Axonometric Curvilinear Perspective is grounded in oriental discourse [L. *oriri*: the sun stands, rises in the East; perspective emerges from a horizon point in space; *terminus a quo* = point of origin]. Here, people are accustomed to the "axonometric perspective" of the East (diagonal horizon; foreground up) that utilizes the metaphysics of Phenomenology in which Depth (Diagonal) = Height (Vertical) + Width (Horizontal) as the "correct" cultural perspective for E-reality. Visual examples are easier in Figure 1 and Figure 2.
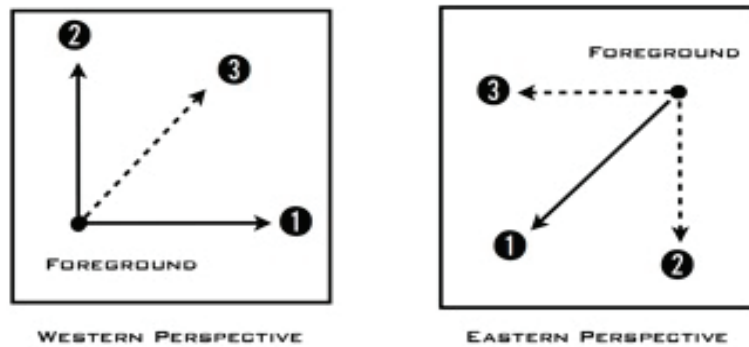
Figure 1. West and East perception construction (one actuality, two realities)
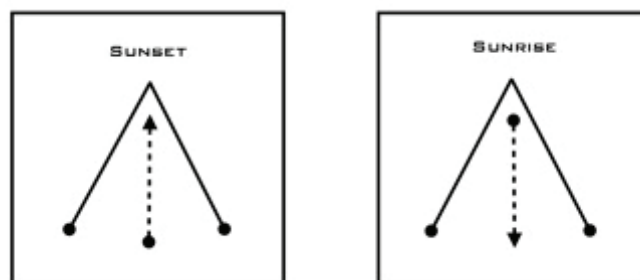

Figure 2. Sun as actuality referent (Western sunset, Eastern sunrise)

The influence of W-reality and E-reality can be illustrated (Figure 3) with the cultural icons of typical national flags containing the essence of perception.
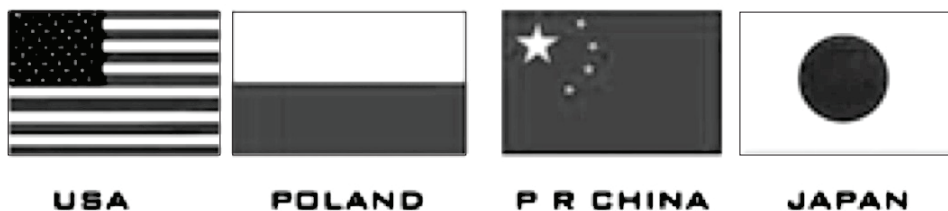

Figure 3. W-reality (USA, Poland) and E-reality (PR China, Japan)

Heelan (1983) reminds us that Euclidean geometry requires rather precise measurements for the construction of the W-reality as illustrated in Figure 4. Unfortunately, the mathematical construction is just a reality projection, not an actual object, much less an object perceived by a human being. Also note that Figure 4 is one dimensional, although it hints at two dimensions and our mind might even supply the third dimension (diagonal) because of our cultural training for certain closure gestalts. Heelan (1983: 61–62) provides a clear discussion and illustration of how Euclidean space projects its horizon (background) as a distant point for the observer which seems counterintuitive to the lay person.
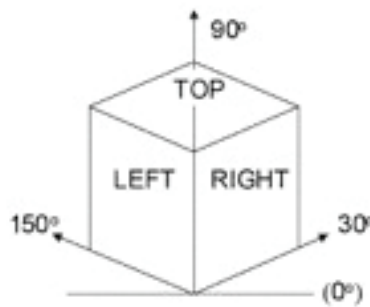
Figure 4. Euclidean "cube" showing Phenomenal Realism in W-reality

But now, we begin to have a W-reality complication as Heelan notes:

> The necessary and a priori character of our Euclidean perception and visual imagination was challenged in the last century by the experimental work of H. Von Helmholtz, F. Hillebrand, and W. Blumenfeld. It was demonstrated that, when normal observers are presented with a configuration of points of light dispersed in an otherwise dark background, they tend to construe the spatial organization of the configuration in a way not consistent with Euclidean geometry. Ernst Mach, and after him Merleau-Ponty and others, also noted the differences between the homogenous Euclidean character of scientific space and the nonhomogeneous non-Euclidean character of visual space – what Mach called "physiological space" or the space of our sensation – but neither Mach nor Merleau-Ponty investigated the systematic structure of size, depth, and distance relationship in this space, which is best done by means of a metric model. (Heelan 1983: 46)

Fortunately the "systematic structure" and systemic representation has been extensively investigated by Don Ihde (1977) using Edmund Husserl's model of semiotic phenomenology in Figure 5.
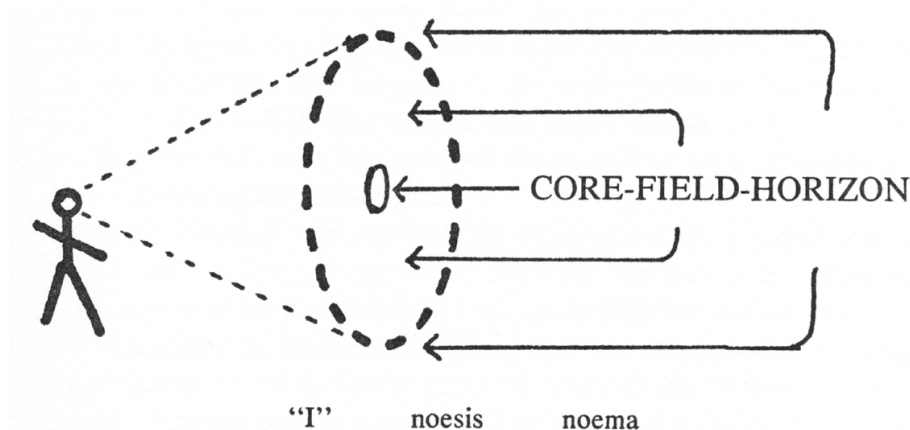
Figure 5. Husserl' model of perception

Recall that Husserl's (1900, 1922, 1969) early focus in phenomenology was logic and mathematics. It is an injustice to wonderful scholarship, but I am going to reduce Ihde's analysis to three figures. The purpose is to quickly educate the casual observer about the perceptual complexity in Actuality that is reduces to the simplicity of hexis and habitus by cultural preference of practice.

Let us begin with the Necker Cube inasmuch as virtually every person with a formal education in the West has encountered the image of the cube (usually in a Psychology class) as an "optical illusion" or unstable image. Recall Figure 4 and think about how an artist or engineer would add lines to illustrate all three dimensions. When you do, you get Figure 6 (Ihde 1977: 100).
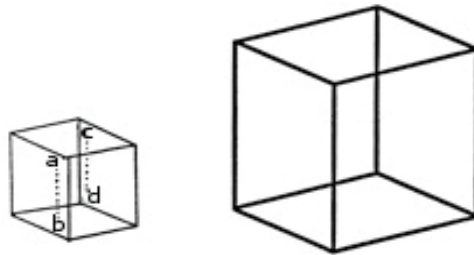
Figure 6. The classic presentation of the Necker Cube

A little concentration will soon confuse your brain as it constantly reverses the gestalt in an attempt to stabilize the Euclidean W-reality horizon as between the projection surface "a–b" as the foreground or surface "c–d" as the foreground. The complexity greatly increases if we change the position of the human observer so that the cube is perceived as in Figure 7. The "reversible" foregrounds ("a–b" and "c–d") are still there, but less available to cognitive processing because the vertical (height) dimension is indeterminate and the horizontal (width) dimension offers no contextual visual clues, *i.e.*, the diagonal (depth) projection is absent.
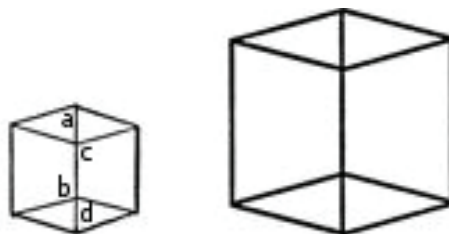
Figure 7. The Necker Cube absent a depth clue about horizon

Now we are ready to confront the failure of W-reality to cope with "the nonhomogeneous non-Euclidean character of visual space" which is illustrated in Figure 8 by the last (new) image in the series we are examining.
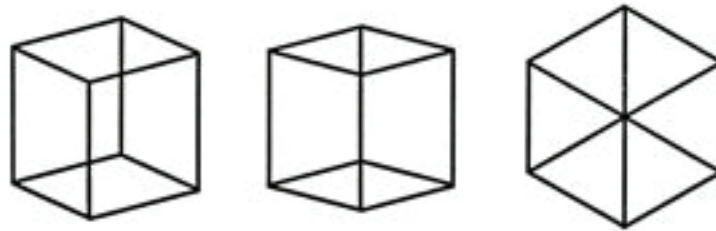
Figure 8. Three possible Necker Cube views of an infinite number of views

As you readily experience, the W-reality of the third image immediately is reduced to one dimension by the habitus of the Western brain training of cultural practice. Incidentally, such an image makes a good test item for determining hemisphere preference in the brain, since a person with "left brain dominance" (scientist) will "see" a one-dimensional "star." Recall, science is associated with W-reality. Whereas, the person with a "right brain dominance" (artists) will see the Necker Cube. Thus, art is associated with E-reality. An excellent review of the phenomenological approach to all the issues just discussed is Heaton (1968), whom I first met when I was a Research Fellow in philosophy at Dundee University in Scotland.

3. Types of technical perspective representation

Does anybody really care about all this? Yes, because you simply cannot make any money in the world without it! The simple need for people who buy things is to have an easily understandable view of the object they are wanting to buy or the action they want to try. We shall spend most of our time on the examination of objects, especially the artistic view of objects. However, I first want to offer a brief look at the problem of embodiment and the perception of the body by ourselves and others.

My research colleague at Brock University in Canada, Maureen Connolly, is a leading international expert on body movement, the science of Kinesiology. One of the first things she teaches is how to experience yourself walking, then experience others walking. Complexity of perception (the "Necker's Cube" of human movement) comes with much

anxiety as she leads students from walking to dance. Simply put, walking is known in W-reality by the ability to perceive Height (Extension) and then Width (Abduction and Adduction; see Lanigan 1992: 221) as illustrated respectively as image a and image B (top two images) in Figure 9.

To learn to dance in W-reality, a person must master the directions of E-reality (diagonals in motion) as depicted in images C and D (bottom two images) in Figure 9 (Luttgens, Wells 1989: 151). It is worth noting culturally that in E-reality, the C and D movements tend to be prior to the a and B movements, which is best illustrated by the tendency of the Chinese to walk in a zig-zag pattern of diagonals as they proceed up a sidewalk. Pairs of Chinese women will "dance" this pattern as they walk typically arm in arm.
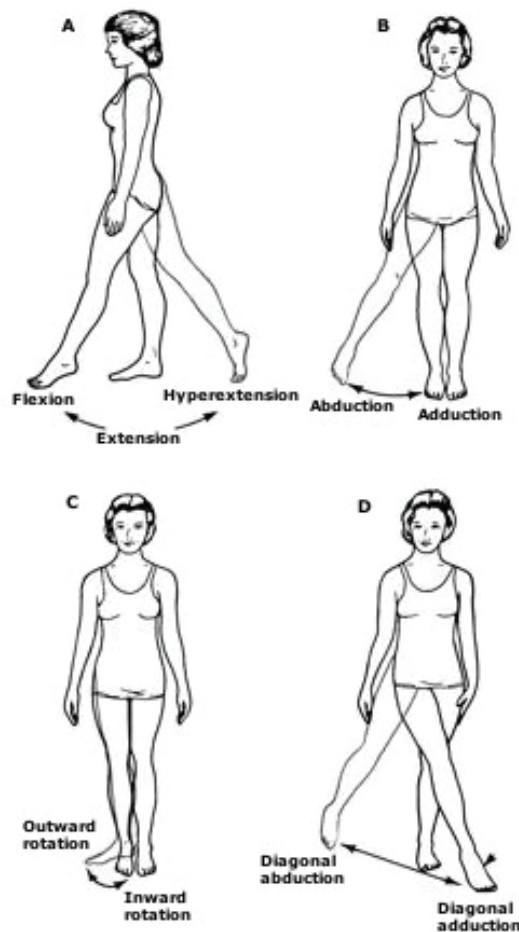
Figure 9. Self perception of movement and visual perception by others

Now, let us take up the phenomenological variations of W-reality that are accommodated by the necessity to depict the image of objects that suggest the whole object, as opposed to only a one-dimensional view. This is the visual world of engineers, the military, the artist, and in the present

day, the commercial world of the "video game system artist-developer" – the eidetic cartoon world of "Anime" [Japanese アニメ = abbreviation of "animation"]. Please note the horizontal and diagonal visual angles of the Japanese characters. To illustrate these "standard" W-reality perspectives, I am using the summary illustrations of Rimersma (2011), a graphic video game programmer. The typical perspectives are for W-reality (Isometric, Military, Dimetric) and E-reality (Axonometric). I shall just briefly note what is characteristic of each perspective. The Isometric or scientific projection (Figure 10) is characterized by an equal distance along all axes (width, height, diagonal). The sequence of images depicted (in all figures) is (1) plain view, (2) mathematical measurement, (3) and (4) are perspective views for placing a camera to photograph the image without distortion. The importance of distinguishing camera placement from human point-of-view is discussed by Sobchack (1991).
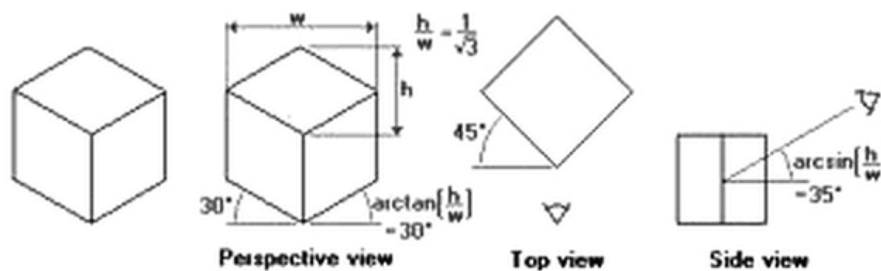
Figure 10. The 30° isometric projection

The so-called Military projection (Figure 11) uses an absolute symmetry of 90° and 45° angles for various problems of accuracy, *e.g.* fields of fire for gun emplacement.
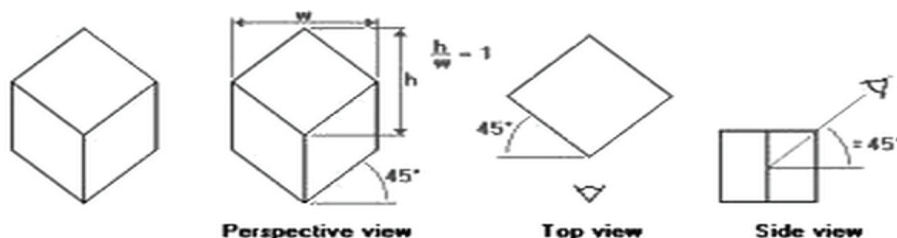
Figure 11. The military projection

The principal characteristic of the Dimetric projection (Figure 12) is that one axis is scaled differently from the other two. It is used in most technical drawing to emphasize a particular step in a sequence or a given part in a whole image. This projection allows for "artistic" creativity by

using an "abnormal" dimension to make the object appear "more normal" in depth. Here is where the isometric perspective (eidetic) gives way to axonometric tendency to make the object size and the image of the object the "same."
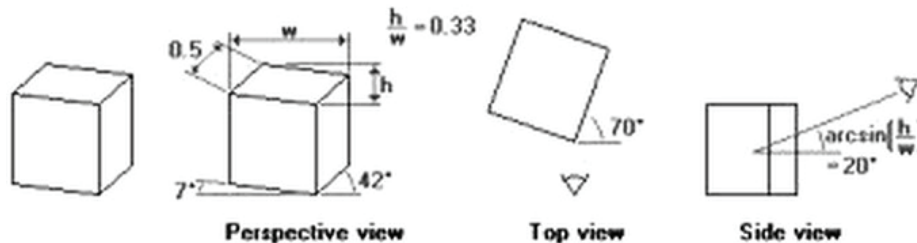

Figure 12. The Dimetric projection

At this juncture, we must abandon the Rimersma's (2011) account of perspective because the criteria of W-reality fails to access Chinese and Japanese painting. For example, he makes such absurd statements as the "fact" that Asian art has no "vanishing point" in its perspective. What will be helpful in the discussion to come is the fact that the "top view" in the Axonometric perspective (Figure 13) helps us see the defining role of the diagonal perspective in orienting our "seeing" of the object. In point of fact, the universal use of this perspective is apparent in the real estate business that always photographs of "Houses for Sale" showing the front, side, and roof of the house (W-reality object as E--reality image of object).
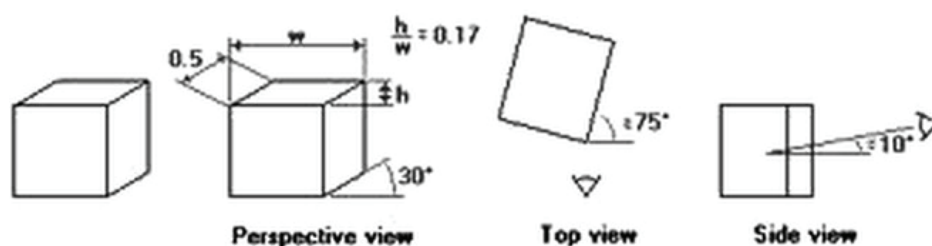

Figure 13. The Axonometric perspective

4. The metaphysical problem of boundaries

Axonometric perspective was the solution to a representation problem in Chinese culture that later spread to Japan. The problem began with Time – how to depict time in a visual narrative story on a scroll. Unlike the West where Time is measured by Space (look at the "hands"

on any clock!), it is the reverse in E-reality. Chinese measure Space by time. A typical scroll varies in Height, but is typically several meters long ("wide" in W-reality). The scroll, like Chinese orthography (see Figure 1), is to be viewed (read) from Right to Left, Top to Bottom. As in most cultures, the lexical inscription (writing) system dictates the cultural preference for vision, hence deitic words are the rules of perception! There are complications here that we cannot go into, but suffice it to say that rhetoric is a key element in W-reality where guide (deitic) words are expressed in the construction of visual perception, *e.g.*, "foreground" and "background."

In short, E-reality scrolls must be viewed as a continuous series of diagonal scenes moving from Right to Left (narrative from the perception of Now toward Then in the creation of History). The scrolls have no depiction of a light source, hence no shadows or other indications of external movement. There is no Height (Vertical frame dimension) or Width (Horizontal frame dimension) inasmuch as these are both "vanishing points" as the scroll is unrolled (moving toward Then) and rerolled (moving from Now).

◀ THEN /   /   /   /   /   /   / NOW ◀

At this point, I must explain that E-reality sees boundaries differently than W-reality. This is the previously mentioned boundary distinction between the *terminus ad quem* = terminal point and the *terminus a quo* = point of origin. W-reality sees a double boundary as isomorphic, *i.e.*, every visual perception has a finite frame that contains the Foreground and Background as static and isomorphic. For W-reality, perspective is the perception of a point in Space. The unknown Future is to be located from the Present.

[➡ Origin ---------- Terminal ➡]

W-reality requires the symmetry of double boundaries to enclose the content as a function of finite Space, thereby making Time a metaphysical infinite.

E-reality, by contrast, demands the axonometric single boundary of finite Time, thereby making Space a metaphysical finite. E-reality sees the single boundary as a mere static moment in the infinite process flow of Time. Foreground and Background are dynamic and axonometric.

For E-reality, perspective is the perception of a point in Time. The known Past is to be lived from the Present.

-----Origin ⬅ / ⬅ Terminal-----

5. Art: exploring the perception of W-reality and E-reality

W-reality constructs the perception of art along isometric, linear geometrical lines best illustrated in the early apparatuses for "correct" projection on a surface frame. Two examples are given by Reutersvärd (1983: 9–10) in Figure 14 and Figure 15. Note that an isomorphic, gridded frame makes the "realistic" image quite "scientific." Philosophically, this is an example of the "fallacy of the instrument."

Figure 14. Albrecht Dürer 1525 image of an apparatus

Figure 15. Albrecht Dürer drawing of a portable apparatus

Figure 16 illustrates an extreme emphasis on framing reality as isometric. Note that the "vanishing point" is open sky meant to locate the space of infinite time.

Figure 16. W-reality framing

Now, we are ready to transition to the specific analysis of Axonometric perspective which grounds E-reality. To begin, Figure 17 allows us a side-by-side comparison of one Actuality and the W-reality distinction from E-reality (Krikke 2010).

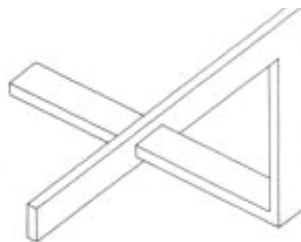Figure 17. Isometric projection (left) and Axonometric projection (right)

Figure 18. Western so-called optical illusion

The familiarity of Axonometric perspective allows us to see the "unseeable" in Figure 18.

Here, we encounter cultural prejudice as W-reality classifies Figure 18 as an illusion, a non-reality, a metaphysical impossibility. Reutersvärd (1983: 10) offers Figure 19 as an example of bad, incoherent art that does not qualify as culturally serious in any way. After a little experimentation, you will discover that you should begin perceiving in the lower right corner of the image, move left in a circular motion to take up the left side of the frame to the top, cross right and come down to your starting point. Of course, science says this narrative journey is impossible in Space, yet you just did the journey in Time. Are you Chinese, if yes, it was the "natural" thing to do!

The W-reality and E-reality conflict is now quite clear. What is illusion and not art in the West is the very essence of realistic art in the cultures of China and Japan. Before showing some explicit examples of Axonometric art, I would like to briefly look at Chinese carpentry because it illustrates in dramatically clear ways how axonometric perspective functions as between empirical actuality and eidetic reality. One of the better discussions is Ruitebbeek (1992) from which we have Figure 19. Note that the image is given priority over the writing, and Time a priority over Space.

Figure 19. Axonometric framing

Figure 20. Page from a Chinese carpenter manual

Just as W-reality considers Figure 18 an example of "insanity," E-reality shows "insanity" in Figure 21 by depicting a Chinese carpenter who cannot perceive axonometric dimensions. The proof of the cultural judgment is the depicted isometric table he constructed! Figure 22 shows a correct E-perspective from the artist Lu-Ban.

