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Review of the Book: Leszek Bednarczuk, Anna Bochnakowa, Stanisław Widłak, Przemysław Dębowiak, Iwona Piechnik (eds.) *Linguistique Romane et linguistique Indo-Européene: Melanges offerts à Witold Mańczak à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire* [Romance and Indo-European Linguistics: A Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Witold Mańczak on the Occasion of His Ninetieth Birthday]. Kraków 2014: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and Instytut Filologii Romańskiej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. ISBN: 978-83-7676-185-5, 487 pages

Abstract

In this review we provide an evaluation of the Festschrift honoring the occasion of Prof. Witold Mańczak's ninetieth birthday. We start by sketching general characteristics of the book, emphasizing the wide range of tributary topics covered, as well as the range of languages of contributions, reflecting the many areas where the Professor's work impacted the language sciences. Then we focus on one of the most controversial claims advocated by the Festschrifee, which has spawned a lot research and findings, namely, the importance of the frequency of occurrence of a given linguistic item. We argue that this claim should be considered against the wider background of the Natural Linguistics paradigm. Finally, we review and synopsize the content, which we proposed to group into the following thematic realms: (i) Etymology / language contact; (ii) Language change, theory and history of language; (iii) Syntax/ semantics; (iv) Contemporary language usage / sociolinguistics; (v) Lexicography / translation studies. The article ends with the general recommendation of the monograph to a broad readership.

Keywords: Festschrift, etymology, linguistics, frequency of occurrence, lexicography.

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1. General remarks[1]

The *Festschrift* we have the honor of reviewing celebrates the work of Professor Witold Mańczak as well as his abiding influence on several generations of linguists. It comprises a collection of papers whose topic is either inspired by, stems from, or constitutes a response to the multifaceted research the professor conducted. The occasion of holding this Festschrift for the prominent Slavist, Indogermanist and Romanist from Kraków is unparalleled, as the date of the publication corresponds to the professor's ninetieth birthday.

This wide-ranging volume reflects both the wide thematic span of the honoree's oeuvre, his linguistic versatility and the international reach of his influence – 38 scholars from Poland and abroad pay tribute to the distinguished professor by contributing linguistic work written in seven languages: Polish, English, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian and French. The *tabula gratulatoria*, listing the researchers and colleagues who expressed their congratulations and well-wishes to the honoree, is six pages long.

The book opens with an introduction to the formative influences on the honoree's career and recalls two of the guiding motifs in his research, namely the veracity condition in linguistics and the importance of statistical data. It also portrays the professor as an uncompromising scholar who boldly challenged accepted views and authorities. The introduction is followed by a bibliography of the honoree's impressive scholarly output, featuring books, edited books, commentaries, book contributions, articles, rejoinders, reports and reviews – altogether over 950 items which were written in seven languages. The volume comprises, altogether, 38 papers written by both Polish and foreign leading theorists in their respective fields. The breadth of the contributions reflects the honoree's comprehensive approach to linguistics and bears witness to the importance of his oeuvre.

Notwithstanding the immense scholarly merit of the book, several shortcomings could be flagged. The foremost is related precisely to the wide scope of the languages in which the research is presented to the reader. The monograph includes nine articles in Polish, three in English, fifteen in French, two in Spanish, two in Russian, three in Italian and two in German. Even assuming a large worldwide readership of the publication, it is certain that no average reader can fluently read texts in all seven languages. Thus providing all of the articles with both Polish and English (or French) abstracts of the main points and research results would largely help – both in terms of supplying a unifying linguistic framework and giving all readers who acquire the book access to the totality of its contents.

This reservation in turn relates to another point, this time at the level of the authors' contributions: in fact, none of the papers features an abstract in any language, and most of them even lack a conclusions section. Providing these would make the book much more reader-friendly and would ensure that due attention would be drawn to the publication. Finally, the monograph would benefit from a division into chapters reflecting particular thematic realms – both relating to the honoree's scientific pursuits and also helping the reader find his or her way through this 490-page book.

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1 All translations from Russian, Polish, Italian, French and Spanish are ours [S. W. and M. H.-G.]. For the help with translations from German we are grateful to Dr Agnieszka Kossowska.

2. The importance of the high frequency of occurrence of a linguistic item

Professor Mańczak's seminal theories and hypotheses have been challenging scholars for over 50 years: both when linguists followed them in their research and when they set out to refute them. In both cases, in compliance with the professor's scientific credo, his ideas contributed to plurivocity in science and fostered open discussion. One such controversial theory, which has long been advocated by the honoree, is the theory of irregular phonetic development due to a high rate of occurrence. This theory's prominent place in the honoree's scholarly output is also corroborated by the fact that most of the contributions contained in this volume, more or less explicitly, relate to the criterion of the frequency of occurrence.

In discussing this theory we must not lose sight of an important corollary: the frequency aspect in phonology relates directly to the cognitive and communicative aspects of speech and to the mental nature of phonological substitutions. A "high frequency of occurrence" directly reflects the fact that a given form (lexeme or phrase) occurs often in speech interaction, *i.e.* it involves frequent communicative interactions (an issue that was touched upon also in Piechnik's paper in the reviewed volume, *cf.* Piechnik 2014: 389). Different phonological processes that apply to items frequently used by interlocutors encompass the balance between the strategies serving both the speaker (lenitions) and the hearer (fortitions) (see, *e.g.* Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002; Dressler 2009; Dziubalska-Kołaczyk & Dressler 2006). Concomitantly, by admitting some anomalies in the development of frequently used words we are in fact corroborating not only the validity of the statistical approach but also the psychological aspect of phonology and the primacy of the communicative function.

High frequency of usage usually prompts higher incidence of natural and regular lenitions, which in frequently uttered phrases operate in a more extensive way than in a rare expression; for example, in his book presenting the tenets of Natural Phonology, Stampe gives the following example:

> These substitutions [phonological changes] often apply to words which are readily recognizable due to their grammatical or semantic status or their commonness in conversation. In my speech the verb *think* is optionally pronounced with [h] instead of [θ] but only in its commonplace parenthetical use, as in *I think it's raining, isn't it?* – not in its use as a main verb, as in *I think, therefore I am*. The common phrase *I don't know* can be reduced to [ãõ̃r̃õ̃ṳ̃] or less, but the phonologically similar but uncommon phrase *I dent noses* tolerates no such reduction. (1979: 7–8)[2]

Still, Martinet admits that some frequently used forms, such as, *e.g. yes* and *no* in some languages, "although today adapted to the phonology of the languages in which we encounter then, must have presented, in the past, evident anomalies in relation to the system" ([1964] 1974: 40).[3] Martinet calls such anomalies "expressive reinforcement," which implies unexpected fortitive processes. This dichotomy relates directly to the topic of the economy of changes, and even to Zipf's law – a perspective that is actually also recognized by the honoree, as pointed out in Sosnowski's paper (Sosnowski, the reviewed volume, p. 401, footnote 8).

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2   There is also a question of lexical vs. corpus and paradigm frequency discussed, *e.g.* in the latest publications on morphonotactics and phonotactics (see, *e.g.* Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2012; Dziubalska-Kołaczyk *et al.* 2014).

3   "Aunque hoy adaptadas a la fonología de las lenguas en las que nos las encontramos, debieron de presentar, en el pasado, evidentes anomalías con relación al sistema." André Martinet's book from 1937 is also cited by Floricic, p. 197. See also a retrospective on the principle of least effort and its application as "effort management" in Kul (2007).

In what follows, we will briefly synopsize the contributions grouped precisely into sets sharing a common focus: (i) etymology / language contact; (ii) language change / history of language; (iii) lexicography/translation; (iv) syntax/semantics; and (v) studies on contemporary language usage / sociolinguistics. It must be pointed out that the suggested groupings are only tentative – most of the contributions were truly interdisciplinary, hence they would fall under two or more of the thus established groups.

3. Content

3.1. Etymology / language contact

An example of an etymological study is **Zbigniew Babik**'s paper on the importance of language contact in the realm of hydronymes in Eastern Europe. In the paper titled "Kilka uwag o nazwach Dniestru i Dniepru" [Several remarks on the names of the Dniester and the Dnieper Rivers], the author shows how these hydronymes retain their genetic identity despite the potential obstacles that occur during borrowing between various languages, which has influenced the present forms of these names.

The paper by **Wiesław Baryś**, "Z etymologii Kajkawskiej (przymiotniki *gorup*, *granek*, *grenek*, *obzjoren*, *rod/rud*, *sluk*, *utel/votel*, *vohek/vuhek*, *zden*…" [Topics on Kajkavian etymology: adjectives: *gorup*, *granek*, *grenek*, *obzjoren*, *rod/rud*, *sluk*, *utel/votel*, *vohek/vuhek*, *zden*], undertakes an etymological analysis of several words derived from Kajkavian, a scarcely analyzed dialect spoken mainly in central and northern Croatia. It is emphasized how this dialect combines elements of Slovene and Balkan language varieties, and what effect historical factors have had on them. The paper also contains a summary of the analyses of dictionaries and previously conducted studies on this dialect.

Barbara Cynarska-Chomicka, in her paper titled "Adaptacja fonetyczna i morfologiczna zapożyczeń friulskich w dialekcie rezjańskim" [Phonetic and morphological adaptation of Friulian borrowings in the Resian dialect], presents an overview of a language contact phenomenon in the north-eastern Italian valley of val Resia. In particular, this paper shows the effect of the local dialect on the phonology of lexical borrowings and on the morphological mixture formed by both local and foreign elements. The author stresses that all of these elements fit together well and are not considered to be forms of influence by native speakers.

The work "Soldatenlatein: *rōrāriī*" [Soldier slang: *rōrāriī*] by **Berhard Forssman** takes up the subject of the jargon that is used by Roman soldiers called *rōrāriī*. A historical analysis of this term indicates the way in which it was imported from soldier slang into official Roman military discourse. The paper discusses the term's etymology and use over time.

Renato Gendre, in the paper titled "Sul sostrato celtico del provenzale: *alauda*, *alausa*, *bascauda*" [On the Celtic substratum of the Provencal: *alauda, alausa, bascauda*], investigates controversies besetting the etymology of the ornitonym *alauda* 'lark,' ichtionym *alausa* 'shad,' and *bascauda* 'basin,' 'basket.' Starting from the assumption by Whatmough (1949), namely that names of fish and names of other fauna are often connected, Gendre first reviews the existing scholarship on the topic and then in detail inspects the original Latin sources, taking into account where the classical authors hailed from, where the texts originated and the geographical distribution of the analyzed lexemes. Gendre concludes that, by taking into account their lexicographic profiles, the lexemes *alauda/alauza* and *bascauda/bascausa* are

clear cases of the Celtic substratum, thus contributing, to a certain extent, to the hypothesis according to which the Latin language might be rooted in Celtic.

The premise of the article by **Jean Haudry**, titled "Deux noms mythologiques indiens: *atri*, *aditi*" [Two mythological Hindu names: *atri*, *aditi*], is that comparative mythology could benefit from insights from phonology and morphology. Haudry uses resources offered by both phonology (the shortening of the thematic long high vowels *ī* and *ū* in derivatives) and morphology to shed new light on a form without a common etymology, such as the name of the mythic Indian poet *Atri*, and a form whose interpretation relied on false evidence – the name of the Hindu Goddess *Aditi.* He explores the semantic implications against a wider mythological background (*e.g.* the lack of a dichotomist divide between the black Earth and the luminous Earth – *Aditi* – *Kālī Durga*).