Figure 21. The aberrant carpenter

Figure 22. Lu Ban's good carpenter

6. Axonometric photography and the E-reality of culture's nature

The final part of my analysis is to show that some W-reality cultures can successfully appreciate the aesthetics of E-reality cultures. The following images are my own photographic work taken at the Japanese Pavilion at the National Arboretum in Washington, D.C., USA. Let me begin with Figure 23 showing a typical Japanese graphic illustrating multiple axonometric art forms and media (viewed Right to Left in scroll format!). This will follow with Figure 24 which is a typical flower arrangement displayed at the Japanese Pavilion and then Figure 25 which is a representative flower arrangement that fits with our previous discussion of carpentry.

Figure 23. Japanese artists at work with print media

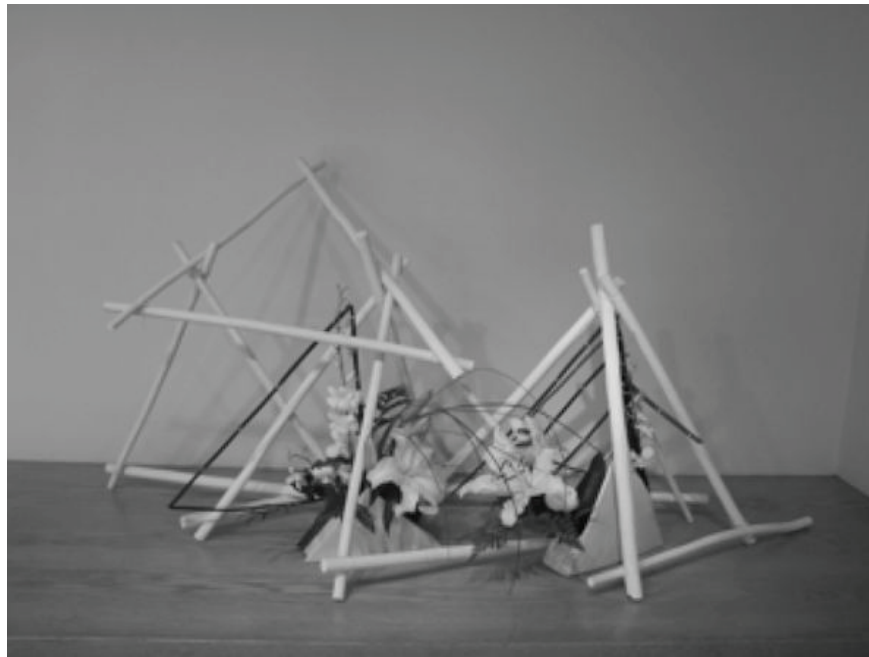Figure 24. Flower arrangement and counterpoint shadows

Figure 25. Flower arrangement with axonometric frame

Lest we think axonometric principles are resident only in the arts, I selected Figure 26 as illustration of how the E-reality axonometric cultural perspective is taught as Science in China at the high school level (pre-college).

National test set by Chinese education authorities for pre-entry students

As shown in the figure, in square prism $ABCD-A_1B_1C_1D_1$,

$AB=AD=2$, $DC=2\sqrt{3}$, $AA_1=\sqrt{3}$
$AD \perp DC$, $AC \perp BD$, and foot of perpendicular is E,

(i) Prove: $BD \perp A_1C$:

(ii) Determine the angle between the two planes A_1BD and BC_1D:

(iii) Determine the angle formed by lines AD and BC_1, which are in different planes.
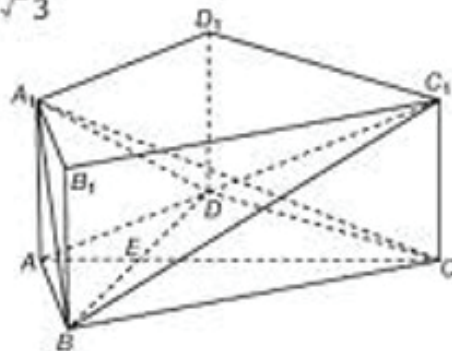

Figure 26. Axonometric geometry

As one enters the Japanese Pavilion in Washington, D.C., a gentle transition begins from W-reality suggested by the Giant Bonsai Tree entrance with apparent isometric dimensions. However, the open-air

(no roof) pavilion structure allows shadows to form a constant axonometric perspective. As we move to the regular (miniature size) Bonsai trees (more than one hundred are displayed), we encounter a particularly E-reality tree as illustrated in Figure 27. Note the afternoon roof shadows conforming to the tree shape, thereby creating an axonometric foreground and background combination! Of course, nature is simulated according to the same principles of perspective back in Figure 25.

Figure 27. Axonometric shaped Bonsai tree framed by shadows

Let me close by suggesting that the force of cultural perception does not change quickly. I was reminded of this one day when I saw a commercial (Figure 28) by a local Chinese-American politician running for office. He wanted to be elected to the United States House of Representatives in Washington. I was struck with two facts: (1) his TV consultants must have been Chinese since his on-camera image was set with axonometric framing and (2) included poor quality counter-balance in the flowers (a sign of indecisiveness!) which suggests the "unnatural" failure in harmony – the essence of Chinese virtue! I assume Chinese-American E-reality voters would reject him on the sole basis of bad image and W-reality voters would assume this was a news broadcast from China!

Figure 28. A Chinese-American running for the U.S. Congress in 2010

7. Resolving contact confusion in culturology and communicology

A resolution to the intercultural problem of contact and communication can be managed by an understanding of the basic rules that guide Western and Eastern cultures. These rules are rather straightforward:

1. All people live in the Actual World of Empirical Experience contextualized by a balance between a view of Consciousness and Nature.

2. People in Western (Occidental) Cultures learn an Eidetic Model of Reality in which individual consciousness frames Nature (sunset).

The frame is Geometric:

(1) Rectilinear (straight lines);

(2) Orthogonal (right angles).

3. People in Eastern (Oriental) Cultures learn an Eidetic Model of Reality in which Nature frames individual consciousness (sunrise).

The frame is Axonometric:
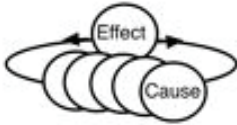
(1) Curvilinear (curved lines);

(2) Diagonal (oblique angles).

4. Each cultural view sees the other culture's eidetic perspective as a specific failure of perception in art and a general failure of cultural orientation to the visual (the semiotic code of Ocularics).

5. Both cultures view Ocularics code failures of perspective as being directly associated with failures of consciousness, *i.e.*, aberrant behaviors and mental disorders.

The comparative basis for cultural perspectives is, of course, based in the logic of the worldview held by each culture, *i.e.*, the cosmologies of West and East. Table 2 provides a summary of the world view logics in various comparative categories (Lanigan 2011; Chang 1938, 1946; Hsu 1953).

Table 2. Western and Eastern cultural logics

CULTURAL LOGICS	
EGOCENTRIC CULTURE	**SOCIOCENTRIC CULTURE**
Western (U. S. A.)	Eastern (P. R. CHINA)
Logic is Linear	Logic is Curvilinear
COMPETITION BY EXPRESSION	**HARMONY BY PERCEPTION**
Logic is *Causal Static*	Logic is *Combinatory Cyclic*
Logic is *Digital* by *Kind* EITHER Cause OR Effect	Logic is *Analogue* by *Degree* BOTH Causes AND Effects
Logic is Opposition ← ← ← *DISJUNCTION* → → → YES or NO (But not Both)	**Logic is Apposition** → → → *CONJUNCTION* ← ← ← *MAYBE* Both YES And NO
Logic is SELF Cognitive (A sense of "EGO")	Logic is OTHER Affective (A sense of "FACE")
Consciousness, then Experience (*Redundancy:* A Repeat of Thought = "Boredom")	*Experience*, then Consciousness (*Redundancy:* Continuity of Actions = "Wisdom")
Phenomenalism: 1-Order of ANALYSIS: ExperienceR → Experiencing → ExperienceD THINGS 2-Order of Experience: ExperienceR → Experiencing → ExperienceD	*Phenomenology:* 1-Order of EXPERIENCE: ExperienceR → Experiencing → ExperienceD BEHAVIOR 2-Order of Analysis: ExperienceD ← Experiencing ← ExperienceR

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On the Early Instances of Writing in the British Isles: An Anthropolinguistic Perspective

Abstract. Even though the majority of sources concerning the onset of literacy in Wales and England (see Briggs 2010; Brown 2003, 2006; Colman 1992; Davies 1999; Edwards 2007; Elliot 1957; Fell 1994; Looijenga 2003; Lord 2003; McManus 1991; Opland 1980; Page 1973; Parsons 1999; Redknap, Lewis 2007; Sims-Williams [1998] 2006, [2003] 2004) stipulate the significance of early writing systems, it may be argued that these stages of cultural development were overshadowed by Latin influences at some point in history. Contemporary theories concerning the origins of writing (see Schmandt-Besserat [1992] 2006, 2007) and oral patterns of thinking (see Ong [1982] 2002; Luria [1974] 1976; Goody 1968, 1994) suggest that there exists an elaborate manner of evolution of cultural practices among the representatives of oral societies seeking to adopt the technology of writing as one of the methods of collecting and storing valuable information. In terms of post-Roman Britain it can be observed that the two most vivid examples of such practices are runic and ogham scripts.

In order to gauge the scale and character of cultural processes which led to the adoption of runic and ogham scripts, and eventually, their being supplanted by the Latin alphabet in the British Isles, one should take a closer look at the earliest inscriptions found in Wales and England. This study presents an overview of my doctoral research, which incorporated a text corpus consisting of 23 Latin and ogham inscriptions from the counties of Breconshire and Glamorgan, as well as ten runic inscriptions from England. A closer study of geographical, linguistic and cultural factors, set within the framework of text linguistics demonstrated that the pre-literate period of British history witnessed a degree of cultural and linguistic richness and diversity.

Keywords: anthropological linguistics, text linguistics, runes, ogham, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic.

Introduction

Even though the British Isles were inhabited by a vast number of speech communities, it is possible to assess the onset of literacy among the representatives of two distinctive cultures – the Anglo-Saxon and Romano--Celtic inhabitants of England and Wales. Among the most important factors aiding this process one can include politics, religion and culture. Their momentousness becomes more prominent if several historical facts are taken into consideration. One of these factors was building up the new Christian identity, which, as Mayke de Jong ([2001] 2011: 172–173) remarks, relied on drawing a clear division between the old, pagan ways and the new enlightened path. The striking juxtaposition of these two religious traditions might indicate that the cultural conflict between pagan and Christian elements served as a reinforcement for the new faith and was a convincing argument in discussions among the religiously divided.

Around the 4th century Wales regained political independence and tribal kingdoms began to emerge. As suggested by Mark Redknap (1991: 8), even though political relations started to form a compound paradigm, individual kingdoms sought to develop independently. Despite that, post-Roman Wales made little use of the imperial inheritance, as only terms describing administrative functions, or occasional place--names were incorporated into native languages. Christianity was a consolidating factor for the existence of the Welsh kingdoms, as numerous Christian communities thrived in Roman Wales even after the empire's decision to withdraw. Yet the most important aspect of this transitory period is the emergence and amalgamation of Christian stone monuments, reflecting the political and religious changes taking place at that time. From the 5th century onwards, as Michelle P. Brown (2006: 64–65) remarks, commemorative inscriptions appeared not only in Wales, but became a part of tradition in Gaul, Iberia and North Africa.

1. On research approaches to orality and literacy in early medieval Britain

Early textuality retains the formulaic character of its oral heritage. The studies of Judith Jesch (1998, 2001), and Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2006) show that runic inscriptions not only bear discernible traces of oral residue,

but also that they may be viewed as the missing link between post-Roman orality and medieval literacy. Jesch (1998: 470–471) observes that runic inscriptions of the Viking Age period are placed within a stable and identifiable discourse.[1] Its most striking features include an open-ended approach to orthography and the grammar of language, occasional appearance of colloquialisms, or the rare usage of the verbs say and speak. What is more, even though the rune-carver expects his inscription to be read rather than heard, Jesch (1998: 471, 2001: 9–12) makes an educated guess that there might have been a certain oral dimension of runic inscriptions, where the text itself was read to a wider audience. Moreover, the importance of literate communication is heavily underlined by the sole fact of raising a rune stone. Even though a large proportion of stone monuments contain an elaborate message, individual formulaic elements are usually discernible from the now-weathered surface. Finally, all runic texts were assumed to reach a runic-literate audience. The occasional practice of inserting the name of the rune-carver was intentional, just like the practice of inscribing a text using the first person pronoun. There is a proportion of inscriptions which underline the link between reading and writing through a defined combination of visual features, text configuration and usage of characteristic grammatical forms. To Jesch (2001: 9–12), the inscriptions of the late Viking Age prove to be a sound resource of primary literacy. As sophisticated documents, they preserve particular pieces of knowledge that were created in a distinct time and space by a self-aware society.

The study by Piotr P. Chruszczewski (2006) was carried out in the field of Viking Age runic inscriptions from Jutland, Denmark. Aside from the rich material incorporated into the research, Chruszczewski also makes use of contemporary linguistic methodology. The linguistic-cultural dimension of runic texts, as Chruszczewski (2006: 210) proposes, may be perceived through the features and traits of particular formulas. In the light of Florian Coulmas' (1998: 305, cited in Chruszczewski 2006:

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1 The author's understanding of the notion agrees with the one presented by Teun van Dijk (1997: 1–3). There are three distinguishable dimensions of discourse that ought to be always taken into consideration: (1) language use, (2) communication of beliefs, and (3) interaction in social situations. Van Dijk (1997: 3) distinguishes between the spoken language – talk – and its written counterpart – text. Both instances of discourse have their users, that is producers and recipients. Therefore it can be said that between text users a written interaction takes place. A written text, just like a conversation between two individuals, encompasses a variety of extra-linguistic information, which is not contained in its physical form.

211–213) text typologies, Chruszczewski defines three types of formulaic contents. These include *routine formulas*, enumerating the stone founder's name, the relationship with the commemorated and the occasional indication of the rune carver; *fixed phrases*, which occur frequently if the commemorated person was of significant importance to the community – military leaders or people of high social rank; and *ritualistic formulas*, usually coined as personalised endings.

2. On the evolution of runic graphemes and the Anglo-Saxon runic tradition

The relationship between the religious milieu and writing was also observed by Ralph W. V. Elliott (1957: 250–260) in his research into Germanic runic magical practices. In his assumption, Elliot established that the relation between Germanic runic graphemes and magical-ritualistic practices might have stemmed from a tradition which attributed the yew tree with magical properties. Inscribing runic graphemes on a piece of yew wood was intended to enhance the desired magical result. Although this concept is considered outdated by contemporary researchers, it is worth noting that there may have existed a link between Old English Christian manuscripts containing medical remedies and pagan charms, which eventually were substituted by Christian invocations.

It was indicated by Judith Jesch (1998: 462) that elaborate runic inscriptions contain meaning not only in the text itself, but also in "(…) the very materiality of these monuments that preserve those words; and (…) that the inscriptions represent a crucial point in the encounter between orality and literacy in which we are able to trace the crucial significance of both these practices." Moreover, Jesch points out that,

> [b]ecause the Ågersta stone makes explicit what is only implicit in other inscriptions, it serves as an icon of the transition to literacy in a society which had previously been primarily oral. While the use of runes goes back to the second century A.D. in Scandinavia, so the phenomenon of literacy is not in itself new, the number of runic inscriptions rises dramatically in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. This may in part be an effect of random preservation, but I am convinced that it also results from the growth of a new type of literacy, a social literacy where written texts begin to take over some of the functions previously reserved for oral texts. (Jesch 1998: 467)

The uncertainty as to the origin of runes led authorities in the field to a stunning conclusion. As was remarked by Raymond Ian Page (1973: 11), "[a] witty, not to say malicious, Viking archaeologist [David M. Wilson – J.M.] recently defined the first law of runic studies as 'for every inscription there shall be as many interpretations as there are runologists studying it.'" This idea perfectly reflects the state of the matter, which results from the substantial gaps in archaeological evidence and the uncertainty of their dating. At the same time Page (1973: 18) notes, that it is possible to trace the route through which runes reached Britain. Page points here to another fundamental work by Wolfgang Krause ([1937] 1966) and implies that the distribution of early archaeological finds in England can be traced to a continental source.

The evolution of runic graphemes as a system – *futhark* – into its English variant resulted in significant changes in terms of the phonology as well as the shapes of the graphemes. Creating a system of 31 elements, the Anglo-Saxon carvers established a new writing tradition, and, as Page (1973: 39) remarks, a different term – *futhorc* – was coined to indicate these changes. Runes in general were designed as a carved script (see Moltke [1976] 1985: 32–36) with a particular emphasis on wood. Rune carvers made use of the shape of runic letters, which did not feature any horizontal lines, a trait important when one considers the structure of rings in wood. Furthermore, wood was the least durable of materials, which is reflected in the scarceness of contemporary archaeological discoveries.

3. On the use of Latin and ogham scripts in (post-)Roman Wales

The dating of early Welsh epigraphy raises many controversies as well. It was Patrick Sims-Williams ([1998] 2006: 15) who brought into question the issue of estimating the usage of writing in early Welsh society. Sims--Williams pointed to a popular, yet highly disputed approach that the lack of historical evidence for early Welsh literacy is attributed to various conspiracy theories. This "romantic" perspective, as Sims-Williams ([1998] 2006: 16) calls it, results from the lack of exact tracing of the origins of the Celtic oral tradition. It can be therefore argued that the lack of *in situ* evidence in terms of manuscripts allows taking into account the available circumstantial sources. Caesar's account, as Sims-Williams ([1998] 2006: 17) notes, indicates that Gaulish druids might have possessed fluency in

the use of Greek script, especially in those areas of knowledge which remained outside their usual discipline. In terms of writing use that remained outside scholastic or religious purposes, Sims-Williams ([1998] 2006: 24–25) shares the view of Robert Rees Davies (1987: 111–112) that writing in Wales was primarily used for purposes other than keeping records, until the 12th or 13th centuries.

Despite these rather pessimistic observations, some degree of literacy may be defined within the earliest instances of writing found in Wales. Even if the ideas of Patrick Sims-Williams and Robert Rees Davies are justified, taking into consideration the pre-Christian tradition of ogham or runic inscriptions may allow the construction of a preliminary model of early medieval literacy. It is unlikely that ogham writing was used in the same circumstances, for the same reasons and using the same materials as the Latin writing of manuscripts. The most reasonable explanation as to the place and time of the origins of ogham script was pointed out by Damian McManus (1991: 1–2), who indicated that the pattern of distribution of ogham monuments began in southern Ireland. Ogham script was intended to record the Irish language, while its creators were probably proficient in the use of Latin in speech and writing. The earliest form of ogham encompassed twenty symbols divided into groups of five. It was written vertically, while the natural edge of a stone was used as the stem line. Each letter was assigned a name, on the basis of the acrostic principle, that the first sound of the letter name resembled the value of a particular ogham symbol. It also remains unclear how ogham script reached Wales, but as Charles Thomas (1973: 6–7) pointed out, the Irish migration that was initiated around the end of the 3rd century was the probable source. The numerous examples of bilingual inscriptions in Wales may also point to that theory. Moreover, it was indicated by Paul Russell (1995: 210–212) that at the peak of the Roman era in Wales, the native inhabitants had already mastered using Latin script to record their speech. If one considers this state of affairs and adds that ogham, as a carved script, was not a practical means of recording longer texts, it may be argued that its scarceness of appearance on Welsh monuments, as compared to the use of Latin, was justified by the dominant role of Latin writing in that particular period of time. It is worth noting however that a large proportion of stone monuments in Wales feature both an ogham and a Latin inscription. This bilingualism of writing systems

may result either from the initial intention to express a message using two languages and two scripts, hence addressing the notion of the recipients' bilingualism itself, or, it was a result of recycling of a monument, where a Latin-inscribed or ogham-inscribed stone was moved and supplemented with an additional inscription not related to the initial one.

Much debate has also taken place on the subject of the dating of ogham inscriptions. The accepted perspective on chronology does not differentiate between ogham-inscribed and Latin-inscribed monuments (see Sims-Williams [2003] 2004). Even though the majority of corpus publications point out that there were two scripts in use (see Okasha 1993; Sims-Williams [2003] 2004; Redknap, Lewis 2007; Edwards 2007), the heritage of the early writing tradition in Wales is treated as a uniform entity. It was suggested by Patrick Sims-Williams ([2003] 2004: 7–8, 71) that epigraphic reasoning in the dating of early stone monuments can be expanded by the chronology of sound changes. The periodisation begins in the 5th century and stabilises around the 9th century, although further evolution has to be borne in mind.

As in the case of any early writing system, gaps in chronology and scarceness of archaeological finds are an issue that raises controversies. There is a distinctive script bilingualism discernible from numerous stone monuments, where both ogham and Latin writing were incorporated. It may be argued that such a state of affairs somehow affects the contemporary understanding of early literacy in Wales, yet if there were two scripts in use, such evidence should not be ignored. It is worth mentioning that there were, with a high degree of probability, other examples of multi-script communities in the British Isles throughout the medieval period (see Fell 1994: 119–138).

4. Proposed research-exclusive methodology

Runic inscriptions, as well as other instances of early literacy, can be treated as a basis for sound linguistic analysis. One of the most important aspects of a piece of research focused on this issue is the validity of the material it encompasses. In order to properly understand what is seen as valid material, one can rely on the concepts of Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler. In their fundamental work, de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981: 3) state that a text can be understood

as a *communicative occurrence* that meets seven standards of textuality. These seven standards include: *cohesion*, *coherence*, *intentionality*, *acceptability*, *informativity*, *situationality* and *intertextuality*. De Beaugrande and Dressler's research methodology may be considered extensive and encompassing a wide array of variables which remain in mutual relationships. The methodology is surprisingly scalable, allowing virtually any kind of material into the area of study. Yet the method finds only partial application in the field of early instances of writing.

It was established by de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981: 113, 124) that intentionality and acceptability seek to measure the attitudes of text users. A configuration of elements within a text should therefore be intended, to ensure that the text is accepted by a recipient. Between intention and acceptance there is a certain degree of tolerance of disturbances of grammatical structures which allows establishing whether a particular text is properly communicated. The text creator has to plan ahead what he or she seeks to communicate. The process of planning is a complicated type of problem-solving which seeks to achieve a specific goal. The intensity of planning relies on four factors, three of which seem the most relevant: (1) probability vs. improbability of achieving the goal, (2) presence or absence of a stable social environment, (3) short-term vs. long-term planning.