Etymology is also the focus of **Zhivka Koleva-Zlateva**'s article [Живка Колева-Златева] "К этимологии лат. *cancer*, др.гр. *καρκίνος*, др.инд. *kark(aṭ)a* 'рак, краб, омар'" [Towards the etymology of Lat. *cancer*, Old Greek *καρκίνος*, Old Indic *kark(aṭ)a* 'crayfish, crab, lobster'[4]]. Koleva-Zlateva starts by providing an exposé of the existing scholarship on the etymological relations between Lat. *cancer*, Old Greek *καρκίνος* and Old Indic *kark(aṭ)a*, pointing out that semantic nests have sometimes been extended to include Slavic forms (*rak*),[5] but also narrowed by positing that the Indic word could have been borrowed from a non-Indic language. The theory of the Indo-European etymon of the Latin, Old Indic and Old Greek forms relies on two processes: the reduplication of the root **kar* and, with that, the Latin form would concomitantly involve the dissimilation of the first rhotic liquid into the nasal stop. Having sketched the current state of knowledge regarding the existing analyses, the author proceeds to point out their inadequacies and a lack of independent motivation for the reviewed claims, being either cognitive or morphological; for example, she undermines the claim of the primary semiotic saliency of the "hardness" of the crayfish carapace or the "roundness" of its chelipeds. Also, in the current etymological interpretation the phonological process of reduplication is semantically vacuous. Koleva-Zlateva proposes to amend the indicated shortcomings by incorporating cognitive evidence (*e.g.* idioms in various languages) and arrives at a semantic path which assumes reduplication grounded in sound symbolism. Her analysis accounts both for the name of the creature itself and for the metaphorical transfer of the name to denote malicious tumors.

The topic of **Boris Oguibénine**'s paper, "Un paradoxe lexicographique védique et quelques faits indo-européens" [A lexicographic Vedic paradox and some Indo-European facts], are the etymological inconsistencies involving Vedic names for 'eye' (*ákṣi-*, *ákṣí-*, *ákṣá*, neut.) and the hub of a chariot or of a wheel (*ákṣa-*, masc.). The starting point of the investigation is the almost complete identity of the phonetic forms of the two lexemes (except the tone, grammatical genre and varying final vowel), as observed by Benfey (1848) and taken up by Grassmann (1964). Pointing out the shortcomings of previous approaches, and taking into account data from Slavic and other languages as well as the material aspect of ancient Indian vehicles, Oguibénine proposes several alternative etymological scenarios. The first scenario posits

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4   Translating note: there is a terminological split in English regarding this form. In the language of the original (Russian), just as *e.g.* in Polish, the same word denotes both the malicious tumor and the small freshwater crustacean. In English, the name for the latter was in all probability borrowed in the 14th century from Old French *crevis*, while the Latinate form is used only to denote the illness.

5   Which, from a phonological point of view, would have been quite an unusual and unnatural process – the word-initial voiceless stop in the *muta cum liquida* cluster is generally assumed to be very stable in all phonological perspectives.

metonymic reduction by taking into account the semantic structure (roundness/oblong shape) and an element that so far has been overlooked in the scholarship on the topic: the orifice in the structure of the wheel where the hub is placed. Oguibénine does not exclude an alternative explanation, relies on relevant facts in the history of technology and stresses the importance of semantic criteria in accounting for the similarities of the Vedic words for 'hub' and 'eye.'

Roman Sosnowski's work, "Frequenza e oltre. Alcune forze in gioco nell'etimologia e nella morfologia del verbo *andare*" [Frequency and beyond. Some forces involved in the etymology and morphology of the verb *to go*], investigates irregularities in the phonetic development of Latin *ambulāre* (E) 'to walk' into (It.) *andare* and (Fr.) *aller* on the basis of a corpus of 16th-century Italian texts (OVI – Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, *Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico*). Sosnowski observes that in the 16th century we come across a situation where the paradigm of *andare* (the result of suppletivism of (Lat.) *vadēre/ambulāre*) attaches to *ire/gire*, thus gradually gaining preponderance and eradicating the latter. The results of the study confirm Mańczak's hypothesis of the correlation between frequency of occurrence and shortening of the forms of *andare* (*va*, *vanno*, *vai*).

3.2. Language change, theory and history of language

The next large thematic set to be singled out consists of works devoted to studies on language change and issues on the history/theory of language. **Xaveiro Ballester**, in the paper titled "Protoroman, la lengua de Nunca Jamás" [Protoroman, the language of Never More], revisits with critical intent the debate on the origin of the Romance languages while at the same time relating to Mańczak's theories on the issue. As Ballester points out, there are two main strands of theorizing the rise of Romance languages, both of which agree that Romance comes from Vulgar Latin; the "sister" theory, wherein Vulgar Latin is a sister language to Classical Latin, and the "daughter" theory, wherein Vulgar Latin is a daughter language of Classical Latin (the option that is advocated, among others, by the honoree). Ballester points out that Mańczak's option has three advantages over the sister theory option: (i) it is not exclusive, *i.e.* it allows the natural incorporation of Classical Latin into the vein of Romance languages, (ii) it entails the concept of several Vulgar Latins rather than a unique one, and, most importantly, (iii) it precludes the option which the rival theory allows: namely, the positing of an abstract Proto-Roman language laden with asterisks. The stance taken by Ballester himself stipulates that in studying language development one should go beyond arboreal structures and, the more so, beyond abstract pre-languages, and instead, the research should take into account the genuine speakers of bygone languages and language contact.

The paper by **Alfred Bammesberger**, "Der Ausgang *-ō in der 1. Person Singular des Aktivs in der thematischen Konjugation des Indogermanischen" [The resulting *-ō in the first person singular active in the thematic conjugation in Indo-Germanic], focuses on an analysis of the form using *-ō in the first person singular. The author states that this form can be reconstructed from the thematic vowel in combination with the laryngeal theory. This reconstruction applies the method of comparing similar sounds.