In the case of informativity de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981: 143–144) remark that it is established within several layers resulting from a textual occurrence. Informativity is a standard that essentially any text can fulfill by the sole fact of its occurrence. *First-grade informativity* therefore is always embedded within a text, no matter how vague, boring or unintelligible it may be. *Second-grade informativity* results from two sources: defaults and preferences. The former defines "operations or selections assumed to be stipulated in absence of contrary indicators," while the latter points to "operations or selections routinely favoured over competing alternatives." Both these instances reduce the degree of attention required for comprehending a text which allows higher-order occurrences to be established. Second-grade informativity is usual in almost all everyday examples of textual communication. Finally, *third-grade informativity* is discernible within texts that demand the recipient to conduct a more involved problem-solving. If a part of a textual occurrence is considered difficult, unintelligible or is not similar to the knowledge of texts

previously encountered, the recipient conducts a set of problem-solving mental operations that attempt at filling in the blank spots in the knowledge. Upon a successful "problem solving search," the text becomes understandable and interesting to the recipient, while its occurrence is downgraded to second-grade. Breaching the grade of occurrence is possible in two ways: *backward downgrading*, where the recipient goes back within a text and looks for anything he or she can relate to, while *forward downgrading* occurs when the recipient seeks intelligibility in later occurrences. Finally, both forward and backward movement is possible in the process of upgrading.

Situationality is a standard heavily dependent on context. It seeks to establish whether a particular text occurrence takes place in a relevant or irrelevant situation. As de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981: 163, 182) remark, this relevance is established in every case on the basis of mediation, that is "the extent to which one feeds one's own beliefs and goals into one's model of current communicative situation." Mediation depends on the intertextual dimension of occurrences. In conversations, refutations, replies or discussions it is extremely low, as the ideas of a text's creator may seem less important than the concept he or she refers to or comments on. Finally, the ideas, beliefs or concepts mediated are of importance when one considers communicative events taking place in early runic, Latin or ogham inscriptions.

In order to ensure a degree of validity and transparency it is suggested that aside from the selected standards of de Beaugrande and Dressler's methodology, selected aspects of Chruszczewski's (2006: 185–195) text typologies of runic inscriptions are incorporated into the following study. Although these text typologies provide a sound basis for an analysis of runic inscriptions, they can be applied to virtually any kind of early text. Bearing that in mind, the following criteria are used in the study of texts of both Germanic and Celtic origin. As was indicated by Chruszczewski (2006: 185–195), most medieval runic inscriptions on stone monuments were *commemorative*, as the usual practice of raising a rune stone was carried out in honour of a particular person's memory. Moreover, rune stones could contain lines that fulfilled *complimentary*, *informative* or *sacrificial functions*, while their general context could point to their *elaborate*, *pagan* or *Christian* character. Finally, it was also a sporadic practice that an inscription was *carver-signed*.

4.1. Presentation of the research material

The presented material encompasses six examples of early writing in England and Wales. Three inscriptions come from the vicinity of Margam and are in the custody of Margam Stones Museum. The stones are dated to around the 6th century, and feature inscriptions made using ogham and Latin scripts. The presented runic inscriptions come from a variety of places. The majority of early runic inscriptions in England can be dated to between the 5th and 7th century. It may seem interesting that, contrary to the Welsh tradition, early runic inscriptions were usually made on portable objects, rather than on stone monuments. The following examples feature the most representative examples and allow us to pinpoint the most characteristic peculiarities of each of the two traditions.

[1] Margam (Margam Mountain), Latin-inscribed stone

Margam Stones Museum, second half of the 6th century.

Bodvoci hic iacit filius Catotigirni pronepus Eternali Vedomavi

"*[The stone] of Bodvocus. Here he lies, the son of Catotigirnus and great grand-son of Eternalis Vedomavus*"

(Redknap, Lewis 2007: 407)

Figure 1. Margam Mountain stone (photo by J.M. 2011)

Table 1. Margam Mountain – linguistic criteria

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Text typology		Commemorative, elaborate, informative, Christian (?)
Intentionality	Intended configuration	Well-planned, intended configuration of elements
	Goal achievement	Possible

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Intentionality	Social environment	Stable
	Planning type	Long-term
Informativity	Order of informativity	Second-grade
	Grading	Unnecessary
Situationality		Eulogistic tombstone with three names inscribed
	Mediation	Christian beliefs, importance of family ties

The text retains the early-Christian formulaic phrasing and fulfills all linguistic criteria. It is worth noting that the text creator remembered about denoting the kinship of the deceased. The carver, on the other hand, was scrupulous in terms of the materials he used and the process of carving, as the inscription is preserved almost intact. The length of the text and the wide range of data it encompasses may suggest that the practice of raising longer, more data-infused monuments was infrequent and reserved for people of repute or importance.

[2] Margam (Eglwys Nynnid), Latin- and ogham-inscribed stone

Margam Stones Museum, dated to the 6th century.

[Latin:] **PVMPEIVS | CARANTORVS**

"*Pumpeius Carantorius (lies here)*"

[Ogham:] **P[O]P[IAS] / R(O or A)L[…]NM …] Q[….]LL[.]NA**

*pampes rolacun maq illuna

"**Pumpeius Rolacun son of Illuna*"

(Redknap, Lewis 2007: 440; Knight 1999)

Figure 2. Margam (Eglwys Nynnid) stone (photo by J.M. 2011)

Table 2. Margam (Eglwys Nynnid) – linguistic criteria

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Text typology		Commemorative, informative, elaborate
Intentionality	Intended configuration	Intended configuration of elements, well-planned
	Goal achievement	Possible
	Social environment	Stable
	Planning type	Long-term
Informativity	Order of informativity	Second-grade (third-grade possible)
	Grading	Unnecessary
Situationality		Commemorative tombstone with the name of the deceased, inscription made using two scripts
	Mediation	Commemoration of a relative, importance of kinship, addressing bilingual audience

The Latin inscription fulfills the proposed linguistic criteria, the ogham variant does so partially, due to the weathered condition of the stone's edge. The most striking element of this monument is the presence of two writing systems, which might have aimed at addressing a wider range of audience – both the native Celtic population, as well as Romans.

[3] Margam (Port Talbot), Latin-inscribed stone

Figure 3. Margam (Port Talbot) stone (photo by J.M. 2011)

> Margam Stones Museum, dated to the first half of the 6th century.
>
> [Front:] **hic iacit cantusus pater paulinus**
>
> "*Here lies Cantusus. His father was Paulinus*"
>
> [Back:] **IM[P(eratori) C(aesari) | FLA(vio) [VA] | L(erio) M[AXI] | MINO | INVIC | TO AV | GVS(to)**
>
> "*Set up in the reign of the Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Maximus, the Unconquered, Augustus*"
>
> (Redknap, Lewis 2007: 451–452)

Table 3. Margam (Port Talbot) – linguistic criteria

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Text typology		Commemorative, informative, complimentary, elaborate, Christian
Intentionality	Intended configuration	Well-planned, intended configuration of elements, low tolerance of disturbances
	Goal achievement	Possible
	Social environment	Stable
	Planning type	Long-term
Informativity	Order of informativity	Second-grade / third-grade
	Grading	Unnecessary but possible
Situationality		A re-used Roman milestone, adapted as a tombstone
	Mediation	Christian beliefs, commemorative function, elaborate and complimentary milestone inscription

The stone is inscribed with two texts, each from a different period. The earlier inscription provides elaborate information on the ruling emperor, which allows us to estimate its origin and labels the text as commemorative. The younger text, on the other hand, was inscribed most probably after the presence of Roman milestones was no longer relevant. Most importantly, both inscriptions provide vital information on the cultural-linguistic practice of re-using stones which was not uncommon in early-medieval Wales.

[4] Ash pommel

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Currently in Liverpool Museum. First mentioned in 1845, dated to the 6th century. The partially intelligible inscription states:

*emsigimer

"em sigi mer"

"**I am famous victory*"/ "*I am Sigimer's*"

(Parsons 1999: 42–45; Looijenga 2003: 276)

Table 4. Ash pommel – linguistic criteria

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Text typology		Informative, pagan, sacrificial
Intentionality	Intended configuration	Decorative or sacrificial text, well--planned
	Goal achievement	Probable (placed for ritualistic purposes)
	Social environment	Stable
	Planning type	Long-term
Informativity	Order of informativity	Second-grade / third-grade
	Grading	Possible
Situationality		Text creator intended placing a magical formula or a personal name upon a weapon. The usage of script might have a distinctively magical justification
	Mediation	Ritualistic thinking, the will to "enhance" physical properties, denoting ownership

According to David Parsons (1999: 42) only the part *sigi(m)* retains some linguistic relevance, with a translation of OE *sige* as *victory*. Yet, if one considers Tineke Looijenga's (2003: 276) transcription, one can argue that the text is in essence a magical formula or a personal name. Both ways of reasoning point to a practical application of the script. The practice of placing inscriptions on weaponry might have been aimed

at "enhancing" its properties or bringing its user luck, while inserting a personal name was intended to denote property.

[5] Harford Farm brooch

Currently in Norwich Castle Museum. Excavated in 1990, dated to ca. 650 A.D. The inscription as follows:

luda:gibœtæsigilæ

"***Luda repaired this brooch***"

(Parsons 1999: 53–55; Looijenga 2003: 278–279)

Table 5. Harford Farm brooch – linguistic criteria

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Text typology		Commemorative, informative, carver--signed
Intentionality	Intended configuration	Intended, well-planned
	Goal achievement	Possible
	Social environment	Stable
	Planning type	Long-term
	Order of informativity	Second-grade
	Grading	Unnecessary
Situationality		Text added most probably after a repair had taken place
	Mediation	Commemoration of deeds

The text remains both intended and well-planned, with low tolerance of disturbances. The text creator's goals are feasible, hence the second--grade informativity can be acknowledged. Moreover, one can observe the straightforwardness of situation and intentions. The text does not reveal any ritualistic practices. One can conclude that this is a remarkable communicative text, one of very few in the case of early runic inscriptions.

[6] Loveden Hill urn

Figure 4. Loveden Hill urn (photo by J.M. 2011)

> Placed in the British Museum. Discovered in 1961, dated to before 500 A.D. The inscription states:
>
> **sïþabad:þikw:*la***
>
> "***Siþabald receives (a) grave**"
>
> (Parsons 1999: 55; Looijenga 2003: 281–282)

Table 6. Loveden Hill urn – linguistic criteria

Criterion	Sub-criterion	Description
Text typology		Commemorative, informative, sacrificial, pagan
Intentionality	Intended configuration	Intended, well-planned
	Goal achievement	Possible
	Social environment	Stable
	Planning type	Long-term
	Order of informativity	First-grade / second-grade
	Grading	Unnecessary but possible
Situationality		A commemorative and sacrificial inscription, denoting the possible name of the deceased
	Mediation	Commemoration of a person, ritualistic and sacrificial practices

If we consider the reading provided by Looijenga as plausible, the urn unearthed from a grave hints on the burial practice of the Anglo-Saxons. In this context runic script was used to commemorate a person's name,

yet the exact meaning of "receives/gets" is unclear. It may be speculated that such practice resulted from the need to record speech and thus imbue a physical item with a fragment of such early recording, possibly as a part of the burial practice. In terms of linguistic analysis, the text fulfills all the proposed criteria though possibly breaching the order of informativity. First-grade order has been accomplished, the second-grade order may require a reliance on external data which has by now vanished.

Conclusions

The creators of ogham and Latin inscriptions knew how to anticipate the text recipient's understanding of the surrounding reality and possessed the awareness of how an inscription should be properly utilised. The nature of the inscribed stone monuments demonstrates their long-term planning, while the uniformity of the practice may suggest the stability of the social situation in which the communication was intended. The Latin alphabet played a dominant role in early literacy in Wales, mostly due to the impracticality of ogham script. Welsh speech communities learnt to adapt the tradition of stone raising into their own practices, be it through re-using of existing stones or through creating new monuments.

Early runic texts, on the other hand, are short, ambiguous and difficult to interpret. Their creators did not find it appropriate to convey a more elaborate meaning, nor to indicate authorship. The authors of these inscriptions sought to accomplish a communicative goal, which can be reasoned from the very fact of the inscriptions' existence. This, however, was not sufficient to carry across a clear and straightforward message, or to communicate content relevant to the knowledge of the texts' recipients. Anglo-Saxon speech communities did not perceive writing as a first-hand necessity. The purpose and the most common application of runic script was initially dependent on the ritualistic and shamanistic milieu from which runes most probably derived. The few individuals of Anglo-Saxon oral culture who understood the possibilities that runic script provided, attempted to make use of the script for other purposes than ornamentation or shamanism. Yet such individuals were the minority, within a society that perceived runic writing as an element of their religious or ritualistic heritage.

It is also noteworthy, that the use of ogham writing in Wales was not a widespread practice, mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, ogham script reached the Welsh coasts sometime after Latin writing had already been introduced into use, which did not encourage the use and spread of ogham. Secondly, the potential acquaintance of two separate writing systems presented an opportunity for a struggle in popularity. It is possible that part of the Welsh population was able to use both ogham and Latin scripts, but favoured the latter for its versatility and ease of use, regardless of the materials applied and inscribing tools used. Ogham script, on the other hand, retained its initial purpose of engraving stone or wooden objects and did not fit into the practice of using parchment, vellum or quill. This evolutionary standstill might have been the deciding factor in favouring Latin script over ogham.

The Anglo-Saxon writing tradition began much later, and assumed a different form. While being a continental invention, runic graphemes became an integral part of the shaping of Anglo-Saxon identities. It evolved from a mysterious and not entirely understandable source, and retained its secretive and ritualistic nature for several centuries. Ultimately, runes became an independent and well-established writing tradition in the British Isles. Contemporary runic studies may seem over- -cautious in addressing the incorporeal aspects of runes and their use. Such an approach is somewhat justified by the fact that there is very little evidence outside the scope of runic evidence that would explain the complexities of Anglo-Saxon perceptions of runic writing. At the same time it should be borne in mind that a proportion of the available evidence provides not only glimpses of knowledge, but also substantial information indicating that there may have existed a cultural practice associated with runic writing that drew from the unwritten, unsystematised pool of ritualistic or folk knowledge.

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Multilingual Practice and English in Interpersonal Contacts: The Example of the Canton of Zurich

Abstract. The research question informing the analysis in this paper seeks to determine the extent of the use of English among the Swiss. Even seemingly insignificant changes in language behavior of a multilingual society eventually tend to affect the arrangement of languages involved in a particular context. Thus, there is a certain possibility that the empirical material provided for the present analysis might lead to a redefinition of the socio-linguistic conditions obtaining in Switzerland, or at least reveal a new tendency of a more hierarchical relationship among the national languages of Switzerland. This tendency seems to have been spurred by the arrival of English on Swiss soil. The research aims to explore the multilingual interactions of the German-speaking Swiss from the canton of Zurich. I expect that the analysis of the material will make it possible to uncover, unknown so far, evaluations of the usefulness of languages making up a given multilingual setting. I am interested in the dilemmas which may appear in situations when an individual person faces the 'necessity' of choosing a language of communication from among four languages with the national status and English. The author's analysis concentrates on the English language which, in the process of its unprecedented spread, not only becomes the first foreign language in monolingual countries, but also in multilingual nations.

Keywords: multilingualism, Switzerland, national languages, domains, minority languages, contact linguistics, bilingualism.

Introduction

The notion of a domain

In Joshua Fishman's (1972a: 451) opinion, the characteristics of language choice are best brought out by sociolinguistic domains, which are the points of intersection of micro- and macro-sociolinguistic aspects. A domain, understood as the "institutional context" or as "the large-scale

aggregative regularities that obtain between varieties and societally recognized functions" (Fishman 1972a: 43), does not leave an individual speaker unaffected (see also Farah 1997). A speaker's choice of language, style or channel will be dictated by the necessity to fit in with the domain in which an event is placed. Therefore, the domain provides for an insight into communication patterns and language choices in multilingual societies. Fishman (1972a: 437) argues that "habitual language choice in multilingual speech communities or speech networks is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination, (…). 'Proper' usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically coavailable languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasions* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*."

According to Bernard Spolsky (2004: 43), language choice is conditioned by "the speaker's proficiency in language (zero proficiency normally preventing choice), the desire of the speaker to achieve advantage by using his or her stronger language and the desire of the speaker to derive advantage by accommodating to the wishes of the audience." Susan Gal (2007: 150) formulates a parallel outlook, yet in a more succinct way and makes the decision of language choice dependent on "situational factors, (…) the purpose of the interaction and the languages known by the interactants." Peter Nelde (1989: 79) adds to the above list such factors as "the place in which the contact occurs, the presence of other known or unknown persons, (…) the social environment, the degree of trust, the *intentional* expressions and the self-appraisal within the linguistic community."

Notwithstanding the above, it is almost certain that an average speaker when faced with the choice of language in a particular situation simply picks out the language that lies closest to him in order to establish a maximally unproblematic communication. Or, in the words of Ralph Fasold (1984: 208), "language choice at a particular moment is seen as evidence of a person's desire to be associated with the values of one speech community or another." The speaker uses language like a tool primarily regarded as a means to the end of communicating. In turn, language perceived as a means of identification, or a 'linguistic homeland,' is more the result of a guided process of language consciousness (see Cathomas 1981).

The concept of diglossia

Languages and their varieties exist in complex interrelations in which they are assigned different tasks. The combination of the forms and functions of distinct codes came to be known as a specific type of bilingualism or *diglossia*. The term is inseparably linked with Charles Ferguson and his article of 1959, in which diglossia was officially introduced into sociolinguistic literature. Since Ferguson was the first to describe this phenomenon, his definition is considered to be the classic version, especially in view of the later modifications to the concept proposed by Joshua Fishman (1967) who presented his extended definition of diglossia which differed from Ferguson's original concept in two crucial aspects, *i.e.* the number of languages and the degree of linguistic difference between them. Elaboration on Fishman's model led to the identification of further 'sub-types' of diglossia.

The diglossic view of bilingualism builds on domains which are vital in the macro-analysis of functional distribution within multilingual or multidialectal speech communities (Fishman 1972b: 44). Such societies recognize two or more languages in intra-societal communication. Also, diglossia is considered to reinforce social distinctions. Suzanne Romaine (1994: 47) describes the procedure of ascribing languages to domains as "compartmentalization of varieties," which understandably restricts access to some of the domains due to the mismatch of a given variety with a particular context (also *cf.* Fasold 1984; Martinet 1986: 245). Ferguson chose the term *diglossia* to describe a special type of bilingualism in which two co-existing linguistic codes of different status compete with one another. Speakers can use several language varieties, basing their decision on the circumstances. However, diglossia does not apply in the case of alternate usage of a standard language and its variety, but in cases where "two distinct (…) languages are used (…) throughout a speech community each with a clearly defined role" (Ferguson [1959] 1972: 233). A standard language fulfills the so-called 'high' functions that are appropriate for formal contexts, while the 'low' functions are ascribed to dialectal forms employed in the privacy of one's home (Ferguson [1959] 1972: 246). Hence, we speak about High (H) and Low (L) varieties. To characterize the H and L varieties does not pose a problem, suffice it to say that "H and L have disjoint functions: where H is appropriate, L is inappropriate and vice versa" (Sebba 2011: 450).

Ferguson set out to expound the concept of diglossia by establishing nine categories which are prioritized according to function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. The functional linguistic distribution, or the specialization of function, is the 'existential' feature of diglossia. The original concept provides for two distinct varieties of the same language, the High and the Low. Accordingly, there are contexts where only one of the varieties can be used, with a small margin of overlap, since "the importance of using the right variety in the right situation can hardly be overestimated" (Ferguson [1959] 1972: 236). The second most important feature of diglossia is prestige, which depends on the attitude of the speakers in diglossic communities. Typically the H variety enjoys superiority over the L variety, as the latter is believed to be inferior in a number of respects. Ferguson ([1959] 1972: 237) explains that "even where the feeling of the reality and superiority of H is not so strong, there is usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts, and the like." However, rarely is the category of prestige as uncomplicated in life as it is in theory, which is to be demonstrated later in this section. As for literary heritage, it is mostly the preserve of the H variety. In the category of acquisition, the method of acquisition counts most, *i.e.* the L variety is learned naturally at home whereas the H variety is taught *via* schooling. Standardization is obviously the domain of the H variety, which has established norms for orthography, grammar and pronunciation. The next category describes diglossia as a highly stable phenomenon that can last several hundreds of years. As far as grammar, vocabulary and phonology are concerned, a wide variation in all these aspects can be noted. Typically some grammatical categories in H are reduced or not present in the L variety. Also, much of the vocabulary of the two varieties is shared, but with differences in meaning and with the existence of many paired items.

Diglossia in a global perspective

On a global scale the concept of diglossia may also be extended to refer to English when adopted for international communication in science and business. There are fears that the overwhelming dominance of English may arrest the development of specialist terminologies in other languages. Marc Deneire (1998: 394) takes a diglossic perspective

when he says that "the generalized adoption of English could also lead to a process of secondarization of all languages other than English and the reaction of a 'High variety' and a number of 'Low varieties' of language in science." In all likelihood most sociolinguists would even argue that we are dealing here with a stark imbalance of language power, but the scholar who prefers to resort to more offensive terms is Robert Phillipson:

> If the world moves towards a pattern of global diglossia, with English as the language of the haves (including elites in South countries), while the have-nots and never-to-haves are confined to other languages, this would represent one of the most sinister consequences of globalisation, McDonaldisation and linguistic imperialism. (Phillipson 1997: 243)

Ronald Wardhaugh (1987: 131) describes the ascendancy of English as a 'one-sided competition.' Clearly, from the sociolinguistic angle, English has permeated into an unusually wide array of functional domains. Many voices argue that the more English spreads, the more neutral, or 'value-free,' it becomes. If so, then English has no proprietors. It embraces all kinds of people, political systems, views, cultures and identities. Such a scale of spread sometimes raises the question of the inherent viability of language, which has united linguists in agreement that no built-in features can dismiss any language as 'worse' than others for any purpose. The true reasons for the power of language are non-linguistic in nature; rather, they reside in demographic, economic, and political correlates.

In a similar vein, Zsuzsa Hoffmann (2011: 186) argues that the emergence of a hypercentral English fosters a phenomenon which she calls a *new diglossia*. Indeed, the use of national languages has slightly receded from certain domains to make room for English, which has come to be the best choice in some situations – a phenomenon easily observable across the countries of Europe. For instance, English seems to be the preferred language in the contexts related to business, new technologies, the media, advertising and entertainment. Such a change in the functional distribution of languages tends to be reflected in individual linguistic repertoires invariably including English, which has already been referred to as the *international* type of bilingualism by Urs Dürmüller (1991: 149). Yet, unlike Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 487), Hoffmann (2011: 186) fails to share her views on the assignment of the H and L

varieties to the *new* pairs of languages in the *new diglossia*, *i.e.* English and a given national language or languages. This may be so due to the fact that the spread of English is fuelled generally by its high prestige, which adds to the diglossic complexity of individual cases, especially if English were to be labelled as the L variety.

1. A note on the methodology

1.1. The research objective

The research aims to explore the multilingual interactions of the German-speaking Swiss from the canton of Zurich. I expect that the analysis of the material will make it possible to uncover, unknown so far, evaluations of the usefulness of languages making up a given multilingual setting. I am interested in the dilemmas which may appear in situations when an individual person faces the 'necessity' of choosing a language of communication from among four languages with the national status and English.

The analysis will concentrate on the English language which, in the process of its unprecedented spread, not only becomes a first foreign language in monolingual countries, but also in multilingual nations. In fact, it may be surprising that in the case of Switzerland, its multilingual context is so capacious that, almost naturally, this country becomes enriched with yet another language of a supranational scope. Switzerland has three big European languages, from among which each language taken individually may provide its speakers with smaller or greater communication possibilities beyond the country's borders. However, in the eyes of individual speakers English appears to hold an unmatched position with regard to its extensive usage. Such a positive evaluation of English often goes hand in hand with an authentic mastery of the language, or at least with a positive opinion about it.

In the light of the problems outlined above, what becomes particularly noteworthy is the potential scenario for the existing balance of languages in a multilingual context where English comes into play. The domains selected for the analysis include the family, friends, workmates, cantonal administration officers, strangers, the French- and Italian-speaking Swiss. Therefore, the research hypothesis to be tested here has been formulated in the following way: the multilingual practice in

personal contacts of the German-speaking Swiss has resulted in them incorporating English as a *lingua franca*.

1.2. The research technique

The telephone interviews were conducted between 28 June and 20 July 2011, from the CATI telephone studio centre of the PBS Ltd. research institute in Sopot, Poland. In total, 400 successful phone calls were realized during the interviewing process. CATI is a technique used to realize large quantitative research projects. It consists in conducting interviews over the telephone supported by computer aid. The biggest advantage of the CATI research is a favourable relation between the time of realization, the quality of obtained data, and the costs of the project. The interviews have been based on a questionnaire, which has largely determined the form and the sequence of questions. This procedure guarantees the accuracy and comparability of received answers, as well as the possibility to calculate the results. As a method, telephone interviewing is distinguished by its reliability (see Mayntz 1985: 133).

Language use is usually documented through the analysis of different domains, like home and family, friendship or work (see Fishman 1991). A domain analysis makes it possible to identify the contexts of language use, seen as a blend of interlocutors, places and topics. Thus, every domain constitutes a distinctive set of these factors. The typical configuration of any domain would normally provoke the use of a specific language. Out of the two types of questions, *i.e. open* or *closed*, all the questions from the questionnaire used in the CATI technique are closed-ended. The most frequent question formats of closed questions include yes–no answers, ranking schemes, multiple choice or semantic differentials (see Fasold 1984: 152). In closed questions, the freedom to present one's views is limited to some extent, but the positive aspects seem to be appreciated by both respondents and researchers. For the former, these questions are much easier to deal with than open questions, whereas for the latter, closed questions are easy to score.

1.3. The research sample

In total, 400 interviews have been conducted throughout the entire research. Due to the random character of the sample and the disproportions related to the population structure, the procedure of a weighting of

the set has been applied in order to precisely match the sample structure to the structure of the investigated population. It is a procedure used to minimize the unequal likelihood of an introduction into the sample of only individual elements of a given population, and to rectify the demographic structure of the sample. Thus, the research sample is representative of the population in the canton of Zurich in terms of the demographic features, such as gender, age and education. The data used in the weighting procedure comes from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office. In general, the interviews based on questionnaires are conducted on research samples that are supposed to represent the relevant population; however, sampling error means that no sample can ever precisely exhibit the properties of a population. The sampling error range denotes a quantitative assessment of the difference between the sample results and the probable results of the population. For the research sample of a size of n = 400, the maximum error of estimation amounts to nearly 5% at the assumed confidence level of 95%. This means that there is likelihood at the level of 95% that the investigated phenomena in a given population will not differ from the results obtained from the research by +/– 5%. It should be noted that it is also possible to reduce the sampling error at an unchanged confidence level by enlarging the size of the research sample.

The characteristics of the research sample selected for the purposes of this analysis have been compiled from the first four questions in the questionnaire, referring to gender, age, education and employment. The number of women and men participating in the research is comparable – 51% and 49% respectively. All respondents are adults, aged minimum 18, half of whom are persons between 35 and 54 years old. The group of respondents over 55 equals 38%. The youngest age category, *i.e.* persons between 18 and 34, make up as many as 11%. All 400 respondents live in the city or the canton of Zurich. Nearly half of them are people with primary or lower secondary education (48%). The second biggest group concerns the graduates of universities or colleges (28%). Every fifth respondent has declared to have an upper secondary level of education (20%). And, two thirds of all interviewees work professionally (67%).

2. Presentation of the data

2.1. Questions concerning English

Most inhabitants of the canton of Zurich (78%) point to the German language as their mother tongue. From among the group whose mother tongue is some other language than English, nearly 90% of the respondents had learnt it at some time. English is learnt somewhat more often by women than by men (90% vs. 85%). Learning English is correlated with the age of the respondents – as many as 98% from the youngest group aged between 18–34 have declared that they had English instruction. An analogical tendency concerns the level of education – the higher it is, the more persons have learnt this language. Interestingly, the professional situation of the respondents (working/non-working) does not reveal differences with regard to this problem. The biggest group of the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich admitted to having studied English for between three to six years.

Almost 80% of all respondents can speak French, and half of them know Italian. As regards to these two languages, women are somewhat ahead of men in number (83% vs. 75%). Respondents aged between 18–34 most often know French (88%), whereas Italian has been indicated only by every fourth person from this age group (26%). When asked about the knowledge of other foreign languages, the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich in the first instance pointed to Spanish, Russian and Portuguese.

The everyday communication in German is the preference of 70% of all residents in the canton of Zurich. However, noteworthy is the fact that every eighth respondent (12%), when asked about the language they like to speak most, has indicated English. French and Italian have scored but trace quantities of answers (4% and 3% respectively). Women seem to resort to English more willingly than men (16% vs. 7% respectively). The respondents from the oldest age group (55 and more) pointed to English as their most preferable language of communication less frequently than the other age groups (only 8%).

2.2. Questions concerning the patterns of multilingual contact

The multilingual practice in interpersonal contacts among the respondents residing in the canton of Zurich reveals different patterns as far as the use of English is concerned. The respondents have been asked

to give an account of the linguistic contacts they have with their families, friends, workmates, cantonal administration officers and strangers. The respondents also indicated what language they used with the Swiss speaking mother tongues other than German.

As to the family domain, the vast majority of the canton's inhabitants, namely 86%, communicate with their relatives in German. It is older people who use German most often at home (89%). English comes second in the list of languages indicated in the contact with families (8%). Still smaller proportions of the respondents use Italian (6%) and French (4%), while Romansh in used by only 0.3% of them at home. As many as 16% of the respondents speak in a family circle some other language than German, English, French, Italian and Romansh. The most distinctive percentage refers to young persons (aged between 18 and 34) who communicate with their families in other languages. Nearly every third person at this age uses a language other than those mentioned above, or someone from their family members does so.

The contacts with friends are practically dominated by German, *i.e.* in 97% of cases. Every fifth respondent, and every fourth among the youngest age group, communicates with friends also in English. French and Italian are used by 9% of the canton's inhabitants.

It is interesting to note that English is slightly less often used in contact with workmates (16% in total) than with friends. It is clear to see how the usage of English at work decreases along with the increasing age of employees. This percentage among the young amounts to 28%, among the respondents aged between 35–54 it is 17%, and the oldest age group scores only 9%. In a similar way, the level of education leads to differences in the use of English at the workplace, *i.e.* English is used by every fourth employee with a university degree, by every sixth one with a secondary education, and by every tenth working person with a primary school level of education. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority – 91% – of the Swiss in the canton of Zurich use German in their professional life.

As far as the contacts with the representatives of the public sector are concerned, one could hardly be surprised by the fact that almost everyone speaks German. There is also a minute group of respondents (1.5%) who communicate in French with the cantonal administration officers.

English plays the biggest role in the contact with strangers. Half of the respondents state that they use English in such contacts. The proportion of persons declaring the use of English to communicate with strangers again correlates with age – the young more often than older generations speak English to foreigners. In addition, a relatively considerable proportion of the contacts with strangers is also realized *via* other languages than English (12%).

In a direct contact with their French-speaking compatriots, two thirds of the respondents tend to speak French, whereas one third also signals their readiness to speak German. Interestingly, nearly every seventh respondent does not exclude the possibility to use English in such contexts, and particularly persons under 34 (every fourth one). An even bigger role is played by English in the contact with the Italian-speaking Swiss. In this case, every fifth resident of the canton of Zurich declares that he or she can resort to English when faced with such a contact, while the proportion of young respondents amounts even to 43%.

Conclusions

Referring to the problem in question, if we take into account the languages of contact that the respondents use in their immediate surroundings, understood as family, friends and workmates, we can argue that, to some extent, English functions as a *lingua franca*. The respondents asked about the languages of their contacts with families, friends and workmates – in the first instance – indicated German. This seems quite obvious due to the fact that 78% of the respondents declared German to be their mother tongue. However, the second language most frequently mentioned was precisely English. Compared with other languages, English (especially in contact with friends and workmates) was indicated more than twice as often. The results have shown that English is used in contact with the family by 8.1% of the respondents, with friends – by 20.4%, and with workmates – by 16.1%.

The analysis of the contacts which the German-speaking Swiss have with strangers confirms that, also in this case, English may be named a *lingua franca*. This result is not surprising since the category of 'strangers' – somehow naturally – includes tourists who, when travelling, most often resort also to English in other countries.

The situation looks different when we focus on the dealings with administrative or official matters. As many as 98% of the respondents use German in contact with cantonal administration officers. In fact, such a result was expected, because Zurich is an officially German-speaking canton. And, since nearly 100% of the respondents can speak German, their running of their official errands surely must be the least complicated when carried out in this language.

In turn, the contacts of the respondents with their fellow countrymen speaking French or Italian show that the communication in English is not always and not with everyone possible. Therefore, this fact somewhat questions the hypothesis that English is a *lingua franca* in Switzerland. Nearly 38% of the respondents believe that English is a link that connects them with the Swiss who speak languages other than German. However, when we look at the answers to the question concerning the language used in contact with the French-speaking Swiss, it becomes clear that English is chosen by a mere 14.8% of the residents of the canton of Zurich (for comparison, French was indicated by 67.3% of the respondents and German – by 31.6%). It should be reminded here that French is the mother tongue for only 2% of the respondents, but even so as many as two thirds of them choose to speak this language in direct contacts with the French-speaking Swiss. The situation is very similar when it comes to the contacts with the Italian-speaking Swiss. In these cases the respondents most often communicate in German (44.3%), then Italian (41.6%) and, in the third place – in English (19.7%). From among the respondents only 3.3% indicated Italian as their mother tongue. These results prove that the conversation in English with the French- and Italian-speaking Swiss is considerably impeded, and this is why I cannot fully agree with the assertion that English functions as a *lingua franca* among the Swiss.

Nevertheless, in the opinion of two thirds of the respondents (65.6%), the importance of English in the canton of Zurich will be greater than today in the nearest future. If this proves to be true, then English could become a *lingua franca* in the canton of Zurich in the full sense of the word. Thus, the notion articulated above in the research hypothesis is thereby rejected.

Table 1. English used by the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich in contact with different groups of people – a summary. Base: all respondents (n = 400)

		English used in contact with:							Total
		family	friends	work-mates	cantonal administration officers	strangers	the French-speaking Swiss	the Italian-speaking Swiss	N
		% row	% row	% row	% row	% row	% row	% row	
Total		8.1%	20.4%	16.1%	0.1%	51.5%	14.8%	19.7%	400
Gender	male	6.0%	16.9%	15.3%		49.1%	14.3%	20.3%	158
	female	10.2%	23.9%	16.9%	0.2%	53.8%	15.3%	19.2%	242
Age	18–34	4.7%	25.7%	27.6%		59.8%	24.9%	42.5%	61
	35–54	8.5%	22.5%	16.7%		54.2%	18.1%	22.1%	149
	55 and more	7.8%	16.8%	8.8%	0.3%	45.1%	7.9%	10.3%	185
	refusal	32.8%				58.7%			5
Level of education	primary/lower secondary	6.3%	14.1%	9.6%		44.5%	14.3%	15.3%	176
	upper secondary	9.6%	32.0%	15.9%		59.3%	17.8%	30.8%	74
	university level education	11.0%	22.9%	24.7%	0.4%	57.4%	13.4%	19.2%	128
	PhD and higher		26.1%	31.2%		69.0%	26.1%	40.4%	11
	refusal	6.1%	18.2%			43.2%	5.4%	6.1%	11
Employment	working	8.1%	22.0%	16.1%	0.2%	54.5%	16.9%	23.1%	250
	non-working (also pension/annuity)	8.0%	17.2%			45.3%	10.6%	12.9%	150

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A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis of the Discursive Construction of Gender in Alice Munro's Fiction of the 1990s and 2000s through Descriptions of Clothing

Abstract. My paper aims to draw on applied linguistics, gender theory and literary studies in order to explore the gendered discourse of Alice Munro's recent short stories. More specifically, by analyzing the ways Munro describes women's clothing, I investigate to what extent Munro's fiction discursively constructs the female body as gendered. The rationale behind the projects lies in the somewhat contradictory assessment of Munro's attitude to issues of gender and their linguistic representation. Whereas her focus on issues of gender, and especially on femininity, remains unchallenged in criticism, critics have curiously avoided the discussion of the kind of femininity her fiction constructs since the late 1980s, which, perhaps not incidentally, coincides with the dispersion of the second wave feminist movements and the end of the heyday of feminist literary criticism. Whereas scholars earlier took the feminist agenda of Munro's writing, as well as its uncritical embracing of women's value systems for granted, my previous studies on her neo-gothic fiction of the 1990s uncover her nuanced critique of femininity. In the paper I analyze a Munrovian text by the discourse analytic devices of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) to explore how her fiction of the 1990s and early 2000s constructs the female body through clothing, which serves as a means to understand how the text as a linguistic device critiques, deconstructs, and constructs gender ideology. Of major interest is how her discourse on feminine clothing interrogates the power of gender ideology over individual choices.

Keywords: discourse analysis, gender ideology, a short story, feminism, gender studies.

Introduction

My paper aims to provide a feminist critical discourse analysis of the discursive construction of gender in contemporary Canadian writer Alice Munro's recent fiction at the turn of the 21st century. It draws on

the intersection of applied linguistics, gender theory, and literary studies to explore through an analysis of one specific short story, "Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage," published in her volume of 2001 with the same title how Munro's descriptions of clothing contribute to the text's overall constitution of femininity and whether the femininity thus constructed tends towards definitions of the ideal femininity created by second-wave feminist or by post-feminist agendas. The rationale behind the research lies in the somewhat contradictory assessment of Munro's attitude to issues of gender. In the paper I analyze Munro's text by discourse analytic devices (Fairclough 1992, [1989] 2001; Fairclough, Wodak 1997), especially the tools of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar 1993, 2007, 2008), to reveal how Munro's fiction of the 1990s and early 2000s constructs femininity through clothing, which serves as a means to understand how her texts as a linguistic device critique, deconstruct, and construct gender ideology. FCDA, which maintains that gender is a variable of primary importance in any investigation that places social phenomena – like language – in its center, enables me to connect linguistic, literary, and gender studies, which appears as a step vital to move outside the perimeters of literary scholarly consensus on Munro's fiction as feminist established in the 1980s and explore it in the postfeminist cultural context it comes to life in with the help of objective discourse analytic tools.

In keeping with the assumptions of FCDA as outlined by van Dijk (1993: 280), who warns that the discourse analyst has to show a self-awareness that acknowledges the impossibility of impartial analysis, I start out by explicitly describing my stance within the discipline. Then I turn to a discussion of the text under review by highlighting the five discourses of clothing I have identified. These are: Clothes tell; Clothes are an effective means of expressing individual identity; Clothes are like relationships; Quality pays off; and Clothes tell to both genders in the same way. Lastly, I claim that the gender identity promoted by Munro's discussed text harmonizes with my earlier findings about her critique of the professionalization of gender[1] (which is roughly understood here as the idea

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1   The term has been introduced by Diane Long Hoeveler (1998), who draws a convincing historical portrait of the process female writers of the mid- and late 18th century defined the outlines of properly feminine – gendered – behavior. She argues that as the separation of spheres for men and women solidified and as women came to be excluded from the public sphere of work and closed into the private sphere of the home to an increasing degree

that gender identity is fundamentally performative; its separation into a dichotomous pair of terms – male and female – served particular interests at the time of its creation and although it was functionally useful in the past for centuries, now it needs revision because it has become imprisoning to women).[2] At the same time, I argue, Munro equally rejects the postfeminist assumption – or a contemporary liberal feminist one (?) – that women constitute the new "choiceoisie."[3]

1. Theoretical framework

Though the Munro critical industry was set into motion in the 1970s and it has been growing with full momentum ever since, her texts have rarely been studied from a linguistic perspective notwithstanding the linguistic turn of literary and cultural criticism. This is all the more surprising because what feminist critical discourse analysis, an approach to discourse elaborated by feminist linguists, shares in common with feminist literary criticism is that they both assume that language is neither a neutral nor a transparent means of representing social realities. Instead, like other social institutions it serves the interests of certain dominant groups (Code 2009: 287). In addition, both disciplines seek to explore the systematic construction of social and so-called natural realities as well as uncover how individual subject positions are formulated and implicated in a complex set of power relations (Williams 1992).

As the theoretical framework in which I scrutinize Munro's text is informed by various disciplines, it is essential to spell out the perspective that defines my approach, all the more so because FCDA is characterized by what Galasinski (1997: 87) calls "flexible critical arbitrariness."

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throughout the 18th century, so did women assume femininity as a professional mode of conduct. For more details see Hoeveler's *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës.*

2   Hoeveler argues that the professionalization of gender – particularly of femininity – was a useful means of self-defense for women in an age that denied them citizenship since it carved out a space for women that both gave them a sense of social significance and allowed them to form a sphere in which they could feel safe.

3   Though the meaning of postfeminism is hotly debated, I use it in reference to the impulse to think of the feminist social movements of the 1970s and 1980s as a force spent because all feminist goals have been reached, true equality between the sexes has been achieved, and that women today can choose what model of femininity they follow, if at all. Postfeminism thus conceives of gender within the framework of lifestyle politics.

To begin with, language for feminist linguists is generally understood to provide an avenue to understanding gender in two ways: on the one hand, it reflects the gender ideologies at work in a given social context; and, on the other hand, it opens a window onto the social enactment of gender. In the history of feminist linguistics, the assumptions informing research took three different directions (see Speer 2005: 30–45): the difference approach of the 1970s and 1980s supposed that men's and women's linguistic behaviors are fundamentally different whereas the dominance approach assumed male dominance at work in verbal interactions. These orientations have been criticized for their presupposition of a "naturally" and fundamentally bipolar gender dichotomy, which habitually lead to an over-generalized and fully abstracted account of gender without regard to specific social contexts (see Thorne, Henley 1975; Kramarae 1981; West, Zimmerman 1983; Cameron 1997). Especially Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have emphasized the need to investigate communities of practice rather than set up generalized hypotheses and theories about the linguistic representation of gender because, firstly, gender cannot be separated from other variables (such as class, age, educational level, *etc.*); secondly, the meaning and practice of gender vary across time; and, thirdly, and consequently, the linguistic manifestations of gender also vary.

As a result, a third approach to the study of language emerged, which seeks to recognize the dynamic and contextual nature of linguistic meanings, positing that linguistic forms have different meanings and effects across situational and social contexts. This approach is largely influenced by Foucaultian theories of gender (Foucault [1975] 1979, 1988), especially, by Butler's theory of performativity (Butler 1993, 1999), which underlines the performative nature of identities, multiple and overlapping at the same time. Consequently, language is conceived to enact gender, which is itself dynamically constituted through social performances, rather than to mirror it as a permanent characteristic of individuals. Its dynamic nature is the result of individuals' enactment, which both reproduces the normative definitions of gender in a given social context and resists them. In the context of my examination this approach is phrased as the question: does Munro's text at the turn of the century reproduce the second-wave feminist definitions of gender as literary scholarship holds or those of *post*feminism (because the turn of the 21st century and today are postfeminist times)? Does it hark back to the past (1980s

or earlier) somewhat nostalgically, or accusingly, for instance, or, does it firmly dwell in the present? Or, does it resist both? Is its gender discourse located somewhere in the contact zone of the two?

Though *discourse* is "a common currency" (Mills 1997: 1) in various disciplines, I go beyond using it as a functional unit of language use (Edmondson 1980: 272). *Discourse* is used here to refer not only to the notion that language communicates a meaning in a context; rather, it is understood in the social constructionist, Foucaultian, sense of the term, which supposes that discourses are "practices that systematically form the object of which they speak" (Foucault [1969] 1972: 49). Thus context for a literary text like Munro's short story discussed includes co/texts, genre, social situation, gender relations, cultural assumptions and understandings, as well as physical considerations (Fairclough 1992), all contributing to the discursive context in which a text comes into existence and reaches a community. These will be introduced in the following section.

The methodology of FCDA leans on that of CDA with its strict textual orientation. CDA aims to discover contradictions, or dilemmas (Billig *et al.* 1988) in local and global contexts (Leech 1983: 6–8), for which it has developed a discourse analytic toolkit with the use of which the analyst can take a special care to avoid easy, dichotomous explanations for phenomena (Wodak 1999), a goal cherished by feminist scholars in all disciplines. CDA and FCDA thus may enhance the insights of other disciplines into the nature of performative gender identities.

The critical framework for the present study is further refined by shedding light on the ways the adjective *critical* has been applied in FCDA. For Fairclough ([1989] 2001: 5) *critical* means the effort "to show up connections which may be hidden from the people – such as connections between language, power and ideology." For van Dijk (1993: 280), the term means an orientation "primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis." In turn, Lazar (2008: 90) relates it to a process of demystification, denaturalization as "a form of analytical activism." My approach follows in the footsteps of Lazar's work, which posits that FCDA "critiques from a feminist perspective hierarchically ordered gender structures sustained in/through language and other forms of communication, as part of a radical emancipatory project" (Lazar 2008: 90).

With regard to gender, scholars have identified several discourses over the past two decades across several communities of practice. Coates (1997: 294), for instance, identifies two dominant discourses of femininity in the context of maternity. Hollway (1984) identifies three discourses about heterosexuality ("have and hold," male sexual drive, and permissiveness). Kitetu and Sunderland (2000) identify discourses of gender that relate to girls' education (equal opportunities, *vive la différence*, and privileged femininity). It must be noted, though, that discourses of gender are not always pointing to the same direction; often they are conflicting as a result of the performativity of gender.