The contribution of **Leszek Bednarczuk** ("Roman occidental et britonique celtique" [Occidental Romance and the Brittonic branch of Celtic]) addresses the topic of similarities in the structure and evolution of Occidental Romance languages and the Brittonic branch of Celtic languages. The analysis starts from the end of Antiquity (4th and 5th centuries), *i.e.* when Vulgar Latin clearly broke off from

Classical Latin. Bednarczuk also takes into account the stage that took place around the 6th–7th centuries, *i.e.* when other changes occurred, and also when the earliest written sources are testified. The *terminus ad quem* of the analysis is the 13th century, the epoch when Middle Gaulish emerged, which is compared to the system of Late Old French. Bednarczuk offers a holistic analysis of linguistic change taking place on the phonological (segmental and suprasegmental), morphological and syntactic levels. In determining the direction of the influence in the region under investigation, he points to the source of innovation as having either a Celtic origin (*e.g.* consonantal lenition, vigesimal numerical system) or coming from a local variety of Vulgar Latin (*e.g.* the loss of phonemic length distinction in vowels, the development of a prothetic vowel in word-initial /s/-consonant clusters).

Pierre Flobert refers to the topic of the influence of frequency of usage in the paper titled "Un rescapé indo-européen: le présent du verbe *être* en latin et en français" [The Indo-European survivor: the present of the verb *être* in Latin and in French]. Invoking new phonetic hypotheses and epigraphic contributions, and incorporating them with classical scholarship related to phonetic and morphological changes in an analysis of the present tense forms of the verb *to be*, Flobert discusses each grammatical person one by one, starting with the posited *PIE forms. Romance reflexes constitute a separate phase, marking the renovation of the system and new suppletivisms. In conclusion, the author emphasizes that the morphological and phonological trajectories of the verb *to be* throughout the ages entail irregularities caused by the frequency of usage, but these must be contextualized by parameters such as, *e.g.* the rate of weakening (*e.g.* syncope, apocope of the law of the least effort).

The communicative and "natural" dimension of phonological changes has been indicated above by means of references to Dziubalska-Kołaczyk's and Stampe's work. It has also been pointed out that the direction of investigation, placing in this context the frequency of occurrence, is interwoven in quite a few contributions in this volume. Such an example par excellence is provided by the research reported in the paper by **Frank Floricic** titled "Castillian *dejar*, gascon *dichà*, catalan/ portugais *deixar*, sarde *dassare*: un cas de fortition?" [Castilian *dejar*, Gascon *dichà*, Catalan/Portuguese *deixar*, Sardinian *dassare*: a case of fortition?]. Floricic's work interrogates various research objectives, the paramount one being that of providing an explanation for the occurrence of the dental voiced occlusive in word-initial position in a number of Romance languages and dialects, such as, *e.g.* Castilian *dejar*, Gascon *dichà*, Catalan/Portuguese *deixar*, and Sardinian *dassare*, where etymologically we would expect a continuation of the Latin lamino-alveolar liquid – Lat. *laxare* 'to slacken.' The presence of /d/, as Floricic observes, has inspired a vast array of etymological explanatory scenarios and inflamed discussions. His own contribution aims to point out the role that the frequency of occurrence might have played in the outcome of *laxare* as well as to bring to light the role that the imperative form might have played in the process.

Based on data from the online diachronic corpora of Romance varieties, the author reviews existing explanations for phonetic change, positing both lenition and fortition, and pointing out that the phenomenon was most commonly explained by a syntactically based process of dissimilation (*El lo lexa*). His own line of research stems from the assumption (*e.g.* by Dixon) that the imperative is affected by a larger amount of reduction simply due to its intrinsic focus and pragmatic role. Floricic motivates the imperative as the "bare" and basic form of the verb from the communicative perspective. The frequently attested passage of /l/ > /d/ and even to [ɖ] ([ɖ]) – the retroflex variant – would serve the function of maximizing (phonetics- and information-wise) the beginning of the word to make the imperative more salient.

The work "Kształtowanie się form polskich partykuł" [The formation of forms of Polish particles] by **Krystyna Kleszczowa** undertakes the topic of the historical development of Polish grammatical particles in history and the changes in their forms throughout the centuries. On the basis of extensive dictionary analysis, the author argues that the original statement regarding the formation of particles in conformity with the law of irregular phonetic development needs to be replaced in this case with a more tentative principle which accounts for norms involving more varied particle form creation.

The paper by **Iwona Kraska-Szlenk**, titled "Analogy in Language Use and Change," focuses on a review of the position of analogy in linguistic studies with a particular emphasis on phonology and morphology. The author gives an overview of the approaches to the origin of analogical changes in studies throughout the past half century. However, the statement which is most prominent in this study seems to be the one that analogical changes are predictable based on a balance of frequency and semantic criteria.

Language change is also considered in the paper by **Moreno Morani** titled "Vicende di /l/ indoeuropeo fra armeno e lingue romanze" [Vicissitudes of Indo-European /l/ between Armenian and Romance languages]. The author points out that for scholars working on the reconstruction of a common phase of languages, the Romance languages are of particular interest because of the well-documented passage from a relatively common phase into an array of multiform varieties. The series of lateral liquids, reconstructed for Indo-European, features only one phoneme, *i.e.* /l/. Its Latin continuation, as Morani points out after Priscian, yielded three allophones: *exilis* (palatal – [ʎ]), *pinguis* (velar – [ɫ]) and *media* (dental – [l]). The subsequent story of /l/ in the particular languages and dialects is, however, intricate. The distinction between the lateral and dental variant becomes less pronounced already in the imperial era. Morani provides a synopsis of a particular series of processes of palatalization and velarization, concluding that the original situation developed in a complex manner, thus resulting in fluid and variegated scenarios. In no Romance area does phonologization of all three Latin allophones take place. What is more important is that if there is an opposition between the palatal and the dental variety, it is due to relatively recent and secondary processes. Hence the Latin situation does not re-emerge from the Romance data. Morani turns to Armenian data, where, as he points out, there intervene additional grapheme complications due to the presence of the voiced velar fricative. Yet in the course of the analysis, Morani is able to trace a clear evolution of the three allophones in question.