2. Munro's text

2.1. Discursive context

Munro is *the* leading contemporary short story writer in the English language, a writer's writer,[4] enjoying an astounding popularity with both critical and popular audiences. She has received all the major national and international prizes that a Canadian short story writer can. She has a first-reject contract with *The New Yorker* magazine, three of her short stories have been adapted to the screen; her fiction regularly appears on college literature syllabi. Literary criticism notes the depth, complexity, subtlety, and wisdom of her vision, the regional focus of her fiction, her realist attention to the tiniest detail, and, last but not least, the depiction of an almost exclusively female world. In 2001, when the short story reviewed was published, Munro was 70 years old. She has always been a reclusive writer, not exactly hiding but rather reserved rejecting any affiliation with any social movement, particularly any one of the waves of feminist movements.

What makes her literary *oeuvre* unique is that Munro has lived through a century that has seen enormous changes in the meanings of gender leaving their imprint on her texts: she was born before the Second World War, was a teenager during it, when women proved in mass their work potential, she married in the 1950s, known for its extremely strict gender regime, when middle-class educated women suffered from "the problem that has no name" (Friedan 1963: 128), lived through the sexual revolution of the 1960s, became a writer in

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4   The rare epithet is due to writers whom other writers regard as the real masters of their art, whose exemplary work is to be emulated.

the 1970s after a divorce, saw the feminist movements of the 1980s at work, as well as the postfeminist backlash of the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century. In short, she has witnessed the history of gender in the long 20th century.

Although critics have always acclaimed her work, the terms on which it received their praise have followed the sea-changes of critical fashions. A discussion of the critical history of Munro's output is beyond the scope of the present study, but it is worth noting that in the 1980s – in the heyday of second-wave feminist criticism – it was considered to be thoroughly feminist, *i.e.,* pointing the power asymmetries between the two sexes out in the hope of effecting a social change through consciousness raising, whereas since the mid-1990s the *post*-ness (*post*modernity and *post*coloniality) of her fiction has been emphasized. A discursive analysis enriches our appreciation of Munro's work by lifting it out of literary critical trends and shifts the focus to critical reflexivity on theoretical positions and critical practice by subjecting the texts to an examination with the help of discursive analytical devices.

The volume in which "Hateship, Friendship, Courtship, Loveship, Marriage" appears as the opening story is Munro's tenth volume of original short stories. Its place in the volume is significant because her volume-opening short stories always count as real treats to readers and become instant classics.

2.2. Discourses of clothing

Rather than concentrate on such complex and ideologically laden discourses of femininity as maternity or sexuality, I focus on the discourse of clothing, which has been seen as less central to the hegemonic discourse of gender, though equally fraught with controversy over what is deemed proper in the name of social consensus, as well as which has long been recognized as a form of symbolic nonverbal communication for women (Crane 2000: 100). The focus is also mandated by Munro's self-avowed interest in women's interest in fashion, their investment in adopting a clothing behavior that both guarantees social acceptance by hegemonic groups and that lends them nonverbal means of individual self-expression often in defiance of the hegemonic discourse of gender or of socially acceptable forms of femininity.

I have identified five discourses of clothing within the short story briefly described in the following.

The first discourse could be summed up as the simple statement: *Clothes tell*. This should come as no surprise since it reverberates the interpretation of clothing as an efficient means of symbolic nonverbal communication. Artists in both the verbal and visual arts have put this communicative potential to great use over the past centuries. Yet, it is since the end of the 19th century that clothing is consciously recognized by the masses as "a means of exerting control over personal space in a time of flux and turmoil, of expressing one's attitude toward others and asserting one's place within society, of establishing both physical and metaphorical boundaries against perceived threats," as Schorman (2003: 124) puts it. The text under review starts out with a descriptive passage that constructs the main character through her clothing choices that perform the functions Schorman defines: "[s]he wore a long, drab coat on this warm September day, also a pair of clunky laced-up shoes, and ankle socks" (Munro 2001: 6). Her status as not middle-class and as a new immigrant not wishing to blend in with her majority society (because unfashionable) is communicated solely through the description of clothing. But the passage also constructs the character as one who cares more about comfort than looks (laced-up shoes, ankle socks) – thus someone who purposefully shuns clothing markers that signal her availability on the marriage market – as well as a person who builds a metaphorical fortress around her (she is wearing a long coat on a warm day).

Nonetheless, what is even more interesting about recognizing the existence of a discourse of clothing in the text is the fact that the simple discursive statement outlined above can be further broken down into various elements. In Munro's text clothes tell because clothing can be categorized into various groups all associated with gender roles somehow. For instance, one category of clothes is linked to practicality: some clothes are practical/useful whereas others are fancy/useless/special occasion clothes. In the story, fancy clothes are associated with the proper, hegemonic, discourse of femininity – clothes completely fulfill the performative function of creating gender rather than simply mirroring it (see Schorman 2003: 89) – while practical clothes are typical of marginal, improperly gendered, women.[5]

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5   At the same time it should also be noted that there is a strong streak of discourse on national belonging communicated through clothing. Practical clothes are worn by those who are not particularly anxious to claim their membership in the New World society.

This last point leads us to the next discourse of clothing in the text, which is: *Clothes are an effective means of expressing individual identity*. Good clothes bring out the best from you. Good clothes fit one's figure and suit one's personality (see Munro 2001: 8–11). This discursive statement is equally not entirely novel since it became functional in western societies in the late 19th century. As Schorman (2003: 66) explains, at the time women developed a characteristic attitude to clothes that emphasized individuality and self-expression crystallized in the concept of "a good fit." In fact, for women the most available avenue to claiming individuality in a society that glorified individualism while legally denying it to individual women was embedded in the discourse of feminine clothing, which has been operative ever since. Whereas the discourse of clothing has emphasized conservative conforming continuity for males, it has promised individual self-expression for women. Hence is the often noted investment of women in their clothing, and the popular image of the paradigmatic second-wave feminist as, using an understatement, being rather nonchalant about her appearance (popular consciousness remembers second-wave feminists as the sloppily dressed, unshaved, bra-burning mob) thus fighting traditional, *i.e.*, since the 18th century operative, concepts of proper femininity. Munro's text continues to dwell in the century-old culture of female clothing attitudes, proudly revived by postfeminists.

The next discourse of the text underlines the individualizing potential of clothing since: *one's relationship to clothes is like one's relationships to people*. Clothes are like people, they can be loyal, or they can let one down, but good clothes never desert one (see Munro 2001: 25). This discourse celebrates one's investment in appearances with a truly postfeminist impulse as clothes may provide meaningful relationships (*cf.* the fashion consciousness, moreover, fashion obsession of postfeminist popular culture icons in *Sex and the City*, where designer clothes and shoes help one to get over any difficulty).

In opposition, the fourth clothing discourse contradicts the postfeminist attraction to fast fashion or designer labels since it claims that: *Quality is noticeable in the long run*. You need to weigh short term gains against long-term ones. Good things are not immediately noticeable. Fast is cheap. Quality costs. Quality lasts – where quality means material, detail, workmanship, and durability (see Munro 2001: 9).

Yet, the last clothing discourse identified, *clothes tell to both genders in the same way*, emphatically reverberates postfeminist gender ideals since it suggests that contemporary males do notice one's clothing as opposed to the myth of male carelessness about one's appearance (*cf.* the metrosexual male's changed attitudes to clothing as a means of self-presentation); if they do not, they belong to the past (see Munro 2001: 48).

Conclusions

Munro literary scholarship has always been troubled by the resistance of her texts to easy explanations and categorizations. A study informed by the assumptions and methods of FCDA yields a similarly complex and nuanced picture to that of literary criticism and I wish to emphasize that the discourses of clothing cannot be divorced from other discourses in the text, such as the discourses on love and desire, because they create meaning together in support of one another. Munro's discourse on love, for instance emphasizes that it can take many forms, that love should not be confused with desire, because desire is flighty whereas love is permanent, even though love is similarly irrational striking like a lightning bolt in places one does not expect. Yet, women seem to be constantly on the lookout for one specific form of love (romance) while ignoring or not even noticing its other forms (see fast fashion vs. long-term quality clothing); moreover, they take efforts to entice love (by dressing up, for instance, by "girl-ing" mature women), a mission impossible in Munro's discourse.

Interestingly, four out of the five discourses of clothing identified harmonize with contemporary postfeminist gender ideals (clothes tell; clothes are an effective means of expressing individual identity; one's relationship to clothes is like one's relationships to people; and clothes tell to both genders) and only one directly contradicts them (quality is noticeable in the long run). Yet, when one places the discourses of clothing *vis-à-vis* the discourses of love (long-lasting, taking many surprising forms) and desire (fleeting, taking only one form, which is romance), it becomes visible that the text still does not promote postfeminist gender ideals exactly because postfeminism is too closely tied up with the romance form of love (driven by desire, short, and intense).

Nonetheless, it must be underlined that heterosexual love is embraced, in all of its forms, and it is not presented as an imprisoning idea in need of a thorough revision as second-wave feminism claims.

Also, Munro's text rejects the categorization of women into the very same types second-wave feminism attempted to fight, such as the dichotomous pair of the angel in the house (the domestic, caring, nurturing feminine ideal) and the whore (the sexual, independence-seeking, nonconformist female), while she does emphasize the positive role of feminine care. Care, however is not the prerogative of female characters only. Male characters who show carelessness towards their clothes, show carelessness to their relationships as well, which eventually results in their abandonment. Thus, care is presented as an ungendered/re-gendered concept that needs to receive greater emphasis in the social, and discursive, practice.

My research question was whether Munro's reviewed text represents and maintains, reconstitutes, or engenders new discourses about femininity with relevance to the assumptions of second-wave feminist literary and cultural criticism. Does it speak the language of what seems to be the past to postfeminist criticism (first- and second-wave feminism) or that of postfeminism? In conclusion it can be stated that Munro's discourses on clothing provide a window onto her discourses of gender, which reject several aspects of second-wave feminist ideals of femininity, while they also reject some aspects of post-feminist ideals locating her discourses in the contact zone of the two. Moreover, what the gender discourse of Munro's narrative definitely rejects is the professionalization of gender that preserves a rigid separation between a dichotomous pair of genders, which both second-wave feminism and postfeminism seem to uphold.

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Language Adaptive Operators

Abstract. The article examines the concept of Language Adaptive Operators (LAOs) which are verbal expressions of a speaker in an act of communication that, as part of adaptive speech acts, are associated with the speaker's adaptation and survival in the social environment. In this sense LAOs are just tools of human adaptation in the environment or reflect the speaker's nonverbal adaptive behavior. On the basis of the Hayakawas' (1990) hypothesis that in order to survive (to adapt in the environment) humans must cooperate with and fight other humans, we propose distinguishing four basic adaptive situations in human communication which represent four basic language adaptive strategies: cooperative and non-competitive, cooperative and competitive, competitive and cooperative, and competitive and non-cooperative. These four adaptive strategies and their representative adaptive speech acts with respective LAOs can be used as a tool in linguistic analyses of human language behavior. The concept of an LAO arises from the assumption that language (I-language and E-language) serves human adaptation in the sense derived from neo-Darwinian and post-Darwinian evolutionary theories. It is assumed that in order to survive a speaker possesses some adaptive mechanisms that use language for the speaker's survival. We also assume that at least some of these adaptive mechanisms can be revealed through specific words and phrases – language adaptive operators (LAO) performed in language expressions (speech acts) – recognized and analysed on the adaptive level of language.

Keywords: Language Adaptive Operators, speech acts, I-language, E-language, evolutionary theories.

Introduction

The article examines the concept of Language Adaptive Operators (LAOs), which are verbal expressions of a speaker in an act of communication that serve not to convey messages within John R. Searle's (1969) and Aleksy Awdiejew's (2004) interactive speech acts but, as part of adaptive speech acts, are associated with the speaker's adaptation and survival

in the social environment. In this sense LAOs are just tools of human adaptation in the environment or reflect the speaker's nonverbal adaptive behavior. In other words, when a speaker uses certain verbal expressions to adapt to an environment, language adaptive operators (LAOs) make it possible to recognize the expressions as the speaker's verbal adaptive behavior, or they are signs of nonverbal adaptive behavior.

The concept arises from the assumption that language (I-language and E-language) serves as a human adaptive tool in the sense derived from neo-Darwinian and post-Darwinian evolutionary theories. It is assumed that in order to survive a speaker possesses some adaptive mechanisms that use language for the speaker's survival. We also assume that at least some of these adaptive mechanisms can be revealed through specific words and phrases – language adaptive operators (LAOs) performed in language expressions (speech acts) – recognized and analysed on the adaptive level of language. We believe that the distinction between: language adaptive operators, adaptive speech acts, and adaptive level of language – apart from Awdiejew's (2004: 16), after Michael A. K. Halliday (1973), distribution of ideational (informative), interpersonal (interactive), and textual level of language – helps to extend the linguistic analysis of verbal expressions in terms of their human adaptation--strengthening aspects. The analytical enlargement and recognition of adaptive aspects of human use of language should help to solve possible misunderstandings and occasional conflict resulting from interlocutors ignoring the adaptive level of their verbal behaviors.

1. Theoretical background of LAOs

The concept of LAOs is based on two assumptions. The first assumption is that language helps a speaker to adapt to his/her local environment; the second assumption is that LAOs represent the illocutionary force of certain speech acts – we call them adaptive speech acts.

1.1. Language and human adaptation

It seems that the assumption that language helps a speaker to adapt to the environment is partly consistent with John Austin's (1962) view that humans are able to act through words, and John R. Searle (1969: 22) in *Speech Acts* confirms that "speaking a language is engaging in

a rule-governed form of behaviour." Christopher Hall (2005: 4) states openly that: "[i]n countless scenarios, the use of language yields new states of affairs in the world. Words literally have power to change the way the world is." Furthermore, Noam Chomsky ([2000] 2008: 4, 7) regards language as part of the human body: "[t]he faculty of language can be reasonably regarded as a 'language organ' in the sense in which scientists speak of the visual system (…) as an organ of the body (…) Language acquisition seems much like the growth of organs generally; it is something that happens to a child, not that the child does." Chomsky also maintains that, like other human organs, language is a product of the genes and life experience:

> We assume further that the language organ is like others in that its basic character is an expression of the genes. How that happens remains a distant prospect for inquiry, but we can investigate the genetically-determined "initial state" of the language faculty in other ways. Evidently, each language is the result of the interplay of two factors: the initial state and the course of experience. We can think of the initial state as a "Language acquisition device" that takes experience as "input" and gives the language as an "output" that is internally represented in the mind/brain. (Chomsky [2000] 2008: 4)

Finally, Andrew Newberg, Eugene d'Aquili, and Vince Rause representing the brain science and biology of belief explain human survival as the goal for the activity of the human brain where language is stored:

> The goal of every living brain, no matter what its level of neurological sophistication, from the tiny knots of nerve cells that govern insect behavior on up to the intricate complexity of the human neocortex, has been to enhance the organism's chances of survival by reacting to raw sensory data and translating it into a negotiable rendition of a world. (Newberg, d'Aquili, Rause 2002: 15)

From the above quotes we conclude that language is created and stored in the human mind/brain (Chomsky); language can act *via* speech creating speech acts (Austin, Searle), and can "change the way the world is" (Hall). Finally, language is a product of the genes and human experience (Chomsky); a product of human brain language "enhances the organism's chances of survival" (Newberg, d'Aquili, Rause), and, according to Morten Christiansen and Michelle Ellefson's (2002: 340, 339) theory of cognitive language evolution: "language has evolved to fit pre-existing

sequential learning and processing mechanisms… it seems more plausible that the languages of the world have been closely tailored through linguistic adaptation to fit human learning, rather than the other way around" – hence, language is also a product of evolutionary and adaptive processes. All the above conclusions are also strongly confirmed by Talmy Givón's view on the origin of linguistic grammar:

> I defer to what has been a basic tenet of evolutionary biology not only since Darwin, but even since Aristotle: biological structures are shaped and selected by their adaptive functions. I will thus take it for granted that grammar, like any other biologically based structure, evolved through adaptive selection. To understand the adaptive niche of grammar, however, one must view it in its wider context, namely, that of human cognition and communication. (Givón 2009: 89–90)

1.2. LAOs and the illocutionary force of speech acts

The second assumption, about language adaptive operators, is that LAOs create the illocutionary force (notion taken from Austin 1962) of adaptive speech acts and are their indicators. Searle defines illocutionary force indicators as follows:

> From the semantic point of view we can distinguish two (not necessarily separate) elements in the syntactical structure of the sentence, which we might call the propositional indicator and the illocutionary force indicator. The illocutionary force indicator shows how the proposition is to be taken, or to put it another way, what illocutionary force the utterance is to have; that is, what illocutionary act the speaker is performing in the utterance of the sentence. (Searle 1969: 30)

Then Searle gives some examples of illocutionary force indicators (indicating devices) in English:

> Illocutionary force indicating devices in English include at least: word order, stress, intonation contour, punctuation, the mood of the verb, and so-called performative verbs (apologize, warn, state, etc.). I may indicate the kind of illocutionary act I am performing by beginning the sentence with "I apologize," "I warn," "I state," etc. Often, in actual speech situations, the context will make it clear what the illocutionary force of the utterance is, without its being necessary to invoke the appearance of an explicit illocutionary force indicator. (Searle 1969: 30)

On the other hand Aleksy Awdiejew (2004), instead of Searle's illocutionary force indicators, proposes a concept of operators of verbal interaction. First Awdiejew introduces Halliday's (1973) distribution of language functioning levels: ideational (informative) level, interpersonal (interactive) level, and textual level, that are involved in the process of communication (Awdiejew 2004: 16), then he notices that certain words and phrases like: "reportedly," "happily," "I tell you," are difficult to explain on the semantic and ideational level of language and they develop its basic sense only on the interpersonal (interactive) level of language. These and other similar words and phrases Awdiejew calls the operators of verbal interaction, and describes them in the following way:

> *Te i podobne im jednostki nie mają funkcjonalnego powiązania z tradycyjnymi częściami mowy właśnie dlatego, że występują na innym poziomie gramatyki, który funkcjonuje w sposób zdecydowanie odmienny. Ich pozycja składniowa ma charakter osobliwy, gdyż występują one jako operatory interakcyjne, które przekształcają wypowiedzenie na poziomie przedstawieniowym w odpowiednie akty mowy. Jeśli więc zajmują w wypowiedzeniu „pozycję normalną," to łączą się zazwyczaj w grupy syntaktyczne nie z konkretnymi jednostkami czy grupami jednostek, lecz z całym wypowiedzeniem lub nawet większym fragmentem tekstu, odnosząc go jako całość do poziomu interakcyjnego.* (Awdiejew 2004: 17)

> [These and similar units do not have functional links with the traditional parts of speech just because they exist on a different grammatical level which functions in a totally different manner. Their syntactical position is peculiar because they function as operators of verbal interaction, and transform utterances on the ideational level into appropriate speech acts. In such a case, their "normal position" means they are connected not with particular semantic units but with the entire utterance, or even larger parts of the text, relate it as a whole to the interpersonal (interactive) level of language.] (trans. W.S.)

When comparing Searle's illocutionary force indicators and Awdiejew's operators of verbal interaction it seems that the two concepts are similar in their role in speech acts. However, Awdiejew's distinction of functional levels of language and placing his operators on the interactive level of language makes the analysis of speech acts more transparent and precise.

1.3. LAOs and the adaptive level of language

For similar reasons to the simplicity, transparency, and precision of the concept of Awdiejew's operators of verbal interaction (or verbal interaction operators), we introduce LAOs. Inspired by Awdiejew's approach, we identify certain words and phrases on the semantic and ideational level of language in sentences (utterances) and move them onto a new functional level, the adaptive level of language as LAOs. When analysing an utterance on the adaptive level of language we concentrate on its value as a survival tool for the speaker, and not on the world description (ideational level) nor on the message conveyed (interactive level) or the set of words (textual level). By taking into account the adaptive level of language we enlarge the analysis of the utterance towards its adaptive aspects, and in this way we avoid the situation in which narrowly interpreted utterances cause misunderstandings or even conflict between interlocutors in the act of communication.

2. Place of LAOs in linguistic expressions

Since we have adapted Awdiejew's (2004) distribution of language functioning levels (LL): ideational (informative) level (LL1), interpersonal (interactive) (LL2) containing the operators of verbal interaction (Op), and textual (LL3), let us now place LAOs in his model using Hall's (2005: 5) three-elementary model of linguistic expression:

(1) THOUGHT � LANGUAGE ➔ SPEECH/TEXT

In Hall's model, Awdiejew's three-leveled functional model of language modifies formula (1) as follows:

(2) THOUGHT ➔ (LL1, LL2(Op), LL3) ➔ SPEECH/TEXT

Now, our LAOs, on the adaptive level of language (LL4), modify formula (2) in the following way:

(3) THOUGHT ➔ (LL1, LL2(Op), LL3, LL4(LAO)) ➔ SPEECH/TEXT

Model (3) shows LAOs as specific thoughts, associated with human adaptation, hidden within language, and ready to be performed in speech or text. Model (3) also shows that as all four levels of language are in the same linguistic expression (speech or text) the speaker and hearer

have an opportunity to choose which level is considered in the act of communication. The expression can be taken as a description of the world (LL1), it can be taken as a verbal interaction specified by interactive operators Op (LL2), it can be taken as an artistic verbal performance (LL3), and the linguistic expression can be taken as a form of the speaker's verbal adaptation to the environment (LL4) specified by the appropriate LAOs.

The important thing is that, in concrete utterances, verbal interaction specified by an appropriate Op, and verbal adaptation specified by an appropriate LAO can be expressed by the same or different words or phrases, like in the following example:

(a) John: What's that smell?

On the interactive level of language LL2 Mary should reply:

(b) Mary: It's an apple pie burning in the oven.

Yet, suddenly Mary cries out while rushing towards the kitchen:

(c) Mary: Oh my God!

Obviously, on the interactive level of language LL2 Mary and John's communication is unsuccessful because John still does not know what the smell is. However, on the adaptive level of language LL4 Mary's phrase "Oh my God!" is a language adaptive operator (LAO) expressing her adaptive attitude towards the fact that her delicious pie is beginning to burn in the oven. Although her cry itself does not strengthen her adaptation to the environment (but her quick move to rescue the pie does), the phrase "Oh my God!" is an LAO because it reflects her nonverbal adaptive behavior.

But Mary, while rushing towards the kitchen, can cry out like this:

(d) Mary: Oh my God! My apple pie!

Here, the interactive level of language LL2 is much more informative through the use of the phrase "My apple pie!," while the adaptive level of language LL4 is still represented by the phrase "Oh my God!". Now John can treat Mary's cry "My apple pie!" as the answer to his question, although in this context it might be only a standard emotional (and also adaptive) expression.

Finally, after John's question "What's that smell?" Mary can cry out while rushing towards the kitchen using the statement (b):

(e) Mary: It's an apple pie burning in the oven!

In statement (e) the same sentence can be analysed on two levels of language. On the interactive level LL2 it is an answer to John's question, and, on the adaptive level LL4 the statement reflects Mary's adaptive attitude (action to rescue the pie). Yet, we can easily find that statement (e) as an LAO reflecting Mary's adaptive attitude is not as strong as the statement (d) and the statement (c). For this reason, perhaps, Mary does not use statement (e); she uses statement (c) because it accurately reflects her adaptive attitude.

The example shows that linguistic expressions should be analysed on each of the levels of language separately, and, that the same word or phrase used as an interactive operator Op and an adaptive operator LAO in an utterance can reduce the strength (illocutionary effect) of the operators in the speech act. Now, the question is in what way we recognise certain words or phrases in the utterance as LAOs, and what adaptive speech acts they indicate. We will try to find the answer on the basis of Samuel I. Hayakawa and Alan R. Hayakawa's (1990) hypothesis of human survival.

3. Types of language adaptive behavior

Samuel I. Hayakawa and Alan R. Hayakawa point out that in order to survive humans have to fight. To do this humans possess certain qualities: the specific qualities to fight the environment and other species, and to fight other humans:

> If we are going to talk about human survival, one of the first things to do, even if we grant that people must fight to live, is to distinguish between those qualities that are useful in fighting the environment and other species, and those qualities (such as aggressiveness) that are useful in fighting other people. (Hayakawa, Hayakawa 1990: 5)

The Hayakawas indicate that the quality which helps humans fight other humans is their aggressiveness; we add another quality: their use of language. The Hayakawas also claim that human survival requires cooperation, more precisely, cooperation of their nervous systems:

> The more we can make use of the nervous systems of others to supplement our own, the easier it is for us to survive… Gregariousness as an aid to self-defense and survival is forced upon animals as well as upon human beings by the necessity of uniting nervous systems even more than by the necessity of uniting physical strength. Societies, both animal and human, might almost be regarded as huge cooperative nervous systems. (Hayakawa, Hayakawa 1990: 6)

Here the Hayakawas underline human "gregariousness as an aid to self-defense and survival" which leads to "uniting nervous systems." We add that in order to become "huge cooperative nervous systems" humans cooperate by using their languages.

3.1. Language adaptive strategies

On the basis of the Hayakawas' hypotheses that in order to survive (to adapt in the environment) humans must cooperate with and fight other humans, we propose distinguishing four basic adaptive situations in human communication which represent four basic language adaptive strategies: cooperative and non-competitive, cooperative and competitive, competitive and cooperative, and competitive and non-cooperative. In the field of "acting through speech" all these adaptive strategies possess their characteristic adaptive speech acts which are manifested by appropriate LAOs.

These four adaptive strategies and their representative adaptive speech acts with respective LAOs can be used as a tool in linguistic analyses of human language behavior. The general framework of such analyses can be the following: when people cooperate and non-compete in the communicative situation, they realize the adaptive strategy of cooperation by presenting cooperative attitudes (cooperative speech acts), such as being: honest, loyal, generous, patient, cooperative, engaged, hard-working, creative, elegant, calm, *etc.* When people compete and non-cooperate it is the adaptive strategy of competition expressed by competitive attitudes, like being: persistent, urgent, stubborn, calculating, individualist, boasting, jealous, selfish, unfair, lying, angry, aggressive, *etc.* When interlocutors cooperate more than compete, they follow the adaptive strategy that we call representation. When they compete more than they cooperate, the realised adaptive strategy is self-promotion.

Where can we find these four adaptive strategies in reality? We can find them in all social institutions, like in the examples below (↓ = internal relations, ↑ = external relations):

- cooperation: present in ↓marriage, ↓family, ↓school, ↓church, ↓army, ↓mass media, ↓police, ↓team, ↓business, ↑patient(s);
- representation: present in ↑marriage, ↑family, ↓political party, ↑politician(s), ↑police, ↑mass media;
- self-promotion: present in ↓court, ↓parliament, ↑artist(s), ↑prisoner(s);
- competition: present in ↓game(s), ↓battle(s), ↑political party, ↑army, ↑business(es).

Social institutions like marriage, family, school, church from the adaptive point of view require the adaptive strategy of cooperation (the downward arrow indicates internal cooperation within the institution; the upward arrow indicates external cooperation between institutions). For ↑marriage, ↑family, ↓political party, *etc.*, a typical adaptive strategy is representation. In ↓court, or ↓parliament, or for ↑artists and ↑prisoners – they represent the adaptive strategy of self-promotion. Within ↓games, ↓battles, and for a ↑political party, these institutions represent the adaptive strategy of competition. The classification presented here is not precise and rather intuitive, based on social expectations associated with the way particular institutions function within particular societies.

3.2. Language adaptive speech acts

As we already know, in the process of communication adaptive speech acts highlight the speaker's adaptive attitude towards the hearer. We assume that such an attitude, and its respective speech acts, is always submerged within one of the four adaptive strategies presented above. As a result, when the interlocutors are in the act of communicating, their utterances as adaptive speech acts create their common adaptive strategy, which cannot be predicted beforehand. If they want to cooperate they use cooperative speech acts expressing politeness, honesty, generosity, and so on; if they have decided to compete they use competitive speech acts expressing impoliteness, dishonesty, egoism, *etc*. We assume that all speech acts are distinguishable by appropriate words or phrases (LAOs) which either create adaptive speech acts or reflect nonverbal adaptive behavior.

To present how certain words or phrases become language adaptive operators and create adaptive speech acts which represent appropriate adaptive strategies, let us analyse a communicative situation taken from *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain ([1884] 1989):

> Her sister, Miss Watson, a tolerable slim old maid, with goggles on, had just come to live with her, and took a set at me now with a spelling-book. She worked me middling hard for about an hour, and then the widow made her ease up. I couldn't stood it much longer. Then for an hour it was deadly dull, and I was fidgety. Miss Watson would say, "Don't put your feet up there, Huckleberry;" and "Don't scrunch up like that, Huckleberry – set up straight;" and pretty soon she would say, "Don't gap and stretch like that, Huckleberry – why don't you try to behave?" Then she told me all about the bad place, and I said I wished I was there. She got mad then, but I didn't mean no harm. (Twain 1989: 2)

Our communicative situation is the relation between Miss Watson and Huckleberry Finn in the context of the lesson, where Miss Watson is a teacher and Huckleberry is a pupil. The context is characteristic for the social institution of school where the appropriate common adaptive strategy of the participants should be cooperation. Now, let us see the words and phrases spoken by Miss Watson and Huckleberry Finn, and treat them as LAOs of the participants' adaptive speech acts. Miss Watson: "Don't do this/that" – she is urgent, and this adaptive speech act is characteristic for the strategy of competition; "why don't you try to behave?" – she is persistent, and this adaptive speech act again represents the strategy of competition. The statement "she got mad" suggests that she was angry, and this adaptive speech act also reveals Miss Watson's adaptive strategy of competition. Thus, Miss Watson presents a strategy of competition instead of a cooperative strategy. Now, let us have a look at Huckleberry's statements: "[She was] a tolerable maid," and, "I didn't mean no harm" – these statements as language adaptive operators LAOs represent the adaptive speech acts of being calm, which highlights the adaptive strategy of cooperation. "I couldn't stood it much longer," and, "it was deadly dull, and I was fidgety" – here Huckleberry is impatient, thus representing a competitive strategy. Although Huckleberry's statements here suggest two different adaptive strategies: cooperation and competition, the whole communicative situation indicates that he is more competitive than cooperative, and this means that Huckleberry's adaptive strategy in this communicative situation is self-promotion.

This example shows how linguistic expressions, considered on the adaptive level of language LL4, serve to strengthen the participants' adaptation to their environment. In the act of communication the participants try to verbally build their dominance over (Miss Watson) or independence from (Huckleberry) the interlocutor. In our example, Miss Watson instead of being cooperative is competitive, and Huckleberry Finn instead of being cooperative is self-promoting. They should cooperate because the standard adaptive strategy at school is cooperation; nevertheless, they do not cooperate because they want to survive: Miss Watson as Huckleberry's supervisor, and Huckleberry as an independent person.

Conclusions

The analysis of adaptive aspects in verbal expressions enables to reveal some hidden adaptive behaviors of the interlocutors in the act of communication. If we are able to identify certain words and phrases as LAOs we can recognize the appropriate adaptive speech acts and adaptive strategies associated with them. Then we can assess the strategies as acceptable in some social institutions and unacceptable in others. For instance, we accept cooperation between teachers and pupils at school and do not accept competition at school between them. However, if we assume that school is a type of social game played by pupils against teachers (and *vice versa*) Huckleberry's strategy of self-promotion and Miss Watson's strategy of competition will be standard and acceptable. For this reason the assessment of adaptive speech acts also depends on the social institutions in which they are performed; the social institution is then the adaptive context for these speech acts.

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In the Beginning There Was the Gesture. About the Selected Theories on Language and Speech Origins

Abstract. The aim of this paper is to present selected glottogenesis theories, as well as to argue that a factor that helped humans' ancestors to acquire language skills and to speak was the gesture. Researchers have suggested that the origin of language and speech was calling during the mating period; that language came into being suddenly, as the result of a "mutation;" that language was a gift of the gods; that language was a natural consequence of depiction, *etc.* However, the majority of researchers were in favour of gesture-like origin of language, and claimed that a subsequent stage of language and speech development was a mixture of sounds and gestures. There is evidence that it was not the sound itself, but a gesture (or mouth-gesture) that triggered speech and language development. The research of fossil remains and reconstructed skulls of hominids and early humans shows that they were probably incapable of producing the sounds of human speech, but they exhibited culture of quite a high level, so must have had a communication system in which the message was probably conveyed *via* gesture. Scientists emphasise that the innate ability to acquire propositional language is based on gesture – at least as far as primates are concerned. Also, comparative research on nonhuman primates and human infants shows that it is much easier to communicate *via* gestures and signs than words. It turns out that the manual-gesture language model is effective – it demands no changes in the neural system and bucco-laryngeal anatomy or function (following the line of least biological resistance). The only conditions it requires are greater precision and control.

Keywords: language development, gesture, communication, origins of speech, glottogenesis.

Introduction

Modern human beings are characterised by the ability to speak and to use language. The question is, however, how this language came into being and how it evolved. The aim of this paper is to present selected glottogenesis theories. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to answer the following question: "Is there a single factor that helped our ancestors acquire language skills?" It is argued that this favourable factor was the gesture. For hundreds of years, scientists have been considering and trying to find the origins of speech and language. Initially, the deliberations were theoretical only. Later, some empiric research was started and conclusions were made based on observations and comparisons, in particular those of interspecies studies (see for example: Darwin 1872; Livingstone 1973; Hewes [1973] 1992; Lieberman 1984; Milo, Quiatt 1993, 1995; Morris 1967). Researchers gleaned evidence for their theses from studying fossil remains of hominids and early humans, comparing behavior of animals (especially of nonhuman primates), investigating language development and the ability of acquiring language in human children, and analyzing the neurological system of humans and other species. The majority of scientists studying this problem were not linguists or philologists, but, among others, philosophers, biologists, zoologists or anthropologists. Some of them did not distinguish the notions of speech (utterances) and language (system), but used those terms interchangeably, referring to the beginnings of vocal communication.[1] Others referred to "evolutionary foundations of communication" or "semiogeny" (Liska 1995). Scientists (Lieberman 1984; Milo, Quiatt 1995) believe that the phonemicisation of language was completed in the late Pleistocene era, 30 000–40 000 years ago, which "may be implicated in the evolution of *Homo sapiens* and the demise of Neanderthal" (Milo, Quiatt 1995: 199).[2]

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1   However, neither communication nor language has to be vocal; there are language systems which are not vocal (*e.g.* sign languages).

2   But they also indicate that the dispersion of *Homo erectus* out of Africa after 1.5 million years ago and cultural activities of these species would require the use of language. Also Falk (1983) suggests that the origin of paleolanguage took place some time prior to 2 million years ago: the earliest known hominid with a cortical sulcal pattern (similar to that of humans in the Broca's area) appeared 1.8 million years ago (also see Davidson, Noble 1989).

1. Glottogonic theories of language

Throughout the centuries, many glottogonic theories were created. They have been divided into various categories with usually amusing and trivial names (in most cases invented or inspired by Müller 1885, also Romanes 1888). Some of these are listed by Boeree (2003), who distinguishes the following categories: (i) **mama** (syllabic), in which language began with attaching the easiest syllables to the most significant objects; (ii) **ta-ta** or **mouth-gesture**, in which language began as an unconscious vocal imitation of body movements; (iii) **bow-vow** (onomatopoeic or imitative of natural sounds), also referred to as echoism; (iv) **pooh-pooh** (interjectional), in which language began with instinctive emotive cries (*e.g.* for surprise or pain); (v) **yo-he-ho** (work-chant), in which language started with rhythmical chants, grunts of heavy work or gesture-accompanied calls for cooperation; (vi) **ding-dong** – imitative of sounds made when some objects are struck, and concerning relation between a sound and its meaning; (vii) **sing-song**, in which language evolved from emotional mutterings, sounds of play, laughter, cooing, *etc.*, and first words were rather long, musical sounds; (viii) **hey you!** or **contact**, in which language is a result of human communicative and interpersonal (social) needs, and began with calls of identity, belonging and emotions; (ix) **hocus-pocus**, in which language is an outcome of some magical or religious aspects of human ancestors' lives (*e.g.* using "magical" sounds for calling animals, *etc.*); and (x) **eureka!** (conscious invention of a language and assigning arbitrary sounds to particular meaning). Some more categories can be found in Hewes ([1973] 1992), who mentions the following: (xi) **babbleluck**, based on associations between infant babbling sounds and features in the external environment (similar to the **mama** category); (xii) **instinctivist**, in which language is inborn at a stage of evolution; (xiii) **divine** or **miraculous** (language as a gift of God); (ix) **conventionalist**, in which language was deliberately created by individuals in order to improve their social life; (xv) **chance mutation**, according to which a sudden biological event resulted in creating language; and (xvi) **gestural**, in which gestural sign precedes a vocal sign. Hewes remarks that the theories may be interpreted in many different, even contradictory ways. He also indicates that some of them lack empirical support or are unfalsifiable (and therefore are not scientific). A century earlier Wallace

(1895) admitted that the application of some (vocal) theories is limited and that they refer only to a very small portion of any language (especially the theories falling into the **bow-vow** and **pooh-pooh** category). Some of the theories will be discussed in more detail below.

2. Dual character of language origin

Many researchers agree that language was adaptive and acquired (Chomsky 1967, 1968; Lenneberg 1967; Livingstone 1973; Hewes [1973] 1992; Milo, Quiatt 1995; Sarles 1995). Another question is how language came into existence. Scientists usually support either monogenesis or polygenesis theory. The first one assumes that language is a one-time formation, made up by the first ancestors of the Human race. Polygenesis assumes, on the other hand, that language was made up several times by many people (Boeree 2003). It may be implied that the origin of language could have had dual characters – vocal or non-vocal. It seems quite obvious that vocalization was an initial phase of communication, therefore some scientists suggest that the origin of speech was singing (or, to be more precise, calling during the mating period). This theory was mostly advocated by Darwin (1872), who compared human language to animal calls, especially nonhuman primates' calls and bird songs, looking for analogies between human language and animal communication systems. Others claim that language arose from sounds similar to bird song (Livingstone 1973) and that "singing was a prerequisite to speech and hence language" (Livingstone 1973: 25). Livingstone quotes Marler (1970), who differentiated between innate and learnt signals in birds (calls and songs) and compared the latter to human language. Bird songs are usually of the territorial, mating or identification function. Also primate calls serve similar functions and both signals can be compared to human vocalization. However, Aitchison (1995: 4) points out that "birdsong, rather than primate calls, is the nearest system to human language in terms of shared characteristics." On the other hand Morris (1967) states that speech was developed out of smacking noises made when nonhuman primates expressed their intent of grooming.

Some theories focus on aspects other than vocal of the origin of language. Chomsky (1967, 1968) thinks that language came into being suddenly, as the result of a "mutation," *i.e.* an abrupt biological change

or event, resulting in the abrupt emergence of linguistic ability. Krantz (1988) adds that a major anatomical change occurred in the human skull about 40 000 years ago and that the morphological change (the shape of the skull and a two-stage laryngeal descent) enabled and triggered the development of speech, and, as a result, vocal/phonemicisated language,[3] which may support the chance mutation theory (also taken into consideration by Milo, Quiatt 1993, 1995).[4] Boeree (2003) refers to brain morphology and says that a mutation somehow inherited by the early humans left one hemisphere with a limited capacity (unlike in most mammals), which made the ancestors tend to be organised more linearly. Surprisingly, this diminished capacity enabled the development of language, which requires the ability to convert fully dimensional events into linear sequence of sounds and/or signs. There are adherents of a theory that language was "obtained" from gods (Ploog 1968, in Hewes [1973] 1992), which is often referred to as the divine or miraculous theory. Osolsobe (1986) advocates the thesis that the direct antecedent of language is animal play, and animal communication is usually based on signalling and "natural signs" (in Liska 1995). These signs (as the foundation for all animal sign systems) may be auditory, vocal, tactile or olfactory (Liska 1995). Hildebrand-Nilshon (1995: 128) goes further and explains that "the signs of animal communication change into symbols with a common 'objective' meaning." In his opinion, the signs are vocal or gestural (they form a "proto-language") and must have existed long before symbolic activities or representations (such as dances, rituals, dramatic plays, drawings, sculptures, songs and also grammar) emerged. Davidson and Noble (1989) base their glottogonic theory on a mimicry–depiction–reflexive language continuum. They argue that mimicry – deliberate copying some features of the external environment (*e.g.* an animal's form or gait) by bodily posture and gestural signs – can be a perfect intermediary between perceiving and depicting an object (making recognisable marks, images or patterns on surfaces).

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3   Krantz writes that "the change was world-wide, rapid, nearly simultaneous, and it coincided with major advances in cultural complexity. The human type which preceded this change is here termed *Homo erectus*; the type which followed is called *Homo sapiens*. This typology differs from that in common use today, because it would place Neanderthals and other late Pleistocene fossils in the *erectus* category." (Krantz 1988: 173). More detailed information about the laryngeal descent and cranial anatomy can be found in Lieberman 1984.

4   However, Győri (1995) argues that this kind of sudden emergence of language seems impossible without natural selection.

In the next stage depiction transforms communication into language; it stands halfway between reality and language, because language cannot resemble what it represents, whereas depiction can. Davidson and Noble point out that vocalisation is not equivalent to language and that gestures must have been the means of primary communication.

3. Gesture-like origin of speech

Many researchers are in favour of a gesture-like origin of speech (Bonifacio 1616; Bulwer 1644; de Condillac [1746] 2001; Tylor 1871; Wallace 1895; Wundt 1912; Mead 1934; Hewes [1973] 1992; McNeill 1979, 1992; Landsberg 1988; Creed 1995). Sarles (1995: 235) writes that "among the ancients, even Augustine suggested that language development begins with bodily gestures" and that knowing the names of objects begins with pointing. Gestures are, in most cases, defined as voluntary (controlled) movements of different parts of the body, usually hands, but also facial expressions or mimics (or mimical gestures, as Wundt 1912 calls it). McNeill (1979) showed how the continuum biology–body–gesture is replaced by language (in Sarles 1995). A subsequent stage of language and speech development was a mixture of sounds and gestures (de Condillac [1746] 2001) or mouth-gestures (Wallace 1895). In this theory of the imitative origins of language, the motion of the lips, mouth and tongue imitate the movements of other parts of the body, or – to be more precise – "motion of almost every kind, whether human, animal, or inorganic" (Wallace 1895: 541). It is not only movement though: "[t]he physical qualities of various kinds of matter are also indicated; (…) even some of the mental and moral qualities of man (…) are more or less clearly expressed by means of the various forms of speech-gesture" (Wallace 1895: 541). He based this view on observing words some 'savage people' like the Malays, who for example, were showing directions by pouting their lips, but also on observing people of various nations pronouncing different words. Hewes ([1973] 1992) claims that language has its origins in gestures and that glottogenesis must have consisted of two parts: a gestural language (which probably accrued vocal and gestural signs and perhaps vocal qualifiers overlying gesture) and a much later phase, phonemicisation. Even though both phases are theoretical only, they seem to fit the fact of

anatomical/morphological change in the late Pleistocene (see also Milo, Quiatt 1995). Armstrong, Stokoe and Wilcox (1994: 349) introduce a gestural theory for the origin of grammar (syntax) and suggest that "the formation of a manual gesture entails a preadaptive elementary syntax." They give an example: "In manual gesturing, a hand (as agent) moves (when verbs imply) and may act on another part of the body (as patient)" (Armstrong, Stokoe, Wilcox 1994: 349). They differentiate between visible and vocal gestures. Also Fónagy (1988) suggests that a proto-grammar (a communication system phylogenetically prior to language) is a paralinguistic iconic code.

Scientists carried out a great deal of research and used their results or the results of others to support their theses. As was mentioned before, they also studied fossil records (fossil-hominid morphology), comparative neurology, animal (primate) communication, and human-infant speech development and language acquisition. These have probably been the most popular and plausible ways to examine the problem, but there were still some objections as to the use of these methods in search of the origin of language. Aitchison calls attention to the issue of comparing proto- or human language with primate calls and child language acquisition. She argues that "sound systems often coincidentally develop in similar ways in quite different species" (Aitchison 1995: 3) and that modern children acquiring language have a model to follow, whereas our ancestors did not have any.[5] Also Wallace (1895: 542) claims that speech is now acquired by children by imitation only and is of conventional character, but was formed and evolved by adults, who "felt the need of a mode of communication other than by gesture only;" Davidson and Noble (1989) notice that children's development is not a literal recapitulation of the evolutionary stages of language. Another issue is that primate calls cannot be considered ancestral to human speech, as these systems probably developed in the same period (Creed 1995). Nonetheless, scientists can still obtain comparative material from examining "contemporaneous stages from different though neighbouring lineages" (Győri 1995: 102). Lieberman (1984) notes that comparative anatomy showed similarities between the structures of the human body (including the nervous system) and those of apes. Darwin (1859) observes that

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5   On the other hand Creed (1995: 66) claims that "our ancestors did not have to invent speech *ex nihilo*. They certainly had some calls to use."

human newborn infants are closer to newborn nonhuman primates than to human adults, which reveals the common ancestry (in Lieberman 1984). Hewes ([1973] 1992) cites some researchers of primates (among others, Goodall 1968; Marler 1965; Ploog 1968; Reynolds 1968 and Bates 1970), who think that primate calls do not have denotative/referential or propositional functions (also see Steklis 1988), and that sounds made by primates are not controlled by brain areas corresponding to those responsible for speech in humans. There are some contradictory theories about 'the speech centre' in humans and apes. It was found that brain regions and phenomena involved in the language development of human beings (developed limbic area, motoric speech centres, lateralization) developed neither in monkeys nor in anthropoid apes (see Hewes [1973] 1992). On the other hand, Creed (1995: 66) writes that "in some species of monkeys, the cortical area involved in producing and recognizing calls seems to be located in approximately the same part of the monkey's brain as Wernicke's area in the human brain." Steklis (1988) argues that the apes' perceptual mechanisms are similar to those in human speech. In some monkey species, calls convey not only information about the sender's emotional state, but also about its sex, group membership, social relationships, and external objects or events. There is evidence that animals (especially apes) are capable of abstraction. They still lack syntactic ability, but the decoding of calls may be governed by some simple syntactical rules. Primates do exhibit some linguistic skills, however Hewes ([1973] 1992), Lieberman (1984), Steklis (1988), *etc.* claim that nonhuman primates probably have greater voluntary control over gestures than vocalization. There were numerous reports on apes learning and using sign language; scientists admit that chimpanzees can acquire some (sign) language, albeit at the level of young children (see Gardner, Gardner 1969; Lieberman 1984: 227).[6] In their natural environment, primates seem to be silent animals, rather using signs when communicating. For instance, chimpanzees might be better adapted for communication using gestures or other visual cues. According to Lieberman (1984: 235), "the supralaryngeal vocal tracts of chimpanzees and

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6   Apes signed, so in this way "talked" to themselves, just like children do. Gardner and Gardner (1974) reported that Washoe would sign to herself in play and different activities and did not want to be disturbed or accompanied by anyone wanting to sign with her. Fouts (1975) adds that Washoe could invent sign language insults (using the sign "dirty") (in Lieberman 1984).

other apes are inherently incapable of producing the full range of sounds necessary to speak a language like English." Gestures and signs seem to be the main means of primate communication.