Iwona Piechnik's contribution, titled "Tempo des changements dans les langues par le biais de facteurs externes: examples indo-européens et finno-ougriens" [The rate of language change via external factors: Indo-European and Finno-Ugric examples], addresses the topic of language change from the typological perspective. The author passes selected languages and dialects spoken in Europe through an analysis of various (system-external) sociolinguistic, cultural, historical and pragmatic factors, such as, *e.g.* national conscience, oral tradition, national temper, language policies, silence and the frequency of usage, in order to shed light on the rate of change. Piechnik concludes that an explanation in terms of geographical and mathematical factors is insufficient to measure the degree of conservatism of a given language. The "conservatism" inherent in a given language variety seems to depend rather on the amount of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity of a given linguistic community as well as on a conflux of factors such as its cultural habits, language policy, *etc.* The rate of changes appears to be ruled by either low or high frequency of usage, not only in the narrow sense (particular lexemes) but in general, encompassing the entire system of language.

The article "Protolanguage Models, Reconstruction Methodology, Khakas, Oghuz and English" by **Marek Stachowski** takes up the topic of the foundations of protolanguage models in order to apply it to a discussion of the origins of three languages: one in the Caucasus region, one in Siberia and that of Middle English. The author reports how various assumptions brought up in the discussion of these languages (genetic kinship, areal protolanguage, creole) were manifested in their known developments. However, the conclusion is that the result must be a common effect of language contact in the *Sprachbund*, with some effect of genetic similarity.

Rémy Viredaz undertakes a study of a topic that is well recognized in Slavonic scholarship, namely that of the three palatizations in Common Slavonic ("Sur la palatalisation progressive du slave (et les finales françaises -*ons*, -*ier*") [On palatalization in Slavic (and the French desinences -*ons*, -*ier*)]. His study concentrates on the third palatalization[6] of velars, *i.e.* the progressive one, which was triggered by the highest front vowels – **i*, **ī* and **in* (CS *ь*, *i*, *ę*).[7] Pointing out several problematic issues regarding this process, Viredaz offers a novel explanation by drawing on data from the Old Novgorodian dialect (OND) and other languages (*e.g.* French, Yiddish, Ukrainian). A scrutiny of the attested progressive palatization data in, *e.g.* French or Yiddish, shows that this process takes place and is usually limited to frequently used words. The hypothesis that Viredaz motivates, based on the archaisms of OND, posits that the process called "third palatalization" appeared first in the frequently used suffixes (*e.g. *-ika*) as an irregular phonetic assimilation due to the frequency. This scenario, incorporating several consecutive stages, accounts for both the tantalizing facts about OND (*e.g.* the restricted scope of the palatalization) and other enigmatic cross-linguistic facts.

As was indicated before, the views of Professor Mańczak, which were often controversial and often running against mainstream linguistic theories, provoked a large array of critical voices. The contribution of **Bogdan Walczak**, titled "La langue est-elle "tout ce que l'on parle ou écrit"?" [Is *la langue* all that is spoken or written?], is an example of a sustained critique and a report of a long-lasting polemic with the honoree. Walczak admits that the honoree of the Festschrift has always treasured occasions in which it would be possible to freely exchange and challenge one another's views. As an example of such a polemic he gives the diverging views he and the honoree held on a number of issues. One of these concerns the genesis of articles in Romance languages, and another regards the essence of the historical relatedness of languages. The present paper is devoted to another "iconoclastic" view of the honoree, namely his notorious critique of Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* and the terms contained therein,

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6   As Viredaz emphasizes, the term 'palatalization' covers several different processes, *i.e.* partial (surface or phonetic) palatalization, phonologized palatalization, whereupon the palatal order came into being (*e.g. t – t'*), the process involving alternation of the place of articulation and, finally, eventual depalatalization.

7   Konieczna observes that this particular process used to be called after Jan Baudouin de Courtenay ("palatalizacja Baudouinowska") since it was he who first pointed to its existence. Sketching the general characteristics of the third palatalization, she observes that this process did not encompass /x/ and is restricted only to cases when the velar stop is not followed by former *ū* or *ŭ* or any other consonant. In other realms of word formation it affected the suffixes *-ica*, *-icь*, *-ьca*, with the suffix *-ikъ* having arisen later. She also admits that it is difficult to reach a consensus on the relative chronology of the second and third palatalizations, *i.e.* whether the progressive ("Baudouinian") one was prior to the second Common Slavonic palatalization or whether it followed it. Konieczna emphasizes that, whatever the case, one aspect can be established for certain: both must have occurred during closer contacts of the Slavs with the Goths, *i.e.* around the third century A.D., since quite a large number of Gothic loan words show the effects of both (1965: 29).

in particular the arbitrariness of sign, the novelty of contained thoughts and, in particular, the legitimacy of the very distinctions: *la langage – langue: parole*.[8]

3.3. Syntax/semantics

The section which we have labeled "syntax/semantics" is quite heterogeneous and collects articles devoted to a formal analysis of linguistic systems. **Jerzy Bańczerowski**'s paper, "The coding of syntactic structure of sentences in retrospect," concentrates on two modes of theorizing syntax which were devised in the first half of the 20th century, *i.e.* constituent structure grammar, grounded in the work of Leonard Bloomfield, and categorical grammar (as elaborated by Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz).[9] Setting out from the assumption that graphical representations for the same sentence in the respective grammars are mirror images of each other, the scholar advocates the need to search for an underlying basis for both solutions. Qualification (determinative) grammar is proposed as such a meta-descriptive framework. The reformulation of CsG and CtG in terms of QfG reveals two aspects of syntax which, as Bańczerowski points out, are inseparable: the syntactic synthesis and syntactic analysis of a sentence. Having defined all of the primitive terms used in his analysis (*e.g. Tgn* – the set of tagmons), Bańczerowski exposes the possibilities of syntactization of sentences, also by using Ludwik Zabrocki's codematics.