Lieberman (1984: 263) shows that newborn infants "retain the supra-laryngeal airways and associated skeletal morphology that occur in living nonhuman primates," and this anatomical quality makes them, just like apes, obligate nose breathers, which means that their exhalation through the mouth is not under voluntary control. At some early stages of their development, children start babbling (so they produce some sounds). However, these vocalizations are more often than not random and uncontrolled.

Interestingly, children and apes (chimpanzees) exposed to a system of signs tend to acquire and use the signs before they are one year old. Some research (McIntire 1977; Nelson 1973) showed that chimpanzees had produced ten different sign combination at the age of six to seven months; children started to produce sign combinations or phrases when they were nine to ten months old. The signing children and chimpanzees were more advanced than children acquiring English, who produced ten different phrases when they were from 16 to 24 or even 30 months old. As Lieberman (1984: 238) concludes, it is much easier for children and chimpanzees to master signs than speech. Analogically, it could be stated that thousands of years ago it was much easier to communicate *via* gestures and signs than words. There is very little evidence from the skeletal anatomy concerning the vocal or gestural origin of language (Milo, Quiatt 1995). Lieberman (1984) claims that to understand the evolution of human language is to study the evolution of human speech. The way to reconstruct the fossil supralaryngeal airways is to compare human infants, adults and juvenile primate skeletons with the extinct fossil hominids.[7] The research of reconstructed skulls and soft tissue (tongue, palate, larynx, *etc.*) of *Homo erectus* and *australopithecinea* shows that hominids probably were not able to produce the sounds of human speech (Lieberman 1984) – the Neanderthal men did not possess full articulatory and vocal ranges compared to a modern human being; their vocal tract could not generate [a], [u], [i], [k], [g][8] (see Lieberman 1984; also Milo,

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7   Campbell (1966) notes that muscles leave marks on bones, which can be a way of recon-structing the soft tissue of the fossil hominids (in Lieberman 1984).

8   Krantz (1988) points out that the earliest phonemic languages probably consisted of

Quiatt 1995). What is more, Lieberman (1984: 290) attempted to show that "the skeletal morphology of the Neanderthal skull could not support an adult human supralaryngeal vocal tract." Early hominids could in all probability not speak and would not have been able to master any modern language; they were only capable of uttering certain sounds. Despite this vocal deficiency, there is evidence that Neanderthals had the ability to create symbols and exhibited culture of quite a high level, including burials, making tools and using artefacts (Milo, Quiatt 1995, also Liska 1995). Therefore Milo and Quiatt argue that early human ancestors must have used a communication system, even if had been quite an easy one, in which the message was conveyed *via* gesture. Lieberman (1984) suggests that the communication of the early hominid ancestors could have been vocal from the start, but he does not deny that Neanderthal could use gestures to communicate more effectively. It turns out that the manual-gesture language model is effective – it does not need any changes in the bucco-laryngeal, neurological systems and general functioning (following the line of least biological resistance), the only conditions it requires are increased precision and control.

The change in cranial morphology, namely the descent of the larynx about 40 000 years ago (or a chance mutation, as some scientists may call it) allowed the early humans to control their exhalation through the mouth, which could easily have led to the beginnings of language.[9] Milo and Quiatt (1995) write that to conventionalize phonemes takes time, so presumably before the lexicon was fully formed, early humans continued to communicate *via* and subsequently support their utterances by gestures, even when the fully-ranged vocal communication evolved. There is no denial that a fully vocal language has more advantages than a language consisting simply and primarily of gestural or vocal semantic units. The rapid development of the vocal mode of communication and its replacing the gestural mode was natural and inevitable. But it is very likely that the imitative, iconic part of communication (signs/gestures) was gradually accompanied by more conventional words. Wallace, and

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consonants, with neutral vowels; phonemic vowels would have been included in much later languages.

9   Interestingly, there is no correlation between the human supralaryngeal vocal tract and the upright posture, as some researchers may think. The australopithicine and *Homo erectus* (60 000–35/40 000 B.C.) also had bipedal upright locomotion, though they had standard plan nonhuman vocal tracts. In other words – they could walk, but they could not speak.

numerous researchers after him, claim that gesture-language and word--language definitely arose together, supplementing each other, being used in conjunction a long time:

> Gesture would at first be exclusively used to describe motion, action, and passion; speech to represent the infinite variety of sounds in nature, and, with some modification, the creatures or objects that produced the sounds. But there are many disadvantages in the use of gesture as compared with speech. It requires always a considerable muscular effort; the hands and limbs must be free; an erect, or partially erect, posture is needed; there must be sufficient light; and, lastly, the communicators must be in such a position as to see each other. As articulate speech is free from all these disadvantages, there would be a constant endeavour to render it capable of replacing gesture; and the most obvious way of doing this would be to transfer gesture from the limbs to the mouth itself, and to utilise so much of the corresponding motions as were possible to the lips, tongue, and breath. These mouth-gestures, as we have seen, necessarily lead to distinct classes of sounds; and thus there arose from the very beginnings of articulate speech, the use of characteristic sounds to express certain groups of motions, actions, and sensations which we are still able to detect even in our highly-developed language, and the more important of which I have here attempted to define and illustrate. (Wallace 1895: 543)

There are some researchers who opt against the gestural theory of language origins. Fischer (1988) argues that early humans needed their hands free to carry weapons, and therefore a quite complex language could have developed first with the vocal-auditory channel. However, the idea that early hominids had to keep a weapon in hand for defence against predators at all times seems a little exaggerated. McNeill (1992), who is in favour of the gesture theory, thinks that gestures were replaced by speech when it turned out that they were of no use in darkness and over long distances. Mary Ritchie Key (1995: 148) has listed essential components of communication and pointed out that it is the nonverbal, not verbal, component of speech which is obligatory in interaction. "The verbal act of the communication may not occur, but the nonverbal activity always occurs in interaction," she writes. Hewes ([1973] 1992: 67) draws attention to the fact that primates and humans are visual rather than auditory and chiefly encode information transmitted through this channel, therefore "it is reasonable to credit the early hominids with a capacity to acquire a gestural/visual-tactile language system." The innate

ability to acquire propositional language is based on gesture – at least as far as primates are concerned (in Liska 1995). On the basis of numerous pieces of research, it may be implied that gestures were a substantial, if not central component of early human communication.Thus, the theory of gesture-like origin of speech and language would be confirmed.

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Polish Sign Language (PJM):
A Linguist-Learner's Perspective

> This paper is dedicated to my PJM Teacher, Ms. Magdalena Sipowicz, who is recovering from bad injuries she suffered in the Szczekociny train crash. The truths about PJM are hers, the failures are exclusively mine.

ABSTRACT. This paper, being a preliminary study of the Polish Sign Language PJM and PJM learning, touches upon three interrelated issues: the description of some PJM structures in the cognitive grammar framework, the comparison of the PJM sign order and the Polish word order in a sentence, and, in the largest extent, the difficulties that Polish native speakers may encounter in learning PJM. Using cognitive grammar concepts in PJM syntactic description on the one hand, and pointing out certain similarities in PJM and Polish sentence construction on the other hand, should be useful in PJM teaching/learning. The experimental basis for this paper is a small survey conducted in a group of PJM beginner learners at the end of their course.

Certain syntactic characteristics of PJM make it difficult to learn for the native speakers of Polish, even those who are familiar with other spoken languages and their grammars – or perhaps, especially those who are familiar with other grammars. A linguist biased towards the oral-aural channel of communication and the verbal form of messages will make a peculiar learner of a sign language, always trying to analyse the structure and focusing consciously on the distinctive features of signs, as she normally focuses on the systemic features of any other language. Being such a learner, I decided to summarize my (short) experience in PJM learning and share my observations, which may be useful to other PJM learners and PJM teachers.

1. On the definition of PJM (*Polski Język Migowy* [PSL = Polish Sign Language])

The Polish Sign Language is a natural[1] language using the visual channel. Unlike the other sign language used in Poland, the Language-Sign System (System Językowo-Migowy, SJM), PJM is not a sign subcode of Polish, but an independent visual-spatial language (Moroń 2011: 165–166), used by a large group of Native Signers.[2] Szczepankowski (1988: 17) characterizes the natural sign language as built by "several thousand content signs, positional grammar, and spatial organization of an utterance, *i.e.* the set of tools which supplement the signs, such as face expression and content gestures, incidental gestures which are not signs, and kinetic behaviour."[3] Spatial organization of an utterance is the dominant feature of a message delivered in a sign language. In addition, as signs have no inflection, the syntax of a natural sign language is inherently based on position and sequencing of elements (Szczepankowski 1988: 17). It is these two characteristics of PJM that make it so different from Polish, and make learning PJM a challenge for Polish Native Speakers.

PJM is a visual language, which not only means that the channel of communication is the visual channel, but also that sentences in PJM render situations as they are "seen" in reality, or, as they are perceived with the senses. The syntax of PJM to some extent results from this feature; it is also determined by the information structure of sentences. On the one hand, in messages describing location, the recommendable order of signs is: the location, the object located, and finally the space relation between them, or the type of movement. Using the cognitive grammar notions such as "landmark" and "trajector," or "figure" and "ground,"

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1   Natural, *i.e.* developed in a community, not created artificially. PJM as a more or less unified, systematic language can be traced back to 1816, when the first school class for deaf children was formed in Szczuczyn, by priest Jakub Falkowki. A year later it was moved to Warsaw and transformed into the Institute for the Deaf-Mute. Thus a community was formed, which soon developed a means of communication. In 1876 PJM was already well-formed, as this year brought the publication of the first sign language dictionary (Perlin, Szczepankowski 1992: 18–19) (on PJM and its history, *cf.* also http://www.fundacjakokon.pl, and http://www.ipjm.org.pl).

2   Perlin and Szczepankowski (1992: 13) estimate the number of Native Signers at about 40 000. The number must be greater by now, especially with the status of PJM being much higher nowadays. http://www.fundacjakokon.pl mentions 100 000 as the estimated number of PJM native signers.

3   Translation of this and all other Polish quotes is mine – A.Ś.G.

should facilitate the syntactic description of such PJM sentences (*cf.* Section 3). On the other hand, in other PJM sentences the sign order reflects the theme–focus information, as is the case in most Polish sentences, yet the verb-signs or the question-signs (corresponding to the English Wh--words) are placed differently than in Polish (*cf.* Section 3).

2. Landmark–trajector / figure–ground, and theme–focus

The three pairs of opposites mentioned in the section title may be helpful in explaining certain syntactic behavior of PJM sentences. The first two pairs of terms belong to the cognitive grammar framework (Langacker 1987). The last pair is related to the analysis of the information structure in sentences, also called thematic structure (Brown, Yule 1983), or to the original Functional Sentence Perspective studies (as theme–rheme, Mathesius 1942).

Landmark and trajector are two entities in a relation, or participants of a situation. Usually such entities are perceived from a certain point of view, which may be described as profiling the relation. Langacker (2008) explains profiling as follows:

> When a relationship is profiled, various degrees of prominence are conferred on its participants. The most prominent participant, called the trajector (tr), is the entity construed as being located, evaluated, or described. Impressionistically, it can be characterized as the **primary focus** within the profiled relationship. Often some other participant is made prominent as a **secondary focus**. If so, this is called a landmark (lm). (Langacker 2008: 70)

The pair of concepts is normally used in the description of movement, but in fact they are a special case of figure–ground relation. Figure and ground have been adopted for cognitive linguistics by Leonard Talmy, who borrowed them from Gestalt psychology. Basically, these two terms underlie the landmark–trajector opposition, and could be defined similarly, as the primary and the secondary element in a profiled situation. As Evans (2007) explains:

> Human perception appears to automatically segregate any given spatial scene into a figure and a ground. A figure is an entity that, among other things, possesses a dominant shape, due to a definite contour or prominent colouring. The figure stands out against the ground, the part

> of a scene that is relegated to 'background.' (…) a figure appears to be thing-like, a contour appears at the edge of the figure's shape, it appears closer to the viewer and in front of the ground, it appears more dominant and is better remembered. In contrast, the ground appears to be substance-like, is relatively formless, appears further away and extends behind the figure, is less dominant, and is less well remembered. Figure-ground organisation has been influential in cognitive linguistics, and has been generalised to language by Talmy with his notions of figure and ground, also known as reference object, and by Langacker with the theoretical constructs trajector and landmark. Talmy has proposed that in linguistic terms, smaller and more mobile objects are typically interpreted as figures, while larger, more immovable objects which serve to locate other objects are typically interpreted as the ground. (Evans 2007: 79–80)

In PJM, where the point of view in describing various types of relations actually determines the order of signing, the concepts of profiling, landmark and trajector, or figure and ground could be used to account for the sign order in PJM sentences, and to visualize the correspondence between the sign order and the syntactic structure.

For instance, in the case of directional verbs in PJM, such as "ask" or "help," the subject and the object are expressed by means of location in space, not by separate signs. In the PJM sentence involving the structure "I ask you a question," the movement in the sign [ask] is directed from the signer to the recipient.[4] If the structure used is "I ask her a question," the movement is directed from the signer to an imaginary third person, located to the side of the signer and the recipient. Thus, assuming the direct object "question" (represented by fingers arrangement) is the trajector, the indirect object becomes the landmark, towards which the movement must be directed. In the case of sentences using the structure "help somebody," the movement in the sign "help" is directed towards the object, starting from the subject. The imaginary trajector "help" moves between two landmarks.

The above examples follow the SVO sign order, which is the assumed[5] basic word order in PJM (Perlin, Szczepankowski 1992: 99). However, in PJM sentences expressing location, the SVO order is rare, and the optimum sign order in fact reflects the "scene-view," *i.e.* the order of perception: first the ground, then the figure, and eventually – the exact relation between them. Thus, the sentence "*Samolot uderzył*

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4   All PJM examples used in this paper are based on the course materials by Sipowicz (2011).

5   As said of Polish, and yet SVO is not followed by Polish NSs in spontaneous conversation.

w wieże WTC" (A plane crashed into the WTC Towers) should be signed in the order: [TOWERS] (ground/landmark) + [PLANE] (figure/trajector) + [CRASH/HIT] (relation). The sentence "*Jabłko spadło z drzewa*" (An apple fell from a tree) should be signed as TREE (ground) + APPLE (figure) + FALL (relation) + PAST. The sentence "*Pod drzewem siedzi pies*" (There is a dog under the tree) should be arranged: [TREE] (ground) + [DOG] (figure) + [SIT] (relation).

In fact, the last example is equally dependent on the figure–ground and the theme–focus organization. As visible in the Polish equivalent, the SVO order would change the meaning of the message, as "*pies*" in the subject position would become definite (the dog). As the scene described is a big tree and a small, unknown creature next to it, the only acceptable ordering of signing is: 1) the big (ground), easily noticeable (ground) element, which is immediately recognized and sets the stage (theme); 2) the small (figure), unknown (focus) element, whose location is being described (figure).

The theme–focus distribution, or the" functional perspective," is the main factor determining the word-order in Polish (Grzegorczykowa 1998: 28). In many cases this fact can be used as facilitating the comprehension of the PJM sign order choices. However, there are certain types of sentences where the sign order differs significantly from the word-order of the Polish equivalent, and yet theme–focus, if smartly employed, can be used as a facilitator in PJM teaching. An example of such sentence type is the set of Wh-questions. In PJM, the Wh-element is placed finally in the sentence, while in Polish regularly formed Wh-questions, the Wh-words are clause-initial. It seems that in Polish the specific information which is required by the speaker is topicalized. In PJM, on the other hand, it becomes the focus. It may be concluded that the Wh--question marker is the most important signal in the PJM sentence – not in regards to the semantic content of the sentence, but in regards to communicative success. The sentence-final Wh-sign – the focus – signals what the recipient should do with the already processed set of signs: s/he should supplement it with the specific piece of information, required by the signer. In other words, if the PJM sentence equivalent to "*Gdzie pracujesz?*" (Where do you work?/What is your job?) is signed: [YOU] (known, theme) + [JOB] (known, theme) + [WHERE] (new, focus), it actually says: I know **you**, and I know you have a **job**, but I don't know **what** this job is.

The next example shows this mechanism even more explicitly. The sentence "*Mam pytanie: ile jest wydziałów na UP?*" (I have a question: how many faculties are there at the Pedagogical University?) in PJM is signed: [QUESTION] + [UP] + [INSIDE IT] + [FACULTY] + [HOW MANY]. This can read: I am **asking** you about **UP** (known, theme), and how it is **built** (presumably known, theme); I am interested in **faculties** (focus, becoming theme): **how many** are there (focus)?

The curious thing to notice here is that in fact both organization perspectives, figure–ground, and theme–focus, can be applied to the above sentences: in the last example, it is evident that the sentence elements are organized moving from the background to the detail, or from the biggest to the specific one: the University – look inside it – the faculties – counting each one. In other words, the sentence is also organized following the ground–figure-relation pattern. The question is not which perspective is better in explaining PJM structure, but which perspective suits better the particular PJM issue that requires facilitation. Skilful adaptation of these theoretical observations to the practical teaching of PJM may result in a visible improvement in the understanding of PJM structure by the learners – and in a considerable decrease in the number of erroneously signed sentences.

The section below shows that there truly are many PJM issues which require careful explanation in the teaching process, and that the above observations might actually be found useful in a PJM class.

3. PJM learning difficulties

While attending the PJM course, I could not help observing certain regularities in the PJM output of the course participants. It seemed that most learners struggled with the structure of PJM, whether they were students or teachers, experienced in SJM or inexperienced in any visual language. Having considered the problems the group faced in PJM reception and production, and taking into account the reactions and comments of the teacher, I prepared a list of problems a Polish-speaking PJM learner may encounter. With time, it became obvious that a prospective candidate for the worst nightmare of a PJM course participant is the sign order.

The 60-hour course lasted from November 2011 to January 2012. It was run by a professional, experienced PJM teacher and interpreter, and a Deaf assistant teacher. The survey was conducted during the last class. The group originally consisted of 20 University teachers of various faculties and University students, mainly of pedagogical specializations, including Surdopedagogy students. Eventually, 16 questionnaires were filled. All respondents were adult Polish native speakers learning PJM as a foreign language. Some of them were "false beginners," having learned SJM before, or having already had some contact with the PJM community.

The initial, broad list of potential difficulties, prepared on the basis of the learners' output and the teachers' feedback, included:

▶ lateralization problems:
- reversing the image of the sign being taught in the teacher–learner reversed perspective; evidence: some learners had difficulties in deciding which hand to use, in which direction the movement should be marked, or in drawing exercises (draw the figure which is being "sketched in the air" by the teacher);

▶ perception problems:
- perceiving the distinctive features of individual signs, which for a non-signer are minor and negligible, barely noticeable differences (which finger is used, whether fingers are spread or stay together, small movements, the exact place of articulation, *etc.*); evidence: it was difficult to notice the difference between similar signs, and to render them in faithfully;
- perceiving and recognizing individual signs in the flow of a sentence or an utterance, or in an observed dialogue;

▶ production problems:
- "lazy" hands and fingers; Polish NSs are not used to straining their hands' muscles in such a way as is required in PJM;
- reluctance/embarrassment to use facial expression;
- lack of the "silent speech" articulation accompanying the signs; problems with the verbal form of the words to be articulated voicelessly (infinitive or personal form? Use prepositions or ignore them?);
- message organization problems, such as introducing incidental gestures of hesitation, uncertainty, or helplessness between the meaningful signs while producing a sentence in PJM;

- syntax problems: Polish syntax imposes itself on the learner's PJM production; evidence: wrong sign ordering.

In the actual questionnaire, the above list was reduced to a set of specific problems. The survey task was to make a selection from the listed points and then rank them, starting from the most serious problem.

Translation of the questionnaire is given below:

Rank the following problems, starting with 1 – the greatest problem; 2 – the second worst problem, *etc*.
A. Recognition/comprehension of individual signs
B. Production of individual signs
C. Recognition and reproduction of sign orientations (left–right)
D. Recognition/comprehension of individual signs in a sentence sequence
E. Comprehension of the sense of complete sentences
F. Production of complete sentences
G. Signing the signs in the correct/optimal order
H. Using facial expressions
I. Lip-reading
J. Silent speech accompanying signing
K. Appropriate hand arrangement
L. Distinguishing between similar signs
M. Noticing details of the sign shape (which finger is being used, slight changes of hand arrangement, precise path of movement in the sign, *etc*.)
N. Precise production of the sign (using the right finger, correct hand arrangement, correct movement)
O. Other:…………………………………………….

The quantitative results of the survey are presented in Table 1 on the next page:

The unquestionable winner of the ranking is problem G: Signing the signs in the correct/optimal order. It was selected by 12 out of 16 respondents, and was ranked as the worst problem five times, and as the second worst problem – three times. Its mean ranking score is 2.3. This result confirms the initial assumption of the survey, that most learners find it difficult to understand and follow the sign ordering principles of PJM.

Table 1. Quantitative results of the survey

Problem	Marks (ranking positions)	Mean	Mode	Median	N
A	1, 3, 3, 4	2.75	two 3s	3	4
B	2, 3, 4	3		3.5	3
C	1, 5	3		3	2
D	1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 4, 7	2.4	four 1s	2	10
E	2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 10	3.875	three 2s	3	8
F	1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 4	2.142857	three 2s	2	7
G	1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 7	2.333333	five 1s	2	12
H	2, 3, 3, 3, 5, 6, 11	4.5	four 3s	3	8
I	3, 12	7.5		7.5	2
J	3, 4, 13	6.666667		4	3
K	9	9		9	1
L	2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6	3.75	two 2s, 3s, 5s	3.5	8
M	1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6	3.090909	three 1s, 2s, 5s	2	11
N	2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 8	4	three 3s, 4s	4	9

Judging by the number of learners affected and their degree of concern, problem D: Recognition/comprehension of individual signs in a sentence sequence is the second worst. Ten respondents selected it, and four decided it was the greatest difficulty. The mean score for this problem is 2.4.

Problem M: Noticing details of the sign shape (which finger is being used, slight changes of hand arrangement, precise path of movement in the sign, *etc.*) was selected by 11 respondents, but only six of them considered it the worst or the second worst problem.

Perhaps equally serious, selected by seven learners and with the mean score of 2.14, is problem F: Production of complete sentences. It is related to the issue of sentence structure, therefore it may be concluded that this result also confirms the initial assumption.

Other problems which were indicated by at least half of the group were:
- problem E: Comprehension of the sense of complete sentences, with eight votes; again, this problem can be referred to the issue of sentence structure and sign order;
- problem H: Using facial expressions, with eight votes (I attribute this result to the working of high affective filter in a group of adult learners);
- problem L: Distinguishing between similar signs, with eight votes; and
- problem N: Precise production of the sign, with nine votes;

However, these difficulties were judged as minor, with the mean ranking positions: 3.87, 4.5, 3.75 and 4, respectively.

In conclusion, two issues seem to be of highest concern in the group of respondents: sentence organization (problems G, F, E) and details of signs (problems D, M, L, N).

Conclusions

From my observations as a linguist and a PJM course participant, the greatest problems in PJM learning are connected with a) the organization of sentences, and b) perception of details in signs. Polish NSs learning PJM need a method of imaging the PJM sign order by other means than referring subconsciously to their Polish grammar competence, which in many cases is misleading. The cognitive grammar profiling theory could

be helpful as the theoretical approach in preparing the teaching method. But the profiling theory notions could be useful even as a simplified illustrative tool, helping the learners to understand how a PJM sentence reflects the perceived reality, and how – therefore – it is built.

As for the second issue, the details of signs, it seems that we need techniques for the presentation and practice of **precise** sign shapes. Distinctive features of signs are foreign ground to native speakers of oral languages, therefore PJM learners could be acquainted with the idea of the distinctive features of a sign: the shape, the location, and the movement. Having realized what exactly they should be looking at, the learners may find it much easier to notice, identify, and properly reproduce individual signs.

The research described in this paper is merely a small sample survey; replications and further research would be needed to state legitimately that the sign order issue, and the sign detail are the dominating problems in a PJM classroom. Yet the above theoretical observations and PJM comparisons could be safely used in a PJM class, *e.g.* briefly reported by PJM teachers to their adult Polish learners, in order to prepare and facilitate the process of PJM learning.

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A Reconsideration of the Notions of Semantic Loan and Loan Translation in the Analysis of English Linguistic Influence on Polish

Abstract. The article offers a reconsideration of the notions of loan translation and semantic loan, which has been prompted by the findings of my analysis of recent English linguistic influence on Polish. The borderline between loan translations and semantic loans, amply described and exemplified in studies on language contact, seems to fade when a loan translated phraseological unit undergoes ellipsis, which results in an innovation that may also be interpreted as a case of semantic loan. The article addresses Wellander's (1917: 108) proposal who claims that we should not distinguish between these two types as only phrases, and hardly ever single words, are affected by the semantic influence of foreign lexemes. This suggestion triggers a number of questions such as (1) whether semantic loans are just reduced loan translations or independent cases of borrowing, (2) whether we need a separate category for semantic innovations which are outcomes of ellipsis, and (3) whether they should be considered semantic loans at all. These theoretical considerations are exemplified with contact-induced semantic innovations which are equivalent in meaning to set expressions that are calques of foreign phraseological units, and with multi-sense semantic loans that may appear in a variety of phrasal contexts. Research material which includes English loan translations and semantic loans in Polish provides exemplification of four different types of contact--induced innovations that may be considered outcomes of ellipsis. Each type is discussed and exemplified. The analysis of research material shows also which type of loan translated expressions (taking into account a semantically-based typology) is most likely to be subject to ellipsis.

Keywords: semantic loan, loan translation, phraseological calque, contact-induced semantic innovation, bound semantic loan.

Introduction

The aim of the article is to reconsider the notions of 'loan translation' and 'semantic loan,' which frequently reappear in the discussions of the linguistic consequences of language contact. Both terms have been known to researchers for a hundred years since the time of the pioneering works by Sandfeld-Jensen (1912), Wellander (1917) and Velten (1930) in the early 1900s. The present re-examination of the two terms has been prompted by the findings of my analysis of hundreds of instances of English loan translations and semantic loans in Polish (Witalisz 2007). Traditionally, both categories as types of loan have been defined on the basis of the structural and semantic comparison of the source and the receiving language expressions and discussed and exemplified separately in studies on language contact (*e.g.* Velten 1930: 334–336; Sandfeld-Jensen 1912; Szober 1929: 24–31; Betz 1949: 24–25; Haugen 1950: 220, 1956: 763; Weinreich 1953: 51; Jefremov 1971: 108 in Obara 1989: 27; Deroy 1956: 215; Humbley 1974: 62). Also the more recent approaches to interlingual borrowing, which examine loans from a pragmatic perspective or from the perspective of cognitive processes and communicative acts which are involved during the process of borrowing see the two types as distinct (Clyne 1972: 107–110, 1977; Gómez Capuz 1997: 91–92; Grzega 2003: 37; Winter-Froemel 2008: 22). Yet in view of the processes that occur both during the process of borrowing and in the post-borrowing phase, there are cases in which the hitherto definite differentiation between loan translation and semantic loan does not seem so obvious. In some cases such a differentiation is impossible and reflects only the researcher's subjective opinion.

1. Loan translation vs. semantic loan

Both loan translations and semantic loans appear in the receiving language only as "changes in the usage of native words" (Haugen 1950: 219). The borrowing mechanism is the same in both types of loan because in both cases we deal with the copying of a foreign semantic pattern by native lexemes, the result of which is a contact-induced change in the meaning of individual words in the receiving language. This may be why Haugen uses a hypernymic term, 'loanshift,' in reference to both of

these types of loan. What is different is the object of calquing. The difference between loan translation and semantic loan becomes apparent when we look at the result of the borrowing process in the receiving language. Semantic loan results in the polysemy of the native lexeme. Loan translation is a newly-created lexical item in the receiving language. In the case of semantic loan, it is just the sense (or senses) of a foreign polysemous model that is adopted by a native lexeme that partially corresponds to it semantically, though this semantic similarity is not a condition of semantic loan (*cf.* Hope 1960: 131). Semantic calquing evokes change in the meaning of the native lexeme, either in the form of semantic extension[1] or, less frequently, in the form of replacing its traditional meaning with the foreign one. Loan translation is a reproduction of a foreign lexical complex by means of native material and is always a polymorphemic unity, graphically either mono- or multiverbal. Both loan translations and semantic loans may employ native words or well-assimilated loans[2] (Bloomfield 1933: 456; Betz 1949: 24–25; Weinreich 1953: 48; Haugen 1950: 220, 1956: 764; Gneuss 1955: 21–22; Deroy 1956: 215).

One other comment that needs to be made in reference to semantic loans is the misuse, as it seems, of the word *word* in their definitions. Semantic loans should not be defined as "words which…," but rather as foreign senses which have been acquired by native lexemes. What is borrowed is just a sense (or senses) of a polysemous foreign model, not the whole lexeme with its form and meaning. An argument supporting this view might be some other terminologies used by more recent researchers in the field. Semantic loans are called "analogical innovation by semantic change" (Winter-Froemel 2008: 22) or "borrowed metaphors" (Gómez Capuz 1997: 86) as the adopted foreign sense is often metaphorical, *e.g.* the figurative sense of E. *mouse* 'computer device' calqued by many European languages.

The division into semantic loans and loan translations can by no means be mechanical and based solely on the single lexeme – phraseological unit distinction for two reasons. Firstly, native multi-word set expressions, well-established in the receiving language, may also

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1   Haugen chooses to term this type of calque 'loan extension' (1956: 766).

2   *Cf.* Hope (1960: 131), who proposes to distinguish between 'semantic loan,' which bears formal similarity to its foreign etymon, and 'semantic calque,' where "semantic borrowing is accompanied at the formal level by calque or translation rather than unaltered adoption or simple adaptation."

gain a new sense under the foreign influence, *e.g.* P. *od drzwi do drzwi* (< E. "door to door (delivery)"), P. *Koń trojański* (< E. "Trojan horse") in the computer-related sense, which are cases of "multi-word semantic loans" (Wesołowska 1978: 57) or "semantic phraseological replicas" (Dubisz, Sękowska 1990: 232). Secondly, loan translations may either be one-, two- or multi-word expressions coined by analogy to the foreign etymon.

While calquing foreign set phrases, it is actually not the structural pattern that we desire to borrow but it is the semantic content of that expression. In definitions of loan translations much emphasis is put on the copying of the structure of a foreign expression rather than on the semantic importation that takes place in the course of the calquing process. The new phraseological unit that appears in the receiving language carries with it a unique semantic value and it is the need to adopt a foreign concept that prompts the creation of a new lexeme. This was only stated by the early researchers, Singer (1912) and Weise (1912), who pinpoint that both structural and semantic calques come to being as a result of taking over some foreign concepts, and indirectly hinted at by Haugen (1950: 214, 1956: 764) who claims that all loans are in fact semantic. It may even be argued that "whatever it is that resembles the model phrase in a loan translation – over and beyond the semantic extension it may contain – it is certainly not its structure" (Otheguy 1993: 25), which may be easily exemplified by English loan translations in Italic and Slavonic languages where the translated expressions adhere to familiar Romance or Slavonic structural patterns.

2. Types of contact-induced semantic innovations (possible outcomes of ellipsis)

The borderline between loan translation and semantic loan seems to fade when a loan translated phraseological unit undergoes a process that might be called ellipsis, which results in an innovation that may also be interpreted as a case of semantic loan. Also, it cannot be denied that the two borrowing processes are occurring simultaneously, giving rise to a multi-word loan translation and a semantic loan that is identical in meaning to the former. We would like to address Wellander's (1917: 108) proposal, who refrains from distinguishing between these two types of

loan and claims that only phrases, and hardly ever single words, are affected by the semantics of foreign lexemes. This observation does not seem all that inadequate if we take into account his argument that a word acquires a new sense when used, as we would say today, in context (*i.e.* as part of a loan translated collocational pattern). This suggestion triggers a number of questions such as (1) whether semantic loans are just reduced loan translations or independent cases of borrowing, (2) whether we need a separate category for semantic innovations which are outcomes of ellipsis, and (3) whether they should be considered semantic loans at all.

The analysed research material including English loan translations and semantic loans in Polish provides a source of the exemplification of the following:

1) nominal semantic innovations which are equivalent in meaning to set expressions that are calques of foreign phraseological units, *e.g.* P. *spotkanie na szczycie* (< E. "summit meeting") coexists with P. *szczyt* (E. "summit"), the former seen as a case of loan translation, the latter as a semantic loan;

2) nominal semantic innovations which result from the copying of foreign lexical collocations, *e.g.* P. *administracja* 'government,' as in P. *administracja Busha* (< E. "Bush administration"), P. *administracja w Waszyngtonie* (< E. "the administration in Washington");

3) polysemous adjectival semantic innovations which acquire their new senses in the course of imitating a number of foreign lexical collocations, *e.g.* P. *przyjazny* in its new senses: 1. 'without a negative effect, harmless;' 2. 'inexpensive;' 3. 'easy to use,' as in P. *przyjazny dla środowiska* (< E. "environment-friendly"), P. *przyjazny dla skóry* (< E. "skin-friendly"), P. *przyjazna cena* (< E. "friendly price"), P. *przyjazny dla użytkownika* (< E. "user-friendly"), respectively;

4) nominal semantic innovations which are parts of loan translated multi-word expressions, such as P. *gołębie I jastrzębie* (< E. "doves and hawks"), whose constituents in their new senses are also used in isolation in Polish; in this case, however, the single constituent does not take over the meaning of the whole set phrase and therefore will not be discussed in the present paper.

In the first case, to state whether the new sense of P. *szczyt* is a result of ellipsis (which certainly is true for English "summit") we would need to confirm that the loan translation was used in Polish before the corresponding semantic loan. Establishing which of the two appeared first in Polish may resemble the chicken and the egg dilemma. Also, it cannot be denied that the two occurred in Polish simultaneously. Thus P. *szczyt* may be a case of ellipsis in Polish, so an independent semantic development occurring on the Polish soil, or a separate semantic loan. This coexistence of a loan translation and semantic loan, if we treat the latter as such and not as a case of ellipsis, is by no means an isolated case.

Other examples include:

- P. *wirus komputerowy* (< E. "computer virus") and P. *wirus*;
- P. *mysz komputerowa* (< E. "computer mouse") and P. *mysz*;
- P. *poczta elektroniczna* (< E. "e-mail") and P. *poczta*;
- P. *konwencja partii politycznej* (< E. "political party convention") and P. *konwencja*;
- P. *służby publiczne* (< E. "public services") and P. *służby*;
- P. *adres elektroniczny* (< E. "electronic address") and P. *adres*;
- P. *asystentka osobista* (< E. "personal assistant") and P. *asystentka*;
- P. *molestowanie seksualne* (< E. "sexual harrassment") and P. *molestowanie*;
- P. *klub nocny* (< E. "night club") and P. *klub*;
- P. *poduszka powietrzna* (< E. "airbag") and P. *poduszka*;
- P. *pasek narzędzi* (< E. "toolbar") and P. *pasek*;
- P. *skrzynka poczty elekronicznej* (< E. "e-mail box") and P. *skrzynka*;
- P. *strona w sieci* (< E. "Web page") and P. *strona*.

In the case of the loan translated nominal collocations, type 2), the lexeme that reappears carries just one new sense, as in P. *administracja* (E. "administration") whose new semantic value in Polish, 'government,' has appeared as a result of the ellipsis of expressions such as P. *administracja Busha* (< E. "Bush administration"), P. *administracja w Waszyngtonie* (< E. "the administration in Washington"), *etc.*

Other examples of this type include:

- P. *administrator* (E. "administrator") 'one who administers access to the web,' as in P. *administrator sieci* (< E. "web administrator"), P. *administrator poczty* (< E. "e-mail administrator");

- P. *segregacja* (E. "segregation") 'dividing people according to criteria such as skin colour, sex, age, affluence,' as in P. *segregacja rasowa* (< E. "racial segregation"), P. *segregacja płciowa* (< E. "sex segregation"), P. *segregacja wiekowa* (< E. "age segregation");
- P. *nominacja* (E. "nomination") 'the act of submitting a name for candidacy or appointment,' as in P. *nominacja do Oskara* (< E. "Oscar nomination"), P. *nominacja do nagrody Grammy* (< E. "Grammy nomination");
- P. *sieć* (E. "chain"), as in P. *sieć sklepów* (< E. "store chain"), P. *sieć hoteli* (< E. "hotel chain");
- P. *bank* (E. "bank") 'a supply held in reserve for future use,' as in P. *bank krwi* (< E. "blood bank"), P. *bank szpiku* (< E. "bone marrow bank"), *etc.*;
- P. *edycja* (E. "edition"), as in P. *druga edycja konkursu* (< E. "the second edition of the competition"), P. *kolejna edycja Festiwalu …* (< E. "the next edition of the … Festival");
- P. *generacja* (E. "generation") 'a type of,' as in P. *nowa generacja zmywarek* (< E. "a new generation of dishwashers"), P. *telewizja czwartej generacji* (< E. "fourth generation television");
- P. *obszar* (E. "area") 'domain, scope of something,' as in P. *obszary konstytucji* (< E. "areas of constitution"), P. *obszary gospodarki* (< E. "areas of economy"), P. *obszary prawa* (< E. "areas of law");
- P. *kreacja* (E. "creation"), 'the act of creating,' as in P. *kreacja wizerunku* (< E. "public image creation"), P. *kreacja stron internetowych* (< E. "web page creation"), *etc.*

In the third case, the acquisition of new senses by a Polish adjective necessarily involves the process of loan translating various foreign collocations that include the corresponding polysemous adjective. Hence the polysemy of the Polish lexeme *przyjazny* (E. "friendly"), which reappears in various collocational contexts. P. *przyjazny* traditionally collocates with nouns denoting people, animals or behavior, and means 1. 'friendly, well-wishing;' 2. 'favourably disposed' (SJP Dor). The new senses of P. *przyjazny*, which may be classified as semantic loans, appeared as a by-product of a literal translation of foreign collocations. It must be emphasised, though, that it seems impossible to state whether all the Polish phrases including *przyjazny* in its new senses are literal translations from English, or whether some of them have been coined

on the Polish soil by analogy to the previously translated foreign expressions. Even though asserting that the (for instance) much used advertising slogan P. *szampon przyjazny dla twoich włosów* appeared as a calque of E. "hair-friendly shampoo" rather than just one other expression in the series of analogous expressions does not seem possible, it cannot be denied that the untypical collocational pattern is a result of foreign influence. We might, then, regard the first appearances of a loan translation including a word in its new foreign sense as an intermediary stage in the development of a semantic loan, the result of the borrowing process.

Other examples include:

- P. *agresywny* 1. 'efficient, energetic, creative,' as in P. *agresywny menager* (< E. "aggressive manager"); 2. 'effective,' as in P. *agresywna reklama* (< E. "aggressive advertising"); 3. 'eye-catching, modern, stylish,' as in P. *agresywne światła* (< E. "aggressive headlights");
- P. *aktywny* 1. 'one that may be used,' as in P. *aktywna karta kredytowa* (< E. "active credit card"); 2. 'acting effectively,' as in P. *aktywny krem przeciwzmarszczkowy* (< E. "active anti-wrinkle cream");
- P. *ekskluzywny* 1a. 'reserved for one person or institution,' as in P. *ekskluzywny wywiad* (< E. "an exclusive interview"), 1b. 'available only for particular people,' as in P. *ekskluzywny koncert* (< E. "an exclusive concert"), 1c. 'expensive, of very good quality,' as in P. *ekskluzywne buty* (< E. "exclusive shoes"); 2. 'one in the region,' as in P. *ekskluzywny przedstawiciel handlowy* (< E. "an exclusive sales representative");
- P. *globalny* 1. 'relating to or involving the entire earth,' as in P. *globalna wioska* (< E. "global village"), P. *globalna wspólnota* (< E. "global community"); 2. 'comprehensive, related to all aspects of something,' as in P. *globalne medium* (< E. "global medium");
- P. *inteligentny* 1a. 'one that recognises the needs of the user,' as in P. *inteligentny samochód* (< E. "an intelligent car"); P. *inteligentny piekarnik* (< E. "an intelligent oven"); 1b. cosm. P. *inteligentny balsam do ciała* (< E. "intelligent body lotion"), *etc.*

If we use the first examples in each of the sets (1), (2) and (3) as an illustration, the lexeme *przyjazny* (E. "friendly") out of context does not imply its new sense or senses, whereas P. *szczyt* (E. "summit") may be understood as *spotkanie na szczycie* (E. "summit meeting"), the reason

for which may be the monosemy of *szczyt* (if we take into account only the new sense), and the fact that it derives from a single idiomatic set expression. P. *przyjazny*, on the other hand, acquires several new senses which result from the process of ellipsis of various phrases translated from English. In other words, the process is similar to what has been defined as phraseological decomposition, in the course of which a lexeme that is part of a set phrase receives a new sense (*cf.* Grabias 1997: 231; Mycawka 2012). This may be illustrated by P. *dywan* (E. "carpet") which acquired its new sense, 'cover,' as a result of the phraseological decomposition of the expression P. *zamieść coś pod dywan*, loan translated from English "to sweep something under the carpet."

Conclusions

If we look at the four sets of examples again, it is clear that the semantic innovations in (1) and (2) could be considered cases of ellipsis since the remaining element used independently carries the same meaning as the whole set expression. Yet confirming that P. *szczyt* is an ellipted form of P. *spotkanie na szczycie*, so a result of a semantic process that has occurred on the Polish soil rather than a case of semantic loan, does not seem possible in view of the fact that the corresponding "summit" and "summit conference" are both used in English in the same figurative sense.

The semantic innovations listed in (3) form a separate category since the lexemes here are polysemous and the new senses appear as a result of imitating foreign collocational patterns which are not necessarily set expressions. The reappearing lexeme might be used in a variety of contexts because its new senses result from just a semantic extension (*i.e.* meaning broadening) of its traditional sense. The new senses of lexemes such as P. *przyjazny* might be considered a result of multiple ellipsis because each of the different senses corresponds to a different set of loan translated collocations. Also, it cannot be said that P. *przyjazny* has acquired its new senses independently of the whole set of collocational possibilities in which it appears.

The semantic innovations of type 4) constitute yet another category where the element carrying metaphorical sense and used in isolation does not take over the meaning of the whole set phrase. Yet, P. *jastrzębie*

(E. "hawks") when used metaphorically in an expression such as P. *jastrzębie polityki* (< E. "hawks in politics") does evoke the opposite concept of "political doves." The analysis of research material allows for conclusions concerning the type of loan translated expressions that is most likely to be subject to ellipsis. If we rely on the semantically-based typology of loan translated set expressions which takes account of the degrees of (non)compositionality (*cf.* Waszakowa 1997: 124), we may conclude that semi-compositional loan translated expressions are most prone to be the source of ellipsis and the new sense (or senses) of a Polish lexeme is a result of the extension of the native lexeme's collocational pattern, occurring under the foreign influence. It may be safely assumed that fully non-compositional loan translations such as P. *gorący ziemniak* (< E. "hot potato") or P. *czarny koń* (< E. "dark horse") are not likely to undergo ellipsis, the reason for which might be their figurative senses and their formal identicalness to the potential non-idiomatic syntactic phrases in Polish.

The theoretical question that remains to be answered is whether the products of ellipted loan translated foreign collocations should be considered semantic loans or independent semantic developments occurring in the post-borrowing phase in the receiving language. Undoubtedly, the new senses of lexemes such as P. *szczyt* or P. *przyjazny* have appeared as a consequence of foreign linguistic influence that is why the suggestion is to keep the term semantic loan for them but to equip it with the specifying term 'bound' to mark their distinctiveness from regular semantic loans that are not results of ellipsis.[3] This intermediate type of loanshifts, 'bound semantic loan,' illustrates that the borderline between what we consider loan translation and semantic loan is by no means clear-cut and the two categories do overlap.

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3   *Cf.* Velten's (1930: 337) comment on semantic loans whose "new meaning very often has no connexion with the old," where there is "no danger of a confusion with the remaining type of *calque* represented by compounds or phrases."

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