The frequency factor also plays a key role in the study by **Frédérique Biville** titled "La distribution du système des conjonctions de subordination dans le Latin de Priscien" [A distribution of the system of subordination conjunctions in the Latin of Priscian].[10] The author investigates an ensemble of 18 books,

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8   We could add at this point that the reservations and criticisms towards the *Course* have been openly voiced practically since its first publication. An in-depth study on the topic is provided in, *e.g.* Percival (1981); Bouissac (2010); Jakobson (1973). For example, Percival (1981: 41) cites Trubetzkoy's letter to Jakobson from 1932, in which the prince bluntly states that "for inspiration I have re-read de Saussure, but I must say that on a second reading it has made much less of an impression on me. In general there is relatively little of value in it; most of it is old rubbish (*staryj xlam*), and what is valuable in it is terribly abstract, not very concrete." The key to the problem is captured by Bouissac, who indicates that Bally and Sechehaye, although they did attend some of Saussure's courses on comparative grammar, nonetheless "had not been present at any of the three courses in general linguistics that Saussure gave between 1906 and 1911" (Bouissac 2010: 117). What is more, both "editors" had drastically differing views on the linguistic architecture from those they attributed to de Saussure in the *Course*. Percival provides an extended quote from Bally's inaugural address on succeeding to Saussure's professorial chair in 1913, pointing out that although Bally began by dutifully and deferentially expounding Saussure's framework of ideas, he swiftly "proceeded to state quite openly that he himself had reached different conclusions from those of his master" (Percival 1981: 42). As far as the novelty of Saussurean ideas, Jakobson writes: "A travers le *Cours* de Genève, c'est l'idée fondamentale du *Profil* de Kruszewski sur les deux axes linguistiques, l'axe syntagmatique et l'autre, qu'on appellée aujourd'hui paradigmatique, qui a profondément pénétré dans la linguistique internationale contemporaine. Baudouin se servit lui aussi de cette dichotomie comme de différentes autres idées de Kruszewski dans ses traveaux tardifs […]. Mais il faut dire qu'en realité la conception des problèmes en question chez Kruszewski est beaucoup plus systématique, plus cohérente et plus vaste que celle de Baudouin et de Saussure" (1973: 256). Finally, Bouquet *et al.* (eds.) (2002), in the preface to the first edition of Saussure's own notes (*Écrits de linguistique générale*), observe that from the notes it appears that his view of the discipline is less categorical than in the 1916 rendering. Moreover, "[t]he meticulous foundations – epistemological and philosophical of the Swiss linguist's thought correspond exactly to the two components somewhat neglected by his 'editors' (this is how, curiously, Bally and Sechehaye refer to themselves in the preface to the book which they drafted from the beginning to the end)" (Bouquet *et al.* 2002: xiii).

9   We can recall here that Bańczerowski argues elsewhere (Bańczerowski 2004) that Chomsky must have been familiar with the work of Ajdukiewicz; however, he has meticulously avoided citing this scholar.

10   *Priscianus Caesariensis*, Latin grammarian, born in 470 AD in Caesarea (today Cherchell in Algeria) and active in the first half of the 6th century.

L'Ars Prisciani (published between 526–527), together with two volumes of *Partitiones* (comments on the initial verses of the *Aeneid*). As Biville observes, Priscian's oeuvre is dedicated to an analysis of Latin by contrasting usages of that language in the works of ancient writers (*antiqui*) with those of his contemporaries (*iuniores*). As follows, the evaluative and comparative dimension is inherent in Priscian's work. Biville conducts an analysis of Priscian's meta-language, focusing on the usage of subordination conjunctions (*e.g.* declarative completives, indirect interrogatives) by combining numerical preponderance with functional recoil. The pedagogical discourse shows that the system tends to reorganize itself around conjunctions that are clearly identifiable by a common form derived from the base *qu-*.

The paper by **Maciej Grochowski**, "W poszukiwaniu różnicy znaczeń (na przykładzie opozycji *co najmniej – przynajmniej*)" [Looking for differences in meanings (based on the example of the opposition between *at least – not less*)], undertakes an analysis of the two synonymous expressions. On the basis of a semantic and contextual analysis of several examples and dictionaries, the author takes the view that these two should be classified as unequivocal, yet not equal. The author expresses the view that this conclusion needs further studies into similar expressions and justification by applying other methodologies.

The paper "O partykułach inaczej. Kilka uwag o problemach terminologicznych" [Another approach to particles: a few remarks on terminology problems] by **Marcela Świątkowska** undertakes a comparison of theories regarding grammatical particles in both French and Polish linguistics. The text indicates that it is not sufficient to consider old formal theories defining parts of speech but that it is necessary to perform an analysis of the function of particles at the level of discourse and their role in communication.

The paper "O wpływie frekwencji na rozwój semantyczny" [On the influence of frequency on semantic development] by **Mariola Jakubowicz** covers the interesting topic of how the frequency of expressive lexemes (such as exclamations, adverbs and slang words) can influence the development of new words and expressions. The author makes the point that new forms are derived on the basis of greater use of existing ones, while the latter lose their sharpness. The author derived this view from an extension of Professor Mańczak's idea of irregular development as caused by frequency.

3.4. Contemporary language usage / sociolinguistics

The volume also contains a group of papers dealing with contemporary language usage, which we have grouped together with the sociolinguistic perspective. "Contemporary" is understood here in a somewhat wider sense as being in a 'non-historical/diachronic' perspective.

Anna Bochnakowa, in her article "La question de l'attribut ethnique (vingt ans après)" [The question of the ethnic attribute (twenty years later)], revisits the topic she first introduced in 1995 on the 70th birthday Festschrift offered to the present honoree: the nature of the ethnic attribute in French, as in, *e.g. Mon père est F/français*. In brief, as Bochnakowa points out, there is cross-linguistic variation as to the orthographic convention of denoting the nature of an attribute (a noun or an adjective). In English, both the noun ('A French citizen, a person who has French nationality') and the adjective ('related to France') are written with a majuscule. In Spanish and in Italian, both are indiscriminately annotated with a minuscule. In Polish, the noun is written with a capital letter while the adjective is not, but the Polish language clearly distinguishes between the two as separate words (*Polak* vs. *polski*). The situation in French, however, is far from unanimous. Theoretically, the ethnonym should be written with a capital letter and the adjectival ethnic attribute should not. Bochnakowa's longitudinal studies reveal a series

of inconsistencies, both regarding FFL textbooks and scholarly elaborations. The real question is of a cognitive nature, *i.e.* the choice that the speakers make to fill the predicate position. Bochnakowa concludes that today the adjectival option is beginning to prevail.

Hans Goebl, in the paper titled "L'impact de la polynymie des cartes d'atlas sur le resultat de calculus dialectométriques" [The impact of the polynymy of atlas cards on the result of dialectometrical calculus] focuses on the dialectometric methods in the analysis of cards of the ALF.[11] The adopted term, *polynymie* 'polynymy,' allows for a fine-grained terminological ladder, *e.g. mononyme* 'mononym' (without variations) or *mésonyme* 'mesonym' (having a medium-sized number of types [*taxats*]). The analyzed corpus consisted of 1681 working cards (*CT*/'WC' implying the content of an original atlas card after having undergone the process of typization) belonging to the categories of phonetics, morpho-syntax and lexis. The reported research has a multilayered dimension, thus allowing for a multitude of conclusions; for example, the first stage of the study revealed that dialectometrical deep structures are impregnated with a high internal redundancy, as compared to the redundancy, as the author points out, of all communicative signing systems. Goebl directly links the exposed redundancy with a pragmatic communicative background. The article also provides an overview of basic methods used by the Salzburg School of Dialectometry, and discusses, explains, and compares three pairs of choropleth cards obtained by means of the Visual DialectoMetry program.

Aleksandra Valsilyevna Superanskaya (**Александра Васильевна Суперанская**), in the paper titled "Имятворчество 20-30 гг. XX века" [Creating proper names in the 1920s and 1930s], describes the outburst of the creation of proper names in Russia after the October Revolution. She presents the process against the wider system of customs connected with declarations in a state of atheism (*e.g. oktjabriennye* instead of christening). The prohibition against giving children traditional names, such as *Ivan* or *Varvara*, was accompanied by a stipulation to choose from a set of names connected with the revolution and having a strong and immediate ideological load, *e.g. Oktyabrina, Marksina.* The invention of names for children also veered in the direction of the glorification of technology, *e.g. Traktor, Elektrostancja*, or being abundant in acronyms, *e.g. Virakl* (the acronym of the Russian phrase 'faithful to the ideals of the working class'). The same process of eradication of identity took place as an elimination of particular names for cities or villages and in naming them on a massive scale after the Revolution's leaders. Superanskaya concludes that these names soon disappeared because they were not in fact names but sets of ideologically-loaded words.

Henriette Walter, in the article "Les hauts et les bas des suffixes français" [The ups and downs of French suffixes], traces the vicissitudes of some suffixes in contemporary French. The study shows that, except for scientific vocabulary, suffixation in French undergoes productivity and frequency fluctuation. Walter traces various, often opposite, dimensions of the dynamic movement of suffixes within the lexicon; for example, there are numerous forms which used to involve morphological concatenation but have become lexicalized, *e.g.* (Fr.) *croissance* 'growth' or *nuisance* 'nuisance,' where *-ance* is actually a cranberry morpheme. Other suffixes which used to be very productive while retaining their suffixal status are abandoned; for example, *-esse* served to feminize the names of jobs/occupations. There are still others which 'skyrocket' within the lexicon for a short period of time and then suddenly vanish, such as *-os*

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11   ALF – *L'Atlas linguistique de la France* (The Linguistic Atlas of France), compiled by Jules Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont in 1897–1900 and published in the early 1900s. It consists of a series of cards capturing the linguistic and dialectal variation in France at the turn of the century.

(*e.g. coolos*). There are also traditional suffixes which regain productivity, especially in colloquial speech, *e.g. -erie* (*kitscherie* 'all that is kitsch').

3.5. Lexicography / translation studies

The final body of papers could be proposed to fall into a category related to lexicographic/translation studies. The article by **Urszula Dąmbska-Prokop**, "O *translatio studi* kilka uwag" [A few remarks on *translatio studi*], gives a comprehensive account of the process of *translatio studi* on French ground – which refers to knowledge transferred and spread by means of a native language. This process occurred in France in the 15th and 16th centuries in circumstances where the native language started to be used in conditions in which it had not been used before, *i.e.* for science, law and religion. The author stresses the difficulties encountered in this process due to the poor vocabulary and reluctance regarding this language change in some circles.

The text by **Przemysław Dębowiak**, "Les diminutives dans les traductions francaises de textes littéraires polonais" [Diminutives in the French translations of literary Polish texts], tackles the topic of the frequency of concurrence in a contrastive Polish–French study of diminutives in literary works. The starting point of the research is the view held by many scholars (apart from the cited works by Witold Mańczak and Jan Miodek we could also mention here research by Anna Wierzbicka and Jolanta Szpyra-Kozłowska) that Polish, in particular in the casual register, abuses diminutives. French, in turn, is generally thought of as being reluctant to using this type of word formation, and is considered "thrifty" with diminutives even among Romance family languages. Moreover, synthetic diminutives are used only sparingly. The database for Dębowiak's research consists of two parallel pairs of texts: Ryszard Kapuściński's Polish novel *Cesarz* (English translation: *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*) contrasted with its French translation *Le Négus* [transl. by Véronique Patte] and Witold Gombrowicz's novel *Kosmos* contrasted with its French translation *Cosmos* by Georges Sédir. The author conducts exhaustive frequency calculations by breaking the extracted data into synthetic, analytic and mixed diminutives while taking into account all sorts of criteria (*e.g.* the mean number of typographic units per page). The numerical data obtained show the absolute number of diminutives in the respective literary works and their French translations. The results show the preponderance of diminutives in the Polish texts. Moreover, synthetic forms take the lead in the Polish originals, while the analytic ones take lead in the French translations.[12]

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12 There could be one possible reservation to be voiced with regard to Dębowiak's conclusions. While indeed the title of the contribution perfectly reflects the conducted, exhaustive analysis, the conclusions drawn seem to be too strong and too general for this type of case study. There does not seem to be any grounds in the analytic results to jump to generalizations of the type "in French" or "in Polish," or in positing such a high difference rate (3.2-fold). In particular: "les diminutifs apparaissent plus souvent en polonais qu'en français; leur fréquence est environ 3,2 fois grande dans la première langue" (p. 188f). All that the gathered material allows one to conclude is that in the two analyzed literary texts and their single translations, the two translators did not use as many diminutives as the Polish writers did, which indeed might indirectly support the claim of the preference for diminutives in Polish. Also, there is the additional issue of the idiosyncrasy of the artistic style of Gombrowicz, mentioned in fact by the author himself (*cf.* footnote 1, p. 182) as well as the figures – the total (absolute) number of diminutives in the text of *Kosmos* amounts to 489 (93%). This is, in fact, a text in which diminutives are the protagonist, not a mere linguistic fact, hence the choice of this particular text is not analytically neutral. So how does the 93% compare with a neutral source, such as National Corpus data? For example, the words *zaświniowatowanko*, *naukowczuniu* [vocative] or the phrase *paniuś kochuś kochanieńki* can hardly be considered typical, Polish diminutive word formation strategies. The vastly lower rate of French correspondents in the case of this text could simply reflect nothing but

The issue of the importance of frequency of occurrence as well as the importance of lexicography is taken up by **Maria Iliescu** in her paper "Une aventure du mot Fr. *défausser*" [An adventure of the French word *défausser*]. Having reviewed lexicographic descriptions for the (Rom.) adjective *deșănțat*, the author identifies two separate lexemes in contemporary Romanian under the common phonetic form of *deșănțat*: one with reduced frequency and independently explained by *șanț*, and the other, the adjective, with pejorative connotations, *e.g.* (E.) 'displaced,' 'exaggerated.' Taking into account the French lexicographic descriptions of (Fr.) *défausser* and the pragmatic background for French borrowings in Romanian, especially related to *jeux de société*, Iliescu motivates the claim that the second meaning of *deșănțat* comes from the French adjective *défaussé*, a borrowing from the lexical field of card playing.

Leena Löfsfeld, in the paper "La Magna Carta, un document bilingue" [The Magna Carta, a bilingual document], offers a comparative analysis of two versions of the document from the early 13th century – The Magna Carta – the version in Latin and the version in French that was found in Normandy. First, Löfsfeld addresses Holt's hypothesis that the French version originated in England and that there could be at least one intermediate version. Examining in detail the orthographic inconsistencies and morphological errors, Löfsfeld concludes that the French version is an Anglo-Norman text and that an intermediate document must have existed. She also analyzes the Latin version which, as she points out, is written in a Latin modeled on French. Moreover, the document must have been written in haste. The author then tackles the "vexed" question of anteriority, *i.e.* which version was the original? A fine-grained analysis leads to her pointing out the numerous interdependencies of the two texts. She concludes that the two texts, both of an insular provenance, reflect the end of the empire of the Plantagenets and show the different functions of the two varieties: the documentary and preserving function of the Latin version vs. the dynamic and creative nature of the French version.

The article "O polonizmach w języku włoskim" [Polish elements in Italian] by **Stanisław Sidlak** discusses the language contact situations which led to borrowing from Polish to Italian. It is indicated that throughout the centuries, few Polish words have entered common Italian and the ones which have managed to penetrate Italian texts are mostly terms which describe a culture and religion common to the two countries. The fact that borrowing in the reverse direction has been popular is connected with the superiority of Italian and of its Latin origin.

The aim of **Ewa Stala**'s paper, "El material español en el diccionario de M. Amszejewicz" [The Spanish material in the dictionary of M. Amszejewicz (1859)], is to present an analysis of the lexicographic material contained in the dictionary by Michał Amszejewicz (published in Warsaw in 1859). The author undertakes the study with the view that scholarly elaborations regarding this dictionary are scarce. As far as the statistics for contemporary Polish are concerned, Stala points out that studies on the borrowings show that Spanish as a donor language is a negligible source (*e.g.* 2627 items from Latin vs. 52 items from Spanish).[13] Stala subjects to analysis not only lexemes possessing the qualification *hiszp.* ('Sp.') in that dictionary, but also those which overtly lack this qualification yet their form clearly indicates Spanish

the trouble a given translator had when dealing with the artistic world which Gombrowicz had created by means of Leon's style of speaking; there might not be anything systemic in this (see also, *e.g.* Kania & Tokarski 1984: 136 on neologisms in the artistic style of Stanisław Grochowiak). Dębowiak's research could also potentially be extended in the reverse direction, which might give a more objective picture, *i.e.* embarking on a study of an original artistic text in French and comparing how a Polish translator copes with that French literary text or, the second option, tracing perhaps a literary work of art having several different translations and working statistically from there.

13 Data from Kania and Tokarski (1984: 211), after Stala, p. 427.

provenance. Hence there are three types of loan words: direct (Spanish – Polish), loans only vehiculed by Spanish (Arabic/indigenous languages of South America – Spanish – Polish) and lexemes which are of Spanish origin but entered the Polish lexicon through other languages, *e.g.* Italian (Spanish – Italian – Polish). The author discusses both the orthographic and morphological adaptations.

4. Evaluation

Summarizing, the importance of a volume such as the present *Festschrift* cannot be overstated. Its strongest feature is that it pulls together various facets of the study of language, bound together by the compelling scholarly personality of the honoree. It presents a high level of versatile linguistic expertise and can be readily recommended to a wide readership, *i.e.* to students of various branches of linguistics and to scholars wanting to learn more about language sciences, and language usage in particular.

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